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* * *

THE DRUG TERMINALIA CHEBULA IN AYURVEDA AND TIBETAN MEDICAL LITERATURE

Vd. Bhagwan Dash

The medicinal plant Terminalia chebula is held in high esteem both in Ayurveda & Tibetan medicine for its property to prevent and cure diseases. In Ayurveda it is known as Harītakī and in Tibetan medicine it is called A-ru-ra. While in Tibetan medicine it is called Sman-mchog rgyal-po,¹ that is the king of the best of medicines, in Ayurveda it is described to be useful to human beings like a mother, "At times even a mother becomes angry but Harītakī never causes any harm to a person who takes it".²

Data on this medicinal plant is available in all classics³ as well as Nighantus⁴ or works on materia medica of Ayurveda. In Tibetan literature an exhaustive collection of data is available in the books "An illustrated Tibeto-Mongolia materia Medica of Ayurveda"⁵ and "Principles of Lamaist Pharmacognosy".⁶

Madanapāla Nighantu⁷ gives the derivation of this term "harītakī" as follows:

- 1) Because it grows in the place of residence of Hara, that is the Himalayas so it is called Harītakī.
- 2) Because it is by nature harita (greenish yellow) in colour, so it is called Harītakī, and
- 3) Because it takes away (Hṛ = to take away) diseases, therefore it is called Harītakī.

In Tibetan language, Haritaki is known as A-ru-ra. In Shel phreng one of the commentaries is quoted to explain the signif-

icance of these syllables. According to this, 'A' indicates that it is the best of medicines and it cures all diseases caused by vāyu, pitta and kapha., 'Ru' indicates that it has flesh, bone and skin which clear diseases of all the three doṣa., and 'Ra' indicates that its body is like that of the Rhinoceros and it clears the diseases of all seven dhātus.

MYTHOLOGICAL STORIES

Many mythological stories about the origin of this drug are found in both Ayurvedic and Tibetan medical literature. They are as follows:

(1) Seven drops of nectar fell down upon the earth from the mouth of Viṣṇu (also according to some from the mouth of Brahmā) giving origin to seven types of Harītakī.⁸

(2) Drops of nectar fell down upon the earth from the mouth of Indra giving rise to Harītakī.⁹

(3) In the Tibetan literature the above mentioned stories are described in detail. In addition, it has been stated, "For the benefit of sentient creatures, the heavenly nun Matisaṅkarī gathered together a bunch of bluish Vijayā, which were like the head of the horse. She offered that to Manohārī Devī who was Siddha Devī and nirmāṇakāya of Amṛtā, the goddess of medicine. While doing so she said, "Manohārī Devī, kindly hear me. This is the bunch of Vijayā the best of medicines, complete with guṇas and beautiful as well as good in shape. I offer it to you Siddha Devi because of your love for me. Please accept it for the benefit of the later generations of sentient creatures. Please plant this seed of prayer. Its ripe fruit will undoubtedly be good."

In accordance with that saying Manohari Devi took that Haritakī and went to Vajrāsana in Bhārata and offered āvāhana, stuti and pūjā to the Jina prasara of the ten directions. She also requested the guru and Tri-ratnas to have compassion and said, "I am motivated by the force of purity which is free from the deception of hetu and phala. Let there be Siddhi in accordance with the prayer by the strength of truth. Thus Haritakī came into being".¹⁰

(4) According to Zur-mkhar dharma-svami quoted in Shel phreng¹¹ "In the mountain of Gandhamardana situated towards the east of Vārāṇasi, the god of earth Lag-pa-chen-po and the goddess of water Gtsang-chen (Brahmaputra) both had sexual enjoyment by embracing each other and out of that the vīrya and ārtava got mixed up on the earth. Thus the forest of Haritakī came into being.

SYNONYMS

In Sanskrit literature the following synonyms of this drug have been described:

- (1) Abhayā, (2) Amoghā, (3) Amṛtā, (4) Avyathā, (5) Kāyasthā,
- (6) Girijā, (7) Cetakī, (8) Cetanikā, (9) Jayā, (10) Jīvanti,
- (11) Jīvantikā, (12) Jīvapriyā, (13) Jivyā, (14) Divyā, (15) Devī,
- (16) Nandani, (17) Pathyā, (18) Pācanī, (19) Pūtanā, (20) Pramathyā,
- (21) Prapathyā, (22) Prāṇadā, (23) Balyā, (24) Bhiṣag priyā,
- (25) Bhiṣag varā, (26) Rasāyana phalā, (27) Rudra priyā, (28)
- Rohiṇī, (29) Vayasthā, (30) Vanatiktā, (31) Vijayā, (32) Vṛtatha,
- (33) Sāka, (34) Śivā, (35) Śukra śrsta, (36) Śreyasī, (37) Śudhā,
- (38) Śudhobhavā, (39) Haritakī, (40) Himajā, (41) Haimajā, (42)
- Hemavati.

In Shel phreng¹² the following synonyms are given:

- (1) Abhaya ('Jigs med), (2) Amogha (Don Yod), (3) Amṛta ('Chi Med or Bhud rtsi), (4) Aroha dīrgha (Mchu snyung), (5) Avyathā (Nad sel), (6) Cetaki (Sems byed), (7) Dhanyā (Dpal yon can) (8) Dīrghamarghatha (Mchu rings), (9) Divya (Lha rdzas), (10) Haritaki (Tshad pa'ai mdangs 'phrog), (11) Hvava (Bde byed), (12) Jivanti ('Tsho byed), (13) Kaṣāyaka (Bska shas Idan), (14) Kāyasthā (Lus gnas byed), (15) Kumbha kanṭha (Bum mgrin), (16) Kṛsa (Skem po), (17) Krzsālāka (Skem po), (18) Mahā balama (Sa chen), (19) Mahāvita (Gser Idan), (20) Mūla Dīrgha (Rtsa rings), (21) Mūlārārā (Rtsa snyung), (22) Pavani (Daq byed), (23) Prmatha (Nad rab 'homs), (24) Phalā ('aBras bu can), (25) Prni (Nad 'dor), (26) Raja hutira (Rgyal bo skem po zer la), (27) Rasa kalkala (Ro bska), (28) Rasavati (Roldan), (29) Rasayana (Bcud len), (30) Samarphka (Nus ldan), (31) Śakravṛṣṭa (Brgya byin spros), (32) Sona barna (Gser mdog), (33) Sivā (Zi ba), (34) Śreyasī (Dge legs can), (35) Sūdana (Tshi can), (36) Vardhakara ('Phel byed), (37) Vayasthā (Na tshod gnas), (38) Vijayā (Rnam par rgyal ba).

From the above, it will be seen that seventeen of the synonyms described in Tibetan Medical Literature are identical with those described in Ayurveda and the remaining Twenty one bear some difference.

VARIETIES

In Ayurvedic literature the classification of Haritaki varies considerably. A statement providing information regarding Haritaki in different Ayurvedic texts and nighantus is given following:

Name of the Variety	H.S., R.N. S.G.N., B.P.	R.B.N.	A.S.	D.N.	N.R.
Vijayā	(x)	(x)	(-)	(-)	(x)
Rohinī	(x)	(x)	(-)	(-)	(x)
Pūtanā	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
Amrtā	(x)	(x)	(-)	(x)	(x)
Cetakī	(x)	(-)	(x)	(x)	(-)
Abhayā	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)
Jīvantī	(x)	(x)	(x)	(-)	(x)
Kālikā	(-)	(x)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Pathyā	(-)	(-)	(-)	(x)	(-)
Jayā	(-)	(-)	(-)	(x)	(-)
Haimavatī	(-)	(-)	(-)	(x)	(-)

Legends: H.S. = Hārīta saṁhitā, R.N. = Rāja Nighantu,
S.G.N. = Sāligrāma nighantu, B.P. = Bhāva-prākāśa,
R.B.N. = Rājavallabha nighantu,
A.S. = Ātreya saṁhitā,
D.N. = Dhanvantari nighantu,
N.R. = Nighantu ratnākara,
(x) = description available,
(-) = description not available)

In the book Lamaist Pharmacognosy, Views of various authors, both Indian and Tibetan, are quoted in connection with the classification of this drug. According to Bdud-rtsi-snying-po it is of seven types.¹³ They are (1) Rnam par rgyal ba (Vijayā), (2) Bum gyi mgrin (Kalāśa kantha), (3) Gso byed (Āyuh-varḍhaka), (4) Bdud rtsi (Amṛta), (5) 'Jigs med (Abhayā), (6) 'phel byed (Vṛddhikarī) and (7) Skam po (Śuska).

According to Tibetan medical Literature, Vijayā is the most important type and it is exceedingly useful in the treatment of diseases. Other varieties are considered to be only secondary or subsidiary to Vijayā in therapeutic attributes. In Ayurvedic literature only Rāja nighntu¹⁴ has laid emphasis on the superiority of Vijayā over others.

IDENTIFICATION OF VARIOUS TYPES

Physical characteristics as well as therapeutic attributes of various types of Haritakī are described both in Ayurveda and Tibetan medical Literature with a view to help in their identification.

According to Bhāva prakāsa nighantu,¹⁵ Vijayā has the shape of a gourd, Rohinī is round in shape, Pūtanā contains proportionately a bigger stone, Amrtā is fleshy, Abhayā contains five ridges, Jivantī is golden in colour and Cetaki has three ridges. In this regard, there are different types of description in other Ayurvedic works.

According to Brang-ti-pa, as quoted in Shel Phreng¹⁶ the variety Rnam par rgyal ba (Vijayā) is characterised by closed lips, and fine neck, Gser mdog (Kanaka varnā) is of golden colour and like a round bulb and it possesses either five or eight ridges (wrinkles),. Sa chen (Māmsalā) is fleshy,. "Bigs byed (Vindkyā) is black and it has no stone in the centre and Snung (Sūksmā) has many wrinkles.

According to Shel phreng,¹⁷ Vijayā which is the best of all varieties, grows in the celestial palace of the Yaksa Vaisrāvāna and from there it was taken to the mountain Gandhamārdana (Sposngad-ldan).¹⁸ It is emphasized by various Tibetan authors that the Vijayā type of Harītakī, which is the best of all, is available only on this mountain.

It is stated in Gso-dpyad phrang bu¹⁹ that it was difficult for non-Aryans to procure this drug from the magical mountain of Gandhamārdana. Therefore, the seeds of this were planted in other places of the earth. According to Zur-mkhar Dharmaswami,²⁰ all the varieties of Harītakī that grow in Bhārata are collectively called Tra-la-ha and that of Tibet is Klu-sin 'θ-'bu.

According to Zur-rdol,²¹ all the five types of Harītakī grow in the same tree in the centre is Vijayā, in the eastern side is Abhavā, in the Southern side is Māmsalā, in the western side is Rohinī, in the northern side is Suskā. In Brang-ti-pa similar type of description is also available but only the names of the varieties differ.

In this connection the description available in Ayurvedic literature is different. Even though all Ayurvedic works are not unanimous in their view, still in the majority of them it is stated that Vijayā grows in Vindhya mountain (Gandhamārdana according to Tibetan literature), Cetakī and Pūtana grow in the Himalayas, Rohini grows in Sindh, Amrtā and Abhayā in Campa(?) and Jivantī grows in Saurāstra.

Thus, unlike Tibetan literature, in Ayurveda not much signif-

importance is attached to Gandhamārdana regarding the habitat of this drug.

BOTANICAL CHARACTERISTICS

According to Khrungs-dpe,²² this tree possesses a great trunk, its leaves are thick, the flower is yellow and fruit is blackish-yellow. In various other texts the characteristic features of this fruit are described. Such type of descriptions are not available in the extant Ayurvedic texts.

SIMILIES

In literature on Tibetan medicine similies for different parts of this drug are available. According to Gso-dpyad Phrang-bu²³ leaves of this drug are like Pa-nca-li-ka (?) and flowers like those of U-dam-bar (fig tree). According to 'Dra-yig²⁴ (Upamāna tantra), Harītakī is like a small dried piece of tumeric.

According to 'Dra-dpe,²⁵ another work on similies, Vijayā is like the tail of a gourd (Alābu). Its flowers are golden yellow, like a golden egg. They are like a swollen frog. Abhayā is like the egg of tadpole. It is like a rounded pot. This type of upamā are rare in extant Ayurvedic works.

RASA, VIRYA, VIPAKA AND GUNA

According to Ayurvedic literature, Harītakī has five different tastes viz., madhura (sweet), amla (sour), katu (pungent), tikta (bitter) and kaśāya (astringent). It has been repeatedly emphasized that this drug is free from lavana (saline) taste. In Tibetan medical literature this point has been discussed in detail and various

Indian authors have been quoted in this connection. But some Tibetan scholars do not agree with the observation of Indian authors. The author of Shel phreng²⁶ seems to have contacted various yogis from India but he was not convinced by the arguments advanced by them. Therefore, he holds that Harītakī has all the six types of tastes viz., mnar-ba (sweet), skyur ba (sour) lan-tshwa ba (saline), tsha ba (pungent), kha ba (bitter) and bska ba (astringent).

According to Ayurvedic literature, this drug is usna or hot in vīrya (potency). In Tibetan medical literature²⁷ it is considered to possess eight nus pas (vīrya or potency), viz. (1) lci va (guru or heavy), (2) snum pa (snigdha or unctuous), (3) bsil ba (atisita or excessively cold), (4) rtul-ba (manda or dull), (5) yang ba (laghu or light), (6) rtsub pa (rukṣa or dryness), (7) tsha ba usna or hot) and (8) rno ba (tīksna or sharp).²⁸

Vipāka²⁹ of this drug according to Ayurveda is madhura (sweet). But according to Tibetan medical literature the Zhu rjes (vipāka) of this drug is mnar ba (madhura or sweet), skyur ba (amla or sour) and kha ba (katu or pungent).³⁰

Laghu (lightness) and rukṣa (dryness) - these two are considered in Ayurvedic literature to be the gunas (attributes) of Harītakī. According to the Tibetan medical literature however this drug has seventeen yon tan (guna or attribute)³¹, viz., (1) 'aJam pa (mrdu or soft), (2) lci ba (guru or heavy), (3) dro ba (usna or hot), (4) snum pa (snigdha or unctuous), (5) brtan pa (sthira or stable), (6) grang ba (sīta or cold), (7) rtul ba (manda or dull),

(8) bshil ba (ati sīta or excessively cold), (9) mnyen ba (slaksna or smooth), (10) sla ba (drava or liquid), (11) skam pa (suska or dry), (12) skya ba (sāndra or density), (13) tsha ba (usna or hot) (14) yang ba (laghu or light), (15) rno ba (tiksna or sharp), (16) rtsub pa (kathina or hard) & (17) gyo ba (sara or fluid).³² The manner in which these attributes help in correcting the vitiated dosas and dhātus is described in detail in the Tibetan medical literature. Ayurvedic literature is very specific about the five rasas of this drug.

THERAPEUTIC ATTRIBUTES

According to some authors of Tibetan medicine, other varieties of Harītakī have therapeutic properties almost similar to Vijayā. This view has been strongly repudiated by other scholars of Tibetan medicine according to whom "the wise laugh at such description by the stupid".³³ In Ayurvedic literature, as stated before, Vijayā variety is not given that much of importance even though by some it is considered to be a cure for all types of diseases. Other varieties of Harītakī have different specific therapeutic properties. According to Rāja-Vallabha Nighantu, Jivantī is useful as a medicine for oleation therapy, Rohinī is useful in the treatment of Ksayaroga (Consumption), Vijayā is useful in all types of therapies, Pūtanā is useful in medicines for external application, Amṛta is useful as a purgative, Abhayā is useful in eye diseases and Kalika is useful in the removal of foul smell of ulcers.

In Tibetan Medical Literature different parts of the plant are stated to have different therapeutic properties. According to

Zur mkhar Dharma Svami,³⁴ its root clears the diseases of the bone, the stem clears the diseases of the muscles the bark clears skin diseases, the branches clear the diseases of the vessels, the leaves clear diseases of āśayas (viscera) and the fruits clear diseases of the vital organs and heart. In Ayurvedic literature such a type of description is not available.

S U M M A R Y

Medical literatures of India and Tibet are closely inter-related. In spite of it, there are conspicuous and significant differences between these two types of literature while describing various aspects of medicine. The drug Terminalia chebula is very popular and commonly used by the practitioners of the traditional systems of medicine of both these countries. In this paper an attempt has been made to briefly survey the literature of both these systems.



¹Principles of Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio-172.

²Harītakī manusyānām māteva hitakārinī //

Kadācit kupyate mātā nodarasthā harītakī //

³The following are the most important Ayurvedic classics:

(I) Caraka saṁhitā originally composed by Agnivesa and subsequently redacted by Caraka. It was composed prior to 700 B.C.

(II) Suśruta saṁhitā originally composed by Suśruta and subsequently redacted by Nāgārjuna. It was composed prior to 700 B.C.

(III) Astāṅga hrdaya by Vāgbhata (300 A.D.).

The above mentioned three books are jointly known as Vrddha trayī (Edler-trio) or Brhat trayī (Great-trio). Other Ayurvedic classics are Kāśyapa saṁhitā originally composed by Kāśyapa and subsequently redacted by Vrddha Jīvaka, Bhela saṁhitā by Bhela, Astāṅga saṁgraha by Vāgbhata and Hārīta saṁhita by Hārīta.

⁴Nighantus are compilations on synonyms, general description and therapeutics of drugs which include vegetables, minerals, and animal products. The important ones are Dhanvantarī nighantu (1100 A.D.), Rāja nighantu (1200 A.D.), Madanapāla nighantu (1400 A.D.), Sodhala nighantu (1400 A.D.), Kayadeva nighantu (1500 A.D.), and Bhāvaprakāśa nighantu (1600 A.D.). These works were compiled during the medieval period from some classical works many of which are no more extant.

⁵Composed by a 'Jan-dpal-rdo-rje of Mongolia and published by Dr. Lokesh Chandra, International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, (1971). Drawings and Paintings of drugs of vegetable, mineral and animal origin are rare in Ayurvedic literature whereas such works are available in considerable number in Tibetan medical literature.

⁶This work contains three texts, i.e. Dri med shel gong, Dri med shel phreng and the Lag len gces bsdus of Dil-dmar dge-bshes Bstan-'dzin-phun-tshogs. In the Shel gong descriptions of many drugs are available, and the Shel phreng is an auto-commentary in

prose on the former. This was composed in the 18th century in Eastern Tibet (Khams) by the exceptionally learned Kargyupa (Dkar-brgyud-pa) scholar. He was a contemporary of the great Si-tu Pan-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774). The Shel gong and Shel phreng are based largely on Ayurvedic sources (both Indic and Tibetan) but the author also seems to have studied Chinese medicine. There are extant separate works by him on Acupuncture and Moxa.

He has arranged all medicinal substances and treatments into thirteen categories, viz. (1) Rin po che'i sman (Gems and metals), (2) Rdo sman (Medicinal substances derived from rocks and minerals), (3) Sa sman (Medicinal earths), (4) Rtsi sman (Exudates and secretions), (5) Shing sman (Medicinal substances obtained from trees), (6) Thang sman (Medicines prepared from the boiled extracts of various parts of plants), (7) Sngo sman (Medicinal plants herbs and grasses), (8) Lan tshwa'i sde tshan (Medicinal salts), (9) Srog chags las byung ba'i sman (Medicines obtained from sentient creatures), (10) Zhing gi lo tog (Cultivated plants), (11) Chu'i sman (Medicinal waters), (12) Me'i sman (Medicinal fires), (13) Gdugs pa'i sman (Use of fire and water in medicinal preparations). In the Shel phreng, while describing various aspects of the drug Terminalia chebula, the following important sources or authors, among others have been quoted: (1) Gso dpyad phran bu (a small bundle of medical works), (2) Gyu-thog-rnying-ma (the eldest of a family of famous doctors), (3) 'Tsho-mdzad Gzhon-nu (Kumāra Jivaka), (4) Zur rdol (a book of the famous Zur school of medicine), (5) Zur-mkhar Dharma-Swāmi, (6) Brang-ti-pa (a family of famous

physicians), (7) Rtsa rgyud (Mūla tantra), (8) Bshad rgyud (Ākhyāta tantra), (9) Yan lag nag po'i rgyud (Krsnāṅga tantra), (10) Bdud rtsi bum pa (Amṛta kalasa), (11) Gser-'od (Suvarna prabhāsa), (12) Drang-srong Tsa-ra-ka (Caraka muni), (13) A-tsa-ra'i rdo skor (name of a work on magic), (14) Yan lag brgyad pa (Astāṅga) (15) 'Dra dpe (a work on similes), (16) 'Dra yig (a work on similes), (17) Klu-sgrub (Nāgārjuna), (18) Bdud-rtsi-snying-po (Amṛta hrdaya), (19) Tsa-ra-ka'ai Bdud rtsi (Amṛta of Caraka), (20) Rin-po-che Tsa-pa-shila-ha (Lama Campasilaha), (21) Rgyu mtshan rgyud (Pramāna tantra), (22) Klu-rgyud (Nāga tantra) (23) Phyi-ma rgyud (Uttara tantra), (24) Tsa-ra-ka'i 'grel pa (Commentary of/on Caraka), (25) 'Khrungs dpe (name of a compilation work).

⁷ Harasya bhavane jātā haritāsca svabhāvatah.

Hārayet sarvarogānsca tena proktā haritakī Madanapāla Nighantu: 1:8.

⁸ Bhavabrakāśa:

⁹ Bhāvaprakāsa Nighantu: 1:5.

¹⁰ Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio 173.

¹¹ Ibid: Folio - 175.

¹² Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folios - 186 & 187.

¹³ Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 181.

¹⁴ Rājanighantu: 11:318.

¹⁵ Bhāva prakāsa Nighantu: 1:8-9.

¹⁶ Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 176.

¹⁷ Lamaist Pharmacognosy - Folio - 173.

¹⁸ There are two mountains in Orissa at present - one in Bolangir District and the other in Mayurbhanj District-which are known as Gandhamārdana. They belong to the range of the Eastern Ghats and

these two mountains are full of Haritakī trees. In fact this plant, which is also used in tanning, in addition to its medicinal properties, is one of the important minor forest products of the State.

¹⁹Lamaist Pharmacognosy - Folio - 174.

²⁰Ibid: Folio - 175.

²¹Ibid: Folio - 176.

²²Ibid: Folio - 187.

²³Ibid: Folio - 173.

²⁴Ibid: Folio - 188.

²⁵Ibid: Folio - 188.

²⁶Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 180.

²⁷Ibid: Folio - 178.

²⁸Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 178.

²⁹The taste developed after digestion of a drug or food ingredient is known as vipāka.

³⁰Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 178.

³¹Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 178.

³²These gunas or attributes are named with a symbolic meaning. It is not that this drug is both heavy and light or hot and cold and the like. These gunas or attributes actually indicate the effect this drug produces on the body. Depending upon the various circumstances prevailing in the body this drug produces different effects-even opposite ones-on the body. For details about these attributes a reference may be made to the book "Concept of Agni in Ayurveda: published by Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, India.

³²Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 175.

³⁴Lamaist Pharmacognosy: Folio - 175.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- (1) Principles of Lamaist Pharmacognosy being the Text of the Dri med shel gong, Dri med shel pheng and the Lag len gces bsdus by Dik dmar dge bses Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs, published by S.W. Tashi Ganpa, Leh (1970).
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- (12) Sāligrāma Nighaṅṭu, Venkatesvara Press Bombay (1953).
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A CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER KINGS OF PATAN

Peter Burleigh

Bahrain

INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this essay is to establish as concretely as possible a chronology of the later Malla kings of Patan. It deals with the history of Patan during its last period of artistic, especially architectural, glory. The years covered in this essay date from the Nepali samvat (N. S.) 718 (1598 A. D.) to 888 (1768 A. D.) Before Kartik 718 King Shiva Simha had incorporated Patan into his Kathmandu administration only to redivide it between his two grandsons about twenty-one years later. This essay includes the regnal careers of Shiva Simha's grandson, Siddhi Nara Simha Malla, his son, Sri Niwasa Malla, and his son, Yoga Narendra Malla. The reigns of these three Mallas in particular (N. S. 739-826) marked the establishment and construction of most of the architectural monuments for which Patan is justly famous. During this period similar creativity in the arts was found in the two other independent kingdoms of the Kathmandu valley, Bhaktapur and Kathmandu.

After Yoga Narendra Malla's reign the chronology of the kings is considerably less clear. He was followed by none except Vishnu Malla, who had the political and administrative talents to maintain the independence of the kingdom and the ascendancy of the royal family over its ministers, and the financial resources to maintain the flourishing arts of the earlier period, (architecture, woodcarving, metallurgy, calligraphy, manuscript and banner painting, to mention the more important).

As the powers of the kings declined the selfish machinations of the *Pradhans mahapatras* (leading families and ministers) of the kingdom became increasingly overt. One result of the decline of royal power and the resultant factionalism with its rapidly changing alliances and lack of coordination was the ease with which the Gorkha armies, under Prithwi Narayana Shaha, were able to capture Patan. This, it should be pointed out, was not true of Kathmandu or Bhaktapur, for the seige of the valley lasted many years and the Gorkhas were more than once defeated by the Malla armies before meeting with final success with the fall of Kathmandu in N. S. 888 (1757-1768 A. D.).

Before proceeding further it would be appropriate to define some of the basic terminology of this essay as usage has changed through the years. The term Nepal, for example, referred only to the Valley of Nepal or, as it is now called, the Kathmandu

Valley. It was only after the victory of Prithwi Narayana Shaha and his immediate successors that the boundaries of Nepal approximately reached their present limits. ¹ Unification of the country was not a Malla accomplishment. Included in the Nepal of this period were three kingdoms: Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur which were, as will be seen, at various times independent and dependent kingdoms, and between which there was almost constant friction, intrigue, jealousy and, often, open warfare.

These three cities, of which Patan is the oldest, have various names which were then, and still are, in use. Kathmandu is known as Ya in Newari and as Kantipur and Kathmandu in Sanskritized Nepali. Patan is called Yalla in Newari, Ye-rang (Eternity Itself) in Tibetan, and known variously as Lalitpur, Lalitpattan (The City of Beauty) and Patan in Sanskrit and Nepali. Bhaktapur is Khopa in Newari and Bhatgaon or Bhaktapur in Nepali and Sanskrit.

The Kingdom of Patan, at this time, was the largest of the three in the valley. During the time of its independence it is said to have had twenty four thousand houses.² Surely this figure included its many dependencies, some of which were areas of major importance in the valley.³ Today there are inscriptions of the Patan kings in, among others, the following villages and towns of the valley: Sunaguthi, Har Siddhi, Chapagaon, Kirtipur, Chobhar, Bungmati, Pharping, Balambu and Thankot. Outside the valley proper, too, Patan had dependencies in "Chitlong, Tambekhan, Cheespany and some other places in the same direction" (i. e., south, in the nearby mountainous valley rim).⁴

The language of the documents of the period were Newari and Sanskrit. However, there are a few examples of the use of the current national language, Nepali (Gorkhali, Khas-kura, Khe-bhay) even at this time. ⁵ The language which is currently called

1 For a new and adequate review of this expansionist period of Nepali history by a Nepali scholar, see Acharya, *Nepalko samkshipta Vrittanta* (A short Account of Nepal), 2020 (1963 A. D.).

2 Colonel Kirkpatrick, *An Account Of The Kingdom Of Nepal*, London, 1811, pp. 161-162.

3 The 1961 population of Lalitpur district according to the *Rastriya Jan-Ganana* 2018 (National Census of 1961) was 145, 301.

4 Kirkpatrick, p. 162. I have not gone to these southernmost villages to collect inscriptions, if there are any. Nor have any been published in the various journals.

5 Kathmandu Kings Lakshmi Nara Simha Malla (c. 739-671) and his son Pratapa Malla (c. 761-794) and Bhaktapur kings Jagata Prakasha (c. 767-794) and Bhupatindra Malla (c.816-842) are cited as examples in "Malla Kalma Nepal-Upatyakama Nepali Bhasha" (Nepali Language during the Malla Period in the Valley of Nepal), *Itihasa Samshodanko*, pp. 80-89; for an English translation of Pratapa Malla's inscription see T. W. Clark, "The Rani Pokhari Inscription, Kathmandu" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1957, No. XX, pp. 166-187.

Newari was at the that time, and still is by Newars, called Nepal Bhasha (or Nepa Bhay). It was the language of the people of the Valley and was the language, along with Sanskrit, in which the texts and inscriptions were recorded. It is still the mother language of the Newars of the Valley ⁶ and has recently emerged from a period of persecution and suppression by the Ranas. ⁷

Most of the documents of the period which are important for this study are written in Sanskrit and then repeated in Newari. Some, however, are written only in Sanskrit or Newari. ⁸ The script is old Newari. While I have drawn extensively upon all published information available to me the emphasis of my research has been the collection of new materials previously unnoticed or unknown. I have copied stone and copper inscriptions in public places, consulted copper inscriptions in private family collections manuscripts in public and family possession. Particularly I have made use of what seems to be a heretofore almost unmined source of historical material, the palm-leaf land grants (*talpatra*). There are literally thousands of these to be found today in family possession where they have been preserved apparently as important family documents. On these, accompanying transferral and grants of land, one sometimes finds king's

6 According to the *Rastriya Jan-Ganana* 2018 (National Census 1961) *Dwitiya Bhag* (Second Part), there are 377, 727 Nepalis who speak Newari as a mother tongue. Of these 239, 791 live in the Kathmandu valley. One wonders about current governmental attitudes toward Newari as one notices that, despite a sizeable general population increase, the number of Nepalis who speak Newari as a mother tongue decreased between 1954 and 1961. In 1954, according to the *Nepalko Janganana* 2014 (Nepali Census) published in 1957 there were 383, 184 Nepalis who spoke Newari as a mother tongue. For the 1961 Census the approximate percentages of residents of the three districts of the valley who spoke Newari as a mother tongue are as follows: 46% Kathmandu, 54 % Lalitpur and 64% Bhaktapur. If there were a census limited to the city population these percentages would be much higher.

7 For an interesting and brief account of Newari persecution at the hands of the Rana Prime Ministers see Upendra Man Malla's, "Foreward" to his and others' translations of the poems of Chittadhar Hridaya in *Degaho* (Pagoda), Calcutta, 1958.

8 For an introductory primer see Pandit Hema Raja Shanya, *Varna-Parichay Prachalit Newari Lipi* (Introduction to Old Newari Script), Shri Pancko Sarkar, Purattwa Ra Sanskriti Bibhag, 2017 (1960); also for an introduction to various scripts used in Nepal, see Hem Raja Shakyavamsha, *Nepal Lipi Sangraha* (Collection of Nepali Scripts), Kathmandu, 2013 (1956); Hosking and M.G. Meredith-Owens, *The British Museum*, 1966, pp. 29-30.

names and regnal dates and other information which shed much light on some of the vexing problems in Patan chronology. This source material should not be neglected by students of other periods and other areas of the Valley. ⁹

It was the practice to include on stone (and sometimes on copper) inscriptions, along with a prayer to God or the gods, the name of the donor, those witnessing the donation, a description of that which was donated, the establishment of a *guthi* ¹⁰ and its *guthiyars* who were henceforth responsible for its maintenance and the exact date of the donation. Elaborated details were also inscribed according to the necessities of Hindu astrology, which includes year, month, *paksha* (bright or dark half of lunar month), day of month (fullmoon, etc.) day of week, *yoga* and *nakshatra* (position of the moon), *rashi* the signs of the zodiac), the ruling king's name and, sometimes, those of his family and ministers. Most important for this essay are the dates and names of the kings. The inscriptions also contain a wealth of information for scholars who are interested in a history of Patan, especially of its temples and *viharas*, their growth and evolution. Manuscripts and coins of the period often include the name of the ruling monarch and the date of completion (for the manuscripts) and year of issuance (for the coins).

During the period considered in this study there were three systems for recording years. They are the Kaligat, Shakya and Nepali samvat systems. In 1969 A. D. they are in their 5069th, 1890th and 1089th years respectively. A fourth system came into common use in Nepal after the establishment of the Shaha dynasty. That is the Bikrama samvat; it is currently 2026 according to the Bikrama calendar. Contemporary Nepali sources use the Bikrama samvat. For inscriptions and notations of that period the Nepali samvat is most often used. I shall follow the Nepali samvat and western

⁹ I have collected 113 stone inscriptions, 19 copper plate inscriptions and have used 65 inscriptions published by others. There are 30 coins of the period. I have used 9 manuscript colophons and 8 *talpatras* although there are many extant in private homes which would also be of great historical value. It is necessary to point out that my collection is anything but complete. For examples, there are many inscriptions of the period which do not contain the ruling king's name. These I did not try to collect.

¹⁰ *Guthi* has several meanings in Newar society. One is a land arrangement wherein an individual could donate land to a temple. The revenues from the land would flow into the temple treasury. A *guthiyar* is a member of a committee which is charged with responsibility for the performance of certain acts. In this case general maintenance of the temple, *bahal* or *chaitya* and the arrangements for certain, usually specified, pujas to be performed during the year.

systems for this essay. ¹¹ Adding 880 years to the Nepali samvat for months from mid-Pousha through Aswina and 879 years from Kartika to mid-Pousha results in the current date of the western Gregorian calendar.

It should be noted that while each of these calendars uses the traditional Sanskrit names for the months,¹² they have different New Year's days. For the Nepali samvat the first month of the year is Kartika while for the Shakya, Kaligat and Bikrama samvats it is Baisakha.

Unlike the history of earlier periods of the Nepal Valley, materials for this period are abundant, especially for the regions of Sri Niwasa Malla and his son Yoga Narendra Malla. According to Petech, "For the 17th and 18th centuries the abundance of the epigraphic materials is simply bewildering. The three great cities of Nepal teem with inscriptions on stone or copper".¹³

Despite the vast amounts of materials available remarkably little historical work of note has been published on this period. The best work is being done in the Nepali language journals and is therefore often not available to western scholars. Among Nepali scholars the group known as the Itihasa Samshodhan Mandala ¹⁴ is doing the best documented work. Their published work is largely contained in a book, *Itihasa-Samshodhako Pramana-Prameya*, Pahilo Bhag (Sources for Correct History, Part One), Lalitpur, 2019 B. S. (1962 A. D.) and the journals *Purnima* (Full Moon), ¹⁵ *Adhilekha Sangrapha* (Collection of Archives)¹⁶ and *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* (Collection of Historical Papers).

Another research group, headed by Yogi Nara Hari Natha of Pasupathinatha temple has published many works. Those especially useful for this study have been magazine *Sanskrit-Sandesh* (Cultural Message),¹⁷ the journal *Itihasa Prakasha* (Published History)¹⁸ and the volume *Itihasa Prakashama Sandhi-Patra Sangraha*

¹¹ There are problems involved in translation of dates. See, for example, the essay of Naya Raja Pant in *Purnima* IX, pp. 80-92, regarding the errors in Babu Rama Acharya's translations of Bikram samvats into Christian dates.

¹² Kartika, Mangsir, Pousha, Magha, Phalguna, Chaitra, Baisakha, Jyestha, Ashadha, Srawana, Bhadra and Aswina.

¹³ Petech, p. 11.

¹⁴ The group includes: Dhana Vajra Vajracharya, Ramji Tewari, Shankar Mana Rajvamshi, Devi Prasada Bhandari, Gautama Vajra Vajracharya, Bhola Natha poudel, Mahesha Raja Pant, Naya Natha Poudel and Naya Raja Pant.

¹⁵ Up to the present (May 1969) nineteen issues have appeared from 2021 (1963).

¹⁶ Twelve issues were published from 2018 (1960) to 2020(1962).

¹⁷ Eighteen issues have appeared from 2010 (1953) to the present.

¹⁸ Four issues have appeared, from 2012 (1955) to the present.

(Collection of Papers in *Itihasa Prakasha*).¹⁹ One must comment, however, that this group's use of poor quality paper for printing its publications and its omission of indices severely limits its readability and usefulness for the researcher.

His Majesty's Government, Department of Archaeology has also published some collections which are important. of special note is *Purattwa-Patra Sangraha* (Collections of Old Papers)²⁰.

The importance of numismatics in establishing the chronology of the kings, especially the later ones, of this period will be amply demonstrated below. Until five years ago scholars were dependent upon E. H. Walsh's work of 1908, "The Coinage of Nepal."²¹ Fortunately, a competent Nepali scholar, Satya Mohan Joshi, has produced a volume, *Nepal Rastriya Mudra* (Coins of the Nepali Nation),²² which helps to correct Walsh²³ and supply much additional material. His Majesty's Government's catalogue for the Numismatics Museum, *Nepali Mudrako Suchi* (Catalogue of Nepali Coins)²⁴ is also of use.

Specific works in Nepali on the period under discussion are limited and poor. Lila Bhakta Munamkarmi has written *Patanko Mallakalin Itihasa* (History of the Malla Period of Patan).²⁵ It is very brief and completely without documentation, although still not without value. Royal Academy member Surya Bikrama Gyawali's *Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihasa* (Medieval History of the Nepal Valley)²⁶ is merely a summary of western sources, mostly of the nineteenth century.

Royal Academy Chairman Bal Chandra Sharma's revised edition of *Nepalko Itihasi Rup-Rekha* (Historical Outline of Nepal)²⁷ corrects some earlier errors, but

19 Kathmandu, 2022 (1965), 784 pages.

20 Shri Pancko Sarkar (His Majesty's Government), *Purattwa Ra Sanskriti Bibhag* (Archaeological and Cultural Department's, 2016 (1959).

21 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1908, pp. 683:708, 732-739.

22 Lalitpur, 2019 (1962), 182 pages.

23 Walsh's unfamiliarity with the numbering system of old Newari led him to commit a considerable number of errors in reading the dates of the coins, His collection however is impressive. His errors were copied by Sharma, Regmi and Gyawali among others.

24 His Majesty's Government, 2017 (1960), 36 pages.

25 Bhaktapur, 2022 (1965), 42 pages.

26 Kathmandu, 2019 (1962), 338 pages; for examples of inconsistency see pp. 176 and 187 in regard to dates of *mohars* of Indra Malla Loka Prakasha Malla.

27 Varnasi, 2022 (1965), 453 pages; for Patan history see pp. 153-161.

is still rather general.²⁸ In his chapter on Patan history, as a result of his reliance on the earlier western sources and *vamshavalis* (chronologies), there are many mistakes.

The western sources are familiar and need not be discussed here. References will be made to Bendall, Levi, Walsh, Wright, Landon, Kirkpatrick and others during the course of the essay. It must be pointed out, however, that they all contain errors of varying degree and are in no sense adequate guides to a study of the history of the times.

Special attention must be paid to the newly published four volume work by the Nepali scholar, Dilli Ramana Regmi. The work is entitled *Medieval Nepal*.²⁹ Regmi's earlier work³⁰ in the period, according to Petech, was "a disappointing work in spite of the magnificent opportunities open to its author".³¹ The newer work, at least the extended chapter dealing with the kingdom of Patan,³² is much better, although still disappointing. Regmi has used many of the available sources, and he has done future researchers a great service by printing, in the third and fourth volumes, the texts of stone and copper inscriptions and those of four important *thiyasaphus* (Newari generic term for folded book). In all candor, however, two major criticisms must be levelled against Dr. Regmi. First, his organization of the material leaves much to be desired. For example, in studies of regnal chronologies, the data should be presented in chronological order; he often fails to do so.³³ Second, his command of written English is not adequate. It is therefore often difficult to understand what point is being made.

I have made very little use of the various *Vamshavalis* which are available for the period since they were written during the Shaha period, are biased in their favour and are therefore not reliable. As a result of my decision not to use the *vamshavalis* there is very little mention below of the warfare and intrigue which plagued the kingdoms as accounts of these are found primarily in the *vamshavalis*. Wright's *vamshavali* is a good example of the various fallacious statements and especially faulty dating which are involved in the use of these sources. They do contain, however, interesting mythology and some correct history, but particularly for the period under discussion, they are generally unreliable.

28 For an excellent and brief criticism of both Gyawali and Sharma, see Shankara Mana Rajvamshi, "Yoga Narendra Mallaka Uttaradhikari" *Purnima* VI, pp. 37-44.

29 Calcutta, 1965 and 1966; Volume I, 761, pages; Volume II, 1076 pages; Volume III, 156 pages and Volume IV, 359 pages; the latter two are the source volumes.

30 *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1952, 178 pages.

31 Petech, p. 2.

32 Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, II, pp. 258-379.

33 See, *Ibid.*, p. 269 for a disorganized discussion of the early years of the reign of Siddhi Nara Simha Malla.

Recently several private diaries (*thyasaphus*) of Newars have been published and some of them shed considerable light on the history of the period.³⁴ It was the custom of literate Newars to keep a daily diary of events both petty (in terms of historical research) and important. Some of the most troublesome chronological problems have been apparently solved by reference to these *thyasaphus*.³⁵ There are, most probably, many more *thyasaphus* extant, as is also the case with copper plates (*tamrapatra*) and palm-leaf land grants (*talpatra*). The task remains of gathering them from private owners. The documentation which follows is direct. It is an attempt to establish, with as little conjecture and as much documentation as possible, a chronology of the Malla kings of Patan from Shiva Simha 718-c. 739; (1598-1619 A.D.) through Teja Nara Simha Malla (885-888 (:1765-1768-9 A. D.), the last Malla ruler.

BACKGROUND

The division of an already small kingdom into still smaller parts gave scope to local families and ministers to exert their force in each small locality. Particularly was this true of Patan which “throughout the history of Nepal . . . remains the fortress of a restless and disobedient aristocracy.”³⁶ There is little doubt that the ministerial (*mahapatra*) families of Patan exercised great power within that kingdom. And as the descendants of Ratna Malla progressively lost control of these families, the latter’s powers expanded considerably. Moreover, although the ministers were in theory subordinate to the king and ruled according to his orders, in fact they enjoyed a large amount of power and of actual independence.³⁷ For example, by NS 656 (1536 A. D. under) the leadership of Prime Minister (*mahapatra*) Vishnu Simha,³⁸ Patan had declared itself independent of its ties with Kathmandu.³⁹ The lawful king was apparently powerless

34 For examples of published *thyasaphus*, see Regmi, III, Appendix III; IV, pp. 328-359 and Gautama Vajracharya, “Aprakashit Thyasaphu” (Unpublished Thyasaphu) *Purnima* XII, pp. 22-39.

35 See, for example, the problems below in relation to the reigns of Loka Prakasha Malla and Indra Malla.

36 Sylain Levi, *Le Nepal*, Volume I, Paris, 1905, p. 62. English translation by Sally Tomlinson.

37 Bhola Natha Paudel, Dhana Vajra Vajracharya and Gyana Mani Nepali, “Siddhi Nara Simhabhanda Aghika Patanka Shasak”, *Itihas Samshodhanko Prameya*, Pahilo Bhag (Sources for Correct History, Part One). Lalitpur, 2019 (1962), pp. 2-3.

38 Transliteration of this and other Nepali-Newari-Sanskrit words creates problems: the exact spelling in Devanagari is Simha, but pronunciation is Singh.

39 By NS 674 (1554 A. D.) for example, Vishnu Simha is called *Raja* in the Sunaguthi village (Bhringareshwara) temple inscription, *Sanskrit Sandesha* II: 1,2, 3, pp. 14-18.

to stop this secession. Futhermore, by time of Shiva Simha, King of Kathmandu c. NS 698-738 (1578-1618 A. D.) the prime ministers of Patan had so increased their powers as to adopt outright the title of king (*maharaja*).⁴⁰ Thus the independent existence of Patan was first successfully established. This initial success, however, was short-lived for by 718 the Kathmandu ruler, Shiva Simha, was able to defeat Vishnu Simha's son Purandar Simha, and reincorporate Patan into the Kathmandu Kingdom.⁴¹ This is proved by the stone inscription at Swayambhunatha of Magh 725 (1605 A. D.) which specifically mentions that Shiva Simha of Kathmandu is also king of Patan: *Tasya Prasadawalita: Shiva Simha Raja Rajye Lalitapattannamadhaye*.⁴² Shiva Simha administered the two kingdoms until the time of his death (c. 738) when he redivided the kingdoms, giving Kathmandu to Lakshmi Nara Simha and Patan to Siddhi Nara Simha both of whom were his grandsons.

* * *

⁴⁰ Acharya, p. 6; see for examples, *Itihasa-Samshodhanko*, p. 14.

⁴¹ A *talpatra* in my possession mentions Shiva Simha as *Sri Manigladhipati* and is dated 718 Kartik. See note 1 Shiva Simha chapter.

⁴² *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha* I, pp. 207-208; *Sanskrit Sandesha* II: 4,5,6, p. 46; Regmi, IV, PP. 46-51.

1. SHIVA SIMHA AND HARI HARA SIMHA

As has been mentioned earlier, Shiva Simha, the King of Kathmandu, was able to defeat the usurping ruler of Patan, Purandara Simha, and reincorporate the city into his kingdom. There is some question as to when this confrontation took place. At any rate it must have taken place several years before the Swayambhunatha inscription of Magha of 725 since there are other documents which demonstrate that the conquest took place before Kartika of 718. For example, there is a palm leaf (*talpatra*) and grant dated Kartika 718 which shows *shri manigaladhipati* ¹ *shri shri jaya shiva simha deva prabhu thakura* giving land as gift to a resident of Bamku *tol*.² Also there is a copper plate land grant (*tamrapatra*) for land near Bugmati village, which is about three miles south of Patan city and had been a part of the Patan Kingdom for some time. This plate is dated Bharda of 719 and mentions Shiva Simha as *Shri Manigaladhipati*. As witness to the grant, Shiva Simha's son, Hari Hara Simha, is noted.³ There is also another copper plate land grant of Mangsir of 722 in which Shiva Simha is referred to as *Shri Manigaladhipati* and his son, Hari Hara Simha, is again witness.⁴ In Asadha of 722, too, *Shri manigaladhipati shri shiva simha* issued a land grant *talpatra*: Hari Hara Simha is witness.⁵

It is commonly accepted that Shiva Simha again divided the two Kingdoms and sent his son Hari Hara Simha to rule over Patan.⁶ There seems, however, to be no basis in fact for this statement. As far as inscriptional evidence is concerned, the closest we come to the above view is that recorded in a *stela* at Jalabinayaka temple dated Mangsira of 723 which describes a joint rule (*ubhaya thakurasa bijaya rajas*) of Shiva Simha and Hari Hara Simha.⁷ But after this date we have the well-known Swayambhunatha inscription of Magha of 725. It definitely describes Shiva Simha as the ruler of Patan. There is yet another copper plate land grant of Magha of 727 which describes Shiva Simha as *Shri lalitabrumaya shri shri manigaladhipati*. Hari Hara Simha is again

1 This is a form of address used only for Patan rulers as it denotes their rule in the Mangriha (Mangal bazar), that is, the Patan palace.

2 Previously in my possession, donated to the Bir Library Kathmandu, in 1969.

3 Shankara Man Rajvamshi, "Siddhi Nara Simha Mallabhanda Agadika Patanka shasakharuka Kehi Tadapatra" (Some Palm leaf Manuscripts from Patan Rulers Prior to Siddhi Nara Simha), *Purnima* XII, p. 20.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

5 Previously in my possession donated to the Bir Library in 1969.

6 Landon, p. 55; Walsh, pp. 696-697; Bendall, Table II; Wright, p. 159; Munamkarmi pp. 1-3; Gyawali, pp. 174; 179-180; Sharma, p. 153.

7 Previously unnoticed; from the private collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

witness.⁸ The large bell in the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara (Kwa bahal) has the following inscription: *shri manigaradhipati shri shri jaya shiva simha deva prabhu thakursa, putra shri shri hari hara simha.*⁹ The date is Aswina of 728.

All these inscriptions would lead one to believe that Shiva Simha was the ruler of both Kathmandu and Patan and that his son as crown prince was merely accorded mention in the inscriptions, as was the Malla custom. This mention, however, does not connote his rule as king, despite the later chronicle's descriptions to the contrary. As Regmi points out,¹⁰ Hari Hara Simha's name does not appear in any inscription after 729: he apparently died in that year.

The inscriptions of Shiva Simha, however, continue until his death in 738 or early 739. There is a palm leaf and grant of Baisakha 730 which gives land rights to one Jaya Simha of Nakbahil. In this Shiva Simha, as king, grants the land.¹¹ The large *chaitya* in Khway bahil was built by one Bhikshu, Shri Jita Deva, in Jyestha of 734 during the reign of Shiva Simha.¹² In the Bhringareshwara temple of Sunaguthi village there is a *stele* of Bhadra 734 which mentions Shiva Simha as ruler.¹³ In Chapagaon, a village south of Patan, there is a *stele* in Durukhyo bahal of 734 Phalguna in which Shiva Simha is described as king (*shri shri rajadhiraja*).¹⁴ At the northern *stupa* one Krishna Rama Bharo (Shrestha) built a *chaitya* in Jyestha of 735. His inscription also mentions Shiva Simha as ruler of Patan, *shri manigaladhipati*.¹⁵ He is again mentioned as king (*rajadhiraj*) in a Kathmandu inscription in Chekanamugal tol.¹⁶ The last known inscription for him is in a manuscript, *Madhawa Nidanama*, at the National Library. Its colophon is Pousha 737.¹⁷

8 Rajvamshi, p. 21.

9 Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 287; Regmi, II, p. 48; No. XV in my copper inscription collection.

10 Regmi, II, p. 271.

11. Previously unpublished; in my possession.

12 Previously unpublished; No. 71 in my stone inscription collection. Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 287; Regmi, II, p. 48.

13 Regmi, IV, No. 30, pp. 52-53.

14 Ibid., No. 41, pp. 67-69. There are two other dates in the inscription: Pousha of 757 and Aswina of 759.

15 Previously unpublished; No. 50 in my stone inscription collection; mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 287; Regmi, II, p. 48.

16 Regmi, IV, No. 31, pp. 53-54.

17 The date is written in words, as was often the case during this period. They are: *parbbtigitulagande*. *Parbbti* means seven; *gri* means three and *tulagande* means seven. Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 6938; Regmi, II, p. 49.

After this date, Pousha of 737, there is a gap of two years and one month, until Magha of 739 when we have the first known inscription of Hari Hara Simha's son, Siddhi Nara Simha, who became king of Patan upon Shiva Simha's death. Shiva Simha's other grandson, Lakshmi Nara Simha, became king of Kathmandu at the same time.

The sources, except for Regmi's creditable work, have little but confusion to offer to our description of the period. Walsh, for example, thought that Hari Hara Simha succeeded his father when, in fact, he appears to have died about nine years earlier than his father. He also thought that Lakshmi Nara Simha was a brother of Hari Hara's instead of his son.¹⁸ Wright's chronicle states similar views about Hari Hara's ascension.¹⁹ Munamakarmi has Hari Hara ruling Patan for twenty seven years before dying in 742.²⁰ Gyawali makes similar errors.²¹ Sharma, too, is confused about the relation of Hari and Lakshmi Nara Simha not to mention their periods of rule.²² It is regrettable that these scholars did not pay more attention to inscriptional evidence and less to the chronological stories.

* * *

18 Walsh, pp. 696-697.

19 Wright, p. 159: Harihara-simha Malla went to rule over Patan in the lifetime of his father Shiva-simha.

20 Munamakarmi, pp. 1-3.

21 Gyawali, pp. 174, 179-180.

22 Sharma, p. 153.

2. SIDDHI NARA SIMHA (738—788?)

The first known inscription for Siddhi Nara Simha is to be found in Sunaguthi village at the Bhringareshwara temple. The inscription records the gift, by a brahman named Krishna Deva, of a new gilt roof to the temple. The king, who was Siddhi Nara Simha, also gave a gilt umbrella to the temple in Magha 739. ¹ There is an inscription on the *chaitya* of Yalamu tol which declares that the king (Siddhi Nara Simha) himself built the *chaitya* and established a large *guthi* of Shresthas to maintain it. The *chaitya* was dedicated in Baisakha 739. ² There is also a *talpatra* of Jyestha 739 in which *shri shri jaya siddhi nara simha malla deva prabhu thakula* sells land to a Yekho tol resident. ³

In the Taleju temple of Kathmandu there is a copper plate inscription which records an agreement between the two king brothers, Lakshmi Simha and Siddhi Nara Simha. The two swear loyalty to each other and promise to keep the peace between their kingdoms and to observe a mutual defense treaty. The date of the copper plate is Magha 741. ⁴

On the northeast outskirts of Patan is the Bale Kumari temple. According to an inscription affixed there the temple was built in Baisakha 742 by one Dayara Bharo who dedicated it to his *ishtadevata* (lineage god), Bala Kumari. A gilt *gajuri* and land is donated to the temple and Siddhi Nara Simha is noted as the king of Patan. The inscription includes a second date, Magha 752, which will be mentioned below. ⁵

The colophon for the manuscript, *Syamarahasya*, in the Nepal National Library, is 745 Phalgun. Siddhi Nara Simha is described as ruling Patan. ⁶ In Mangal bazar Siddhi Nara Simha built the Bisweshwara temple in Magha 747. In the inscription attached to the temple he traces his ancestry: from Hari Simha, a king of Maithila to Mahendra Malla to Shiva Simha to Hari Hara Simha and Lalmati (his wife). He is a son of Hari Hara Simha. ⁷

In Magha of 752, two *gajuri* are donated to the Bala Kumari temple by Dayara Bharo. Siddhi Nara Simha and his son, Shri Niwasa Malla, are described as ruling

1 Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 288; Regmi, II, p. 280; IV, No. 32, p. 54.

2 Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 288; Regmi, II, p. 280; IV, No. 33, pp. 55-56.

3 In my possession.

4 *Itihasa Patra Sangraha*, II, pp. 1-7 with Nepali translation and brief historical background by Naya Raja Pant; Regmi, IV, No. 34, pp. 56-57.

5. Previously unpublished; No. 66 in my collection; Regmi, II, pp. 269, 280.

6 *Shri Shri Jaya Siddhinarasimha Malla Deveno Prabhu Jyamane Lalitapattane*; Regmi, II, pp. 269-270.

7 Completely published in *Abhelikha Sangraha* VI, p. 9 and Regmi, IV, No. 36, pp. 58-59; mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 289 and Regmi, II, p. 281.

jointly (*ubhaya rajaya*).⁸ There is a copper plate inscription at the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara (Kwa bahal) which describes the organization of a large *guthi* of bahal members to oversee general repairs and to donate new gilt roofs to the central shrine. Siddhi Nāra Simha is mentioned as reigning and the date is Magha of 757.⁹ In the same month and year at the same bahal there is a stone inscription which describes a large *guthi* of Bhawos (Jyapus) which organized to donate new *gajuris* to the vihara. The king is mentioned at Nara Simha. A second date is also inscribed: Phalguna 762.¹⁰

Perhaps the best known act of Siddhi Nara Simha's life was his decision to have the Krishna temple built in front of the palace in Mangala bazar. He was blessed by a vision of Radha and Krishna in 750 and gave the orders for the construction of the temple. It was dedicated during Phalguna 757. In the inscription there he traces his ancestry as he had then years earlier in the Bishweswara temple. First was Hari Simha Deva, then Mahendra Malla, then Shiva Simha and then his father, Hari Hara Simha. This chronology is followed by many lines of outrageous self-praise.¹¹

Also in 757, a group of Vajracharyas and Shakyas of Hiranya Varna Mahavihara placed a copper plate in the bahal to mark their donation of a new gilt *gajuri*.¹² There is also a silver double *mohar* of 759 with Siddhi Nara Simha's name inscribed on it.¹³

In the Nasal chowk of the Patan palace there is a stone inscription dated Phalguna 761. It describes the king's efforts to please his *ishta-devata* with the erection of a temple there. He donated gilt *kalasha* and *dhwaja* (the topmost segment of the temple) to it.¹⁴

In Jyestha of 761 we find the second mention of the joint rule *ubhaya rajya* of Siddhi Nara Simha and his son, Shri Niwasa Malla. This is found in an inscription at the Adinatha temple at Chobhar.¹⁵ From this date onward we find much inscripational

8 Same as note 5 above.

9 Previously unnoticed; No. 3 in my copper plate collection.

10 Previously unpublished; No. 73 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 279.

11 Inscription published in *Sanskrit Sandesha* II: 1,2,3, pp. 19-24 by B. S. Parajuli, Y. N. Vajracharya and R. N. Vajracharya; Nepali translation by B. D. Acharya Danga; also published in *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha*, pp. 208-212 with Nepali translation; Sharma, pp. 153-154; Munamkarmi, p. 5 (with date misread as 767); Regmi, II, pp. 268, 272-273, 281-282; Gyawali, pp. 175, 181; *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 289.

12 Regmi, IV, No. 42, pp. 69-70.

13 From the private collection of Hema Raja Shakya; Joshi, Appendix, p. 13 (photo).

14 Inscription published in *Abhilekha Sangraha*, VI, p. 10 and Regmi, IV, No. 42 a, pp. 71-72 (but its location is incorrectly described).

15 From the private collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

evidence which supports the statements of the chronicles that Siddhi Nara Simha gave his son long and careful grooming in the political and administrative arts before abdicating in his favour and beginning a life of seclusion and worldly renunciation.

There is also a silver *mohar* of Siddhi Nara Simha's of 761.¹⁶ Imbedded in the base of the large *chaitya* in Dhalachhenani tol is an inscription of 763 Ashadha which mentions Siddhi Nara Simha as sovereign.¹⁷ And in Baisakha 767 the king built the Bhandarkhala in the Patan palace compound. The Bhandarkhala is a large pond with several water conduits and a surrounding garden. It is dedicated to his *ishta-devata*.¹⁸

In an inscription in Kirtipur's Simha deva tol there is a 769 Magha description of Siddhi Nara Simha and Shri Niwasa sa ulingr jointly (*nemha ubhaya vijyachakan*).¹⁹ In a manuscript called *Shatasahaspra Pragyaparamita* Siddhi Nara Simha is recorded as the ruler of Patan in Ashadha of 769.²⁰ On a Ganesha temple in Patan there is a stone inscription marking the end of construction of the temple. In it Siddhi Nara Simha and Shri Niwasa are mentioned as joint rulers. The date is Chairtra 773.²¹

In 774 there is a silver quarter *mohar* (*suki*) of Siddhi Nara Simha.²² And in Chairtra 776 the king donated more land for the upkeep of the Patan palace Bhandarkhala and rededicates himself to his *ishta-devata* (Parameswari).²³ A statue of Maitreya was placed in Guita bahal in Baisakha 778 during the joint rule of Siddhi Nara Simha and Shri Niwasa.²⁴

It is during this time that Siddhi Nara Simha abdicated in favour of his son and retires from political life. He, however, does not die for at least three more years. In Baisakha 778 the two rule together (see above). Three months later in Srawana of the same year, there is a copper plate at Pasupatinatha temple which details a defense agreement between Jaya Prakash Malla, King of Kathmandu, and Shri Niwasa, King

16 Joshi, p. 97; Appendix, p. 13 (photo); *Nepali Mudrako Suchi*, p. X; Walsh, p. 732, No. 51 (date misread as 751).

17 Previously unnoticed; No. 40 in my collection.

18 Inscription published in Sanskrit Sandesha II: 1,2,3, pp. 18-19 with a summary Nepali translation by Iswaryadhav Sharma *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Partisangraha* p. 208 and Regmi, IV, No. 49 a, p. 85; mentioned in Regmi, II, p. 272.

19 Regmi II p. 274.

20 Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 193.

21 Regmi, II, p. 275.

22 Joshi, p. 97; Walsh, p. 732, No. 52.

23 Previously unnoticed; No. 57 in my collection.

24 Regmi, II, p. 275.

of Patan. Shri Niwasa made the agreement with the advice of Siddhi Nara Simha : *Shri Shri Jaya Siddhi Nara Simha Malla Deva Sahitam*.²⁵ This clearly marks the peaceful transference of administrative power from father to son. As will be seen below, a similar transference took place about twenty five years later between Shri Niwasa and his son, Yoga Narendra Malla.

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²⁵ Regmi, IV, No. 59, pp. 113-114; II, pp. 277-278, 282.

3. SHRI NIWASA MALLA (778-805)

Because of his personal qualities and perhaps because of his long training period, Shri Niwasa Malla displayed the characteristics of a good leader. During his approximately twenty six year rule there was more peace and, apparently, more prosperity than before or after. He appears to have been a strong leader capable of administering his small kingdom well while showing a great interest in the development of the arts. There are many impressive monuments in the kingdom which date from his era. There are many more extant stone inscriptions for the period of his rule than for any other, although his son, Yoga Narendra, also has many. Some of the most famous festivals of Nepal, while not originating in his reign, were ritually elaborated and financially supported by land grants set up in *guthi* trust.¹ The Red Macchindranatha cart festival is a living example of Shri Niwasa's influence on Nepali customs and festivals.

In Bhaktapur's Mahakali tol there is a stele dated Phalgun of 781 describing the donation of some lands in *guthi* trust by the then king of Kathmandu, Pratapa Malla. Shri Niwasa Malla is mentioned as witness to the grant.² There is a manuscript in the National Library, called *Baraha Narada Paranam*, which mentions Shri Niwasa as ruler and records the date as Chaitra of 781.³ Also in 781 there is a silver *mohar* of Shri Niwasa.⁴

In Ashadha of 783 a *guthi* of Bharos formed to donate gilded roofs to the Maha Bhairava temple in Khampichhe tol. They also dedicated land to and were responsible for the administration of the temple.⁵ In Bhadra of the same year (783) a *guthi* of Bharos donated gilded doors to the Sarasvati temple in Hara Siddhi village.⁶ In both of these inscriptions Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruler.

He is also mentioned in the Kartika inscription at the Tri Ratna temple in the town of Kirtipur.⁷ The large Pim bahal *chaitya* was restored and repaired by a *guthi* of Shakyas and Vajracharyas during the reign of Shri Niwasa in Pousha of 786.⁸ The well-known mulchowk of the Patan palace, with its small gilded temple in the center,

1 M. C. Regmi, *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, Vol. IV, Berkeley, 1965.

2 *Abhilekha Sangraha* III, pp. 20-21.

3 The date is in letters: kshtiwasugale; Regmi II, p. II, p. 283.

4 Joshi, p. 98; Walsh, p. 733, No. 53.

5 Previously unnoticed; No. 87 in my stone inscription collection.

6 Regmi, IV, No. 63, pp. 127-129.

7 Previously unnoticed.

8 Previously unnoticed; No. 89 in my stone inscription collection.

was built by Shri Niwasa in Aswina of 786 to the honor of his *ishta-devata*.⁹ A silver *mohar* was also released by Shri Niwasa in 786.¹⁰

The Maha Lakshmi temple in Balambu village was built in honor of both the goddess and the king, Shri Niwasa, by a Shrestha named Guna Simha Bharo in Chaitra of 787.¹¹ In the same month and year a manuscript in the National Library, *Baraha Puranam*, was finished. It mentions Shri Niwasa as ruler of Patan.¹² Also in 787, in Ashadha, the king, Shri Niwasa, is recorded in a palm leaf (*talpatra*) land grant as selling land to a Shakyavamsha of Patan. The witness is Shri Niwasa's brother-in-law, Rudra Malla.¹³ The lion pillar of the Mangala bazaar Krishna temple was also dedicated in Srawana of 787. A resident of Baku bahal had them built to the greater glory of Krishna and thng.e ki¹⁴

The Nepal National Library contains a manuscript, *Baisakha Mahalapam*, which mentions Shri Niwasa as ruler of Patan. It is dated Jyestha of 788.¹⁵ In Aswina of the same year a *guthi* was formed in the town of Kirtipur to donate a new gilded top of thirteen levels to the Chilanchhe *chaitya*. Shri Niwasa was ruling on that date according to the stone inscription affixed to the *chaitya*.¹⁶

Two residents of Kwapachhenani, Manohara Simha and Bhagi Simha, built a *chaitya* there in Kartika of 789. Shri Niwasa is described as king.¹⁷ There is also a stele in the His Majesty's Government's Department of Archaeology's garden museum in the Bhandarkhala of the Patan palace which describes Shri Niwasa as ruling in Magha of 789.¹⁸

There is a copper plate in the collection at Mrgasthali in the Pasupati temple grounds which records a land grant by Shri Niwasa for land in Dhunibesi. The date

⁹ *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 11-12; Regmi, IV, No. 65, pp. 132--133; *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 286; Regmi, II, pp. 268 (with incorrect date), 284; Munamkarmi, p. 13.

¹⁰ Joshi, p. 98, Appendix, p. 13 (photo); N. M. S., p. X, Walsh, p. 733, No. 54, Bendall, Table II (with date misread as 785); Munamkarmi, p. 12; Gyawali, p. 185.

¹¹ Regmi, IV, No. 67, p. 136.

¹² Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5348.

¹³ A *talpatra* in my possession.

¹⁴ *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, p. 12.

¹⁵ Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5553.

¹⁶ Previously unnoticed; No. 68 in my stone inscription collection.

¹⁷ Previously unnoticed; No. 42 in my stone inscription collection.

¹⁸ Previously unnoticed; no rubbings are allowed by the Department of Archaeology; the *stela* is labelled No. 117.

is Kartika of 790.¹⁹ A new flag ornament was donated by Shri Niwasa himself to the temple of Changu Narayana in Jyestha of 790.²⁰ Also in 790, in Aswina, during the reign of Shri Niwasa a *guthi* of Vajracharyas and Bharos built a small *chaitya* at the Shri Padma Kastha Giri Mahavihara in Kirtipur²¹.

In Sulimha tol there is a stone inscription of Shri Niwasa and his minister (*amatya*) Narayana Dasa. It is dated 701 Kartika.²² In Binchhe bahal there is a largely illegible stele which declares that the general repair of the bahal was ordered on 791 Baisakha and that Shri Niwasa was the ruler at that time.²³

There is a manuscript called, *Brahmottar, Khandaho*, in the National Library which has three colophons: 792 Jyestha, 793 Magha and 795 Mangsir. Shri Niwasa is the ruler during each of these periods according to the text.²⁴ The king himself donated new gilded roofs to the five-tiered Patan Kumbheswara temple in Mangsir 793.²⁵ In Magha of 793 a large image of the Buddha was installed in front of Chilan-chhe chaitya, Kirtipur, by a *guthi* of Kirtipuri Shakyas, during the reign of Shri Shri Jaya Shri Niwasa Malla.²⁶ Three statues of the Buddha were donated by one Dhana Deva Shakyavamsha to Yampi Mahavihara (Ibahi), Patan, in Magha of 793. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruling in Patan on that date.²⁷

In Phalguna of 793 Shri Niwasa had a large stele placed in the Red Macchindranatha temple of Ta bahal. In sixty five lines of Newari he enumerated the many new regulations for the annual cart festival and donated considerable amounts of personal land in *guthi* trust. The revenues from these lands were to be used in perpetuity for the maintenance of the temple and to meet the expenses of the month-long festival.

19 *Itihasa Prakasha* II: 3, pp. 452-453; Regmi, II, p. 291.

20 *Itihasa Prakasha* I, p. 74.

21 Previously unnoticed; No. 81 in my stone inscription collection.

22 From collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

23 Previously unnoticed; No. 104 in my stone inscription collection.

24 Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5874;; Regmi II, p. 285.

25 Previously unnoticed; No. 34 in my stone inscription collection.

26 Previously unnoticed; No. 69 in my stone inscription collection.

27 Previously unnoticed; No. 86 in my stone inscription collection. This inscription, particularly highlights the decadence of Newari Buddhism at this date (1673 A. D.). The main donees are: Dhana Deva Shakya, his son Brahmacharya Bhikshu (meaning celibate monk), Shri Dinakara, Dinakara's wife Bijaya and their son Bhikshu Shri Dina Joti. Countless titles remain to remind one that the ancestors of these Shakyas were celebrate residents of the vihara; see, David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, "Buddhism in Nepal", London.

Witnesses to the donation were the Crown Prince (*juvaraja*) Yoga Nara Simha and the Chief Minister Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya.²⁸

Apparently even in this era the citizens of the Nepal valley kingdoms were beginning to stray from some of their cultural traditions. At any rate the three rulers of the three kingdoms (Jita Mitra of Bhaktapur, Narendra of Kathmandu and Shri Niwasa of Patan) met and signed a tripartite agreement in regard to mourning observances and purification rites to be observed after death had occurred in any family. There was an insistence on a forty five day observance of mourning. The agreement was signed and affixed in the form of a copper plate to the wall of Mulchowk in the Patan palace. Its date is 795 Chaitra. Witnesses were Devi Dasa, Bhagi Ratha Bhaiya and Deva Rama who were the most important ministers of each of kingdom.²⁹

In Baisakha and Jyestha of 795 Shri Niwasa is recorded in a *thyasaphu* as attending the marriages of Jaya Narendra Malla and Jaya Parthivendra Malla who were the King and Crown Prince of Kathmandu respectively.³⁰

Shri Niwasa made some minor repairs in the Bhandarkahala in Kartika of 796. He also made certain rules about its use and witnessed the fact that his father, Siddhi Nara Simha, had built it for the pleasure and happiness of their *ishtadevata*.³¹ Also, in 796 Kartika Shri Niwasa made a land grant to the Red Macchindranatha temple in Bungmati village. Again he listed many rules for the use of the temple including which days the central image may be displayed. He also proscribed entrance to the temple to untouchable caste groups. The witnesses to the grant were the Crown Prince Yoga Narendra and Chief Minister Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya.³²

This same minister, Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya, built the Jankeswari water fountain in Khochhu tol of Pharping village in Chaitra of 796. He dedicated it to the glory of Shekhara Narayana and established a *guthi* of Patan Bharos to maintain it.³³

28 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 7-11; Regmi, IV, No. 72, pp. 154-161; Regmi, II, pp. 286-287. It is interesting to note that the present Government of Nepal, even after the enactment of land reform legislation, maintains these traditions. Through its Guthi Corporation (Guthi Sansthan) it met the entire expenses, which were said to be about 1112 lakhs of rupees, of the special Twelve Year Cart Festival of 1967, for example.

29 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 11-12; Regmi, IV, No. 77, pp. 167-168; Regmi, II, pp. 288-289. The Plate is now missing from the palace.

30 *Thyasaphu* published in Regmi, IV, pp. 330-331.

31 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, p. 13; Regmi, IV, No. 78 a, pp. 170-171.

32 Regmi, IV, No. 78, pp. 168-170; Regmi, II, p. 284 (with dates 795).

33 This perhaps explains its current state of extreme disrepair; Regmi, IV, No. 79, pp. 171-172 (with date as 797); Regmi, II, p. 290.

In Yechu vihara of Sundara tol, Patan, a stone temple was erected by one Bhawani Shankara Bharo. In it are placed two images, one of Bhawani Shankara and one of Lakshmi Narayana. At this time, Kartika of 797, Shri Niwasa and his son Yoga Narendra are described as ruling jointly (*nehma ubhaya thakula bijaya*). They donate a gilded *Kalasha* to the temple, dedicate land to the temple and establish a *guthi* with elaborate instructions about which *pujas* are to be performed during the year.³⁴

In the Dathu bahi inscription of Magha of 798 the two are again described as ruling jointly.³⁵ Also in Magha of 798 Shri Niwasa's minister, Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya, built a Visheswara temple in Mangala bazar. It has become known as Bhai devala since that time. He crowned the temple with gilded *kalasha* and *dhwaja* and established a *guthi* to maintain it.³⁶

Shri Niwasa and Yoga Narendra are also described as ruling together in Magha of 798 in an inscription in Yechu Datu vihara in Sundhara tol.³⁷

The Garuda image in front of the Krishna temple in the Shekhara Narayana grounds near Pharping was donated by Shri Niwasa's minister (*mantri*) Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya. Anyone who damages the images will be visited by the five major curses (*pancha mahapathaka*). The statue was placed there in Kartika of 799.³⁸ In Ashadha of the same year there is an inscription in Badgaon attached to a *chaitya* which was built by another minister (*amatya*) of Shri Niwasa's, Bisva Bharena.³⁹ The Wooden struts at present dismantled and resting in Sahapo (Narayana chowk) of the Patan palace were carved in 799 when Shri Niwasa ruled.⁴⁰

A new *torana* was donated to Hiranya Varna Mahavihara (Kwabahal) in Jyestha of 800 by a Vajrachaya. Shri Niwasa and Yoga Narendra rule together on that date (*maharajadhiraja shri 3 jaya niwasa malla prabhu, putra shri 3 jogenaladra malla prabhu thakura ubhaya vijaya rajyes*).⁴¹ The Vamshagopala temple near the Kumbheswara temple compound was built in Jyestha of 800 by a daughter of Shri Niwasa's, Kirti-

34 Previously unnoticed; No. 80 in my stone inscription collection.

35 Previously unnoticed; from collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

36 *Abhilekha Sangrahu* VI, pp. 14-15; Regmi, II, p. 289;

37 Previously unnoticed; No. 12 in my stone inscription collection.

38 Previously unnoticed; No. 67 in my stone inscription collection. The five major curses include being cursed by one's teacher (*guru*), father, mother and all *bhikshus* and to have all the viharas and temples destroyed. This warning is commonly attached to the inscriptions of this period.

39 Regmi, IV, No. 85, pp. 184-185; Regmi, II, p. 291.

40 Previously unnoticed.

41 Previously unpublished; No 75 in my stone inscription collection; Regmi, II, p. 307.

mangala. She donated land to the temple and established a *guthi* of Ko bahal Bharos to look after its maintenance. 42

In Aswina of 800 the small Ganesha temple in Thaina tol received a new stone image of Ganesha and a newly carved, wooden *torana*. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruler. 43 The *mandapa* in the Red Macchindranatha temple in Bungmati village was repaired in Mangsir of 801 by Shri Niwasa's eldest daughter, Rudramati, her husband, Rudra, and their son, Rudrendra. 44 The well-known temple of Bhima Sena in Mangala bazar was also built in Managsir of 801. Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya, minister, had it built, donated gilded *kalasha* and *dhwaja* to it, and established a *guthi* of Bharos to look after it. 45

In the National Library there is a manuscript, *Hana Ratnakara*, which was finished in Mangsir or 801 during the reign of Shri Niwasa Malla. 46 The Adinatha temple at Chobhar was dedicated in 801 Pousha. Both Shri Niwasa and his Chief Minister, Bhagi Ratha Bhaiya, are mentioned in the inscription. 47 In Magha of 801 the Adi Narayana temple in Thankot village was built. A *guthi* of Bharos and Brahmans was formed to ensure performance of special pujas during the year. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as the reigning king. 48

There is a copper plate of 801 Chaitra now in the possession of His Majesty's Government's Department of Arcaheology which records Shri Niwasa Malla granting land in west number one district. Witnesses to the land grant are Shri Shri Jaya Joga Narendra Malla Deva Varma and Ministers Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya and Bhagi Bharo. 49 Also in Chaitra of 891 the small brick Ganesha temple in front of Bhringareshwara temple in Sunaguthi was constructed by a *guthi* of nine villagers. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruling in that stele. 50

Minister Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya donated land to the Shekhara Narayana temple near Pharping in Magha of 803. The revenues of the land were to be used for special

42 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 16-18; Regmi, II, pp. 277, 301; Munamkarmi, p. 14.

43 Previously unnoticed; No. 1 in my collection.

44. Regmi, IV, No. 87, p. 187; Regmi, II, pp. 301, 349; The son of Rudrendra, Riddhi Nara Simha, became king in 835.

45 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 18-19; Regmi, IV, No. 86, pp. 185-187; Regmi, II, pp. 287; Munamkarmi, p. 13; Sharma, p. 157.

46 Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 1136.

47 Previously unnoticed; from the collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

48 Previously unnoticed; No. 41 in my collection.

49 *Purtaattwa-Patra Sangraha* I, pp. 37-38.

50 Previously unnoticed; No. 32 in my collection.

pujas during the year.⁵¹ In 803 Phalguna new roofs and *gajuri* were donated to the Lokakirti Mahavihara (Nakabahil) by one Vishnu Dasa Bharo. At the same time three new statues, of Padmapani, Lokeswara and Maha Bhairava were installed. Also in this inscription it is written that "the road to Mackwanpur is open." This refers to the successful pursuance of war with the kingdom of Mackwanpur; this time Patan was victorious.⁵²

In Bhadra of 803 the king and his minister, Bhagi Ratha Bhaiya, jointly donated some land and an image of Garuda to the temple at Shekkhara Narayana near Pharping.⁵³

In the Simha devala tol of the town of Kirtipur there is a stele of 804 Srawana which refers both to Shri Niwasa and Yoga Narendra. The latter is referred to as *Chhatadhari* and it may be that this marks a new status for the Crown Prince. It is Regmi's opinion, at least, that this new appellation connotes administrative responsibility.⁵⁴ To support this conclusion there is a silver *suki* of Yoga Narendra's of 804.⁵⁵ As it was the custom to print coins at the beginning of a new reign (see below) this may in fact mark the beginning of Yoga Narendra's rule.

In the evidence left by the *thyasaphu* diarists, however, Pousha of 805 is the date given for Shri Niwasa's abdication in favor of his son.⁵⁶ Even after this date there are at least two more stone inscriptions which describe a joint rule. At Walakhu tol attached to the Ganesha temple an inscription reads: *shri manigladhipati shri shri jaya shri niwasa malla deva tahakula shri jaya shri joga narendra malla deva thakula ubhaya prajyayas*. . This is dated Chaitra of 805.⁵⁷ At the Yati libi *chaitya* located behind Omkuli Shri Rudra Varna Mahavihara (Ukhu bahal) both rulers are again mentioned. This *chaitya* was rebuilt, *gajuri* donated and a guthi formed in Baisakh of 805.⁵⁸ After this date there are no known references to the rule of Shri Niwasa.

The transfer of power was a peaceful one. As had been the case about twenty six years earlier when Siddhi Nara Simha handed his kingdom over to his son, Shri Niwasa, in 804 or 805 it was Shri Niwasa's turn to give his son, Yoga Narendra, administrative power.

51 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 12-13; Regmi, IV, No. 89, pp. 193-195; Regmi, II, p. 290.

52 Previously unpublished; No. 83 in my collection; Regmi, II.

53 Regmi, II, p. 290.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

55 Joshi, pp. 100-101; Walsh, p. 735, No. 60 (with date misread as 807).

56 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 198; Regmi, II, pp. 310-311.

57 Regmi, IV, No. 93 p.. 202-204;; Regmi, II, p. 313; II Appendix III, *Thyasaphu* B. P. 24, folio 55; *Thyasaphu* E. p. 97, folio 26.

58 Previously unpublished; No. 38 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 313.

About the date of Shri Niwasa's death there is controversy. In Magha of 806 Queen Lakshmi Devi, a wife of Shri Niwasa, built a small temple at Bagunani (Buddhyasthana) in Haugal tol, Patan. She donated a gilded *Kalash* and *dhwaja* to it in the name of her deceased husband, Shri Niwasa Malla.⁵⁹ Again in Ashadha of 806 another queen of Shri Niwasa, Siddhi Mantala Devi, built a fountain (*hiti*) in Sunaguthi village in memory of her deceased husband who is described as having attained release from worldly cares (*moksha*) and gone to heaven.⁶⁰ According to several *thyasaphu* sources, however, Shri Niwasa did not die until Magha of 807.⁶¹

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⁵⁹ Previously unnoticed; No. 52 in my collection.

⁶⁰ Regmi, IV, No. 97, pp. 207-210; Regmi, II, p. 315.

⁶¹ *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 198; Regmi, II, pp. 312:312; Regmi, III, Appendix III, III, *Thyasaphu A*, p. 27, folio 60; *Thyasaphu D, A (2)*, p. 64. To follow Regmi in saying that the carver of this inscription must have written the wrong year when there is no other known example of such an error is unwarranted. Especially because of the existence of the Haugal tol inscription, of which Regmi was not aware, this is an unsafe conclusion. To admit rather that there is contradictory evidence and that no definite decision can be yet made is, I think, the wiser course.

4. YOGA NARENDRA MALLA(805-Kartika 826)

In Srawana of 805 there was an inscription attached to the small Lakshmi-Narayana temple in Ko bahal which mentions only Yoga Narendra as ruling in Patan. The temple was built by Queen Yoga Lakshmi, one of Yoga Narendra's several wives. She assigned to Rama Bharo and Siddhi Shankara the task of maintaining the temple and prescribed certain pujas to be performed during the year.¹ Also in 805 there were three silver *moharas* and one *suki* minted with the name of Yoga Narendra Malla. Each of the *mohars* includes a different queen's name. They include: Yoga Lakshmi Devi, Pratapa Lakshmi Devi and Narendra Lakshmi Devi.²

In Kartika of 806 there was a stele placed on the *chaitya* in Chhusika tol which reads: *shri shri joga narendra mallasya vijaya rajye*.³ In Magha of 808 a group Shakyas organized to repair the Jestha Varna Mahavihara (Jya bahil). Yoga Narendra is noted in their inscription as ruling.⁴ In Baisakha of the same year the Yangra bahal *pati* (an elevated resting place) was built by a minister of Yoga Narendra's, Vamshi Dasa Bharo, and his wife, Majuni Lakshmi, The *pati* is dedicated to the god Bhairava and several pujas are prescribed for the year.⁵

A new *gajuri* was donated to the Jestha Varna Mahavihara in Jyestha of 808. Yoga Narendra is described as ruler of Patan.⁶ In Dolamaju tol there is an unattached stele dated 808 Bhadra which is dedicated to Macchindranatha (Bunga) and donates land to ensure *pujas* during the year. The donor was a Bharo and Yoga Narendra was ruling.⁷ In 808, too, there was silver *mohar* minted which contains the names of Yoga Narendra and two of his queens, Narendra Lakshmi and Yoga Lakshmi.⁸

A large group of Vajracharyas had the *mandala* in front of the Pim bahal *chaitya* built in Mangsir of 810. *Maharajadhiraja shri shri yoga narendra malla deva prabhu thakurasa vijaya raje berasa* is inscribed on the base of the *mandala*.⁹ There is a largely

1 Regmi, IV, No. 95, p. 205; II pp. 313-314.

2 Joshi, pp. 99-101; Appendix, p. 14 (photo); N. M. S.; p. X; Walsh, p. 734, Nos. 56 (date misread as 806), 57, 58 (date misread as 806); Sharma, p. 157; Munamkarmi, p. 15, Gyawali, p. 186; Regmi, II, p. 310.

3 Regmi, II, p. 314.

4 Previously unnoticed; No. 45 in my collection.

5 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 14; Regmi, II, p. 315.

6 Previously unnoticed; No. 43 in my collection.

7 Regmi, IV, No. 99, p. 216.

8 Joshi, p. 100, Appendix, p. 14 (Photo); N. M. S. P. X.; Walsh, p. 733, No. 55; Gyawali, p. 186.

9 Previously unnoticed; No. 29 in my collection.

illegible stele at the Maha Lakshmi temple in Thankot village. In it Yoga Narendra is described as ruling in Magha of 810.¹⁰ In Jyestha of the same year a Bharo of Thankot village donated a *tulsi* plant stand (*tulsi phalasa devara*) to the Adi Narenyana temple there. He prescribed very elaborate instructions for certain pujas to be performed during the year, donated land for this purpose and noted the rule of Yoga Narendra Malla.¹¹

A *guthi* of Yamoi Mahavihara (I bahil) built the small temple for the four Buddhas of the northern *stupa* of Patan and at the same time, Jyestha of 810, decided to rebuild the Macchindranatha cart as it had collapsed the day the temples were dedicated. Yoga Narendra is described as king on that date.¹²

In Talacche tol there is a stele of 812 Magha which mentions Yoga Narendra as king.¹³ In Baisakha of 813 a group of Shakyavamshas organized to repair the Shri Vatsa Mahavihara (She bahal) and to donate new wooden windows. Yoga Narendra is mentioned as ruler at that time.¹⁴ Two members of Yampi Mahavihara built one of the small temples (*devals*) in the courtyard of the northern *stupa* during the reign of Yoga Narendra in Jyestha of 815.¹⁵ There is a stone stele in the Archaeological Garden in the Bhandarkhala of the Patan palace which is dated Magha of 815 and shows Yoga Narendra as ruling.¹⁵ Another stele of Saubahal records his rule in Baisakha, 815.¹⁷

In the Taleju chowk of the Bhaktapur palace there is a copper plate which records an agreement between Jita Mitra Malla, King of Bhaktapur, and Yoga Narendra Malla, King of Patan, to avoid warfare and other trouble during the performance of festivals, like the Hara Siddhi dance, which the two cities observe together. Its date is Phalguna of 816.¹⁸

One Bhawani Shankara Bharo donated a canal, erected a temple to Chamandi Devi and donated land to ensure the temples upkeep in 816 Jyestha, 821 Chairtra and 823 Ashadha. The temple is located in the Ganeshasthana near Shankamula.¹⁹ Iswara

10 Previously unnoticed; No. 99 in my collection.

11 Previously unnoticed; No. 90 in my collection. The leaves of the *tulsi* plant are an essential part of the worship of Vishnu.

12 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, p. 20.

13 Previously unnoticed; no rubbing.

14 Previously unnoticed; No. 76 in my collection.

15 Previously unnoticed; No. 48 in my collection.

16 Governmental regulations prevent rubbings.

17 Regmi, IV, No. 101, pp. 218-219.

18 *Abhilekha Sangraha* XI, p. 10; *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* II, pp. 17-22; *Itihasa Prakasha Sandhi Patra Sangraha* p. 212; Regmi, IV, No. 102, pp. 219-220; II, pp. 231 (with English translation). 321; Munamkarmi, p. 16.

19 Previously unnoticed; No. 79 in my collection.

Dasa Bharo had the Bala Kumari temple repaired in Phalgun of 817 and donated new gilded *gajuri* in Jyestha of the same year.²⁰ Yoga Narendra is noted as ruling in both of these inscriptions.

In the Saptapura Mahavihara (Chikam bahi) a new *agama* (resting place for the lineage deity) was donated by two bhikshus and several Bhawos in Chaitra of 817. Yoga Narendra is named as king.²¹ The large bell attached to the Bhim Sena temple in Mangala bazar is inscribed with the name of Yoga Narendra Malla and the date of 817 Srawana.²² In Vta bahal there is an inscription of Phalgun of 818 which records the establishment of a large *guthi* of Bharos who organized to ensure the performance of special pujas during the year. Yoga Narendra is noted as ruling at that date (*thva berasa raja shri 3 yoga narendra mallaju juro*).²³

Until a few years ago there was a copper plate in the Mulchowk of the Patan palace which recorded an agreement, made in 818, between the three kings of the valley never to make war against each other again. Yoga Narendra Malla signed for Patan, Bhupalendra Malla for Kathmandu and Bhupatindra Malla for Bhaktapur.²⁴

The chaitya with its five images of the Buddha in Philechhe tol was built in 919 Kartika by a group of Vajracharyas and Bhawos.²⁵ There was another copper plate in the Mulchowk of the Patan palace which announced an edict by King Yoga Narendra in regard to mourning rules. All were instructed to observe mourning for forty five days unless there was some urgent government business in which case twelve days would suffice. The plate was witnessed by minister (*chautara*) Gwalabha Drista and is dated Magha 819.²⁶

An extraordinary stone inscription was placed in Shri Vatsa Mahavihara in 820 Baisakha. It concerns a controversy as to whether an adult woman who was brought to the bahal as a young bride could be included in the special religious functions of this bahal or whether she should return to her original bahal. This inscription records the decision of the *thakalis* (elders) to allow her participation in the function of the adaptive

20 Previously unnoticed; No. 63 in my collection.

21 Previously unnoticed; No. 85 in my collection.

22 Previously unnoticed. No. 111 in my collection.

23 Previously unnoticed; No. 56 in my collection.

24 *Sanskrita Sandesha* I: 11, p. 59-69 with Sanskrit and Nepali translations by D. B. Vajracharya and G. M. Nepal; *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* II, pp. 22-40 with analysis of political conditions; *Itihas Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha*, pp. 246-248; Regmi, IV, No. 104, pp. 226-228; II, pp. 321-326, 332; *Itihaska Samshodhanko*, p. 307. This plate is now missing from the palace.

25 Previously unnoticed: No. 105 in my collection.

26 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 15; *Itihasa Samshodhanko* p. 305; Regmi, II, pp. 326-327.

mahavihara; it notes that *thou manigladhipati shri shri jaya yoga (na) rendra malla deva prabhu thakurasa*.²⁷

There is a long inscription at the *Pati* in Sundhara tol across the road from the fountain. In it Yoga Narendra himself donates a gilded *gajuri* to the nearby Lakshmi Narayana temple; a land is also donated to ensure the the performance of especially important pujas during the year and a *guthi* of Amatyas is established to maintain the temple. Included too is a chronology of the sons of Bhima Lakshmi, who was a daughter of Siddhi Nara Simha's, and who financed the temple and *pati*. This is dated Ashadha of 820. ²⁸ Also, in 820 a silver *mohar* was minted for Yoga Narendra.²⁹

In Kartika of 821 King Yoga Narendra donated some land to the Kumbheswara temple. Its revenues were to be used to meet the expenses incurred for special pujas to be performed during the year. ³⁰ One of the water conduits at the Sundahara was built, in Magha of 821, by a grandson of Siddhi Nara Simha's, named Chakra Simha, his wife (Phikuni Lakshmi), their sons (Pratapa Simha, Vira Simha, Bhadra Simha and Ananda Simha) and a daughter. Yoga Narendra is mentioned as ruling on that date.³¹

The King of Kathmandu, Bhupalendra Malla, died suddenly in Magha of 821 while on a pilgrimage to Benares. Yoga Narendra called together a group of Brahmana scholars to decide what should be done. They decided that the late king's horoscope along with his wives's who would become *satis* should be burned and mourning should be observed as usual. This is all expressed in a copper plate in Mulchowk of the Patan palace.³²

The King had the open elevated wooden structure in Mangala bazar called Mani-mandapa repaired and donated land to its use. Image of Bhairava and Sakti were donated in Chairtra of 821. ³³

In Mangsir of 822 there was a gilded plate (*subranapatra*) placed in the Taleju chowk of the Bhaktapur palace. It is an agreement between several kingdoms (Mackwanpur, Gorkha, Upadhyia, Bhaktapur and Patan) to maintain unity against Kathmandu. They further agree to a mutual defense treaty and Patan, apparently bargaining from

27 Previously unnoticed; No. 49 in my collection.

28 Previously unnoticed; No.108 in my collection.

29 Joshi, p. 98, Appendix, p. 14 (photo); N. M. S., P. X; Walsh, p. 735, No. 59; Bendall. Table II; Sharma, p. 157; Regmi, 11 p. 326.

30 Previously unpublished; No. 54 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 331.

31 Regmi, IV, No. 109, p. 237; II, pp. 278-279.

32 *Ibid.*, No. 107, pp. 233-234.

33 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 21-22; Regmi, IV, No. 108, pp. 234-237 (2 with one line omitted); II, p. 327.

a weak position militarily, agreed to pay a fine of forty thousand rupees if it worked in collusion with Kathmandu. The two major signatories are Yoga Narendra for Patan and Bhupatindra Malla for Bhaktapur.³⁴

A group of Vajracharyas donated new windows and *toranas* to the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara in 822 Mangsir during the reign of Yoga Narendra.³⁵ The large bell at the Red Macchindranatha temple in Ta bahal is inscribed with Yoga Narendra's name in Srawana of 824.³⁶ Finally, there is an inscription in the Krishna temple at Saugal tol which mentions Yoga Narendra's rule in Jyestha of 825. The temple was built by Rudramati, a sister of Yoga Narendra's whose grandson, Riddhi Nara Simha, became king in 835. She donated land to the temple and established a guthi of Bharos to maintain it.³⁷

According to various sources, chronicles and *thiyasaphus*, Yoga Narendra was poisoned by a Bhaktapuri agent while he was living at the Changu Narayana temple personally directing an attack on Bhaktapur. The date of his death, according to these sources, is Kartika of 826.³⁸

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34 *Abhilekha Sangraha* XI, p. 11; *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* II, pp. 40-44 with Nepali translation and brief historical background *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha* pp. 212-213; Regmi, IV, No. 110, p. 238; II, p. 337.

35 Previously unnoticed; No. 74 in my collection.

36 Previously unnoticed.

37 Regmi, IV, No. 112, pp. 240-243; II, p. 349; *Itihasa Samshodan*, p. 310.

38 *Itihas Samshodnako*, pp. 129, 151-152; Regmi, II, p. 338; Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thiyasaphu* A, p. 46, folio 104; *Thiyasaphu* B, p. 53, folio 19; *Thiyasaphu* A, p. 211.

5. LOKA PRAKASHA MALLA
(Kartika 826-Aswina 826)

As mentioned, Yoga Narendra died during Kartika 826. He was succeeded by his daughter, Yogamanti's infant son, Loka Prakasha Malla in the same month. ¹ Their relationship is specifically mentioned in Yogamati's inscription in the Cyasingdeval temple in Mangala bazar of Magha 843. ² In it she has written: "His (Shri Niwasa Malla's) Son was Yoga Narendra Malla. His (Yoga Narendra's) daughter was Yogamati. From Yogamati came the patient King Loka Prakasha."³

Loka Prakasha printed two silver *mohars*, both with the date 826. ⁴ One of them includes the name of his mother, Yogamati Devi, and the other the name of his grandfather, Shri Jaya Vira Yoganarendra Malla Deva.

As far as is presently known, there are no stone inscriptions or copper plates extant which record the reign of Loka Prakasha. He is, however, mentioned in one other document besides the *mohar* coins. He is included in the audience marking the occasion of the installation of a new gilded *gajur* on the Taleju temple in the Bhaktapur palace grounds. On the same occasion a large black rock had been brought from Patan to make a dancing area. Present were both the Bhaktapur king, Bhupatindra Malla, and the Patan king, Loka Pakasha. The date is recorded as Jyestha of 826. ⁵

Loka Prakasha died of smallpox at the age of eight in Aswina of 826.⁶ This date is recorded in a *thyasphu* of the period and appears to agree with the known evidence for the rule of the succeeding king, Indra Malla. In sum, then, Loka Prakash's reign extended from the first to the last month of 826, a period of only about eleven months.

The reign of this relatively obscure king provides a good opportunity to point out some of more obvious errors and omissions of the sources. Wright's chronicle completely omits mention of Loka Prakasha and his successor Indra Malla. Walsh misreads the date on his coins (reading them as 827) and, therefore, places him after

1 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, pp. 129, 151-152; Regmi, II, p. 338; Regmi, III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu B, p. 53, folio 19; Thyasaphu B, p. 112.

2 The inscription is published in Regmi, IV, No. 128, pp. 271-274.

3 "*tsyatmajo yoganarendra mallo . . tsyatmajo yogamati babhuwa . . tasya prasudtaiwa shakti dharombikaya loka prakasha narpatirwiraja dhir.*" See this segment with Nepali translation in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 163.

4 Joshi, pp. 101-102; Appendix, p. 15 (photo); *Nepali Mudrako Suchi*, p. XII, No. 70; Walsh, p. 736; No. 62 (date misread as 827).

5 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 130; Regmi, II, p. 342; III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu H. P. 112.

6 S. M. Rajvamshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

Indra Malla in his chronology. ⁷ He also opines, without basis, that Loka Prakasha “was no doubt a minor son of Yoga Narendra”. ⁸ Gyawali makes similar errors, misreading both Loka Prakasha’s and Indra Malla’s coins and therefore imagines conflict between the two and a longer reign for Loka Prakasha than for Indra. ⁹ Sharma’s short summary of the period is another example of confusion and guess-work. ¹⁰ Bendall, too, misreads the dates of Loka Prakash’s coins (reading them as 825) and completely omits Indra Malla from his revised chronology. ¹¹ In comparison, one must note that Regmi’s work is an example of careful and thoughtful research. ¹²

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7 Walsh, pp. 735-736.

8 Ibid., p. 697

9 Gyawali, p. 187.

10 Sharma, p. 158.

11 Bendall, Table II, “Revised Table of the Kings of Nepal from the Division of the Kingdom to the Gorkha Conquest”.

12 Regmi, II, pp. 340-342.

6. INDRA MALLA (Aswina 826-Chaitra 829)

Indra Malla succeeded Loka Prakasha Malla immediately in Aswina of 826.¹ His silver *mohar* of 826 is also available.² His name appears on one side while that of his wife, Bhagyawati Devi, appears on the other.

Aside from these two dates there are several others for the reign of Indra Malla. He is mentioned as witnessing a drama of Bhupatindra Malla's, called *Gaurivivahavya-nanirdesa*, in Pousha of 827.³ There is a stone pillar in front of Bhima Sena's temple in Mangala bazar, Patan upon which there is a copper ornamentation which mentions that a *guthi*, had donated the pillar on Bahadra of 827 during the reign of Shri 3 Indra Malla.⁴ In a *thyasphu* he is mentioned as ruling in 827 Aswina.⁵

In front of the Vajra Yogini vihara in Pulchowk, Patan, there is a stone inscription of Phalguna 828. According to the inscription, a *guthi* of Bharos had dedicated a golden image of God (Shakyamuni) to the Vihara. They also donated land, the revenues of which were to be used for the performance of certain pujas during the year. Indra Malla is noted as ruling (*thva kunhu lalitpuri manigladhipati shri 3 jaya indra malla devasya vijaya rajye*).

There are also, on the Red Macchindranatha temple of Ta bahal, gilded roof decorations which were donated by King Indra Malla on Chaitra of 828.⁷ A play by Bala Deva was presented on Aswina of 828 and King Indra Malla and his Queen were in attendance.⁸

There is agreement among the *thyasaphus* that Indra Malla died in the month of Chaitra in 829.⁹ In remarkable agreement, too, the *Bhashavamshavali* states that Loka Prakasha died in Aswina of 826, that Indra Malla, the son of Baudha Malla, immediately became king and that he died in Chaitra of 829.¹⁰

1 Rajvamshi, pp. 39-40; Regmi, III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu H, p. 112.

2 Joshi p. 102; Appendix, p. 15 (photo); N. M. S., p. XII, no. 71; Walsh, p. 735.

3 Regmi, II, p. 343.

4 Previously unnoticed; no 10 in my collection.

5 Regmi, III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu C, p. 53.

6 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, pp. 100, 295; Regmi, II, p. 343; completely printed in Regmi, IV, No. 113, p. 246; No. 61 in my collection.

7 Previously unnoticed.

8 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 99; Regmi, II, p. 344.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101; Regmi II, Appendix III, Thyasaphu C, p. 53.

10 Quoted in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 130.

Indra Malla was a nephew of Yoga Narendra Malla. He was the son of Yoga Narendra's elder sister (*bhanija*), Manimati and her husband, Baudha Malla. This relationship is clearly set forth in Vishnu Malla's Shankamula inscription dated Jyestha of 852.¹¹ In it he states that "Shri Niwasa's daughter, Yoga Narendra's elder sister, was Shri Manimati. Her son was the virtuous King Indra Malla".¹²

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¹¹ This is completely printed in *Abhilekha Sangraha X*, pp. 16-19.

¹² *Jyestha yogararendrakasya bhagini shri niwasatmja, patyou bhaktimati sati manimatnamni hyabhucchhimati, yasya bhumipati suto gunanidhiryyashchendramalla-bhidha*; see *Itihasa Samshodnahko*, p. 98.

7. VIRA NARA SIMHA (829)

Indra Malla died, according to the *thyasaphu* sources, in Chaitra of 829. His succession is an historical problem. There are two silver *mohars* for one Vira Nara Simha of 829. One of them reads *Shri 2 Lokanatha Shri Shri Vira Simha Malla* on one side and *Shri Shri Yogamati Devi 829* on the other. The other mohar reads *Shri Shri Vira Nara Simha Malla Deva 829 and Shri Shri Lokhanath Saha*.¹ There are, therefore, two reasons to assume that he was a ruler of Patan even though he is omitted from mention in all *vamshavalis*. Coins both show Lokanatha who is the patron deity only of Patan and was never used by Kathmandu or Bhaktapur rulers, unless they ruled in Patan also. Secondly, one of his coins mentions Yogamati Devi who, as we have seen, had played a prominent role in Patan politics since the death of her father, Yoga Narendra Malla.

As Regmi says, "it is much difficult to say in what relationship Yogamati and Viranarasimha stood to each other."² There are two theories or guesses, neither of which is verifiable, as to Vira Nara Simha's identity. One, the weaker, is that he was " . . . also, no doubt, another minor son of Yoga Narendra, who succeeded on Loka Prakasha's death and for whom his mother ruled as regent."³ This argument ignores the fact that Yogamati Devi was not Yoga Narendra's wife but rather his eldest daughter, that there is no mention of Vira Nara Simha in Yogamati's Chyasingdeval inscription of 843 in which she mentions her other King-son, Loka Prakasha, and that one of his *mohars* is without mention of her.

The other argument, put forth by Babu Rama Acharya, suggests that Vira Nara Simha was Yogamati's husband whom she put on the throne because there was no one else in the royal line to assume rule.⁴ This may be correct but there is no corroborating evidence.

To add to the confusion Vira Nara Simha is completely ignored in a usually reliable contemporary *thyasaphu* which elaborately describes the immediate accession of Vira Mahindra Mall to the throne after the death of Loka Prakasha.⁵

1 Joshi, pp. 102-103; Appendix, p. 15 (photos): N. M. S., p. XII, Nos. 72, 73; Walsh, p. 736, No. 64; Bendall, Table II; Sharma, p. 158; Gyawali, pp. 176, 188; Regmi, II, p. 344.

2 Regmi, II, p. 346.

3 Walsh, p. 697.

4 Babu Rama Acharya, "Lalitpurki Maiya Yogamati," *Sharada*, Nari anka, 2007: "Rajasinghasanma rakhnalai rajvamshaka natadar aru kohi napauda Yogmatile aphna logne vira nara simhalai 'malla' garaera rajasinghasanma rakhin". (roughly: not finding any other relative of her lineage to put on the throne, Yogamati, making him a "Malla", put her own husband on the throne).

5 Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thyasaphu C*, p. 53.

The other sources throw little light on the problem. Sharma feels that Vira Nara Simha was Yogamati's son, following Walsh.⁶ Vira Nara Simha is ignored by Munamakarimi. Gyawali admits his inability to solve the problem as does Regmi.⁷ At any rate he ruled for only a few months at most as Vira Mahindra Malla also rules in the year 829.

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⁶ Sharma, p. 158.

⁷ Gyawali, p. 188; Regmi, II, p. 346.

8. VIRA MAHINDRA MALLA (829-835 Pousha)

Vira Mahindra Malla¹ ascended to the throne of Patan in 829. He is supposed to have been an illegitimate son of Yoga Narendra Malla who was born and lived in Tanhou before being called to the throne.² It is again supposed that this child-king was placed on the throne by Yogamati Devi.

As evidence for his reign there are several sources. He had two silver mohars minted in 829.³ Interestingly, neither has Yogamati Devi's name. In a manuscript, *Jyotisara-tnamalatika*, colophon of Jyestha of 830 he is mentioned as ruling in Patan (830 *Jyestha samaya shri lalitapuri mahanagare shri shri. mahendramalladevena.*).⁴ Another Manuscript, *Karandavyuha*, in the Red Macchindranatha temple records his rule in Marga of 831.⁵

In accordance with special ritual procedures the wooden frame inside the small central temple in the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara was replaced and four Buddha images were donated by a group of bahal members in Chaitra of 831. Vira Mahindra is mentioned as ruling on that date.⁶ He is also mentioned in a *stele* of 831 Baisakha of the same mahavihara.⁷

In Baisakha of 832 Vira Mahindra is described as the Patan ruler in an inscription on the Red Macchindranatha temple Ta bahal *chaitya*. It marks the establishment of a *guthi* of Bharos to oversee the general repair of the bahal.⁸ The *dharmasala* and *chaitya* at Patan Gate were erected in Ashadha of 832 during the reign of Vira Mahindra by a Jyapu named Shiva Rama Bhawo. He donated land in *guthi* form to provide funds for the performance of certain pujas during the year.⁹ There are also *steles* showing Vira Mahindra's reign for 833 Baisakha in Balambu village and 834 Baisakha in Kutalachhe tol, Patan.¹⁰

Vira Mahindra is mentioned in several *thyasphu* sources. It is written, for example, that he immediately assumed the throne in 829 Chaitra after the death of Loka Prakasha because of the necessity of performing the proper rituals for the Macchindra-

1 The name is variously spelled Mahindra and Mahendra.

2 Babu Rama Acharya, "Lalitpurki Maiya Yogamati" *op. cit.*; Regmi, II, pp. 344-345.

3 Joshi, p. 104; Appendix, p. 15 (photo).

4 Regmi, II, pp. 346-347; Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 3344.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 347.

6 Regmi, IV, No. 116, pp. 250-252; II, p. 347.

7 *Ibid.*, II, p. 347.

8 Previously unnoticed; No. 47 in my collection.

9 Regmi, IV, No. 117, pp. 254-256; but it is mislocated; this stele is not in Kwa bahal.

10 Regmi, II, p. 348.

natha cart festival.¹¹ According to another *thyasaphu* diarist, Vira Mahindra, referred to merely as *alya juju*, did not come to Patan in Chaitra of 832 to perform the Macchindranatha rituals as he should have, but came rather only in Srawana. ¹² According to this same source, Vira Mahindra died on Pousha of 835 (*yaraya raja abhoga juodina*).¹³

Vira Mahindra's rule also has proved difficult for historical researchers. Bendall ignores his rule. ¹⁴ Walsh concludes that "it is very doubtful whether Vira Mahindra ever reigned over Patan at all. If he did it was between Vira Naren Narasimha and Hrdi Narasimha". ¹⁵ The problem, I think, is that these scholars and others have mis-identified Vira Mahindra with either of two kings, Bhaskara Malla (821-835) or Mahindra Simha (835-842), both of Kathmandu. They therefore thought that Patan had come under the control of Kathmandu after 829, Mahindra Simha did become the ruler of Patan but not until 837 (see below).

Vira Mahindra's rule is also omitted in Sharma's account of the period.¹⁶ Munamkarmi follows the Acharya analysis that Vira Mahindra was an illegitimate son of Yoga Narendra Malla who was from Tanhou. ¹⁷ Gyawali relates that the Gorkhalis also helped to put Vira Mahindra onto the throne with a threat that unless he were enthroned they would take over. But because of his misinterpretation of the date of the coin of Yoga Prakasha Malla, reading it as 832 instead of 842, he imagines that Vira Mahindra's reign ended at that point (832). ¹⁸

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11 Regmi, III, Appendix IIII, *Thyasaphu C*, p. 53.

12 Regmi, IV, *Thyasaphu I*, pp. 348-349, folio 54.

13 Ibid., p. 353, folio 63.

14 Bendall, Table II.

15 Walsh, , p. 698.

16 Sharma, pp. 158-159.

17 Munamkarmi, p. 21.

18 Gyawali, pp. 188-189.

9. RIDDHI NARA SIMHA MALLA
(835 Pousha-837 Jyestha)

Upon the death of Vira Mahindra Malla, Riddhi Nara Simha Malla was immediately enthroned. Although his reign, too, was short there is adequate information about his ancestry and his period of rule to make an understandable episode.

Riddhi Nara Simha's ancestry is specifically mentioned in two inscriptions. One is the Krishna temple in Saugala tol of Jyestha 825. It was built by a sister of King Yoga Narendra Malla, Rudramati. In the inscription she mentions her own son Rudrendra Malla and his newly born son Riddhi Nara Simha Malla. ¹ Again, in an inscription of Magha 835, on a *chaitya* in front of the pulchowk Vajra Yogini Mahavihara, it is written that he is the son of Yoga Narendra's nephew (*tadabhawat maharaja riddhinarasimhabhupati. shri shri yoga narendra bhagineyatmajo babhou*). ²

The first evidence of Riddhi Nara Simha's rule is a palm leaf (*talpatara*) land grant dated Pousha of 835. It is stamped as the first such grant of his reign and is therefore a very important document. ³ There is also the inscription mentioned above of Magha 835 in which Riddhi Nara Simha is mentioned as *maharaja*. ⁴ In 835 there were two silver *mohars* minted for Riddhi Nara Simha. ⁵

In the Mulchowk of the Patan palace there is a gilded *torana* which was donated by the king to his *ishta-devata* (Taleju). It is dated Aswina 835 and declares that anyone who damages it will be visited by the five great curses. ⁶

Riddhi Nara Simha Malla is mentioned in several of the published *thyasaphus*. In one he is described as ruling in Aswina of 835. ⁷ In another chronicle he is mentioned in Magha and Baisakha of 835 and Chaitra, Baisakha and Srawana of 836. ⁸ The date of his death is 837 Jyestha according to the same source. ⁹

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1 Regmi, IV, No. 112, pp. 240-243.

2 Dhana Vajra Vajracharya, "Yoga Narendra Malla Ra Riddhi Nara Simha Mallako Nata", *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, pp. 269-271.

3 In the possession of Yagyanda Vajracharya published in *Itihasa Prakasha*, I, p. 131.

4 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 310; Regmi, IV, No. 120, pp. 258-259; II, p. 349.

5 Joshi, pp. 104-105, Appendix, p. 15 (photo); N. M. S., p. XII, Nos. 74, 75; Walsh, 736-737, Nos. 64,65 (with date misread as 836); Sharma, p. 158 (with date misread as 836); Gyawali, pp. 176, 189 (with date of one misread as 836); Regmi, II, p. 349.

6 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 16; *Itihasa Samdhodhanko*, pp. 271, 310; Regmi, IV, No. 122, p. 263.

7 Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thyasaphu H*, p. 114.

8 *Ibid.*, "A Fragment of a Chronicle in Newari". pp. 127-139, folios 44 (ka)-45(kha).

9 *Ibid.*, p. 127, folio 44 (kha); Regmi, II, p. 350.

10. MAHINDRA SIMHA

(837 Ashadha-843)

According to a chronicle, upon the receipt of the news of the death of Riddhi Nara Simha Malla, the Pradhans of Patan called upon the Kathmandu King, Mahindra Simha, to rule in Patan also. He consented and was enthroned in Ashadha of 837. ¹ In the same year he had minted a *mohar* to mark the beginning of his rule in Patan. It is surely a Patan coin as it is inscribed with the name of the patron saint of the city *shri shri kalunamaya*. ² It is interesting to note that neither his coins nor, usually, his inscriptions, carry the name "Malla." He was, according to Regmi, a ruler of Dolkha who was imported to fill royal vacancies first in Kathmandu and then in Patan. ³

In 838 Chaitra both Mahindra Simha and his minister Jhagara Tahakura are mentioned as ruling in an inscription of the chaitya in Konti bahal.⁴ And in Magha of 839 a group of Vajracharyas organized and donated new gilded roofs to the temple in Binchhe bahal. They also specified certain pujas to be performed during the year. In the inscription it is written: *shri lalitpuri nagare shri shri mahendra simha deva mahendra simha deva rajyadhikare*. ⁵

A *bhikshu* of Naka bahil sent an invitation to King Mahindra Simha to attend a special feast (*samek*) at Hiranya Varna Mahavihara in Magha of 839. ⁶ And in 840 Baisakha Mahindra Simha's minister (*kaji*) Jhangala Thakula is reported as repairing a Ganesha temple in Chabahil in the Kathmandu Kingdom. In this inscription Mahindra Simha is described as king of Yala (Patan) as well as of Kathmandu. ⁷

1 Regmi, III, Appendix III, "A Fragment of a Chronicle in Newari" pp. 127-128, folio 44 (kha): according to Acharya, *op. cit.*, there was a month of internecine fighting as some of the religious leaders had invited the Crown Prince of Bhaktapur, Rana Jita Malla, to take the Patan throne. Ultimately, he says, Yogamati's forces were triumphant. Rana Jita returned to Bhaktapur after paying a ransom of two elephants and sixteen thousand rupees.

2 This is another name for Macchindranatha and is not used in Kathmandu or Bhaktapur coins unless the king is ruling in Patan also. Joshi, pp. 105-106; N. M. S., p. VIII (in the Kathmandu section): Gyawali, pp. 176, 189, Regmi, II, pp. 168, 172, 352.

3 Regmi, II, pp. 170-171.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

5 Previously unpublished; No. 106 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 172.

6 Regmi, IV, No. 124, pp. 265-266; II, p. 172.

7 Previously unpublished; from collection of Hema Raja Shakya; Regmi, II, p. 169.

In 841 Chaitra there is a copper plate (*tamrapatra*) land grant, issued by king Mahindra Simha and witnessed by Jaga Jaya Malla (who succeeded him), for land in the Ikhaldunga area.⁸ The last known inscription for his Patan reign is located at the large *chaitya* in Pim bahal. Repair work was done on the *chaitya* in Jyessha of 842 during the reign of Mahindra Simha.⁹

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8 *Itihasa Prakasha*, II:3, p. 457; Regmi, II, pp. 170-171. This many man that he still held power in Dolkhu too.

9 Regmi, IV, No. 126, pp. 268-269; II, pp. 172-173.

11. YOGAPRAKASHA MALLA (842-849)

Upon the death of King Mahindra Simha, Yoga Prakasha Malla succeeded to the throne of Patan. Who Yoga Prakasha was and how he gained the throne are still unanswered questions. As was the case with Vira Mahindra, there are two schools of thought as to the origins of his power. One is that Yogamati Devi had him placed on the throne¹ and that he was essentially a puppet of hers. It is indeed remarkable that in her inscription of 843 Magha she failed to mention any ruling monarch and that she, at the same time, highly lauded Vishnu Malla who succeeded Yoga Prakasha six years later. On the other hand, Yogamati's name appears on neither of his coins. This would lead one to assume that she was not very powerful. The other theory is that he was a bonafide descendant of Yoga Narendra Malla.² At any rate he ascended to the Patan throne in late 842.

There are two coins (a silver *mohar* and a *suki*) minted in 842 which bear the name of Yoga Prakasha.³ There is a manuscript in the National Library called *Gautamiya-jantra* which has the following colophon: *shri yoga prakasha malla bijaya rajye likhitam. 843 kartika.*⁴ In Magha of 843 Yoga Prakasha is the King *juju* of Patan according to *thyasaphu* sources.⁵

In the collection of the Department of Archeology there is a copper plate on which it is written that King Yoga Prakasha had granted land to Lakshmana Upadhaya in West Number One district. The witness to the grant is Vishnu Malla Thakula and it is dated Aswina of 844.⁶ In the National Library there is a manuscript, *Dharmaputrika*, which mentions Yoga Prakasha's *bijaya rajye* in Kartika 845.⁷ A large group of Bharos organized and built a temple for Bhima Sena in Chaya bahal in 845 Baisakha. Yoga Prakasha was ruling at that time according to a *stele* attached to the temple.⁸

1 Joshi, p. 106.

2 Regmi, II, p. 354.

3 Joshi, pp. 106-107, Appendix, pp. 15-16 (photos): *N. M. S.* p. XII, Nos. 77, 78; Walsh, p. 737, No. 66 (with date misread as 832); Bendall, Table II; Sharma, p. 159; Munamkarmi, p. 22; Gyawali, pp. 176, 189 (with date mistread as 832). The error in reading committed by Walsh and Gyawali causes both authors to go to extraordinary efforts to form a sensible chronology. Regmi, II, p. 353.

4 Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 1969.

5 Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thyasaphu* H, p. 114.

6 *Purattwa-Patra Sangrah*, I, pp. 39-40; Regmi, II, p. 354 (with incorrect month).

7 Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5364; Regmi, II, p. 354 (with incorrect manuscript number 5365).

8 Regmi, IV, No. 132, pp. 278-279; II, p. 354.

Inscribed on the gilded sheeting on the Bhima Sena temple in Mangala bazaar is the fact that Yoga Prakasha's minister, Ganga Shankara Babu, had donated it. The date is Phalguna 846.⁹ The last source for his reign is another copper plate; this also is in the possession of the Department of Archeology. It marks the sale of paddy land to Chandramana Jaisi of West Number One district. Again the witness is Vishnu Malla Thakula and the date is 846 Chaitra.¹⁰

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⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 134, p. 281; II, p. 355.

¹⁰ *Purattwa-Patra Sangraha*, I. pp. 41-42; Regmi, II, p. 354.

12. VISHNU MALLA AND RAJYA PRAKASHA MALLA (849-Aswina 878)

Yoga Prakasha was succeeded by a king, Vishnu Malla, of clear ancestry. In his Shankamula inscription of Jyestha 852 he traces his ancestry: from Shri Niwasa Malla to his son Yoga Narendra Malla and daughter Manimati (who were brother and sister). Manimati was the mother of King Indra Malla Punyamati. Punyamati married Dara Simha and their son was Vishnu Malla. ¹ The same heritage is described in Yogamati's Chyasingdeval temple inscription of 843 mentioned above. In it she relates that Shri Niwasa's daughter, Manimati, had a daughter, Punyamati, and that her son was Vishnu Malla (*babhuba shri niwasa putri manimati tisa. tasta punyamati tatputra vishnu ma'la*). ²

The first evidence we have of the rule of Vishnu Malla are coins. In 849 a silver *mohar* and a *suki* were minted in Vishnu Malla's name. Inside the Maha Lakshmi temple at Lagan Khel there is a *stele* of Bhadra 850 which records the donation of land by King Vishnu Malla in order to ensure the performance of *homa pujas* in perpetuity. ⁴

In 851 another *mohar* is minted. This one included, on one side, *shri shri jaya vishnu malla deva* 851 and, on the other, *shri shri loknatha shri jaya vira yoga narendra malla deva*.⁵ In Jyestha of 852 there is the Shankamula inscription referred to above.⁶ There is a copper plate inscription attached to the front wall of the Byagha Bhairava temple in the town of Kirtipur. The plate prescribes the performance of a number of *pujas* during the year from revenues gained from lands donated by King Vishnu Malla. It is dated 852 Srawana. ⁷

Vishnu Malla and his wife Vishnumati Lakshmi donated land in *guthi* trust to the Bhawani temple in Mamadu alley (*galli*) of Mahapala tol. Dedicating it to the glory

1 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 16-19; Regmi, IV, No. 140, pp. 289-293.

2 Regmi, IV, No. 128, PP. 271-274.

3 Joshi, pp. 107--108, Appendix, p. 16 (photos): *N.M.S.*, P. XII, Nos. 80, 81; Walsh, p. 738, No. 68 (date misread as 859); Bendall, Table II; Sharma, p. 159 (date misread as 859); Munamkarmi, p. 23; Regmi, II, p. 356.

4 Unpublished; eye copy only could be made as foreigners not allowed passage inside temple.

5 Joshi, p. 107, Appendix, p. 16 (photo); *N.M.S.*, p. XIV, No. 83; Walsh, p. 737, No. 67 (date misread as 861); Bendall, Table II, Sharma, p. 159 (date misread as 861); Regmi, II, p. 356 (date misread as 850).

6 Same as note 1; *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 295; Munamkarmi, p. 24; Regmi, II, p. 355, 357.

7 Regmi, IV, No. 140a, pp. 293-394; II, pp. 356-357.

of their *ishta-devata*, Bhawani, they prescribed many pujas to be performed from the land and established a *guthi* of Bharos to enforce the regulations. In charge of the *guthi* was Vishnumati Lakshmi's younger brother (*kija*) Bhawo Bharo. 8

The Vajravarahi temple near Chapagaon was repaired and a new gilded *gajuri* was donated by King Vishnu Malla in Jyestha of 855.⁹ The gilt sheeting on the Nandi bull in front of the main temple in the Kumbheswara compound was donated by Vishnu Malla in Jyestha of 855. 10

The large bell in front of the royal palace in Mangal bazaar was placed there by Vishnu Malla and his queen, Chandra Lakshmi. She was a daughter of Kathmandu King Jaga Jaya Malla and sister of Rajaya Prakasha Malla. The inscription on the bell reads: *maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya vishnu malla deavsa patni shri chandra lakshmi devi ubhayasana thwa dibya ghanta dunta dina juro*. 11 Attached to the wall of the Sarasvati temple in Sarasvatini is a stone inscription. One Sambara Shakyavamsha and one Muni Rayju had built the temple in memory of their dead father and dedicated its central image to their dead mother in Phalguna of 857 during the reign of Vishnu Malla.

After this date, Phalguna of 857, there is an historically embarrassing gap of several years, until Kartika of 865, for Vishnu Malla. It is clear that he had adopted his brother-in-law Rajya Prakasha Malla as his son and had planned to have him take the throne after his death. It has been the custom to assume that Vishnu Malla ruled until 865 or late 864 and that he died in Srawana 865. 13 However, there is one document which, although first published several years ago, has been ignored. It is a land grant dated Baisakha 856 in which Rajya Prakasha is clearly denoted as King of Patan: *shri manigaladhipati maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya rajya prakasha malla deva prabhu thakurasana*. The witness was Chandra Shekhara Malla who also figures as witness in later inscriptions. 14

8 Previously unpublished; No. 98 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 357 (with incorrect name of goddess and no location mentioned). Regmi sometimes has the habit of locating a *stela* as "a slab of stone in Patan" or as being at "a temple in Patan." This makes verification work most difficult.

9 Regmi, II, p. 357.

10 Previously unpublished; No. 16 in my plate collection: Regmi, II, p. 357.

11 *Itihasa Prakasha* I, pp. 63-64 (with Nepali translation by Yogi Nara Hari Natha); *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha*, pp. 280-281; Regmi, II, p. 357; Munakarmi, p. 24; Gyawali, p. 190.

12 Previously unnoticed; No. 60 in my collection.

13 Regmi, II, p. 358.

14 *Itihasa Prakasha* I, pp. 155-156.

Regmi's two major arguments for 865 as the first year of Rajya Prakasha's rule is that his coins were first issued then. This is quite true.¹⁵ The second argument is that he witnessed his brother's, King Jaya Prakasha, Kathmandu land charters until 863 Mangsir.¹⁶ This may not be the case. A close inspection of the various land grants from 859 to 863 shows one Raja (not Rajya) Prakasha Malla as witness.¹⁷ The important question, of course, is whether Raja and Rajya Prakasha were one and the same person. There is no mention of a son or close relative named Raja Praksasha in the other sources. To proceed further than to state the possibility of Rajya Prakasha's reign as early as 858 Baisakha would be to assert more than the records warrant, but the possibility certainly remains. At any rate, the seven year gap is indeed strange.

There is an inscription of Kartika 865 attached to a wall of the Ganesha temple in Chaupati tol which states: *bhanekhe narpam rajya prakasha sahitam vishnu malla*.¹⁸ This could be interpreted to signify that Rajya Prakasha ruled with the advice of Vishnu Malla. At any rate this is the last mention of Vishnu Malla in the inscriptions. According to a *thyasaphu* source he died in Srawana 865.¹⁹

Rajya Prakasha Malla had three silver *mohars* and a *suki* minted in 865. All of the *mohars* mention the name of Yoga Narendra Malla.²⁰ In Baisakha of 866 Rajya Prakasha had gilt plating donated to the cart of the Red Macchindranatha. This is related in a copper plate which is now attached to the cart.

There is a copper plate attached to the front wall of the Byagha Bhairava temple in the town of Kirtipur. It is an edict from *shri manigladhipati maharajadhiraja rajya prakasha* forbidding trees to be felled in and around the Kirtipur fort (*garh*).

15 Joshi, pp. 108-109, Appendix, pp. 16-17 (photos).

16 Regmi, II, p. 359.

17 See, as examples, Regmi, IV, No. 142, pp. 267-268 (a copper plate dated 859 Srawan): No. 144, pp. 269-270 (a copper plate dated 862 Mangsir): a palm leaf (*talpatra*) of Kartik 861 in the possession of Joseph Weiler; *Purattwa Patra Sangraha*, I, pp. 14-17, 19-20.

18 Previously unpublished; No. 102 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 359.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 358.

20 Joshi, pp. 108-109, Appendix, pp. 16-17 (photos); *N. M. S.* p. XIV, Nos. 85, 85, 87, 88; Walsh, pp. 738-739, Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72 (with dates misread as 856); Bendall, Table II, Sharma, p. 159 (dates misread as 866): Regmi, II, pp. 358-359; Gyawall, pp. 177, 181 (dates misread as 855 and 856), The major reading errors of Walsh and Gyawali result in a convoluted chronology.

21 Previously unnoticed; from collection of Hema Raja Shakya; No. 19 in my copper plate collection.

It includes fines for those who disobey the order and is dated Phalguna 870. ²² There is little doubt that the king's concern was less with conservation than with defense of the town. Prthvi Narayana Shaha's army had already begun the attack of the valley and the victory at Kirtipur was to prove one of the key issues in this eventual triumph.

Rajya Prakasha gave land to the Shekhara Narayana temple near Pharping for the perpetual worship of Narayana according to a stone inscription at the temple dated Srawana 871. ²³ In another *talpatra* dated Aswina 871, land is given by *shri manigladhapati maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya rajya prakasha malla deva prabhu thakurasa* and witnessed (*sakhshi*) by *shri chandra sheshra malla athakurasa*. ²⁴ In Thankot village there is a *stela* dated Poush 873 which records the decision of one Jaya Ratna Simha to repair the defense wall of the town. He also expresses the hope that the citizens of the village would henceforth take care of the wall. ²⁵ Rajya Prakasha is noted as ruler. As a matter of fact, Thankot was one of the first Kathmandu valley towns to be taken by the Gorkhali-Shaha army a few years later.

In Kartika of 874 another *talpatra* was issued by Rajya Prakasha and witnessed by Chandra Sheshara Malla. ²⁶ There is also a copper plate land grant of 874 Chaitra which was issued by Rajya Prakasha Malla and witnessed by Chandra Sheshara. ²⁷ According to various chronicles and *thyasaphu* sources he died in Aswina 878 and the reign of his successor, Viswa Jita Malla, began in the same month. ²⁸

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²² Regmi, IV, No. 144 a, pp. 300-301 ; ; II, p. 359.

²³ *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 20; Regmi, IV, No. 145, pp. 301-303; II, p. 359; Munamkarmi, p. 26.

²⁴ Previously unnoticed; in my collection.

²⁵ Quoted in Dhana Vajra Vajracharya, "Mallakalma Desrakshako Wyawastha Ra Tyasapraati Prajako Kartaway" *Purnima* II, p. 29 (with Nepali translation of *stela*).

²⁶ In my collection.

²⁷ Regmi, IV, No. 149, pp. 306-307.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 360; here he quotes the Capuchin Mission records.

13. VISWA JITA MALLA
(Aswina 878-Srawana 880)

According to the Capuchin mission records, Viswa Jita Malla succeeded Rajya Prakasha Malla in Aswina of 878. Also in 878 there were one silver *mohar* and one *suki* minted in his name.¹

The ancestry of Viswa Jita is unclear. He is mentioned as being related to Vishnu Malla, being his daughter's son (*vishnu mallaki chhoripattika chhora*).² This relationship is described in one inscription and is, however, strictly the opinion of a chronicler.

In Magha of 880 King Viswa Jita Malla had a copper plate attached to the Jalabinayaka temple in the village of Chobhar. He gave the lumbering rights to two residents of Chobhar and denied rights to anyone else. This is a very important document as it is the only inscription yet discovered for Viswa Jita's short reign.³

According to Patan mythology and the later chronicles, Viswa Jita committed suicide in Srawana or Bhadra 880. He was accused of adultery with the daughter of an important Pradhan who was, in a fit of rage, coming to kill him.⁴

* * *

1 Joshi, p. 111 (*suki* date misread as 872); Appendix, p. 17 (photo); *N.M.S.*, p. XIV, No. 90? *Suki* unnoticed); Walsh, p. 739, No. 73 (*suki* date misread as 872); in the photo printed in Walsh's essay it is clear that the *suki* date is also 878; unfortunately, Joshi copied Walsh without verifying the date. Sharma, p. 160; Gyawali, p. 178; Regmi, II, p. 361.

2 Joshi, p. 111.

3 Previously unnoticed; from the collection of Hema Raja Shakya; No. 17 in my copper plate collection.

4 Regmi, II, pp. 361-362.

14. JAYA PRAKASHA MALLA

The last eight years of independent existence of Patan are years of turmoil and confusion. The Pradhans clearly show themselves as powerful, yet unstable, figures. Kings come and go in rapid succession and, finally the city, because of lack of unity and no real leader, falls to the Gorkhas.

Viswa Jita was followed by the King of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakasha Malla, who enjoyed but a short reign in Patan. For evidence of his regnal career there is only one inscription in Patan.¹ It is a copper plate affixed to a wall in the Mulchowk in the Patan palace and is dated Magha 881. It is the delineation of rules of conduct for citizens.

* * *

1 Regmi claims (II, pp. 363-364) to have "seen a coin of Jaya Prakasha Malla with date 880, which shows the emblems used generally in Patan coins. Although the coin could not now be located. . ." It would, of course, be most useful if found.

2 Regmi, IV, No. 152; pp. 319-320; II, pp. 363-365.

15. RANA JITA MALLA

Jaya Prakasha Malla was followed on the Patan throne by the King of Bhaktapur, Rana Jita Malla. There are two evidences of his reign. A silver *mohar* was issued in 882 on which was written the following: *shri jaya rana jita malla* and *shri 3 karunamaya* 882.¹

There was also a copper plate in the Mulchowk of the Patan palace which declared Rana Jita Malla's political philosophy and made rules for those entering the Mulchowk. According to Rana Jita the population was divided into three sectors: the king, the ministers and the people. In case of malfeasance of one sector and in order to ensure justice for each sector it was the duty of the two aggrieved sectors to support each other and thereby ensure political equilibrium. The wearing of shoes, chewing or smoking of tobacco and spitting were forbidden to citizens who entered the Mulchowk.

Despite his admirable political theory of checks and balances, Rana Jita's rule was short and he was rapidly succeeded by Dalmardana Shaha. He did, however, keep his throne in Bhaktapur

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¹ Joshi, pp. 109-110; Regmi, II, p. 364., *N. M. S.*, No. 104; p. XVI.

² *Itihasa Patrasangraha* II, pp. 72-77 (with Nepali translation and brief historical background).

16. DALMARDANA SHAHA

According to the chronicles, Jaya Prakasha Malla ruled again in 883 after the reign of Rana Jita but there is no evidence other than that of the later chronicles to support this view.

The Pradhans of Patan called upon Prithvi Narayana Shaha to abolish the blockade of the valley and alleviate their suffering and offered the throne of Patan. He refused to take the throne of Patan but sent his younger brother, Dalmardana Shaha, to rule in his place. He was enthroned in 884 and issued a silver *mohar* in the same year. ¹

The Gorkhali blockade was, however, not lifted and so the Pradhans apparently decided that the young Gorkhali's rule would bring them no relief. Accordingly, they relieved him of office and installed in his place the last king of Patan, Teja Nara Simha Malla. ²

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¹ Joshi, pp. 111-112, Appendix, p. 17 (photo); *N. M. S.*, p. XIV, No. 91; Walsh, p. 739, No. 75 (date misread as 888); Regmi, II, pp. 363, 368.

² The following is extracted from Father Guiseppes, "*An Account of Nepal*":

"After the death of their sovereign, the nobles of Lalit Patan nominated for their king Gainprejas (Jay Prakash), a man possessed of the greatest influence in Nepal; but some years afterwards they removed him from his government and conferred it upon the king of B'hatgan (Rana Jit); but he also, a short time afterwards, was deposed; and, after having put to death another king who succeeded him (?) they made an offer of the government to Prit'hwinarayan, who had already commenced war. Prit'hwinarayan, deputed one of his brothers, by name Delmerden Sah, to govern the kingdom of Lelit Pattan, and he was in the actual government of it when I arrived at Nepal; but the nobles perceiving that Prit'hwinarayan still continued to interrupt the tranquility of their kingdom, they disclaimed all subjection to him, and acknowledged for their sovereign, Delmerden Sah, who continued the war against his brother Prit'hwinarayan: but some years afterwards, they even deposed Delmerden Sah, and elected in his room a poor man of Lelit Pattan, who was of royal origin (Teja Nara Simha).

17. TEJA NARA SIMHA MALLA
(885-888 Bhadra)

Teja Nara Simha Malla assumed the throne in 885 and issued a silver *mohar* in that same year. ¹ In Srawana of 887 he issued a palm leaf (*talpatra*) land grant to a resident of Bamla bahal. He is called *shri manigladhipati maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya teja nara simha malla deva prabhu thakulasana* in the grant. ² The third source for his rule is a copper plate inscription of Phalguna 888. In it the king, Teja Nara Simha Malla, is a witness to a special grant to GyaheSwari Devi by one Vishnu Natha Dharman. ³

In Bhadra of 888 the Kathmandu palace fell to the invading Gorkhalis and King Jaya Prakasha Malla fled to neighboring Patan. In another month Patan, too, fell and both kings escaped to Bhaktapur. There they lived for fourteen months until Kartika 890 when that last Malla outpost also fell to Prithivi Narayana Shaha. Teja Nara Simha Malla was imprisoned and died an obscure figure some years later.

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1 Joshi, pp. 112-113, Appendix, p. 17 (photo); *N. M. S.*, p. XIV, No. 93; Regmi, pp.) 363 (with date misread as 886) 368.

2 Previously unnoticed; in my possession.

3 Previously unnoticed; in the possession of B. N. Shrestha of Kamal Lakshmi tol. Kathmandu; from the collection of Hema Raja Shakya; No. 18 in my copper plate collection.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN KATHMANDU AND PALPA IN THE RANA PERIOD.

Dan Edwards
Kathmandu

In this article I want to discuss the question of the relations between the central government and the officials and offices in Palpa district, particularly from the years 1990 to 2007 V. S. (1933-1950 A. D). Some people have argued that the Bada Hakim, also called the Tainathwalla of Palpa Gaunda, was such a powerful figure that he governed the district like a local maharaja. There are several reasons in support of this view. First, because of the transportation and communication difficulties of the time, it was hard for Kathmandu to obtain prompt and complete information of what was happening in a district as far away as Palpa. So how was the Center to dictate policies, exercise supervision over the local authorities, or provide them with the resources they required? These conditions forced the Center to invest the Tainathwalla with great authority, with the result that Kathmandu was dependent upon him for the management of governmental affairs in the district.

Second, the Tainathwalla was a powerful and feared person because he was in charge of all law and order or security matters in the district. Several army regiments were stationed at Palpa and were under his command. Thirdly, if the Bada Hakim was a Rana, and nearly every Palpa Bada Hakim was closely related to the Maharaja as a brother, son, or nephew, this relationship added to his stature and prestige. The Palpa Tainathwalla from 1991 (1934) until the downfall of the Ranas in 1951 was Rudra Shamsher, who once had been the Muktiyar and in line to succeed the Prime Minister. This meant he was senior to Padma and Mohan Shamsher who subsequently became the Maharaja. So it is reasonable to suppose that he was in a much stronger position than the ordinary Bada Hakim to exercise power in ruling the district of Palpa.

Although there is some truth in these arguments, I believe that government records I have read requires us to draw different conclusions. The general argument of this paper is that the central government in fact quite effectively supervised and controlled local offices and successfully prevented officials, even Rudra Shamsher, from acting in ways opposed to the objectives and the interests of the Maharaja (Rana Prime Minister).

In this discussion I will refer to two different kinds of evidence. One is the formal requirements as stated in the sections of laws, sanads (charters), and sawals (regula-

tions). These defined the arrangements for how tasks were to be carried out. Of course laws and rules may be violated, ignored, or not enforced. What is supposed to be done in a particular way may be done in another way or not done at all. The second type of evidence is drawn from reports, letters, and petitions, which indicate what actually was going on in the district. Both kinds of evidence are important in analyzing the relations between central and local authorities.

It appears that central control over district administration increased as the years went by. The degree of authority and discretion of the Palpa Tainathwala was correspondingly reduced. When Bir Shamsheer went to Palpa as "Governor" in 1931 (1874 A. D.), he was also made *Tainath* (a person in command) of all the offices west of the Trishuli River (i.e. Dhading to Palpa).¹ At that time he had the authority to discharge those in the Palpa Brigade whom he found unfit and to make other appointments himself.

A letter written in 1999 (1942) refers to another power that the old Palpa Governors used to enjoy. They could hear appeals against the decisions of the courts and gaundas from Pokhara to Doti.² (Later on, the Bada Hakim in Palpa could hear only appeals from the courts in Baglung, Pyuthan, Salyana, Syangja, Thak, and Palpa itself). Until 1954 (1899) the Palpa Governor was also the Talukwala of Butaul Goswara, but this authority was taken away "when it was found that he had not worked well and had caused the people hardship."³ Thereafter a separate Bada Hakim was sent to Butaul. The ways in which the sanads and sawals limited the Tainathwala's other prerogatives will be considered below.

Within Palpa district the Tainathwala acted as head of the district administration. For the central government to issue directives, give permission in district affairs, and exercise supervision over Palpa officials it had to know the situation there. Kathmandu needed to have reliable and detailed information about local conditions and the particular items of business with which the administration was concerned. What arrangements did the Center make to obtain such information? Was the information received adequate for the Center to achieve its main objectives, and for it to subordinate the district administration to its control?

The Palpa offices themselves were required to furnish a great deal of information. Reports and investigations about matters, request for permission, monthly reports, yearly reports, office account books, drafts for new sanads, and petitions from the local people were all submitted to Kathmandu. In addition, officials could send their

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1. "The Life of Bir Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana." Manuscript, undated, Kesar Library, Kathmandu.
 2. Letter to Rudra Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana, Jestha 9, 1999 V. S. (1942 A. D.).
 3. *Idem*.

own letters or petitions about any matter to the appropriate central office or to the Maharaja. Often an official would inform the Maharaja that another worker in the same office had not done his work properly, had violated laws or procedures, or was troubling the people in certain ways. Officials even reported the actions of the Bada Hakim which were considered improper. If many complaints about the district officials were received in Kathmandu, the implication was that the Bada Hakim was not performing his supervisory duties well. He could be reprimanded for this negligence by the Maharaja, in polite terms if the Bada Hakim was a senior Shamsheer Rana, or in more severe language if he was Jang Rana⁴ or of some other caste.

Each office was required to submit a monthly report which gave an account of the work the office was engaged in. Most offices had standardized forms to complete. For example the Palpa Mal (Revenue) Office had to submit the following types of figures: the total amounts of uncollected revenue (arrears) from previous years; the total amount of revenue to be collected in the current year; of these two sums, the amounts collected that month; the totals collected so far that year; the amounts for which exemptions had been granted; the amounts for which the office had found it necessary to submit reports; the amounts which had not been collected because some difficulties had arisen; and the amounts for which additional help or time was required in order to make collections.⁵ The monthly report also showed the income and expenditures as listed in the account books; the amounts deposited as security; and the figures regarding the kind and number of a documents registered and the fees collected for registration. This monthly report then went to the Gaunda Office which examined and forwarded it to the concerned central office. If the Gaunda found any errors or omissions in the report, it was responsible to have corrections made.

The yearly reports, or *pajani kajag*, contained the same detailed types of summaries of work done and also included personal data on office workers and gave an evaluation of their performances. These are the remarks of the Gaunda Office about a bichari of the Palpa Gaunda Appeal in one year's pajani papers:

A complaint of forgery has been lodged against this bichari, and actions are now being taken with regard to it. In another case it was found that he had improperly

4. After 1900 the Shamsheer Ranas dominated the top administrative positions in the state. The Maharajas, descendants of Dhir Shamsheer, the youngest brother of Prime Minister Jang Bahadur, came from this branch of the family. There were other Rana families, however, such as the Jang Ranas, Narsingh Ranas, Bikram Ranas and Dhoj Ranas. These were the descendants of Jang Bahadur himself and his other brothers.
5. *Palpa Mal Sawal* (Regulations of the Palpa Revenue Office), Shawan 28,1991 (1934), section 151.

detained someone, and the bichari was fined. He is now appealing. Since it does not appear that his motives are good, there should be a new bichari (appointed).⁶

From these monthly reports and pajani papers the central offices were able to know how well the offices and officials were working.

On the basis of these reports, officials in Kathmandu could evaluate the performances of district officials, could make efforts to expedite works that were not complete and could issue reminders, warnings, or levy fines against local offices which had not accomplished their work on time. The system of fines was an important device by which the Center supervised and controlled district administration. Rana Bada Hakims themselves were fined on occasion, though I have found no records indicating that the Palpa Tainathwalla was so disciplined. The Tainathwalla could impose fines on local officials also, but unless directed otherwise, he had to do so for the reasons given in the laws and within the amounts specified therein. Furthermore, the money realized from such fines had to be submitted to the government and could not be appropriated by the Bada Hakim.

At the end of the year routine fines were assessed against the local courts and mal (revenue) offices for matters that had not been disposed of within the allowed time limits. In 2006 (1949) for example, the Palpa Appeal was fined 36.75 rupees, at the rates of 25 paisa for each case which had been decided late, and 50 paisa for each case whose time limit had expired but which was still pending.⁷ These fines were collected by making deductions in proportionate shares from the salaries of the office staff. At the same time the mal offices were fined at the rates of 25 paisa per 100 rupees of assessed tax revenue that the offices had been unable to collect, and 1 rupee for each application to cultivate land which had not been acted upon in time.

Fines also were levied at any time when local offices failed to discharge their assignments. For neglecting to measure and prepare a register of lands granted to a daughter of the Maharaja in 1994 (1973), the Palpa Gaunda, Adalat, and Gulmi Mal were each fined 2 rupees. Two more notices were sent out from Kathmandu regarding this task but when the local offices had still not submitted the necessary materials the central office again wrote and demanded that the work be completed within 7 days or the salaries of the concerned officials would be stopped.⁸

If offices fell hopelessly behind in their work or many complaints were received about the failures of offices to carry out their responsibilities or about the corrupt practice

6. "Appeal Dosra marphat Pahad Adalatko 91 Salka Baliko Pajani Kagaj" (The 1934 Pajani Papers for the Hill Courts under the Second Appeal Court—in Kathmandu), 1991 (1934).

7. Order to Pahad Adalat Appeals (Hill Courts of Appeal). 2006 (1949).

8. Order to Palpa Gaunda (Headquarters of Palpa District), Phalgun 25, 1994 (1938).

of officials, a *daudaha* (inspection team) was often dispatched from Kathmandu to inspect the local offices. It would investigate charges against officials and take whatever actions it could to get arrears collected and to clear up the accounts and cases which the offices had failed to take care of. The chief of the *daudaha*, often a Rana official was given wide authority to impose punishments and to take the necessary steps so that the district offices would again perform their duties as they were required to. *Daudahas* were means by which the Center, through its own deputed officials could have a first-hand look at the way in which the district offices were functioning. Kathmandu did not have to rely solely upon reports sent in from offices in Palpa for an evaluation of affairs in the district.

There was another way in which the Center could check upon the activities of even the Tainathwalla himself. An interesting letter written in 1997 (1940) reveals how secret investigations were carried out by agents sent from Kathmandu to make extensive enquiries into reports of official misconduct. ⁹ In brief, the letter noted that news had earlier been received in Kathmandu that hakims and clerks in Palpa had gotten together with some scoundrels and had committed improper actions. Rudra Shamsher as Tainathwalla had been asked to make secret enquiries himself about the activities of these people and to report his findings to the Maharaja. He was to make arrests and, if necessary, to expel from the district those of bad character.

When Rudra Shamsher replied that there was no one who had acted improperly as reported, the Center dispatched its own secret investigators. With their report in hand, the Center told Rudra it was obvious that mischief-makers had fooled him. It asked why he had not investigated officials even when information which he had submitted in the *pajani* papers indicated that those officials were not working satisfactorily. The Maharaja then ordered Rudra Shamsher to dismiss a total of 10 officials in Palpa immediately.

During the time they were in Palpa, the Center's spies had checked into whether or not the Tainathwalla himself was implicated in these reports of wrong-doing. While no evidence was found of this, Rudra Shamsher was admonished that "it was bad for you to have informed us (the Maharaja) that these officials work with good intentions and observe the laws" when it was found that they committed improprieties for which they were to be dismissed. ¹⁰ Likewise the Tainathwalla was told he had not been making careful investigations as he should have been and should not rely on the opinions of others.

9. Letter from Shri 3 Maharaja (Prime Minister Juddha Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana) to Rudra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Shawan 30, 1997 (1940).

10. *Idem*.

The Center was also able to learn about the situation in Palpa through petitions (*binti patra*) which could be sent by any person on any subject upon the payment of 1 rupee. Daudahas were regularly sent out to the districts, and people were encouraged to bring their grievances and complaints against local officials to the attention of the inspection team. Many petitions were sent to Kathmandu through the district offices, while others were taken directly to the capital by the people themselves.

Some petitions asked the Maharaja for grants of money or other benefits. The Ranas living in Palpa would send petitions to request funds to build new houses, to pay wedding and funeral expenses to perform the "sacred thread" (*bratbandh*) ceremony, and to obtain or increase their monthly allowances that the government provided. Grants of financial assistance to Ranas living in the districts can be seen in part as an attempt by the Maharaja to keep those families contented and loyal, so that it would be more difficult for any Bada Hakim to enlist the support of local Ranas in any corrupt or subversive schemes he might be contemplating.

In times of distress non-Ranas would also petition the Maharaja. For example once the house of a Magar living in Palpa burned down. A neighbor described his plight to the Maharaja in these terms:

...2 of his sons and his father were killed. His pregnant wife is hovering between life and death. 2 buffaloes and 1,000 rupees worth of goods were destroyed... May we receive money by your grace to build a new house and permission to obtain the necessary wood for bulding it from a nearby jungle? 11

One hundred rupees and permission to cut wood in the forest were granted.

Other petitions complained about the negligence of officials in performing their jobs and the hardships they inflicted on the common people. One such petition describes the difficulties experienced by peasants of a village in Palpa district. It says in part.:

In order to cultivate lands in our village, we peasants applied for and receive a signed directive from the Palpa Gaunda in 1989 (1932). The lands were cultivated at our own expense. . When we started to dig an irrigation ditch ourselves, the Gaunda, claiming that it damaged a public trail, put a stop to it. We came to the Center (Kathmandu), submitted a petition to the Government, and permission was given for us to continue digging the canal in order to cultivate the land. 12

It then went on to state that an overseer from the Gaunda Office began to trouble them by telling them to first build the canal in a certain way and then at another time to build it in a different way. Finally he attempted to put an end to the project altogether.

11. Order to Palpa Gaunda, Asardh 22,2007 (1950).

12. *Bintipatra* (petition), Phalgun 16, 1997 (1941).

The peasants asked that Kathmandu tell the Palpa Gaunda officials to let the new canal be used and to stop interfering with the villagers' efforts to irrigate their lands.

I have given only a few examples from the many types of reports and letters sent on a continual basis to Kathmandu from Palpa. It certainly appears that the messages which were received and answered in surprisingly good time provided the Central authorities with a good account of how administrative affairs were being carried out in Palpa.

In analyzing the relationship of the Bada Hakim to the central government we must consider what kinds of power the Palpa Tainathwala had. Were there effective limitations upon his exercise of those powers? To what extent was he accountable to Kathmandu for his actions? For many years during the Rana period the Bada Hakims of the most important districts functioned as appellate judges for the courts in their region. But even in earlier times, if a person was dissatisfied with the Palpa Tainathwala's decision in his case, it was possible to appeal to the Center and have the case reviewed again. This right of appeal against the decisions of Bada Hakims was an important check on their judicial powers.

During the time of Maharaja Juddha Sharnsher the Bada Hakims were divested of their judicial functions, and the hearing of appeals was entrusted to the judges of the courts in the gaundas and goswaras (district centers).¹³ Some Bada Hakims subsequently complained that their prestige had been reduced through these new judicial arrangements. This could well have been one of the reasons for the change. By reducing the powers of the Bada Hakim the Center may have been seeking to minimize the chances for district Bada Hakims to try to establish themselves as independent local autocrats through abusing their powers.

Probably the most significant limitations on the powers of the Palpa Tainathwala and on his ability to act in arbitrary and discretionary ways were the detailed charters and regulations issued to each office in Palpa. In addition to these, there were general regulations embodied in the *Muluki Ain* and *Muluki Sawal* which applied to all offices throughout the country. These regulations elaborated in great detail what works the offices were to do and the procedures to be followed for sending in reports, asking for permission to take some action, obtaining clearance for accounts, etc. The Bada Hakim was not permitted to interfere with or disrupt the normal execution of tasks assigned to the district offices.

Schedules (*darbandi*) were issued from Kathmandu which contained the items and amounts for which expenditures could be made. The expenditures covered all possibilities—from amounts allotted for the salaries of officials to that allowed for purchasing ink for the offices. The Bada Hakim could be asked to investigate whether or not

13. Order to Gen. Mahabir Sharnsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Marg 3, 1997 (1940).

these authorized sums should be increased or whether money for different purposes was required. But no local official including the Bada Hakim could authorize on his own changes in these office "budgets".

Two examples should serve to illustrate how the Palpa Tainathwalla had to approach central authorities in order to request a new authorization of funds. In 1997 (1940) Rudra Shamsher asked for two clerks to be assigned at salaries of 300 rupees each to work for two years in order to sort through, arrange, and number the old papers in the Palpa Kausa! Adda. But the Center gave him permission only to hire one clerk at a salary of 120 rupees and the work was to be completed in one year.¹⁴

Some years before this, the Tainathwalla, Pratap Shamsher, asked that a schedule be approved for the money necessary to pay porters to move office equipment to Butaul, where the Gaunda Offices were located during the winter months. Until then a separate request had to be made and approved by Kathmandu every year to sanction the 581 rupees required to pay these porters. But before this request could be approved Kathmandu asked the Tainathwalla to submit details as to how many porters were needed and for which tasks, the wage rates, and what expenses had been incurred for similar work over the previous ten years.¹⁵ It is clear that close scrutiny was given to whatever financial recommendations the Bada Hakim might make and that he could not raise money on his own. He could not sanction expenditures for anything other than routine projects (such as repairing damaged government property).

Important local officials such as the hakims had to write and sign agreements (*kabuliyat*) in which their duties and conditions of service were clearly specified. If these officials failed to carry out their responsibilities fully and on time, they were liable to fines or punishments which the central authorities would impose. If the mal office could not collect the revenue it was supposed to, the hakim would be fined and a share of his salary could be withheld. The Center also attempted to influence the behavior of local officials by having them take oaths of office. Men who were appointed locally had to promise that they would "not take anyone's side or show affection of or favoritism toward anyone."¹⁶ They swore loyalty to the Government. They agreed not to "violate the rights of the government or the people" and not to "steal from or deceive" the government. These officials pledged not to "accept bribes, favour, or tributes" themselves or to offer these to others. Finally they promised to inform the Prime Minister immediately if they found out that someone was planning or engaging in political acti-

14. Letter from the Commander-in-Chief of to Rudra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Baisakh 7, 1997 (1940).

15. Letter to Gen. Pratap Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Bhadra 22, 1988 (1931).

16. *Palpa Gaunda Sawal*, Baisakh 16, 1992 (1935), section 56.

vities or actions directed against the office or the person of the Maharaja. ¹⁷ There is plenty of evidence to show that officials who violated the terms of this oath or of the laws they had promised to uphold, and whose actions were reported and the charges against them proved, were dismissed from government service.

All the officials in the district, including the Tainathwalla, were also to sign a document that they would "not act unjustly nor bring harm or loss to the government or the people or cause suffering to anyone." ¹⁸ If they did so they could be punished by the government. Many officials of course did abuse their powers and violate this oath at times, but it is significant to note that the central authorities had set forth certain norms of conduct for its workers and reserved the right to take disciplinary actions against those local officials who were found to have violated such standards.

In looking at the position of a Bada Hakim like Rudra Shamsher it is essential to distinguish between the duties he was assigned, and the degree and nature of authority he was granted. The Bada Hakim was the chief administrative official in the district and did have extensive responsibilities in supervising the works of all the offices and in taking care of military and security matters. Because of this fact, some writers have assumed, incorrectly I think, that the Bada Hakim possessed virtually unlimited authority, so that generally he could act as he pleased and run the district like a local maharaja. In fact, however, if we examine the authority that a Rana Tainathwalla had in several important areas of responsibility, and if we keep in mind the methods of central supervision of local offices that I have described above it becomes apparent that the Bada Hakim was not like a local feudal chief who could determine how his area was to be governed and who could take arbitrary actions without being accountable to higher authorities.

I already have mentioned that the Bada Hakim could not on his own establish taxes or change their rates or grant exemptions from payment. He could not appropriate local revenue collected by the talukdars and mal office. Without permission he could not make expenditures of government money or decide how that money should be spent. Limits were set on the total amount of money he could sanction in any one year to have various routine matters taken care of. Thus, while he was consulted about the sums of money that should be approved and the purposes for which the money should be used, the Bada Hakim really had no independent financial powers.

Let us turn to the question of appointments. The authority to appoint and dismiss government workers, especially when jobs may be awarded as favour or in return for bribes or "gifts" can greatly increase the prestige and power of an

17. *Idem.*

18. *Ibid.*, section 153.

official. He can put his own loyal followers in administrative positions to help protect his own personal interests. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rudra Shamsher had authority to make appointments only to office clerical positions and to the lowest military ranks

As for military appointments, a sawal issued to the Western Commanding General (Jangi Lath) in 1991 (1934) provided for new appointments to be made or existing appointments to be reviewed in the paltars (regiments) at Palpa Gaunda after the names of those in ranks from officers to subedars had been submitted and approved by the Maharaja.¹⁹ The Jangi Lath himself was to give approval for the writers and bahidars of the subedars in the paltans and for the staff of the chowkis (police checkposts). This suggests that the Palpa Tainathwalla could only appoint the "rank and file" soldiers, such as havaldars, huddas, and sipahis. And for enlisting them the Center had prescribed certain physical standards which the recruits had to meet.

On the civilian side, in the Gaunda Office, Sil Khana Magazine, Barud Khana, and Tosakhana, the Tainathwalla could make appointments to ranks below khardar and dittha.²⁰ (these two officials could be in charge of offices as hakims). In doing so, however, the Tainathwalla was to examine whether the candidates were eligible for service under the provisions of the *Muluki Ain* and whether they were competent to do the required work. In other local offices too, Rudra Shamsher could make appointments and transfers in clerical positions such as naib writer and naib mukhia.²¹ He also had the authority to dismiss clerical workers in the district offices and to appoint competent replacements. But he could not appoint any of the office hakims nor the witnesses (*sacchi*) in local customs offices.²² They were assigned by Kathmandu.

To dismiss those of subedar rank and above for serious offenses Rudra Shamsher had to report to Kathmandu, and presumably the same conditions applied in the cases of those in civilian ranks whose appointments were reviewed by the Center. In punishing any government worker for an offense, the Tainathwalla was bound to abide by the provisions of the *Ain*, or to submit the matter to the Maharaja if it seemed that a greater or lesser punishment than the law required should be given.

Thus the Palpa Tainathwalla could not appoint any military officer or the hakim of any office in Palpa. Those workers in ranks subject to his review were not to be dismissed without cause or new people appointed who were incompetent. While

19. Sawal to Western Commanding General Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Bhadra 14, 1991 (1934).

20. *Palpa Gaunda Sawal, op. cit.* section 74.

21. Letter from Chief Saheb (Commander-in-Chief) to Western Commander-in-Chief Rudra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Phalgun 24, 2001 (1945).

22. Letter to Rudra Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Jestha 9, 1999 (1942).

the Bada Hakim did have some patronage powers, he could not “pack” the offices with his own men. And the persons he did appoint could be taken before the courts by others for their misbehavior even if the Tainathwalla did not report on them.

Another way of determining how much authority an official has is to consider what types of actions he can initiate without first having to ask for permission and the kinds of reports he must submit to explain his actions. The office sawals specifically identified which matters were to be submitted through which offices and stated that the work should then be done according to the permission received. When the offices needed to make even small changes in their works or procedures, they approached Kathmandu and not the Palpa Tainathwalla. Even when there was no need to obtain permission the Palpa offices sent reports to the Center: for example about officials going on leave, about complaints the offices were investigating, and about any unusual occurrences in the area.

The Palpa Bada Hakim also reported often to the Center, including instances where he had been given authority to act. When special problems arose—droughts, shortages of goods, robberies, etc.—he would notify the central authorities. In reply the Center usually requested that he investigate what was necessary, and in ordinary cases to take actions according to the laws and regulations. In unusual or important matters the Tainathwalla was to add his own suggestions to the details of the report, submit it, and await further instructions.

To investigate affairs, to implement decisions, and to take corrective actions in Palpa: for these tasks the central government had to rely largely upon the Bada Hakim. For example when people from a certain village in Palpa complained to Kathmandu that the local mukhia was not accepting their revenue payments in crops and was collecting more levies than the people were required to pay, the Gaunda Tainathwalla was ordered to find out whether these charges were true or not and to take actions under the laws in light of what he had found. ²³

When a suggestion was made by the Palpa Tin Sancha hakim in 1988 (1931) that his office be given responsibility to also manage the work of the Butaul Taksar (mint), the Tainathwalla was directed to state his opinion about this idea. Upon his recommendation that one hakim would not be able to supervise well the financial matters of the two offices and the government might incur losses, the Center rejected the hakim’s proposal. ²⁴

In cases like these the Bada Hakim possessed a measure of discretion. If he did not want to have a complete investigation made, to uncover all the facts, or to take all the actions necessary to accomplish a certain goal or to correct an injustice, there

23. Order to General Pratap Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Kartik 25, 1987 (1930).

24. Order to Gen. Pratap Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Asardh 31, 1988 (1931).

was little the Center could do except admonish him. (Other Rana Bada Hakims could be transferred to another district or relieved of their duties. But Rudra Shamsheer had been in fact exiled to Palpa, and the Maharajas wanted to keep him there). Kathmandu depended very much upon the efforts and cooperation of the Bada Hakims, although regular administrative activities were entrusted by the sawals to the various offices. One should also remember that Kathmandu had other sources of information about district affairs and did not have to rely exclusively upon the Bada Hakim's reports. And if the Bada Hakim failed to act or took improper actions appeals could be lodged against him and his decisions reviewed by central offices.

In light of the available records, reports, and regulations I think one can make several general points about the relations between the central government and the Palpa authorities during the later years of the Rana regimes. First, despite the considerable distance between Palpa and Kathmandu, the Center was very well-informed about the functioning of the district offices and how their administrative tasks were being carried out. It was less well-informed about actual conditions, needs, and problems in the villages as it had to depend a great deal upon the initiative of local people to provide this type of information through petitions.

The performance of district offices was carefully watched by the central authorities. Reports from secret investigators, from local officials and villagers themselves, standard monthly reports, and the yearly review of office accomplishments and officials' appointments were means by which Kathmandu could evaluate and give directions to the local administration. It quite effectively controlled and disciplined district officials by issuing reminders and warnings, imposing fines, withholding portions of salaries, and transferring and dismissing those who worked improperly.

The Gaunda Bada Hakim was charged with the general supervision of district offices and governmental activities. The last Palpa Tainathwalla, Rudra Shamsheer, occupied a special place among the district Bada Hakims, due to his seniority and the unique circumstances which resulted in his appointment to Palpa. While like other Bada Hakims he was entrusted with numerous responsibilities touching on every aspect of district administrations, his authority was clearly circumscribed. He may have been given a few more powers than the average Bada Hakim, but he was not allowed to appoint the more important local officials. He had no independent financial powers, nor could he really make important decisions or take special actions (unless a great emergency had arisen) without first reporting to and obtaining permission from the central authorities. He was bound to abide by the stipulations of the laws and regulations like anyone else unless the Maharaja should issue an order to the contrary, but surely this happened seldom if at all.

On the other hand, the Palpa Tainathwalla, having important duties in military, law and order, and administrative matters, did command great prestige and influence in

Palpa. While he was not in a position to challenge effectively the powers of the central government, no local individual could dare to challenge him. Fear of the Bada Hakims, popular ignorance of rights and procedures given in the laws, the domination exercised over the common people by the local elites—rich landlords, merchants, and money-lenders—all helped to create a wide-spread attitude of apathy and mistrust on the part of most people. Thus in most cases they tended to accept passively whatever actions the Bada Hakim took. The absence of local associations, of organized groups representing different interests, the lack of what we can call institutional restraints in the district upon the exercise of power by a Bada Hakim in fact made him a virtually unchallengeable figure in his area. He was not obliged to consider popular opinion or the public good in order to preserve his position of authority. As long as the Tainath-walla did not commit some gross violations of the law or threaten the political interests of the Maharaja or other powerful Ranas, he had no reason to be concerned about his position and personal well-being.

Probably the people suffered more because of what the government in the person of the Bada Hakim failed to do than from what it did. Since the administration at both the central and district levels was not accountable to the people in any meaningful sense for its actions, the authorities could carry out their routine and limited office duties without having to worry very much about the difficult conditions under which most villagers spent their lives. Although I have argued that Rudra Shamsheer and other local officials worked for the most part under the control of the central government, this fact was not of great benefit to the common man in Palpa. For it was obvious that the interests of those who dominated the government at the national and the local levels—the Ranas and other families of wealth and influence—were seldom compatible with the interests of the cultivators and landless laborers who comprised more than ninety per-cent of Nepal's population in those days.

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON SOME TIBETAN
"SPIRIT MEDIUMS" IN NEPAL¹

Per - Arne Berglie
Tyreso, Sweden

Some of the most interesting recent studies on Buddhism concern the relationship between the "normative" Buddhism of the texts and the "practical" Buddhism among the people.² M. E. Spiro sees Buddhism as comprising three separate but interlocking systems. He calls the three systems nibbanic, kammatic and apotropaic Buddhism. The first two are soteriological systems, the first normative, the other nonnormative. The third system, apotropaic Buddhism, is a nonsoteriological system mainly concerned with protection from danger.³ I think that the activities of the Tibetan spirit-medium (*dpa' bo*) may be seen as examples of apotropaic Buddhism. By this I do not mean to indicate that their practices are "magical" as opposed to the "religious" practices of the lamas or of pious layman. I simply want to stress the central theme in their work: the curing of the sick and the counteraction of harmful forces.

In this paper I intend to make a preliminary summary of material collected in Nepal during 1970 and 1971. It concerns four *dpa' bo* living in a settlement for Tibetan refugees. The word *dpa' bo* (literally "hero"; pronounced "pa-wo") has been interpreted to mean "medium"⁴ or "sorcerer".⁵ I do not, however, use these terms here, as they have unwanted connotations. The word *dpa' bo* might better be interpreted as "spirit-medium," taking the word in the meaning outlined by R. Firth.⁶ Firth distinguishes spirit possession, spirit mediumship, and shamanism. In spirit mediumship he stresses the communicative aspect of the possession to distinguish it from spirit possession. In the latter, the behaviour of the possessed is primarily regarded as the bodily expression of spirit manifestation.⁷ The line between spirit mediumship and shamanism is not so clearly drawn by Firth. In this connection it may be as well to

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1. I would like to thank Mr. Ulf Drobin for many valuable comments and criticisms. I must also thank Mr. Donald Burton for revising my English.
 2. Gombrich 1971; Spiro 1970; Tambiah 1970.
 3. Spiro 1970: 12.
 4. Stein 1972: 188.
 5. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 425.
 6. Firth 1959: 141; Firth 1969: x f.
 7. Firth 1969: xi.

say a few words about "Tibetan shamanism." Several authors have discussed this problem.⁸ The opinions of these scholars differ, but they all point out various phenomena as examples of shamanism or of shamanistic traits in Tibetan religion. Central to their discussions are "spirit-mediums" of various types. A different view is held by M. Eliade and others, who do not consider possession as typical of shamanism in the strict sense of the concept. Eliade writes that "the specific element of shamanism is not the embodiment of 'spirits' by the shaman, but the ecstasy induced by his ascent to the sky or descent to the underworld."⁹ This view of shamanism, however, seems too narrow, as possession occurs together with "soul-flight" also among North Asiatic shamans. A. Hultkrantz has proposed an extension of the meaning of the term shaman. He writes that a shaman is "a practitioner who, with the help of spirits, cures the sick or reveals hidden things etc. while being in an ecstasy."¹⁰ Using such a wide definition one might speak of "Tibetan shamanism" in connection with the *dpa' bo*. Many phenomenological parallels could easily be shown between North Asiatic shamanism and ritual possession among the Tibetans. Without concealing the phenomenological resemblances and the possible historical connections it is nevertheless evident that the use of the term "Tibetan shamanism" is a question of the breadth of the definition given to the concept shamanism.

The *dpa' bo* were perhaps the most active religious functionaries in the settlement. Even more than the local lama they came into contact with the intimate and personal problems of the villagers. Their séances were popular and spectacular events where people gathered and met the gods face to face. On these occasions the reality of the supernatural world was convincingly shown to the spectators. I think it safe to say that the *dpa' bo* acted in the centre of the religious life of the village.

Very little information on Tibetan "spirit-mediums" of the *dpa' bo* type is to be gained from a study of the literature on Tibetan religion.¹¹ More is known about the Lepcha *dpa' bo*,¹² who however seem to be dissimilar to the Tibetan variety. Most material on Tibetan 'spirit-mediums' concerns the high-ranking "oracles" possessed by gods with high statuses in the pantheon hierarchy. As will be evident, the *dpa' bo* differ from these "oracles." It is obvious that the different phenomena of ritual possession in Tibetan culture are manifold, historically as well as functionally.

8. Hoffmann 1950: 205 f. Hoffmann 1967: 126 f.; Hoffmann 1972; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 538-553; Rock 1959: 806—817; Schroder 1955.

9. Eliade 1964: 499.

10. Hultkrantz 1967: 32 f.

11. David-Neel 1930: 297 ff.; David-Neel 1965: 36 f.; NebeskyWojkowitz 1956: 427 f.; Stein 1959: 332, 405 note 34.

12. Gorer 1967: 216; Morris 1938: 213; Siiger 1967: 167 f.

During my fieldwork in India and Nepal I was in contact with eleven "spirit-mediums" and was able to attend séances with six of them. In my thesis I shall give a full treatment of my material. In this paper I intend to concentrate on four *dpa' bo*. The settlement or village in which they lived was inhabited by about 400 people. There was a handicraft centre where many earned their living. Others worked as porters or earned a livelihood from the occasional jobs available. In the village there was a small monastery, to which belonged a lama, a few monks and about ten child novices. This was a *bka' rgyud pa* monastery, rather poor and the building not yet completed. Most of the boys spent the nights in the homes of their parents. In the village there also lived a *sngags pa* (tantric yogin). He was an old man, called upon mainly to exorcise demons from houses when somebody in the household had fallen ill. The activities of the *dpa' bo*, the lama, and the *sngags pa* partly overlapped as they were asked to help in the same kinds of situations : someone was ill, someone was struck by misfortune, etc. I do not think, however, that it would be correct to regard them as competitors. As they used different methods for healing the sick or bringing good luck, they are rather regarded as complementary to each other. Furthermore, they were specialists in different kinds of maladies.

All the four *dpa' bo* were laymen. When not officiating at séances they lived quite ordinary lives.

1. Wangchuk (*dBang phyug*).

He was the oldest of the four, about forty years of age; he was married and had one son. The family was mainly supported by the wife's work at the handicraft centre. Wangchuk himself was a rather weak man and suffered from T. B. Nevertheless he worked as a porter whenever the opportunity was offered. He was born in eastern Tibet, but had spent a long time as a pilgrim in the western parts of the country.

2. Sechur (*Sri gcod*).

He was about thirty-two years old, married and had one child living with him. He was born in the north-eastern part of Tibet. He, too, worked as a porter.

3. Nyima (*Nyi ma*).

He was twenty-six years old and not married. He lived with his father, his younger sister and two younger brothers. He was occupied at the handicraft centre as a carpet weaver. He had been a *dpa' bo* for a rather short time, was not yet fully established, and consequently not often asked to perform. He was born in northern Tibet.

4. Rigdzen (*Rig 'dzin*).

He was a boy, chosen to be a *dpa' bo*. He was born near Lake Nam Tso in the middle of the fifties. His father was dead and he was living with his mother. He was just passing through the period of testing (as described below, p. 90-92) during my stay in the village.

I collected my information mainly in two ways. Firstly, in interviews and conversations with the *dpa' bo*, with the help of an interpreter. Secondly and perhaps more rewardingly, by making tape recordings of complete séances and afterwards listening to the tapes together with the *dpa' bo* whose seance had been recorded. On these occasion everything heard from the tapes (much was impossible to hear owing to the noise from the drum and the *gshang*) was written down in Tibetan by interpreter, who most of the time was Rigdzen. The *dpa' bo* then commented on the text and gave explanations of difficult passages whenever he could. I recorded altogether eight séances, six of which I was able to discuss with the *dpa' bo* concerned. Sometimes there were obvious contradictions between what the *dpa' bo* said when possessed and what he had said in his normal state. According to my informants there was no doubt about what was to be most trusted: during the séance it was the god who spoke, not the *dpa' bo*. During the séances the possessed *dpa' bo* were able to give much more information concerning the gods, various ritual practices, etc than in their normal state.

THE RECRUITING OF THE *dpa' bo*.

The father of Wangchuk was a *dpa' bo*, but according to his son not a good one. His mother's father was a *dpa' bo*, too, and it was to him that Wangchuk owed most of his knowledge. Wangchuk was preceded by eight *dpa' bo* in his family line, one in each generation. He himself was the ninth and he was convinced that his son would be the tenth.

Sechur's father was a *dpa' bo*.

Nyima's father's brother was a *dpa' bo*, as was also his mother's brother who was living in exile in India.

Rigdzen's father was a *dpa' bo* and so was his mother's father. His mother's brother, now living in Dolpo in Nepal, was also a *dpa' bo*. Rigdzen would eventually become the fifteenth *dpa' bo* in his family line.

Thus it is quite clear that the hereditary transmission of the office was very important—a long line of *dpa' bo* in the family was taken as a guarantee of the trustworthiness of performing *dpa' bo*. It was, however, not enough to have a *dpa' bo* heritage. If a person was to become a *dpa' bo* this had to be confirmed by election or a call from the gods.

Wangchuk was about ten years old when the gods revealed themselves to him for the first time. He was herding sheep when he suddenly saw wonderful divine beings. He felt an irresistible desire to follow them, and this he did without knowing where he went. Later he woke from his trance in an unknown place. The experience was repeated and continued for about three years. When he was thirteen he consulted

a lama. The latter understood the situation and made him pass some tests. After this he was able to start practising as a *dpa'bo*.

When Sechur was fifteen years old his head became "empty." He wandered about not knowing what he did. Then he saw remarkable things no one else saw: gods, demons, strange animals, etc. He did not understand what was happening to him and went on several pilgrimages. But nothing helped. Finally, he went to another *dpa'bo*, who identified the beings who had revealed themselves to him. After this he could set up as a *dpa'bo*.

Before becoming a *dpa'bo* Nyima was a *sgrung pa*, a bard, who can usually recite the epic of Gesar.¹³ When Nyima was about thirteen he had some strange experiences. He was visited while asleep by a man who sang the whole Gesar epic to him. It was just like a dream, but yet not a dream. The man was all dressed in white and his head was of silver and gold. This being visited him every night for two years. So when Nyima was fifteen years old he could sing the whole epic by heart. Then about one year later the call came to become a *dpa'bo*. He saw gods riding on horses and when they urged him to accompany them he complied. He was just like a "madman" (Tib. *smyon pa*). But it was not until many years later that he he could pass the necessary tests and receive a blessing from a lama. After which he could set up as a *dpa'bo*. Usually he performed only when asked by close friends or when his own family needed help.

For Rigdzen the period of call from the gods was not yet over when I was staying in the village. This had been going on for quite some time, and it was rather disturbing for himself and those about him. He was often irritated and angry for no reason. He walked in his sleep, did not eat for days, and so forth. He saw the gods, blue and red figures. He followed them and when he returned to his senses found himself in unexpected places far from his home. During my stay Ridgzen was being tested by Wangchuk and I will give an account of this below.

As demonstrated here the phenomenon of divine election is rather homogeneous. This part of a *dpa'bo* career was often quite embarrassing to him. His difficulties came to an end after the tests, i. e. after the identification of the supernatural beings involved. The *dpa'bo*, however, retained his ability to see gods and demons outside the context of the séances. Wangchuk stressed that the age of thirteen years was the age at which all good *dpa'bo* received their election. Interesting parallels to the importance attached to the age of thirteen are to be found in the legends of the old Tibetan kings,¹⁴ as

13. The literature on the epic and the bard is copious, but Stein 1959 is the only exhaustive study.

14. Haarh 1969: 333 f. Tucci 1955: 198 f.

well as in the legend of the founder of *Bon* as it is given in the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*.¹⁵

TESTS

After receiving the call from the gods the *dpa' bo*-to-be must be tested. This is necessary to establish the exact identity of the gods (or demons) the candidate sees or is visited by. The test, which can be arranged in many different ways, must be conducted by someone who is himself able to see the supernatural beings, i.e. by a lama, a *sngags pa* or by another *dpa' bo*.

Wangchuk was tested by a lama in a procedure more or less identical with one he himself used when testing Rigdzen.

Sechur refused to tell me anything about the tests he had passed.

Nyima had been tested both by both Sechur and Wangchuk. During my stay he performed once when they were both present in order to control his descriptions of the gods.

As I was in a position to attend one of the séances in which Rigdzen was tested, I intend to give a full account of what took place. The séance was held on the evening of the fifteenth day in the second Tibetan month (as calculated by Wangchuk). No particular preparations had been made, but Rigdzen had carefully avoided meat and *chang* (beer) that day. This he did in order, as he said, not to evoke the wrath of the gods. The first part of the séance proceeded as usual: the altar was arranged by Wangchuk, after which he sang the invocations to the gods, inviting them to come to the place. After the invocations, during the customary short pause, Wangchuk tied a white ribbon around the fourth finger of Rigdzen's left hand and a red one around the fourth finger of the right. Rigdzen himself tied a piece of white cloth around his head, being careful to form it into a beak-like top in front.

In order to make it easier to understand the following procedure mention must here be made of the way in which the possession is thought to take place. The possessing god is thought to enter the body through certain "channels" (Tib. *rtsa*). One of these "channels" has its opening in the fourth finger of the left hand, another in the fourth finger of the right. Through the first, the "channel" in the left hand, the possessing god enters if he is a *lha* (*lha* is a class of gods), and through the "channel" in the right hand, if he is a *btsan* or *klu* (again classes of gods to be explained below, p. 104). When the fingers are tied the possession cannot take place, and only the "light" (Tib. *'od gzer*) of the gods can enter. One can then see the gods clearly if the "channels" are clean.

15. *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* fol. 410.

After the brief interval Wangchuk sang a short song, put his head-dress (Tib. *rigs lnga*) and let himself be possessed by the god who was to carry out the task of the evening. In this case it was *Thang lha'i thang sräs mchor bo*. Wangchuk was now drumming very fast and Rigdzen, who was sitting cross-legged close to me on a bench on Wangchuk's right, started to tremble and then to shake. As the intensity of the drumming increased Rigdzen's shaking became more and more vehement. The possessing god then asked, through the mouth of Wangchuk, why he had been called and he was told the reason. Wangchuk now took a handful of rice, blew in it, and threw it at Rigdzen, who was snorting and hissing violently. Wangchuk knelt, took the bundle of feathers from the altar (see below) and waved it to and fro in front of Rigdzen's face. Then there was a period of violent drumming, during which Rigdzen jumped and swayed on his seat.

Wangchuk then asked Rigdzen to tell what he saw in the *phyi gling* (one of the mirrors on the altar, the one in which the *lha* stay during the seance). Rigdzen now sang, as it seemed with the utmost difficulty, snorting and grunting between the words. He was barely able to press the words out of his mouth. In spite of repeated urgings from Wangchuk, Rigdzen was soon unable to articulate any more; he could only groan. Wangchuk then leaned forward and untied Rigdzen's left-hand finger. He then sat down again and began to describe the *lha* in the *phyi gling*. After this he once more resumed his violent drumming and Rigdzen again started to shake. Rigdzen now had to tell what he saw in the *bar gling* (the mirror in which the members of the *bstan* class stay during the seance). He tried hard but without much success. Wangchuk now took off the red ribbon on Rigdzen's right hand. Rigdzen seemed completely unaware of what was happening around him. Then, for the third time, Wangchuk resumed his drumming and Rigdzen immediately started to shake and jump. Wangchuk took the white and the red ribbons from the altar where he had put them, blew on them, and then tied them again on the fourth finger of each of Rigdzen's hands. Rigdzen was now sitting with his head hanging down and leaning to one side. He was completely motionless. Wangchuk sang for a long time, then threw rice at Rigdzen, who slowly came to. He looked around him, took off his head-cloth, stood up and stepped outside on unsteady legs as Wangchuk began the final part of the seance. After the seance Rigdzen told me that when Wangchuk was drumming the pain in his arms and shoulders was almost unendurable and made it very difficult to sing. During the seance his “consciousness” (Tib *rnam shes*) had been in his body all the time. That was why he could remember, though dimly, what had happened. The outcome of the test this time was that Rigdzen was to wait some time and then try again.

The test, as has already been mentioned, aims at establishing the identity and nature of the beings the *dpa' bo* candidate sees. But even if the candidate passes the tests and receives blessings from a lama he is not completely safe from evil-minded

demons, who never tire of trying to sneak into his altar-mirrors or even into his body in order to disturb the séance. According to my informants there are three classes of *dpa'bo*: the good, the mediocre and the bad. It is of course important to know to which of these classes a *dpa'po* belongs. When living in Tibet the young *dpa'bo* had to go on pilgrimage to the mountain of *Targo*.¹⁶ On this pilgrimage he was to find out to what class he actually belonged. *Targo*, together with Lake *Dangra*,¹⁷ plays a very important role for the *dpa'bo*. *Targo* is the seat of a group of *btsan*, members of which often possess the *dpa'bo*. In this mountain there is a cave in which *Padma 'byung gnas* (Padmasambhava) is said once to have meditated and it is to this particular cave that the *dpa'bo* must go. Inside the cave there are three stones: one for the *dpa'bo* to sit on, one for incense and one, somewhat higher, for the altar. In this cave the *dpa'bo* was to invoke the gods. A bad *dpa'bo* was bound to die during the performance. His blood would stream out through his nostrils. Afterwards his bodily remains could be found outside the cave and his head-dress and other belongings inside, attached to a string. A mediocre *dpa'bo*, on the other hand, would survive and could leave the place without anything happening. A good *dpa'bo*, finally, would not only survive, but on leaving the cave would find treasures (Tib. *gter*) of some kinds: a drum, a *gshang*, medicine, etc.

But there exist also several methods with which practically anyone can test a *dpa'bo*. Here I will just mention one which was considered very funny by my informants. The demons who are most often suspected to take up their abode in the *dpa'bo* are the *the'urang*.¹⁸ As these demons are very fond of food, they are said to leave the body of the *dpa'bo* immediately if a plate of food is placed nearby. If the *dpa'bo* is possessed by one of the *the'urang* he will suddenly and unexpectedly come to himself again.

TRAINING

The lama who tested Wangchuk also taught him how to test prospective *dpa'bo* in his turn. One important activity of the *dpa'bo* is the healing of illness by sucking the object or substance causing the illness out of the patient's body. This Wangchuk learned how to do from his maternal grandfather. The grandfather made a small figure of "dough" (Tib. *spags*, i. e. *rtsam pa*, roast-flour, mixed with water or tea) in the semblance of a human being into which he put a piece of meat. Wangchuk then succeeded in sucking out the piece of meat when possessed.

16. On *Targo*, see Hedin 1909: 1ff.; Roerich 1931: 427 ff.

17. On *Dangra*, see the references in note 16. (Mt. *Targo* and Lake *Dangra* are located in Western Tibet and were probably the locus of *dpa'bo* legends and activities primarily in reference to that region).

18. On the *the'urang* see Blondeau 1971: 93 ff. 109; Tucci 1970: 185-239.



Figure 1.

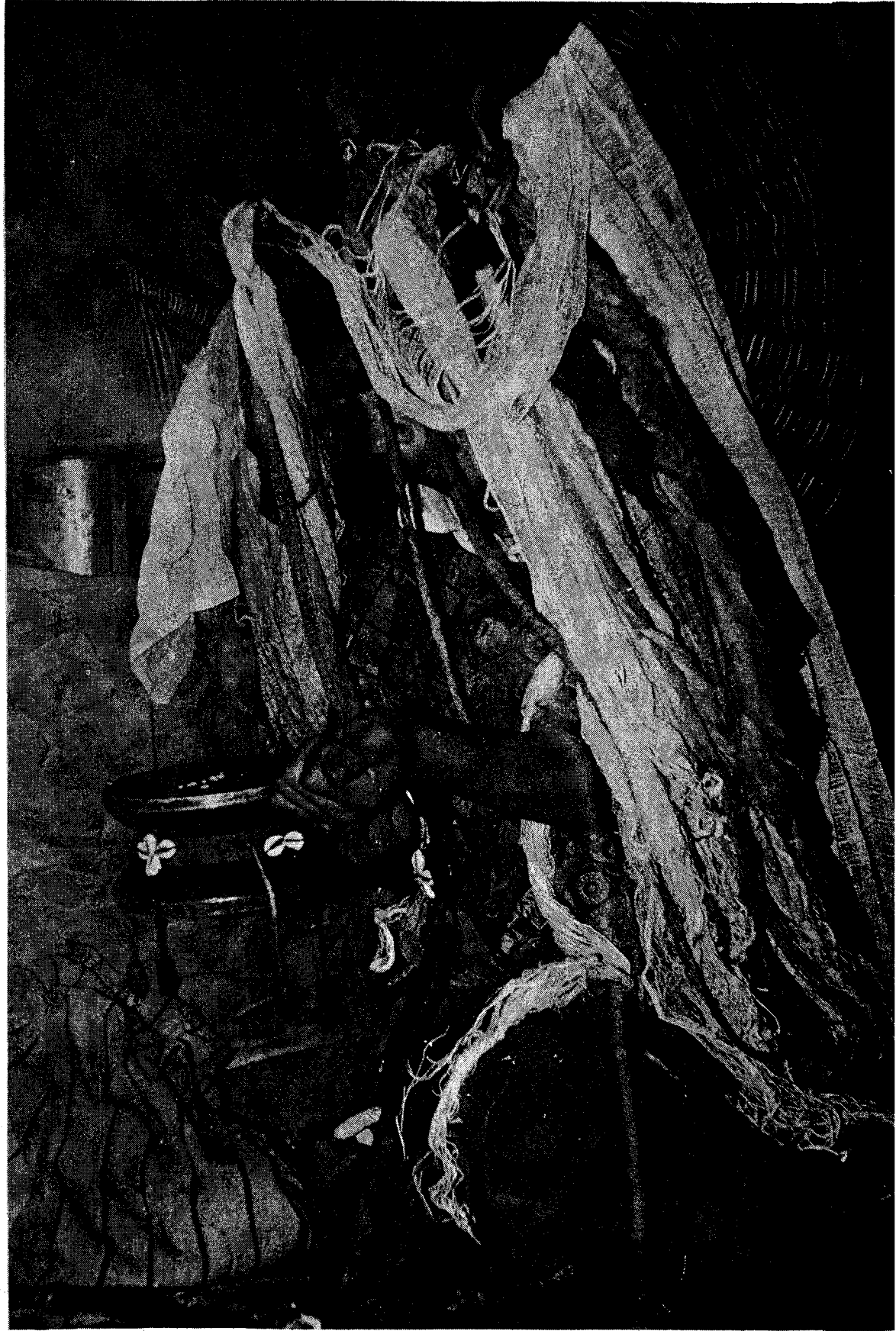


Figure 2.

Sechur said that the only occasion on which he ever received any instruction was when he was told the names of the gods he had seen.

Nyima had been instructed by both Sechur and Wangchuk, but I could not obtain any details of their training.

Rigzen had not yet received proper instructions .

During one of the seances with Nyima the possessing god said that there were four subjects a good *dpa' bo* ought to know: he must know about the "channels" (Tib. *rtsa*) in the body through which the possessing god enters and he must know how to describe the appearances of the gods. Both these subjects can be learned from a lama as well as from a *dpa' bo*. Further, he must know how to cure illness by sucking and he must know how to invoke the proper supernatural beings for this procedure (as will be described below p., 97-98, it is zoomorphic beings who possess the *dpa' bo* and make the sucking-out of illness possible). The last two subjects can only be learned from another *dpa' bo*.

It is considered very important for a young *dpa' bo* to choose a wise and honest *dpa' bo* as a teacher (Tib. *dge rgan*). If the teacher is dishonest there is a possibility that he will steal gods from his pupil.

Theoretically the *dpa' bo* is independent of the lama's authority. Nevertheless, all the *dpa' bo* thought it necessary to have a lama's blessing for their work as a *dpa' bo*. It would be a most interesting task to investigate the relationship between the lamas and the *dpa' bo* in detail. One of my informants told me that his native district in Tibet was seldom visited by lamas, and on this account the local *dpa' bo* might sometimes, when possessed, act as a lama.

THE PARAPHERNALIA OF THE *dpa' bo*.

At the beginning of every seance the *dpa' bo* sets up a small altar. Wangchuk's way of going about this may be taken as an example. He built it in front of the house-altar; ideally the *dpa' bo* should have the altars on his right side when performing. Wangchuk started by forming a swastika (Tib. *g. yung drung*) of rice on the table or shelf that was to serve as a base for the altar. He then filled two bowls with *spags* and one with rice. The contents of these bowls were then given a cone-like form. The three bowls were put on the *g. yung drung*—the one with rice was placed to the left. In the *spags*-cone in the bowl in the middle he then put his big mirror, and behind this he planted a small stick usually three small pictures¹⁹ fastened to it. These pictures depicted *mGon po phyag drug* (the six-armed Mahakala), *Guru drag po* (a manifestation

19. The Tibetan word for such a picture was pronounced *tsagle* by my informants: according to A. Waymen it is written *tsa ka li* (Wayman 1973: 56 f.).

of Padmasambhava), and *Sa skya gong ma*.²⁰ Then one stick with pictures of *U rgyan rin po che* (Padmasambhava) and *Karmapa* were put in the left bowl and one stick with a picture of *dpal ldan lha mo* in the right. In front of these bowls he then placed three smaller ones containing tea (to the right), milk (in the middle), and water (to the left). Some smaller ritual items were then placed around the maller bowls: a bundle of white feathers, two white shells and one spoon. Finally, a white scarf (Tib. *kha btags*) was stretched over the picture-sticks and an oil-lamp and some incense-sticks were lit just before the chanting of the invocations. The mirror (or mirrors) that the *dpa' bo* places on the altar is considered the most important part of his paraphernalia. During the seance the gods are present through their reflections in the mirror. The *dpa' bo* say that the gods stay in the mirror, and they are able to describe exactly the way the gods place themselves when they have arrived after the invocations. They stand in two lines converging backwards, with the leader of the class in the front of the line to the right. Interestingly enough, the mirror is always called *gling*, "world." The mirror is so important because if it is not placed on the altar, the gods will not have a place to stay and will consequently not come. Although one mirror is enough, the *dpa' bo* ought to have three: one for each class of deity. The three mirrors are called *phyi gling*, *bar gling*, and *nang gling*. If the *dpa' bo*, as is most often the case, has only one mirror, it thought to be divided into three different concentric circles. As mentioned above, the *lha* atay in the *phyi gling*, the *btsan* in the *bar gling* and the *klu* in the *nang gling*. Instead of a mirror a *dpa' bo* might use, I was told, a knife for the same purpose. This he can do, for instance, when travelling and thus not able to take his whole equipment with him.

Wangchuk, Sechur and Nyima used the same kind of drum, the damaru, shaped like an hour-glass. It was made of wood, preferably sandal-wood.²¹ The drum is held in the right hand. In his left hand the *dpa' bo* held a *gshang*, a flat bell.²² Instead of the damaru he could have the big drum (Tib. *rnga chen*), which is beaten with a curved drumstick. In Tibet Wangchuk had always used the big drum. The drum is important because its sound is thought to reach the deities and make them come more willingly. In the séances it is sometimes said that "at first sound from the drum, the *lha* will come like slowly falling snow; at the second sound from the drum, the *btsan* will come like a hail-storm; at the third sound from the drum, the *klu* will come like

20. The head of the *Sa skya Pa* according to my informants.

They were not able to give. Further information

21. For a description of this type of drum, see, for instance, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 399.

22. For a picture of a *gshang*, see Karmay 1972, fig: VII.

whirling snow-flakes." 23

Wangchuk also used another musical instrument, a horn which (Tib. *rkang gling*) he blew three times during the invocations to greet the three classes of deities arriving.

Important in healing séances was the small figurine in the semblance of a human being (Tib. *mi lpags g.yang gzhi*) used by Wangchuk. It was made of leather with black stones as eyes and bird-claws attached to its hands and feet. How it was used will be described below.

The bundle of feathers has already been mentioned. It was always placed on the altar, but not very often used. It was only put to its real use in séances arranged in specific situations for the expulsion of demons. Such a séance was arranged at the request of families who had lost a child. Its central part consisted of the cutting off of a string made from nine threads. For the cutting the feather-bundle was used, the feathers of which were supposed to come from the *thang dkar* birds. 24 The cutting of the string was thought to prevent further misfortunes befalling the family.

Another important part of the *dpa' bo* paraphernalia was the head-dress (Tib. *rigs lnga*). This was donned just a few moments before the possession took place, and this was the sign that the god was now acting through the *dpa' bo*. The *rigs lnga* is a five-lobed crown which is fastened to the head with strings. On the lobes are painted pictures, said to represent five *mkha' gro ma* (dakini), but in fact depicting the five buddhas known schematically to many scholars as "dhyani-buddhas." In front of the outermost lobe at each side there are two "wings" attached to the strings. These "wings" are fan-shaped and painted in the colours of the rainbow. Each is decorated with two eyes, the eyes of the *khyung*-bird according to my informants. In front of these wings the so-called *snyan dar* hangs down at each side. The *snyan dar* consists of two big bundles of multi-coloured ribbons fastened together with a short string. The string is stretched over the *rigs lnga* and the bundles are consequently hanging down on each side in front of the *dpa'bo's* shoulders. The *rigs lnga* could not be put on until the *dpa' bo* had wrapped a piece of red cloth around his head.

At the end of every séance, during the "*rigs lnga* game", the *dpa' bo* makes a show of swinging and jerking his head in all possible ways to show that the headgear will

23. In Tibetan: (the words with uncertain orthography are preceded by *) "*dar skad dang Po gtang la sa/lha dmag la kha 'bab' dra yod/dar skad de gnyis gtang la sa/ btsan dmag la ser *khang 'dril ba ltar/dar skad la gsum va stang sa la/klu dmag la bu yug tshub 'dra yod'*". (*dar* was the colloquial pronunciation of *damaru*, drum). (See also figs. 1,3,4,5 and 6).

24. From the description my informants gave of the *thang dkar* birds, they seem to seem to be eagles (cf. Stein 1956: 392) rather than vultures (of Nebesky-Wokjowitz 1956: 488).

not fall off until he wants it to it is thought of as guarded and kept on his head by one or two *mkha' gro ma*. Finally, is it held that during and right after the seance the *rigs lnga* brings luck. During the "*rigs lnga* game," for instance, it might happen that people will go to the *dpa' bo* and try to put their heads under the flapping "wings" of his headgear; or that after the séance and before the *dpa' bo* had put the *rigs lnga* away, people will ask him to touch their heads with it and say a few words intended to bring luck.

Importance was also attached to the falling-off of the *rigs lnga*. If it came off very slowly and stayed on the on the back of the *dpa' bo* with the "wings" over his shoulders this was considered to be very lucky (Fig. 1) But if it came off fast and fell to the ground it was considered a very bad sign for the *dpa' bo* or, according to the direction in which fell off and other circumstances, for the people who had asked for the séance.

ACTIVITIES

During the séance it is not the *dpa' bo* who acts, but the god by which he is possessed. This is the only source of the *dpa' bo*' authority and the only reason why people come to him for help. Apart from the seance he has no religious authority whatsoever. Theoretically he has no responsibility for what happens during the possession, and he claims that he does not remember anything afterwards. In practice, however the *dpa' bo* is of course responsible for the correctness of his invocation of the gods, and he is also supposed to see that no demons sneak into his mirror or into his body. So, after all, no distinct line is drawn in this respect between the unpossessed and the possessed *dpa' bo*.

The *dpa' bo* have a foundation myth. According to my informants, it was *Guru rin po che* who invited the first *dpa'bo* to come to Tibet from neighboring regions so that they could cure the illnesses afflicting the Tibetans at that time. He invited four *dpa' bo* to come, one from each of the four cardinal points, hence they called *Phyogs* (of *Zur*) *bzhi dpa' rab bzhi bo*. Everything the present-day *dpa-bo* can to do when possessed can be done because of the archetypical acts of these four primeval *dpa' bo*. and they were often referred to at the séances.

The narrative about the four mythic *dpa' bo* stresses the main activity of the Tibetan "spirit-mediums" today, the curing of illness. The *dpa' bo* can cure in many ways, but the method most often used was to suck out from the body of the patient the object or substance causing the illness. Nevertheless not all illnesses can be cured in this way: in one of Wangchuk's séances the possessing god said that only *gza'*, *lhog pa*, and *khyi symon* could be cured in this way. Neither Wangchuk nor any other informant was after the seance able to give any further information on *gza'* except that it was an illness. According to Jaschke's dictionary the word is used for

epilepsy.²⁵ Concerning *lhog*, the information was more specific: there are three kinds of *lhog*; *me sa*, and *chu lhog* (i. e. fire, earth, and water *lhog*) caused by different kinds of worms. These worms make crater-like sores in the skin of the afflicted person. *Khyi smyon*, literally means "mad dog," but here it is used for the "poisoning" resulting from the bite of a dog suffering from rabies. The "poison" is in the first stage of this illness thought to be evenly distributed in the whole body. After some days it will gather in one of the bitten person's shoulders and take the shape of a small dog. If the "poison" is not sucked out in time, it will kill the victim.²⁶ As it often happened that people were bitten by dogs who had or were thought to have rabies, the *dpa' bo* were frequently asked to cure the condition. As an example I will take one of Wangchuk's séances, which was arranged to cure an elderly couple.

The invocations were sung as usual (see below p. 100), the possession duly took place, after which Wangchuk answered some questions posed by a participant and then began the healing. One of the bitten persons, the old man, sat down on the floor in front of Wangchuk, who was sitting cross-legged on a bench. Wangchuk hit the man over the head with the *mi lpags g. yang gzhi* three times. This he did, as was explained to me in order to chase away demons and evil spirits.

The possessing deity then decided which of the possible remedial animals was to come. It was a wild dog this time: *Thang lha'i khyi rgod rag pa*. The old man undressed to the waist, turned his back on Wangchuk and placed a small piece of red cloth on his left shoulder. Wangchuk now jerked the drum violently and soon started to bark and to howl, to sniff in the air like a dog and to bare his teeth threateningly. He then put the one side of his drum against the piece of red cloth on the man's shoulder and sucked noisily at the other side of the drum. This was repeated three times. He then made movements with the drum over the man's back as if to gather the "poisonous" substance into one place. He sucked three times more and spat into a small bowl of water. Everyone present now leaned or stepped forward to see better. To me it seemed as if small grey and green particles were rapidly dissolving in the water. There was then some discussion among the onlookers about the result. The old man moved aside and the other bitten person, the old woman, took his place. Wangchuk again started the violent drumming and a minute later assumed the look of a fierce wild dog, howling and showing his teeth. The same procedure was repeated, but now he sucked only three times. In the meantime the bowl had been refilled with fresh water and when he spat out this time, I again saw grey and green

25. Jaschke 1965 (reprint from 1881): 492.

26. For alternative treatments of rabies, see Unkrig 1952. Compare also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 367 f.

smoke in the water just as if coloured particles were dissolving. The bowl was again closely inspected by all present. The same possessing god as at the beginning replaced the dog and gave a detailed explanation of the procedure and its result.

The cured couple thanked the god very respectfully and humbly and left. Although this healing séance was rather typical, different methods may be employed. It sometimes happened that the possessing animal did not suck out the illness but instead tore it out with its claws. Over the area of the patient's body where the illness was thought to be located a piece of red cloth was placed, as usual. The animal having entered the *dpa' bo*, then, with frightening speed and ferocity, grabbed the cloth and stuffed it into his mouth. He chewed the cloth for a short while, took it out and then spat out what he had taken from the patient's body. After the ceremony, the patient's body was examined for claw-marks.

From the four *dpa' bo* together information about twenty remedial animals could be obtained: wild dogs, wolves, bears, wild yaks, birds, etc. Furthermore three members of the highest class of the gods, the *lha*, appeared at healing séances. Those were the *smam pas*, the "physicians," who controlled the healing process. Also other deities who guarded the patient's body during the healing were present.

Besides healing, the *dpa' bo* could do many other things. Of these, only a few will be mentioned here. Often the *dpa' bo* was asked to predict the future: the outcome of an illness, the prospects of a projected journey, etc. The possessing god could sometimes answer questions directly, and in such cases he let a group of *lha* called the *mngon shes* check the correctness of his answers. Usually, however, the possessed *dpa' bo* used a kind of drum divination called *rtsis*.²⁷ The *rtsis* procedure was checked by the *rtsis pa*, three members of the *lha*-class, and carried out as follows. After the usual invocations the deity entered the *dpa' bo* and was told about the problem which he was asked to solve. The *dpa' bo* then put his double-drum on the altar or on a table in front of him and placed a few grains of rice on the drumskin. He started to sing with the *gshang* tinkling loudly in his left hand but did not touch the drum. The song explained what was going to happen: if the rice moved towards the altar it was considered a positive answer, if, however, it moved in the opposite direction, the situation was serious and adequate measures were to be taken. Alternately it was held that if the rice started to rotate clockwise the predictions were good, and if counter clockwise they were bad. The movements of the grains were very apparent, something which many have been effected by sound-vibrations. Everyone watched carefully and then told the god what they saw, whereupon the god explained the meaning.

27. *rTsis* usually means something like "astrology" or "astrological calculation". while *mo* is the usual word for divination. Compare Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 455.

Sechur performed the *rtsis* differently: he dropped the rice from his left hand onto the drumskin (he held the drum in his right hand) and from the pattern formed by the grains he read the future (Fig. 2).

Some words must also be said of the *bla 'khug*, the "calling of the *bla*, the soul." This ceremony, according to my informants, might be performed in a way differing from those described by earlier authors.²⁸ One diagnosis of illness is that the *bla*, the "soul", has left the body. This may be due to the fact that the patient has been frightened by a wild animal or that a demon has stolen the *bla*. Loss of the *bla* makes a person weak and apathetic to recover. The patient has to get his "soul" back. This ceremony is called *bla 'khug*, "soul-calling", and may be performed by a *dpa' bo* or a lama. During my stay in the village I met one case of "soul-loss" in a young girl who was the sister of Nyima. She had no appetite, did not talk and most of the time she was found lying on the ground in her family's house. The healing ceremony arranged for her took the following form. When possessed, the *dpa' bo* took three objects, one small turquoise, one coral bead and one small shell which he put in a ball of *spags*. The ball was then thrown away with a sling. A bowl was now filled with water mixed with milk, and a scarf (Tib. *kha btags*) was stretched over the bowl as a cover. The girl suffering from "soul-loss" had to put her hands into the bowl in order to find the thrown-away objects. I was told that if she could find all of them, her *bla* would return, but if she could only find one or two of them, the *dpa' bo* would be possessed by a very wrathful deity who would help to locate the missing object or objects. During the séance the three objects were obviously thought to be identical with her *bla*. The séance was successful, I was told, and after a few days the girl seemed to have recovered completely.

TRANCE

In this section I will give a more detailed description and analysis of a *dpa' bo* performance and also will try to give an idea experiences of the *dpa' bo* during the séance.

In order to make the possession possible, the *dpa' bo* must send away his "consciousness" (Tib. *rnam shes*). The sending away of the *rnam shes* must take place precisely at the moment before the possession, as the time in between is considered to be very dangerous for the *dpa' bo*. Many demons will try to take the opportunity of entering the "empty" body. The *rnam shes* is sent to a deity residing on the altar. Wangchuk had *Pad ma 'byung gnas* (i. e. Padmasambhava) as the guardian of his *rnam shes*, while Nyima had *Mkha' 'gro Ye shes mtsho rgyal* as the guardian of his. Under no circumstances may the *rnam shes* remain in the body during the possession. In this

28. Lessing 1951; Tucci 1970: 210 f.

case the *dpa' bo* becomes "half god, half man", as it is called, and what he says and does during the *séance* is not to be trusted. The *rnam shes* leaves the body through one of the "channels" (Tib. *rtsa*) in the body, viz. the one called *dbu ma*, which, according to my informants, leads from the top of the skull to a point in the centre of the chest. At the same point enter two other *rtsa*, the *rkyang ma*, which begins in the fourth finger of the right hand, and the *ro ma*, which begins in the fourth finger of the left hand. As has been mentioned above, the possessing god enters the *dpa' bo* through one of these *rtsa*. Different classes of the gods enter through different *rtsa*. To each of these *rtsa* belong special deities who during the *séance* keep the *rtsa* clean. They are called "cleaners of the *rtsa*-road" (Tib. *rtsa lam sang mkha*). Other deities guard the openings into the *rtsa* and are called "*rtsa*-masters" (Tib. *rtsa bdag*) and they are inherited by one *dpa' bo* from another. From other contexts well-known gods, as for instance *Nyan chen Thang lha*²⁹ the mountain-god, may have such a specialized function. Other deities are also present during the *séance* to guard specific parts of the *dpa' bo*'s body. There may be different gods on different occasions for this purpose.

As a typical example of how a *séance* might be structured I will choose the above mentioned one concerning the old couple bitten by a mad dog.

This *séance* took place on the 16th of January 1971 in the home of Wangchuk (this was an exception, usually the *séances* were held in the home of the patient). I was alone with Wangchuk when he arranged his altar. He kept his paraphernalia behind the ordinary house-altar when he was not using it. At 5:45 p. m. he started and the arrangements took about him half an hour. Then he smoked a cigarette and after that read a few short prayers (among them the "refuge formula"). Soon he started to sing the invocations to the accompaniment of the drum and the *gshang*. He mentioned a large number of deities by name, inviting them to come to the place. He then described in some detail important places to which pilgrimages were made in the area around *Gangs rin po che* (i. e. Kailāsh). This went on for about twenty minutes, and it was 6:45 p. m. by the time the invocations were finished and all the deities had reached the mirrors on the altar.

After a short break of about three minutes during which he wrapped a piece of red cloth around his head and picked up his headgear and held it in front of him at arm's length. He recited the names of the *mkha' 'gro ma* believed to stay on the lobes of the *rigs lnga* and put it on his head, fastening it with two pairs of strings. When he then took up the song again, he jerked his drum faster and faster. His body started to sway to and fro and, as he sat there cross-legged, his whole body soon started to shake and jump. Suddenly he leapt onto the floor and began to dance to the accompaniment of a pulsating, very fast drum rhythm. He jumped up

29. See, for instance, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 205 ff.

Figure 3.

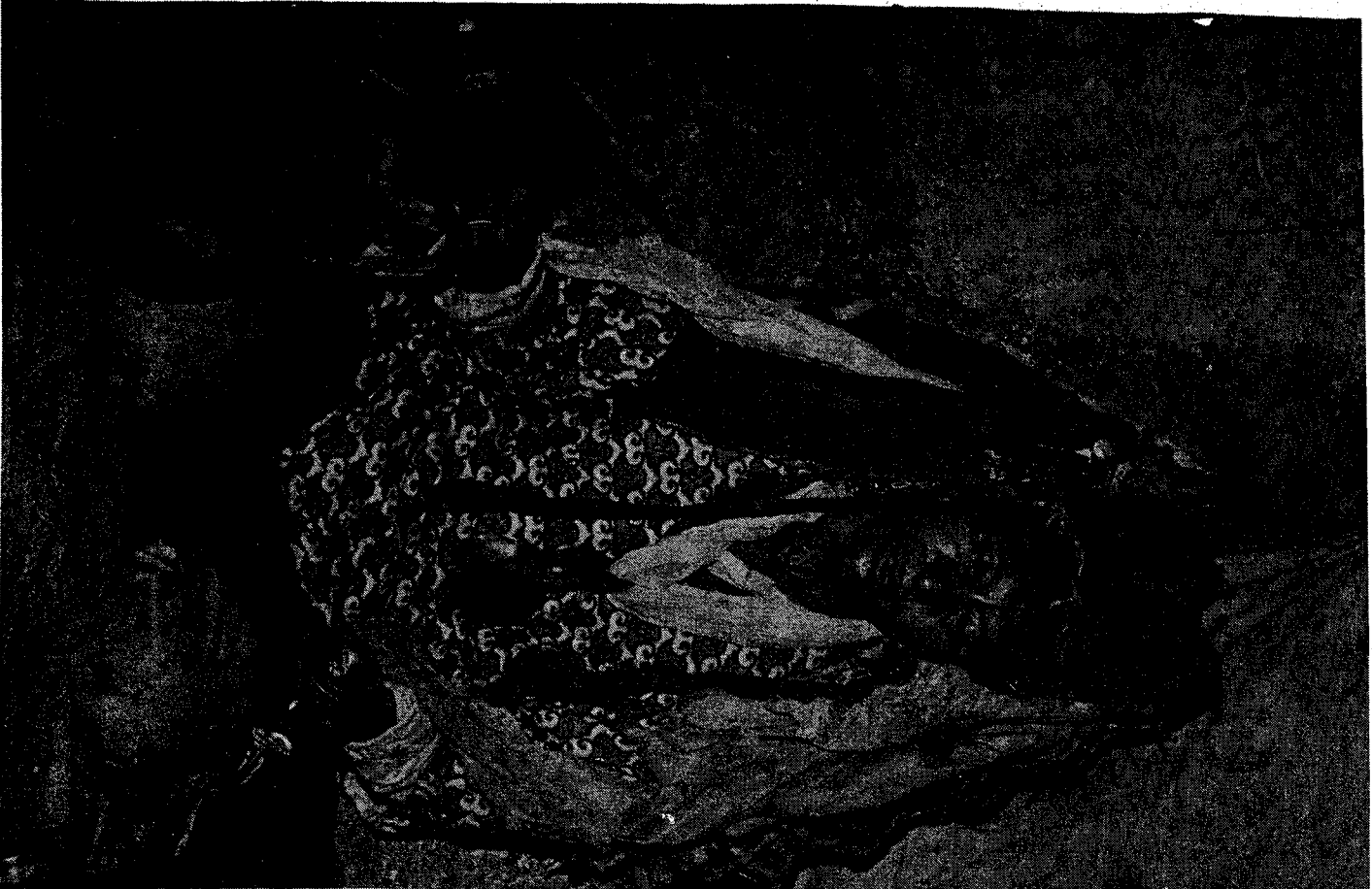


Figure 4.



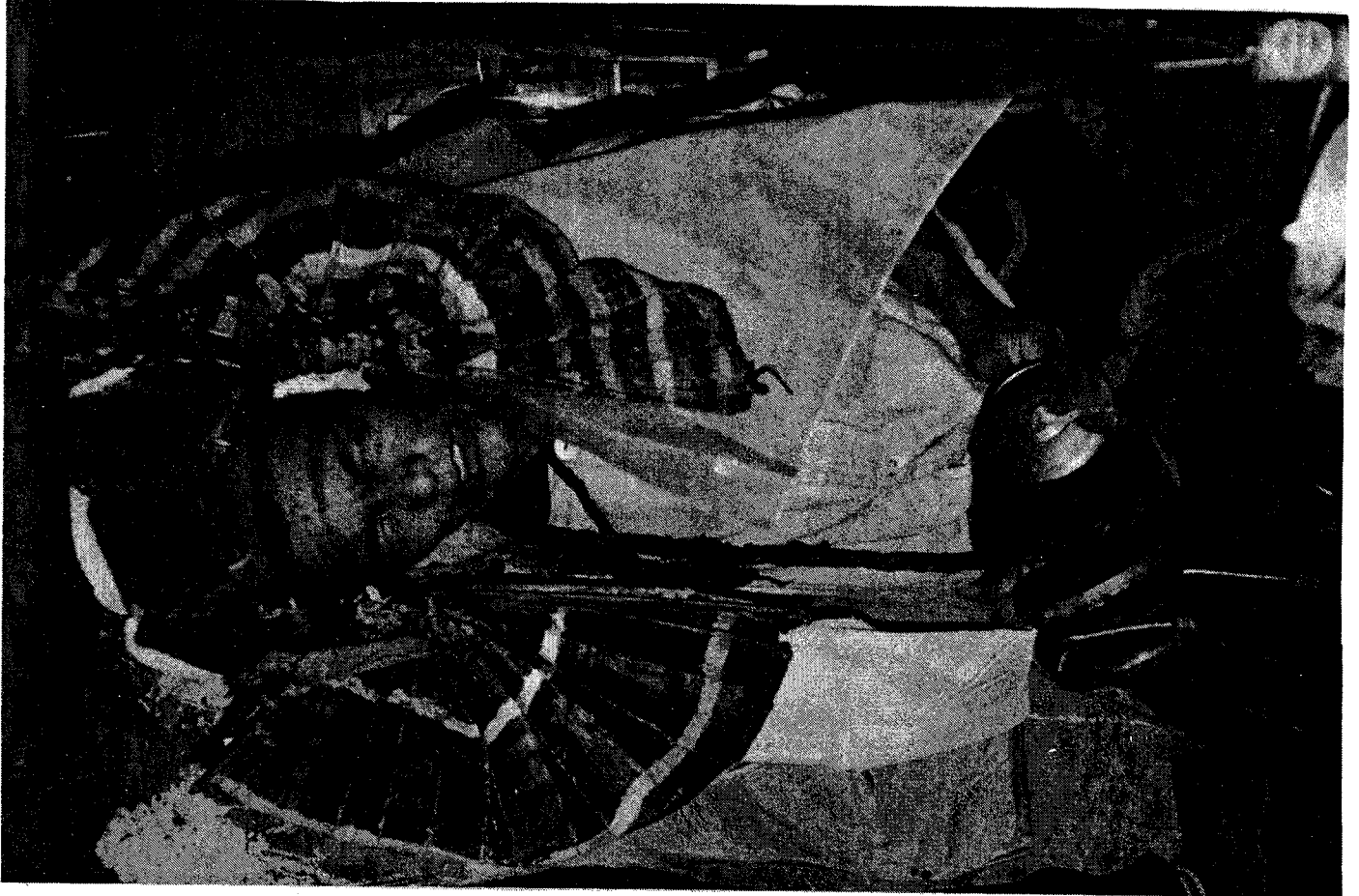


Figure 5.



Figure 6.

on the bed-bench again and danced there with his face towards the altar. Then he sat down, now possessed, and the deity asked why he had been called (Figs. 3,4). It was *gNyan chen Thang lha dkar po* who spoke. At 7:01 p. m. the god was told about his tasks for the evening. Before the séance I had got permission to put a few questions to the deity and these were now asked by the intermediary of the evening.³⁰ The answers followed immediately, without the need for the *rtsis*-procedure. The curing part started at 7:17 p. m. As has been described above, the wild dog *Thang lha'i khyi rgod rag pa* possessed the *dpa'bo* and sucked out the "poison" from the bitten couple. The healing process was finished by 7:40 p. m. Now Wangchuk started to sing about the primeval four *dpa'bo* and their deeds. Suddenly he angrily jumped out onto the floor. Some people had irritated the god by looking in through a hole in the wall. However, he soon calmed down and the time had now come for the deities to leave. He again sang the names of many gods and tea was offered to each of them. The *lha* left the place riding on *thang dkar*-birds and Wangchuk asked the gods to throw down feathers plucked from the birds as they flew away. A violent drumming commenced and Wangchuk was highly agitated, his body shaking and swaying. Rather soon, a rain of small white feathers fell down from somewhere under the dark ceiling. The onlookers now began a wild chase after the feathers, trying to catch them before they reached the floor. Such feathers were considered to bring luck. A few persons in the audience were skeptical, though not openly so. One of them said to me afterwards that Wangchuk certainly must have had the feathers hidden somewhere on the *rigs lnga*. If this was the case they were thrown up into the air through the violent shaking of the head that immediately preceded the rain of feathers. At 8:17 p. m. Wangchuk started the "*rigs lnga* game." As the "game" went on, with Wangchuk vehemently swinging and shaking, the *rigs lnga* slowly slipped backwards. Finally, it fell off and remained around his neck with the wings resting on his shoulders. Wangchuk quickly put a piece of grey cloth over his face, snapped his fingers and sank backwards against the wall. It was now 8:30 p. m. After a few moments rest he uncovered his face and started to collect his things. During the "*rigs lnga* game" most of the audience left, only a few remaining. Wangchuk's wife served cooked rice and he also had some. He looked weak and exhausted as he asked about what had happened during the séance.

All the séances I attended were held indoors in the evening, although Wangchuk said that he could perform at any time in the day and at any place. The length of the séances varied, and those I attended lasted from an hour and a half to more than four hours. The time for singing the invocations varied between 18 and 27 minutes (for Wangchuk between 19 and 22 minutes). The reason for the great variations in length between one séance and another was not so much the variety of the problems posed

30. This séance was one of the first I attended in the village. The questions, which were put in order to justify my presence, concerned personal matters.

at each séance, but rather the fact that the *dpa'bo* could make the concluding part, the "*rigs lnga* game," longer or shorter.

When asked what they felt at the onset of the possession the *dpa'bo* found it very hard to describe exactly what they saw and felt. During the invocations, as mentioned above, the deities reach their respective mirrors (or part of a mirror) on the altar. The *dpa'bo* sees them arrive and place themselves according to class and rank. This ability to see the gods is not restricted to the *dpa'bo*; also lamas and *sngags pa* have it. When the actual possession is going to take place Wangchuk sees what he describes as something like a rotating wheel with all the colours of the rainbow. It is very beautiful and very bright. When the god enters the *rtsa* his body feels big and as if it were filled with gas. After that he does not remember anything.

Sechur said that he saw a fire glowing in many colours. The fire grows bigger and bigger and comes nearer and nearer until it enters his body and everything becomes black. He remembers no more of the séance until it ends. Then everything happens in the reverse order.

Nyima said that when singing the invocations he saw stars sparkling in the mirrors on the altar. Then the mirrors grow bigger and bigger and the people around him become smaller and smaller, while their eyes shine brightly and their voices become thinner and thinner.

After the séances the *dpa'bo* usually recovers a few minutes after the *rigs lnga* has fallen off. Wangchuk and Nyima said that they did not feel anything in particular afterwards, but Sechur said that his arms and shoulders ached because the powerful *rnam shes* of the possessing deity had penetrated his *rtsa*.

The change in the ritual status of the *dpa'bo* during the séance is marked by the putting on of the *rigs lnga*, but the actual possession seems to take place shortly afterwards, when the *dpa'bo* jumps onto the floor and dances. According to Wangchuk there are different kinds of dances: the dance of the lion, the dance of the elephant, of the *mkha' gro ma*, etc. Wangchuk and Nyima dance for a very short while on the floor and then jump back onto the bed-bench where the deity usually introduced itself and asked why it had been called. Nyima would do something extraordinary at this stage, for instance throw glowing coal from the fire-place at the onlookers. Sechur usually danced a little longer on the floor with widely outstretched arms as if flying, chirping like a small bird. Then he used to kneel in front of the intermediary. Often the possessing god is very irritated and angry at the beginning of the séance and makes scornful comments on the ignorance of the onlookers who cannot solve their own problems but have to call on him for help. Usually he calls them by a stereotyped formula, "you bazaar-loafers, you meat-eaters and black-heads!"³¹ When the

31. In Tibetan: *khrom pa sha zan mgo nag*.

deity has introduced himself the task must be set without delay. In most cases the clients have asked someone well in advance to act as an intermediary between them and the god. The intermediary must always be a man. The role of intermediary is not sought after, and sometimes there may be long discussions even during the invocations about who is going to fill it. The intermediary does not usually receive any payment, but he is invited to share the food that is served after the séance. He has various tasks to perform: to offer tea to the gods, to place a *kha btags* over the *rigs lnga* in order to greet the deity when the latter introduces himself, to talk humbly with the god, to make respectful and grateful exclamations when the deity is explaining something, to throw rice at the *dpa' bo* if the possessing god is too angry and violent, and most important, to interpret what the god has said if this is difficult to hear or to understand.

An important aspect of the séance is what might be called the theatrical aspect, the *dpa' bo*'s dramatic presentation. In theory, as has already been stressed, the authenticity of the *dpa' bo* is proved by tests. In practice, however, the authenticity of the *dpa' bo* is proved by the success of his performances. To the core of behaviour typical of the séance other features were added, which were not strictly required. Thus Nyima played with fire, Wangchuk let feathers fall, etc. These doings were not essential parts of the ritual, but were nevertheless carried out to "make a good show." This was doubtless due to the *dpa' bo*'s constant need to prove the reality of the possession and the power of his gods.

At the end of the séance the deities leave the place, one by one, in strict order. While they are leaving, the *dpa' po* plays the "*rigs lnga* game" until, finally, the *mkha' 'gro ma* release the strings and the *rigs lnga* falls. At that very moment the *rnam shes* returns to the *dpa' bo* who becomes himself again.

The audience should also be mentioned. At every séance I witnessed there were more people present than really belonged to the house or to the immediate neighbourhood. In spite of the relative frequency of the séances (towards the end of the Tibetan year one séance every evening) there were always many onlookers. They usually dropped in during the invocations and left after the *dpa' bo* had accomplished his task. There was always a relaxed atmosphere in the room—sometimes too relaxed and noisy, which provoked angry remarks from the deity. It is probable that many in the audience experienced the séance as a kind of entertainment, as it was the only diversion offered the villagers after the day's work.

PANTHEON

The pantheon of the *dpa'bo* is divided into three classes: the *lha*, the *btsan* and the *klu*. They are often called "the upper *lha*, the middle *btsan* and the lower

klu".³² The groups are too well known to need any commentary here. Within the three classes further subdivisions are made. The *lha* class, which consists of eighty gods, is divided into several groups according to function and speciality. There are, for instance, the *rtsis pa*, the *mngon she*, the *smam pa*, the *sgrup thob* (i. e. siddhas), etc. The *btsan* class, on the other hand, is grouped according to different mountains to which the *btsan* belong. One important group among the *btsan* belongs to the *Targo* mountain, another belongs to the *Thang lha* mountains, etc. The *btsan* are 36 in number and have lots of servants and soldiers in their retinues. The *klu* finally, are a much larger group led by *Klu chen gTsug na rin chen* and divided into groups according to their association with different lakes.

The *lha* have the highest status among the *dpa' bo*'s deities, but nevertheless the *btsan* are the most important. It is significant that the *dpa' bo*, when possessed talks about himself in stereotyped phrases, such as the *btsan po*, the "mighty" or as the *dmar po* the "red one," all designations indicating the *btsan* class. At all the séances I attended a *btsan* always possessed the *dpa' bo*, never a *lha* or a *klu*, although I was told that this might happen.

The usual way in which a *dpa' bo* acquires his deities is by inheritance, or he receives them as gifts from an older *dpa' bo*.

A question which is unfortunately very difficult to answer is the extent to which the pantheon of the *dpa' bo* is exclusive to them and the extent to which the deities exist in the folk religion. As Tibetan folk religion is not very well known, the answer must depend upon further research.

Finally, some remarks may be made on the social position and psychological make-up of the *dpa' bo*. Economically, as well as socially, they gained very little from their spirit-mediumship. Psychologically, the *dpa' bo* whom I met with outside the séances showed no deviations from what might be called normality. Nor did they, in their ordinary lives, demonstrate maladjustment and social dissatisfaction more than others in the village. There seem to be no grounds for regarding their spirit-mediumship as solely a compensation for their subordinate social position. I do not think it is possible to explain any traditional religious behaviour as a result of the need of maladjusted individuals for compensation.³³

The greater part of what is known about other forms of ritual possession in Tibet concerns the high-ranking "spirit-mediums" often called "oracles" (Tib. *chos skyong*,

32. Cf. Hoffmann 1950: 139.

33. For an explanation of this kind see, for instance, Lewis 1971: 176 et passim. Cf. Douglas 1973: 24 for a critique.

chos rje, sku rten pa, etc).³⁴ Although much has been written about the performances of the "state oracle" and others, very little is known about their training, how the possessing deity enters the body, what they experience, etc. The lack of relevant data makes comparisons with the material presented here difficult. One is practically limited to comparisons between trance performances from a more general point of view. The underlying scheme seems to be identical: invocation—possession—the god as is asked for help—the god leaves and the "spirit—medium" has some kind of collapse. A few observations may be made. The "oracle" does not sing the invocations himself, which the *dpa' bo* always does. Furthermore, the initial phase of the possession is more violent and is connected with greater motor agitation among the "oracles" than among the *dpa' bo*. Moreover, the "oracle" seems to be in a much deeper trance than the *dpa' bo*. This is of course hard to measure, but the different ways of behaving during the séances, the *dpa' bo* with agility and motor control, the "oracle" under great physical strain and with the need for one or more assistants to keep him under control, indicate a difference in the depth of the trance.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

M. Goldstein has written in an article that "the literature on Tibetan society suffers from chronic religious indigestion."³⁵ One may perhaps paraphrase this and say that the literature on Tibetan religion suffers from chronic "lamaistic" indigestion, but by this I simply mean that the study of Tibetan folk religion has been neglected. Until further research is carried out many interesting questions concerning the *dpa' bo* must be left unanswered.

Buddhism may be defined in many ways: from historical and from theological viewpoints, but also from a functional point of view. In the latter case one must consider all the religious beliefs and practices in the area conventionally called Buddhist. From this point of view the beliefs and activities of the *dpa, bo* may be seen as examples of apotropaic Buddhism. That Tibetan religion comprises different systems of different origins and age is obvious, and further research might clarify their interaction.

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34. Chapman 1938: 316 ff; Govinda 1966: 179-191; Hanbury-Tracy 194: 60—68
Harrer 1953: 203—206; Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 409—454; Rock 1959: 806-87;
Schafer 1950: 153-165.

35. Goldstein 1971: 521.

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SHORT REVIEWS

*Books

THE HILL MAGARS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS: HILL PEOPLES SURROUNDING THE GANGES PLAIN

By Kawakita Jiro 484 pages illustrations, plates and maps.

Published by Tokai University Press, Tokyo, 1974.

Price Approx. U. S. \$ 55

Jiro Kawakita has produced an account of his research on the peoples living in the Kali-Gandaki region which separates Dhaulagiri and Gandaki Anchals in Western Nepal, along the Jomosom trail. Kawakita has one of the broadest historical perspectives of any of the anthropologists who have worked in this area. He first went to the area from 1952-53 an account of which is available in "Ethno-geographical Observations on the Nepal Himalaya" in Kihara, H. ed. *Peoples of the Nepal Himalaya, Results of Japanese Expeditions to Nepal Himalaya 1952-53 Vol. III*. He returned again in 1958. *The Hill Magars and their Neighbors* covers fieldwork done in 1963-64.

Kawakita's approach is all inclusive, stressing the inter-relatedness of the peoples in the area. The book presents good deal of valuable comparative data of a kind which is usually difficult to find without consulting many disparate sources, but at the same time one feels that the author has bitten off a little more than he can chew. The book has no focus and one is left with a great many partial accounts, but no real organizing principle.

When the reviewer first selected the book, he expected to find an account of life in a Magar village, similar to Pignede's classic *Les Gurungs*. The reviewer was most disappointed since Kawakita spends more time on the neighbors than the hill Magars themselves. As yet no monograph has been totally devoted to the Magars. Hitchcock's popular *Magars of Banyan Hill*, an account of people living in a region S. E. of Kawakita's Magars in Sikkha, is written for college students. Hitchcock's account, though presenting much valuable information, does not focus squarely on the Magars either, but because of its audience is forced to present much background information on Nepal and its caste system in general. Oddly enough Kawakita makes no mention of Hitchcock's work in his bibliography.

Kawakita stresses the relationship of the people to their environment. He is concerned with the altitudes at which certain phenomena occur, as well as the relation-

ship between the altitude and area where ethnic groups settle. His comparative accounts of agricultural and husbandary techniques are good and should be welcomed by those working in the area. The wealth of comparative micro-data presented concerning crop rotation, ploughing, textile manufacture, hunting techniques, division of labor, etc. is the book's strongest point. Bahuns, Chhetris, Thakuris, Thakalis, Syang-ba, Panchgaonle, Gurungs as well as Magars in several villages are considered, giving this work a kind of encyclopaedic quality. The limits of comparability, however, are not always observed, so the data sometimes must be used with care. When information is missing, for example, Kawakita sometimes includes data on Newars in the Kathmandu Valley or Sherpas (included because his research assistant, mentioned several times in the text, was a Sherpa). One wonders at what point a group ceases to be neighbor of the hill Magars.

Although the reviewer doesn't pretend to be an authority on all the groups included in the book, one feels that the religious data (heavily stressed) suffers from Kawakita's desire to be everywhere at once. Because of the short time spent in the field (six months according to the itinerary printed at the end of the volume), and the great number of places visited in that short time, a great deal of the data presented is hearsay. Kawakita admits that this was the case and I am sure he would rather have had it otherwise, but gathering of anthropological data on religion takes time and especially time spent in one place. As a result, there are a good many discrepancies between his accounts and what the reviewer himself has actually seen. A short review is no place for two anthropologists to quibble about details of ceremonies or interpretations of mythology, but when short hearsay accounts are blown into large all inclusive theories concerning the history and general development of Himalayan Civilization, it becomes difficult not to say something. Kawakita likes macro-history and often makes such huge leaps from data to theory that the reviewer was left with his head swimming. Subject headings are grandiose, and seem to have little relation to the text below them such as: "What is the sociological tradition connected with the culture stratum of hunting and slash and burn cultivation;" or "Every village of the Panch Gaon seems to consist of one ethnic group;" or "A stratum of an ancient semi-civilized culture of an intermediate level is suggested surrounding the gorge area." When the two match, Kawakita is making tremendous leaps from very little evidence. There is no shortcut for the large amount of historical and archaeological work that will have to be done before this kind of theorizing can take place. Rough interpretations of myths will not do.

The book is disorganized. The author wanders from the point and falls into what sometimes appears to be free-association. On one page (p. 133) for example under a discussion of Magar hunting techniques entitled "A stage of hunting and gathering is suggested," the author discusses the antidote to the poison *bikh*. From there, the discussion mentions that *bikh* is given to rabid dogs to "cure" them. *Baidya* are men-

tioned as the usual applicers of this medicine. From here, the discussion goes to the *Baidya* caste of the Newars, far from the original topic of Magar hunting techniques. At times, one feels as if one is reading Kawakita's undigested fieldnotes, full of incomplete thoughts and repetitions. Sometimes one will run into the same paragraph, word for word, like an old friend, several times in the book. The disorganization may be due to what the author calls the K. J. method of data integration, which though "much appreciated by the world of business in Japan" (preface p. 4) needs more editing before the book is readable. The excellent index overcomes the disorganization, only if one is using the book as a reference.

The author adds confusion by insisting on localized pronunciations rather than the standard Nepali terms. He feels that standardization would lead to errors of interpretation. But since the local pronunciations were Romanized in the field, and since anthropologists are not necessarily trained linguists, they often mis-hear words in the direction of their own language's phonemic structure. Hence the book has many mistakes: like hearing *Kriya* (क्रिया Nep. meaning verb) for *Kiriya* (किरिया Nep. meaning death ceremony), or *Bir Thati* instead of *Birethanti* (village on the Modi Khola), or *diulo* instead of *dhido* (ढिडो a staple grain paste) which leads to great confusion. The reviewer has spent nearly two years in the area of study, and feels the standard spellings are closer to the actual pronunciation than Kawakita's and no new dimension would be added by retaining his spellings.

The book has a good many useful maps, though all the villages mentioned in the book are not included on them. Since several of these villages have more than one name, it is often difficult, even for one who has spent considerable time in the area, to visualize exactly which villages are being discussed. One can imagine the difficulties that would be encountered by those who are new to the area. At least Kawakita does not feel it necessary to disguise the names and locations of villages in his field area. His diagrams of shrines and technological processes are quite good (but there are some errors, such as *mahi* or whey being transformed into *dahi* or curds—a nice trick! p. 33). The photographic plates are of course excellent.

In view of the frequent misspellings, typographical errors and repetitions, as well as sentences which seem to drop out without completion, this book might have been more carefully proofread, particularly in view of the book's extremely high price. It seems that publishers have decided that books on Nepal will have only a small readership and so charge high prices thus fulfilling their own prophecies. Perhaps if this book had been more carefully edited and considerably shortened its price could have been lowered and its readership increased: as it is, the book's availability will probably be confined to libraries, institutions and receivers of complementary copies (the reviewer had to borrow his copy). This is a shame; for younger researchers working in

the area will not be able to own a copy. As I have said, the book is an excellent compendium of cultural microdata, all the more useful because it is comparative. It will certainly prove helpful to those working in the area as well as to those travellers interested in a deeper account of the peoples living along the famous Jomosom Trail.

A. E. Manzardo

TALES OF UNCLE TOMPA: THE LEGENDARY RASCAL OF TIBET.

Compiled and translated by Rinjing Dorje. Illustrated by Addison Smith. 79 p., 18 stories, 21 line drawings. Published by Dorje Ling: San Rafael, California, 1975. U. S. \$ 3.95.

The *Tales of Uncle Tompa* is, quite simply, one of the most refreshing books to be published on a Tibetan subject in recent years. It is a book of humor, short stories known to virtually every Tibetan, which always end with the wily old Uncle accomplishing his objectives through wit and trickery. Uncle Tompa (pron. "Agu Tömba") is one of the major folk heroes of Tibet and, if some of his exploits seem sexually explicit, they nonetheless accurately represent an important theme in everyday Tibetan folk culture.

Since the early 1960's a number of books concerning Tibetan culture have become available, but the emphasis has almost invariably been on religion, either from an academic/research orientation or from the viewpoint of those actually practicing the Dharma. The latter is spreading rapidly in the West, and the publication of the life-stories of lamas, religious traditions, and metaphysical positions emanating from the various sects has become a minor industry. Books on art, history, and classical literature are also available to western readers, but these are generally centered on religious themes, and the net result has been a somewhat one-sided view of the Tibetan people and their culture. In a sense this is justified for, as many scholars have pointed out, religion was probably the single most exquisite manifestation of Tibetan culture. Nevertheless there is another side of Tibetan life that is equally deserving of attention: that of the everyday, ordinary people going about their business. Part of this story is their extraordinarily good-natured disposition, poking fun at one another, laughing, telling stories during the endless hours around the central hearth; and in their self-confident, almost insouciant, manner compensating in fellowship for the rigors of everyday life.

Uncle Tompa stories form an important part of this fellowship. Similar in nature to the stories of the famous yogi Drugpa Kunlay ('*Brug-pa Kun-legs*¹), the stories

¹ For a review of R. A. Stein's *Vie et Chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le Yogin, traduit du Tibetan et Annote*, see *Kailash* (1973) 1: 91-99.

are told and retold among all kinds of Tibetans regardless of social position (I have yet to meet a Tibetan who does not know most of these stories by heart). Even the mere mention of Agu Tomba will usually bring a broad smile to the faces of all present. Uncle Tompa plays tricks on everyone, including pointedly the more pretentious of Tibetan society: the rulers, aristocracy, landlords, nuns, and lamas; but he was not above dumbfounding ordinary folk when the need or inclination arose. Many of the stories have sexual themes but women participate in their telling as freely as men, and despite occasional disclaimers of modesty, there seems to be no age or sex group that doesn't thoroughly enjoy the humor.

Some of the stories are in fact hilarious. Uncle Tompa is caught masquerading as a nun in order to gain access to the young inmates and later naked in the nunnery, but makes a wily escape; he is trapped sleeping with a ruler's virgin daughter but a cleverly laid plan leaves the ruler's bodyguards quite literally holding their organs, again while Uncle quietly slips away. Humor, like other expressions of human creativity, is largely culturally determined and not all the stories will strike the western reader as immediately funny. Nevertheless, in context most are extremely humorous, and even the ones that don't seem so at first will grow on the reader who becomes acquainted with Tibetan culture as a whole.

As Profs. Snellgrove and Richardson have pointed out, Tibetans have always used this type of medium to lampoon pretentious dignitaries and to express attitudes which could not otherwise be openly displayed:

Then as now, popular songs, proverbs and lampoons were common in the mouths of the ordinary people, resembling when not actually identical with those which Tibetans, who are not encumbered with the dignity of monkhood, still sing today.²

Uncle Tompa stories fit well with this tradition and therefore are an important contribution to our understanding of Tibetan life. One would hope that this volume is only the first effort in new attempts to render Tibetan culture in its wider perspective.

The book was compiled and translated by Rinjing Dorje, a talented young Tibetan currently living in San Francisco. The stories, which he had first learned herding yaks between the ages of six and twelve, are told in straight forward and simple English with an effort to make the exposition as close to colloquial Tibetan as possible. They were first written down in Tibetan, then translated by Rinjing with some help from Terry Ellingson in putting the English in its final form. The translation appears to be good but no Tibetan version is given. Despite the fact that the

² David Snellgrove & Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, New York: Praeger, 1968, p. 178.

stories were always transmitted orally, it would have been useful had a Tibetan version in *dbu med* been appended to the book, both for scholars interested in Tibetan folklore and for those working with colloquial Tibetan.

One of the striking features of the book are the line drawings by Addison Smith, an American artist who has worked for a number of years with Tibetan people in the Himalayan region. The illustrations are not mere decorations but form an integral part of the presentation of each story, and as such they are very successful. The test for this came when showing the book to groups of Tibetan people in Kathmandu: in large percentage without knowing English they were able to identify the the particular story by simply looking at the pictures. The drawings never failed to bring a laugh, and if at times some of the features are heavily exaggerated, it is an exaggeration which adds to the humorous qualities of the book. Especially impressive is the attention to detail in dress and ornamentation, which also brought forth favourable comments from Tibetans.

The production of the book is excellent with attractive printing on high quality mat paper and gold embossing on the cover. Although paperback, it is strongly bound and is appropriately meant to be thumbed many times. The publisher, Dorje Ling, and all the people connected with the production of the book deserve high praise, particularly for opening up to the average reader a new look at Tibetan folk culture.

* *Maps and Documents*

CARTE ECOLOGIQUE DU NEPAL.

By Jean-Francois Dobremez et al. *1 monograph, 4 maps in color, 161 p.; tables, charts, figures.*

Published by Center National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1975

There is little doubt that at the present time the most productive and co-ordinated group of research scholars working in Nepal emanate from the C. N. R. S. in Paris. In recent years they have produced monographs, bibliographies, journals, papers, and documents on the Nepal Himalaya and its people, utilizing the talents of scientists working in a wide variety of fields. The current program (Recherche Cooperative sur Programme no. 253) under the overall supervision of Dr. Corneille Jest continues this tradition and uses to great advantage the concept of team research. Aided by the historically centralized nature of French academe, including finance structure, researchers from C.N.R.S. have been able to concentrate their efforts on strictly delimited regions, collecting micro-data from such diverse disciplines as botany, geomorphology, and ethnography. Specialists could be assigned to specific tasks; with

the data later to be collated and analyzed under central direction in Paris and Grenoble.

Among the most useful publications thus far are the series of documents under review (four colorful ecological maps and one well-illustrated essay on gymnosperms of Nepal) which contain valuable information for scientists, development planners, and trekkers alike. The documents are:

1. *Carte Ecologique du Nepal, Annapurna-Dhaulagiri* 1/250 000 J. F. Dobremez C. Jest, map, 43 p., 20 F.
2. *Carte Ecologique du Nepal, Jiri-Thodung* 1/50 000 J. F. Dobremez C. Jest, J. Stebler, P. Valeix, map, 16 and 10 p. 20 F.
3. *Les Gymnospermes du Nepal*, T. B. Shrestha, 26 p., 24 fig. 10 F.
4. *Carte Ecologique du Nepal, Kathmandu-Everest* 1/250 000 J. F. Dobremez, C. Jest, G. Toffin, M. C. Vartanian, F. Vigny, map, 34 p. 20 F.
5. *Carte Ecologique du Nepal, Region Terai central* 1/250 000, map, 32 p. 20 F.

In addition extensive research has been underway recently in the Langtang Valley and an ecological map covering this area (Scale 1/50 000) is currently in preparation.

The maps have been created by Jean-Francois Dobremez from the Universite de Grenoble, but each has been put into a convenient package which also includes detailed ethnographic data contributed by the other scholars noted above. Using cartographic techniques first developed in mapping vegetation of the Alps, Dobremez has synthesized a great deal of topographic and ecological information. According to the principles of "homologous zones" or "isopotential areas," as elaborated by Prof. Ozenda of Grenoble, each major zone has been given contrasting colors and symbols which clearly reflect the Nepali environment. From his introduction to the series we learn that at first an extensive bibliographic effort was mounted to gather all available ecological data.¹ Then:

In the course of many travels, we noted the values and variations of different groups of factors: geographical (slope, exposition), geological (nature of mother rock), pedological (type of soil, PH, structure, texture), climatological (sunniness, temperature, moisture, and rainfall), biotic (human density, utilization of natural resources by man and animals).²

In general the isopotential zones corresponded well with vegetation, particularly trees, and for this reason most of the zones were labeled by the predominant arboreal species. Nevertheless in the more amplified maps (Scale 1/50 000) an effort was made to include pasture and agricultural zones as well.

1. Published as J. F. Dobremez, Mme F. Vigny, and L. H. J. Williams, *Bibliographie du Nepal: Botanique*, C. N. R. S., Paris, 1972.

2. From the introduction to Carte 1, *Annapurna-Dhaulagiri* 1/250 000 J. F. Dobremez and C. Jest.

The production of the maps is excellent; they are well drawn, and the overall design and coloring is very effective. Using them prospective research scientists and trekkers can identify at a glance the major zones through which they will be passing, while development planners can anticipate the plausibility of various ideas by reference to the ecology. The single drawback is the quality of map paper which deteriorates quickly in the field, and even with desk use soon tears along the edges. Inevitably minor mistakes occur, but the authors point out in the introduction that this is only the first effort at a comprehensive mapping of the Himalayan environment. They promise to be increasingly precise in the future, and in fact each of the succeeding maps has been more sophisticated. The C. N. R. S. team is to be congratulated for their fine work thus far, and we look forward to the publication of the additional numbers in this series.

* * *

E. H. W.