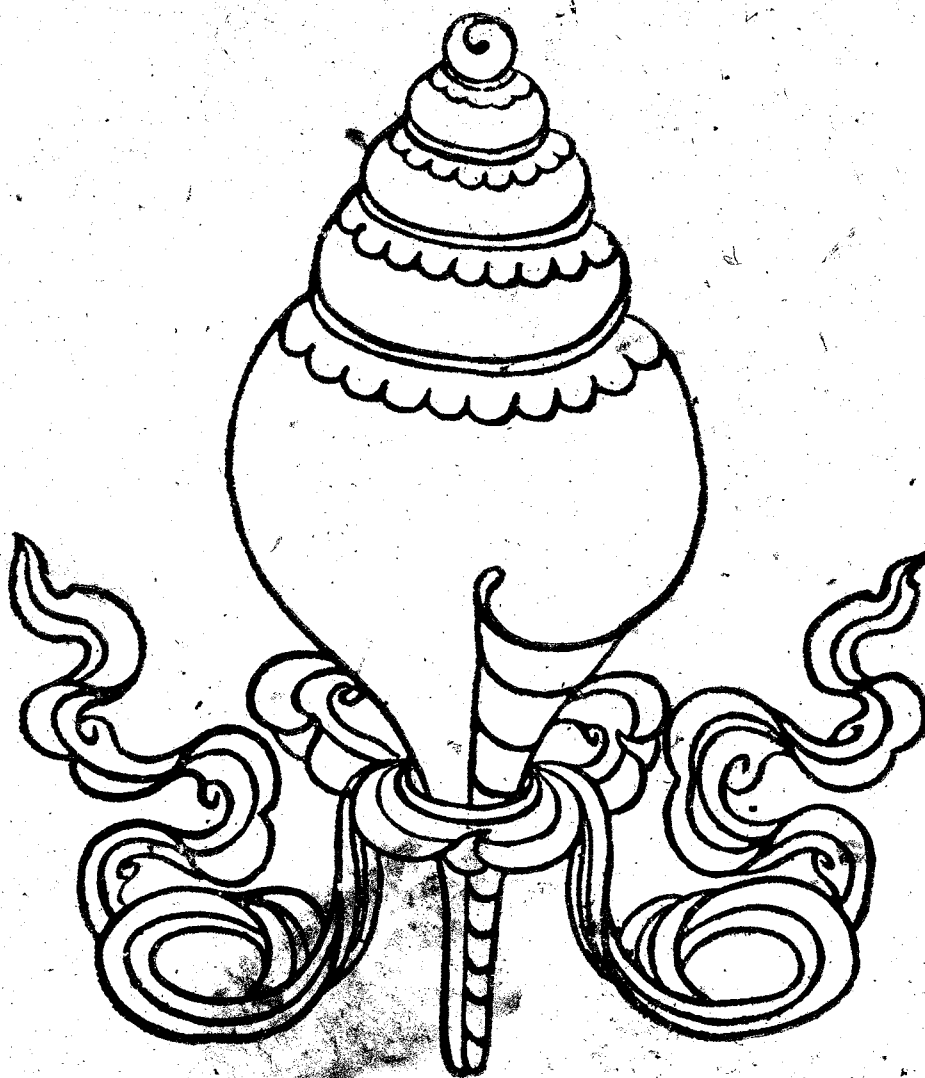


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ORIGIN OF THE AVALOKITESVARA OF POTALA

Lokesh Chandra

New Delhi

I INTRODUCTION

Hsuan-tsang refers to Avalokiteśvara on the Potala in the following words (Beal 1884:2.233): "To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Po-tā-lo-kia (Potalaka). The passes of this mountain are very dangerous; its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokiteśvara in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (fording the streams), climb the mountain forgetful of its difficulties and dangers: of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsai-t'ien (Īśvara-deva), sometimes under the form of a yogi (a Pāmsu-pata); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires".

Watters (1905:2.229) summarises the above passage as follows: "In the south of the country near the sea was the Mo-lo-ya (Malaya) mountain, with lofty cliffs and ridges and

deep valleys and gullies, on which were sandal, camphor and other trees. To the east of this was Pu-ta-lo-ka (Putalaka) mountain with steep narrow paths over its cliffs and gorges in irregular confusion; on the top was a lake of clear water, whence issued a river which, on its way to the sea, flowed twenty times round the mountain. By the side of the lake was a stone Deva-palace frequented by Kuan-tzū-tsai P'usa. Devotees, risking life, brave water and mountain to see the P'usa, but only a few succeed in reaching the shrine. To the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the P'usa he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika, or as Mahesvara, and consoles the suppliant with this *(sic)* answer"

Hsuan-tsang must have read in the Avatamsaka-sūtra about the earthly paradise of Avalokitesvara: "Potalaka is on the sea-side in the south, it has woods, and streams, and tanks, and is in fact a sort of earthly paradise. Buddhahadra (A.D. 420) calls Kuanyin's mountain Kuang-ming or 'Brilliance', which is usually given as the rendering for Malaya, but a later translator, Śikshānanda, transcribes the name Potalaka" (Watters 1905:2.231). Buddhahadra's rendering of Potala is "Brilliance". It refers to its etymology: Tamil *pottu* (*potti-*) 'to light (as a fire)', Kota *pot-* (*poty-*) id., Kannada *pottu* n. 'flaming', *pottige* 'flaming, flame', Tulu *potta* 'hot, burning' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961:298 no. 3691). In Kannada analogous words are: *pöttige* 'flaming, flame', *pöttisu* 'to cause to burn with flame, to kindle, to light' *pöttu* 'to begin to burn with flame, to be kindled, to catch fire, to flame', *pöttu* '1. flaming, 2. the sun, 3. time' (Kittel 1894:1020). In ancient times the magnificence of the temple of Avalokiteśvara must have been resplendent and dazzling to the devotees who reached it after negotiating inaccessible cliffs and ravines: a transcendence beyond forbidding barriers.

In the above passage Avalokiteśvara at Potala sometimes take the form of Ísvara (Śiva) and sometimes that of a Pāśupata yogin. In fact Śiva was metamorphosed into Avalokiteśvara. This is corroborated by the Nīlakaṇṭhaka and Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī where Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara is an apotheosis of Śiva and Viṣṇu (Hari-Hara). The Nīlakaṇṭhaka was translated into Chinese by three masters in the seventh and early eighth century: by Chih-t'ung twice during A.D. 627-649 (T. 1057a and T. 1057b = Nj. 318), by Bhagavaddharma during A.D. 650-660 (T. 1059 and T. 1060 = Nj. 320), and by Bodhiruci in A.D. 709 (T. 1058 = Nj. 319).

The Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī was translated into Chinese by Vajrabodhi (worked A.D. 719-741, T. 1112), twice by his disciple Amoghavajra (worked A.D. 723-774, T. 1111, 1113b, and in the fourteenth century by Dhyānabhadra (worked A.D. 1326-1363, T. 1113a).

Twelve scrolls of Nīlakaṇṭha Lokesvara texts in Chinese have been found at Tun-huang (Giles 1957:105-106). Manuscript 3793 of the Stein Collection of Chinese scrolls from Tun-huang adds a note at the end: 'Translated at Khotan by the sramana Bhagavaddharma of Western India'. Here West means 'South India' as we have already pointed out in our article on Oḍḍiyāna (in print). It is notable that Bhagavaddharma accomplished the translation at Khotan. Nīlakandi for Nīlakantha in Amoghavajra's translation (T. 1113b), is a Central Asian form: Uigur nominative singular ending in i.

II AMOGHAVAJRA'S VERSION

The version of Amoghavajra (T. 1113b) has been the most wide spread ever since it was written in the eighth century.

8 Origin

Its popularity has not waned to this day. Suzuki (1950:22-23) includes its English rendering as an essential part of the Zen repertoire of *sūtras*, "what the Zen monk reads before the Buddha in his daily service, where his thoughts move in his leisure hours" (*ibid.* 11):

Suzuki's Translation

DHĀRANĪ OF THE GREAT COMPASSIONATE ONE

Adoration to the Triple, Treasure!
Adoration to Avalokitesvara the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva
who is the great compassionate one!
Om, to the one who performs a leap beyond all fears!
Having adored him, may I enter into the heart of the blue-necked
one known as the noble adorable Avalokiteśvara. It means the
completing of all meaning, it is pure, it is that which makes
all beings victorious and cleanses the path of existence.
Thus:
Om, the seer, the world-transcending one!
O Hari the Mahābodhisattva!
All, all!
Defilement, defilement!
The earth, the earth!
It is the heart!
Do, do the work!
Hold fast, hold fast!
O great victor!
Hold on, hold on!
I hold on!
To Indra the creator!
Move, move, my defilement-free seal!
Come, come!
Hear, hear!
A joy springs up in me!
Speak, speak! Directing!
Hulu, hulu, mala, hulu, hulu, hile!
Sara, sara! siri, siri! suru, suru!
Be awakened, be awakened!
Have awakened, have awakened!
O merciful one, blue-necked one!
Of daring ones, to the joyous, hail!
To the successful one, hail!
To the great successful one, hail!
To the one who has attained mastery in the discipline, hail!
To the blue-necked one, hail!

To the boar-faced one, hail!
To the one with a lion's head and face, hail!
To the one who holds a weapon in his hand, hail!
To the one who holds a wheel in his hand, hail!
To the one who holds a lotus in his hand, hail!
To the blue-necked far-causing one, hail!
To the beneficent one referred to in this Dhāraṇī beginning
with "namah", hail!
Adoration to the triple Treasure!
Adoration to Avalokiteśvara!
Hail!
May these [prayers] be successful!
To this magical formula, hail!

Suzuki has used the Sanskrit text in Siddham script given alongside the Chinese transcription, as the basis for his translation. The Sanskrit is corrupt beyond recognition in certain cases: *dhava namo narakidhi herima*. Suzuki has taken 'O Hari' from another version. *Sarva sarva* 'all, all', is in fact *sarpa sarpa* 'descend descend'. *Mala mala* translated by Suzuki as 'defilement, defilement' should be *smara smara* 'bear in mind, bear in mind'. *Dhiriṇi-rāya* is rendered as 'I hold on. To Indra the creator'. Its correct Sanskrit is *dhāriṇi-rāja* 'O Lore of the dhāraṇī (namely, Nilakaṇṭha Lokeśvara)'. *Vaṣa-vaṣam prasaya* is done into English as 'Speak! speak! Directing'. Its Sanskrit reconstruction is *viṣam viṣam praṇāśaya* 'destroy every poison (of the senses)'. *Dhaṣiṇina paṣamana svāhā* is interpreted as 'of daring one, to the joyous, hail'. Its correct text would be [*dehi me*] *darśanaṁ/praharaṇāya svāhā* [appear [unto me]. To the over-looking Lord, hail'. Suzuki has missed not only the words of the dhāraṇī, but also its structure. The dhāraṇī can be divided into five parts: 1. initial salutation, 2. name of the Avalokiteśvara, 3. śloka enunciating merits of the hṛdaya-dhāraṇī, 4. dhāraṇī commencing with the classical phrase *tadyathā*, 5. final salutation. It escaped the attention of Suzuki that the third part is a śloka.

Transcription 1: Siddham script of Chinese Tripiṭaka

The text as written in Siddham script in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (T. 1113b, 20.498-501) is transcribed below:

Namo Ratna-trayāya

1. Namō āryāvalokitesvarāya, bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya mahākāruṇikāya.
2. Om sarva-rabhya-śudhana dasya namoskr̥ta imo aryāvarukitesivaram dhava namo narakidhi.
3. Herima vadhaṣame¹ sarva athādu subham / ajeyam sarva-bhūtanama va-gama-vadudu²//
4. Tadyathā /
Om / Avaloka³ lokatekarate/ ehya mahābodhisatva sarva sarva/ mala mala⁴ mama hṛdayam/ kuru kuru karma/ dhuru dhuru vajayate mahavajayate/ dhara dhara dhirini-rāya⁵/ cala-cala mama vamara-muktele⁶, ehe-ehe/ cinda cinda/ arṣam pracali/ vaṣa-vaṣam⁷ praśaya/ huru huru mara huru huru/ sara sara siri siri suru suru/ bodhiya bodhiya bodhaya bodhaya/ maitriya Narakindi dhaṣiṇina⁸ paṣamana svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddhāyogeśvakaraya svāhā/ Narakindi svāhā/ Maranara⁹ svāhā/ sirasamha-¹⁰ mukhāya svāhā/ pamahāsiddhāya¹¹ svāhā/ cakrasiddhāya¹² svāhā/ padmakastaya svāhā/ Narakindi vagaraya¹³ svāhā/ mabari sankaya svāhā.
5. Namō raratna-trayāya/ Namō aryāvarokiteśvaraya bodhi svāhā//

The above text can be corrected by a comparison with the version of Chih-t'ung (worked A.D. 627-649); which we find in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. All the Sanskrit texts occurring in the Ming Tripiṭaka were collected together by Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje and his assistants in 8+2 volumes of the quadrilingual collection of dhāraṇīs which bears the Chinese

title: *Yu chih man han mêng-ku hsi - fan ho-pi ta-tsang ch'uan chou*
(edited by the author in 22 volumes under the title *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking*, abbreviated to STP). The prime objective of the redactors of the quadrilingual dhāraṇī-collection was to restore the Sanskrit text to its appropriate accuracy with the help of Tibetan texts. It proved to be a remarkable effort at textual reconstruction undertaken as early as the first half of the 18th century.

Transcription 2: Reconstructed Sanskrit Text

Herebelow is the reconstituted Sanskrit text with variant readings from STP. 5.1290-6.1304 which have been used for emendations:

/Namo Ratna-trayāya/

Nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya
mahākāruṇikāya/

Om/ sarva-bhaya-śodhanāya tasya namaskṛtvā imu Āryāva-
lokiteśvara tava namo Nīlakaṇṭha/

hrdayam vartayiṣyāmi¹ sarvārtha-sādhanam śubham/
ajeyam sarva-bhūtānām bhava-mārga-viśodhakam²//

Tadyathā/

Om/ Ālokādhipati³ lokātikrānta/ ehy-[ehi] mahābodhisattva
sarpa-sarpa/ smara/smara⁴ hrdayam/ kuru-kuru karma/

dhuru-dhuru vijayate mahāvijayate/ dhara-dhara dhāriṇī-
rāja⁵ / cala-cala mama vimala-mūrtte⁶, ehi-ehi/ chinda-

chinda/ arsa pracali/ viṣam-viṣam⁷ praṇāśaya/ hulu-hulu
smara hulu-hulu/ sara-sara siri-siri suru-suru/ bodhiya-
bodhiya bodhaya-bodhaya/ maitriya Nīlakaṇṭha⁸ [dehi me]
darsanam⁸/

Praharāyamāṇāya svaha/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/

- siddhayogīśvarāya svāhā/ Nīlakaṇṭhāya svāhā/
 varāha-mukhāya⁹ svāhā/ narasimha-mukhāya¹⁰ svāhā/
 gadā-hastāya¹¹ svāhā/ cakra-hastāya¹² svāhā/ padma-
 hastāya svāhā/
 Nīlakaṇṭha-pāṇḍarāya¹³ svāhā/ Mahātali-Śaṅkarāya svāhā,
 5. Namo ratna-trayāya/
 Nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya svāhā/

Notes to both Transcriptions

1. STP. *hridayam vartayisami*.
2. STP. has the correct text. *duḍu* occurs elsewhere too as an expletive to slur over lacunae when words were forgotten.
3. STP. *Āloka-adhipati*: this reminds us a Buddhahadra (A.D. 420) who renders Potalaka the mountain of Avalokiteśvara as *Kuang-ming* "Brilliance". The Avalokiteśvara of Potalaka was Ālokādhipati or the Lord of Effulgence, and this phrase points to the fact that Nīlakaṇṭha Lokesvara and the Avalokiteśvara of Potala are identical
4. STP. 1294 line 1 *smvara hridayan*.
5. STP. 1295 line 2 *dharenadriśvara*.
6. STP. 1295 line 3 *vimalamūrte*.
7. STP. 1298 line 1 *dveṣa-viṣa-vināśanam moha-viṣa-vināśanam*.
8. STP. 1300 line 2 *dadāhi me darśana-kāmasa darsanām/ praharāyamāna svāhā*
9. STP. 1300 line 4 *parāhamukhāya*.
10. STP. 1301 line 1 *narasihamukhāya*.
11. STP. 1301 line 2 *vajrahastāya*. In the Siddham of the Chinese text it is *pama* which can equally well be *gadā*. The dhāraṇī refers to Varāha and Narasimha, the two incarnations of Viṣṇu. The attributes that follow should also pertain to Viṣṇu: mace (*gadā*), discus

- (*śakra*), lotus (*padma*) and conch (*śaṅkha*). In this light *pama* has to be emended to *gaḍa* and not to *vajra*.
12. STP. 1302 lines 3-4 *cakrāyudharāya svāhā/ śaṅkha-śabda-nibodhanāya svāhā*. The *śaṅkha* 'conch!' is missing in our text.
13. Hsuan-tsang says that Avalokitesvara at Potalaka sometimes appears as a yogin smeared with ashes. The word *pāṇḍarāya* is an allusion to this attribute.

Translation of Reconstructed Sanskrit Text

Adoration the Triple Gem

1. Adoration the noble Avalokitesvara, bodhisattva, mahāsattva, the Great Compassionate One.
2. Om. Having paid adoration to One who Dispels all Fears, O noble Avalokiteśvara, to You adoration, O Nīlakaṇṭha.
3. I shall enunciate the 'heart' dhāraṇī which ensures all purposes, is pure and invincible for all beings, and which purifies the path of existence.
4. Thus:
 Om. Lord of Effulgence, the World-Transcending One.
 Come, come, great bodhisattva, descend, descend. Bear in mind my heart-dhāraṇī. Do do the work. Hold fast, oh Victor, oh Great Victor. Hold on, hold on, oh Lord of the Dhāraṇī. Move, move oh my immaculate image, come come. Destroy every poison.
 Quick, bear in mind, quick, quick, Descend, descend, descend descend, descend descend. Being enlightened, being enlightened enlighten me, enlighten me. Oh merciful Nīlakaṇṭha appear unto me. To You who eyes us, hail.
 To the Great Siddha hail. To the Great Siddha in Yoga hail. To Nīlakaṇṭha hail. To the Boar-faced One hail.
 To One with the Face of Narasimha hail. To One who bears

the mace in His hand, hail. To the Holder of cakra in His hand, hail. To One who Sports a Lotus in His hand, hail. To Nīlakaṇṭha smeared [with ashes], hail. To the mighty Śaṅkara hail.

5. Adoration to the Triple Gem. Adoration to the noble Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, hail.

III CHIH-T'UNG'S VERSION

Now we shall take up Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje's reconstruction (STP. 5.1290-6.1304) of the Nīlakaṇṭhaka as transcribed by Chih-t'ung during A.D. 627-649 (Nj. 318, T. 1057b). This version is different and longer than that of Amoghavajra. The words *ehi hare* (*hare* is the vocative of Hari) and *ehi hara* are of crucial importance, as they are certain indications that the Potala image was a syncretic icon of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). Hari-hara Lokeshvara is one of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara in the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu in Nepal (Bhattacharyya 1958:429 no. 84). The following characteristics allude to Hari: *padma-hasta*, *vajra-hasta*, *cakrayudhadhara*, *saṅkhaśabdaniṅghosana*. These are the attributes held in the four hands of Viṣṇu, except *vajra* which replaces *gadā*. He has the faces of two incarnations of Viṣṇu: *Varāha-mukha*, *MahāVarāha-mukha*, *Narasimha-mukha*, *MahāNarasimha-mukha*. He has the prowess of Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇa-bala-rūpa*). He is Hara-Hari (*Hara-hare*, vocative) and Māhapadma-nābha which is an epithet of Viṣṇu and also one of his 24 aspects (*caturviniśati-miti*, Liebert 1976:204). He is standing on a lotus (*padma-sthita*).

The very title of the dhāraṇī refers to Nīlakaṇṭha, which is an epithet of Śiva. He is invoked as Hara (*ehi Hara*). His diadem is his black matted locks (*kr̥ṣṇa-jatā-mukuta*). He is the Immutable Lord (*niścaresvara* = *Sthāṇu* or *Sthāṇviśvara*, an

epithet of Śiva). He wears a black serpent as the sacred thread (*kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta*). He is the Destroyer of the three cities (*Tripuradahana*, an epithet of the violent manifestation of Śiva, Liebert 1976:304). He holds the dreadful poison (*viṣadhara*) that he swallowed on its emergence from the churning of the ocean of milk that threatened the world with destruction (*mahā-halāhala-viṣa*) and in consequence destroys the sinister poisons of passion (*vāga*), envy (*dveṣa*), and delusion (*moha*). The *mahāṭṭahāsyā* of the *dhāraṇī* refers to the fury of His laughter, which is unique to Him. *Siddha-yogīśvara* is again an epithet of Śiva.

The full text of Chih-t'ung reads:

नमो रत्नत्रयाय ।

नम आयाविलोक्तेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय ।

तथ्या--

ॐ सर्व-बन्धन-च्छेदनकराय सर्व-भव-समुद्रोच्छोषण कराय सर्व-व्याधि-प्रशमन कराय सर्व-ईत्युपद्र [व] - विनाशनकराय सर्व-भयौत्तारणकराय तस्य नमस्कृत्वा इदौ आयाविलोक्तेश्वराय तव नीलकण्ठ नाम वरम् ।

हृदयं वेर्तयिष्यामि स्वार्थ-साधनं शुभम् ।

अजयं सर्व-भूतानां भव-मार्ग-विशोधकम् ॥

तथ्या--

आलौकाधिपति लोकातिक्रान्त रहि (ny1. क्रान्ते रा) हरे महाबोधिसत्त्व, हे महाबोधिसत्त्व, हे प्रिय बोधिसत्त्व, हे कारुणिक, स्मर हृदयम् । रहि हर आयाविलोक्तेश्वराय । परम-मैत्रो-चित्त कारुणिक कुरु कुरु कर्म । साध्य साध्य विधां । देहि देहि मे पजरं । गमं गम विहंगम सिद्ध-योगीश्वर । ध्रु ध्रु । विजयन्ति

महाविजयन्ति । धर धर धारणीन्द्रेश्वर (ny1. धरंन्द्रिश्वर) । चल चल विमलमूर्ते
 आर्याविलोक्तेश्वर जिन कृष्ण-जटा-मुकुट ए (ny1. मुकुटे) । अलंकृतशरीर लम्ब प्रलम्ब
 विलम्ब महासिद्धविद्याधर । बल बल महाबल । मल्ल (ny1. मल) मल्लमल्ल (ny1.
 मलमल) महामल्ल (ny1. 'मल) । चल चल महाचल । कृष्ण-वर्ण कृष्ण-यज्ञ कृष्ण-पाश ।
 निर्गच्छन । हे पद्महस्त । चर चर निश्चरेश्वर । कृष्ण-स [र्ष] - कृत-यज्ञोपवीत एहि
 हे । महावराहमुख त्रिपुर-वहनेश्वर नारायण-बल-रू [प] विषधर ए (ny1. 'धरि) ।
 हे नीलकण्ठ एह्येहि महा-हलाहल-विष-निर्जित लोकस्य राग-विष-विनाशन द्वेष-
 विष-विनाशन मोह-विष-विनाशन निमोदान हलु हलु । राहुला राहुला । हर-हेर
 (ny1. हलाहरे) महापद्मनाभ । सर सर सिरि सिरि सु सु । बुद्ध्य बुद्ध्य बोध्य
 बोध्य । बोधयामि ते नीलकण्ठ । एत्येहि पद्म-स्थित (ny1. पाम) नरसिंहमुख (ny1.
 मचा) । हस हस । सुम्ब मुम्ब महाट्टहास्यं । एत्येहि मी मी महासिद्धयोगेश्वर ।
 मण मण वाच । साध्य साध्य सविधान् । स्मर स्मर तान् । भगवन्त लोक [ते]
 पलोका तान् तथागतानां । ददाहि मे दर्शनकामस् [य] दर्शनं । प्रहरायमाण स्वाहा ।
 सिद्धाय स्वाहा । सिद्धयोगेश्वराय स्वाहा । नीलकण्ठाय स्वाहा । वराहमुखाय
 स्वाहा । महावरा[ह] मुखाय स्वाहा । नरसिंहमुखाय स्वाहा । महानरसिंहमुखाय
 स्वाहा । वज्रहस्ताय स्वाहा । महावज्रहस्ताय स्वाहा । सिद्ध-विद्याधराय स्वाहा ।
 महासिद्ध-विद्याधराय स्वाहा । पद्महस्ताय स्वाहा । महापद्महस्ताय स्वाहा । कृष्ण-
 सर्प-कृत-यज्ञोपवीताय स्वाहा । महामणि (ny1. °माल) मुकुटधराय स्वाहा ।
 चक्रायुध[ध]राय स्वाहा । शंखशब्द निबोधनाय स्वाहा । वाम-[र]कन्ध-देश-स्थित-
 कृष्णाजिनाय स्वाहा । वाम-हस्त-व्याघ्र चर्म-निवासनाय स्वाहा । लोकेश्वराय
 स्वाहा । महालोकेश्वराय स्वाहा । सर्व-सिद्धेश्वराय स्वाहा । रदा रदा मां स्वाहा ।

नमो भगवते आर्याविलोक्तेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय ।
 सिध्यन्तु मे मन्त्रपदानि स्वाहा ।

IV CONCLUSIONS

1. Nīlakaṇṭha Lokesvara and Potalaka Avalokitesvara are both an epiphany of Hari-Hara. In all probability the two are identical.

2. The epithet *Ālokātikrānta* 'He who transcends Effulgence' supports the hypothesis that Nīlakaṇṭha is the Lokeśvara at Potalaka. Potalaka is rendered into Chinese by Buddhahadraw as "Brilliance" (*āloka*).

3. Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara has the attributes of Śiva and at the end of the dhārāṇi he is lauded as one who holds the four implements carried by Viṣṇu in his four hands: *śankha*, *chakra*, *gada* and *padma*. It reminds one of the syncretism of Hari-Hara images.

4. The Dalai Lamas, the Rulers of Tibet, are reincarnations of the Avalokiteśvara who resides on the Potala. The palace of the Dalai Lamas at Lhasa is in fact designated Potala. The aspect of Avalokiteśvara as the Sovereign Head of State, stems from Viṣṇu. A King on earth is an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

5. The image at Potalaka symbolised the syncretism of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and in its later development when Buddhism became dominant it became Avalokiteśvara. An important fact for the convergence of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism. A spot once sanctified remained sacrosanct, while externals underwent change.

6. The text of the dhārāṇi in Chih-t'ung's version is longer and has crucial details: *kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavitāya svāhā / ... vāma-kandha-deśa-sthita-kṛṣṇajināya svāhā / (STP.6.1302-3).*

• 18 Origin

So also other versions preserve variations of consequence. A detailed study of all the Chinese translations of the dhāraṇī along with their descriptive text in Chinese giving directions for its use, is essential to trace the impregnation of Buddhism by Śaiva/Vaiṣṇava elements and the emergence of syncretic trends in the Tantras. The dates of the Chinese translations can help to define the chronology of philosophical development in India.

7. Nīlakandi in Amoghavajra's version is an Uigur form, which he must have employed by force of habit. This tiny but subtle and crucial nuance is decisive in confirming the view that he hailed from Samarkand.

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APPENDIX

AMOGHVAJRA'S TRANSLITERATION, from the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka (it excludes the Chinese text).

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

AMOGHAVAJRA'S TRANSLITERATION
from the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka
(it excludes the Chinese text)

No. 1113B [cf. Nos. 1111-1113A]

大慈大悲救苦觀世音自在王
菩薩廣大圓滿無礙自在青頸
大悲心陀羅尼

大廣智不空譯

南無喝囉怛那哆羅夜哪一

南無阿唎哪二

是如意輪菩薩本身到此誦在心

婆盧羯帝爍鉢囉哪三

娑訶囉囉囉

菩提薩哆婆哪四

摩訶薩 垂婆 哪五

摩訶薩 垂婆 哪五

摩訶迦 嚧呢 迦 哪六

摩訶迦 嚧呢 迦 哪六

唵七

唵七

薩 播 囉 罰 曳 八

薩 播 囉 罰 曳 八

數 怛 那 怛 寫 九

南 無 悉 吉 唵 垂 伊 蒙 阿 喇 耶 十

南 無 悉 吉 唵 垂 伊 蒙 阿 喇 耶 十

婆 嚧 吉 帝 室 佛 楞 馱 婆 十 一

婆 嚧 吉 帝 室 佛 楞 馱 婆 十 一

南 無 那 囉 嚧 囉 十 二

南 無 那 囉 嚧 囉 十 二

醯 利 摩 播 哆 沙 咩 十 三

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

阿 遊 孕 十 五

薩 婆 菩 哆 那 摩 縛 伽 十 六

摩 罰 特 豆 十 七

怛 姪 他 十 八 唵

阿 波 盧 醯 盧 迦 帝 十 九

迦 羅 帝 二 十

迦 羅 帝 二 十

▽ 五

夷醯喇二十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

摩訶菩薩埵二十

マ ㄥ ㄥ

薩婆薩婆三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

摩羅摩羅摩醯喇馱孕二十四

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

俱噓俱噓羯蒙二十五

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

度噓度噓罰闍耶帝六十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

摩訶罰闍耶帝二十七

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

陀羅陀羅八十

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

地利尼二十九

マ ㄥ

囉耶三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

遮囉遮囉三十

マ ㄥ

摩弟子某甲受持

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

罰摩羅三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ

穆帝囉三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

伊醯移醯三十四

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

室那室那三十五

𑖀𑖄𑖔𑖔𑖔

阿羅參佛羅舍利三十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

罰沙罰參佛羅舍耶三十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

呼噓呼噓麼羅三十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

呼噓醯喇三十九
同上

𑖔𑖔𑖔

沙囉沙囉四十

𑖀𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

悉喇悉喇四十 蘇噓蘇噓四十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

菩提哪菩提哪三十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

菩提耶菩提耶四十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

彌帝喇耶四十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

那囉謹堀四十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

他喇瑟尼那波夜摩那四十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

娑婆訶四十八 悉陀夜四十

𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔𑖔

娑婆訶五十 摩訶悉陀夜娑婆訶

𑖀𑖔𑖔𑖔

悉陀訶五十

室幡伽羅耶娑婆訶三五十

那羅謹

同五十五

娑婆訶六五十

摩囉那

那羅謹

同六十七

娑婆訶

囉七五十

娑婆

訶同五十八

悉囉僧阿穆佉耶九五十

摩婆唎勝羯夜六十九

同六十八

娑婆唎勝羯夜六十九

娑婆訶

娑婆

訶同六十一

婆摩訶悉陀夜六十一

南無阿唎耶二十

婆噓吉帝三十 燦幡

娑婆

訶同六十二

者吉囉阿悉陀夜三十

囉耶七十

菩提娑婆呵

娑婆

訶同六十四

青頸觀音陀羅尼一卷

娑摩羯悉哆夜五十

青頸大悲心印

NOTES ON A NEPALESE THANKA

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Upon looking at this small Nepalese painting (*paubha*), one's initial impression is that neither the subject nor the composition will pose big problems or will bring to light new facts. Indeed, the central figure, the Dākinī Vajravārāhī, is not unknown. She is, especially in Tibet, the most important female tantric deity of the lamaist religion—"et elle jouit d'un culte très populaire au Népal."¹ In the row above her, in the middle, the Adibudha Vajrasattva is enthroned; to his left a deity that is still to be identified; to his right, although badly damaged, unmistakably a Dākinī. Further, in the upper left part we notice the moon crescent, and without doubt the sun disc must have been its counterpart on the right side. The bottom row of the painting shows two donors and or adorers with offerings to the left, and a similar group represented to the right, while at the top of the painting the Himalayas are suggested by four steep and snow-covered mountains. To the left and the right of the Dākinī Vajravārāhī and against a dark green background, we see two vases or *kalasa*, one above the other. On each rests a *kapāla* or skull from which a lotus flower emerges. Finally, under the painting proper a text in Devanagari script draws our attention. As these texts sometimes contain precious data regarding the conditions and customs at the time the *paubha* was made, it is appropriate to start the further scrutiny of the painting with an analysis of the text.

The inscription reads as follows:

Subha samvata 845 Magha krishṇa pādu Sukravāra thvo kunhu rekhāsampura yāḍa juro Guru Kvātha Bahārayā Vajracarya Sukra Devaju yāta Kera Tora jhoṭā mugaraya kona cheya Citrakāra Trairoka Siṅha Padmanitya Siṅha thopani nimasena a Sri 2 Vajravārāhī pratimā cosyā doharapā juro thutiyā punyanam jojamāna āyurāroge janadhana santāna vridḍgu rastu subha.

Let us divide the legend in two.

The first part is an indication of the date:

*Subha samvata 845 Māgha krishṇa
pādu Sukravāra*

1. For a short description with illustration of this *paubha* see A. Neven: "Peintures lamaïques des 18^e et 19^e siècles" in: *Jalons et Actualités des Arts*, Bruxelles 1976, no. 20, p. 23.

Nepal Samvat begins in 879 A. D. on "Kartika Sukla Pratipada"² which is the first day of the bright half of the month in October; to be more precise: on the 20th of October 879 A. D. If we add 845 to 879, we arrive at the year 1724. *Māgha*, the fourth month of the year, agrees with our month January. Therefore the date given on the *paubha* and transposed into our era, falls in January 1725.

Was there any reason to choose January? According to information we gathered in Nepal there seem to be four 'holy' months in a year: (*Vaiśākha* (April), *Srāvāṇa* (July), *Kārtika* (October), and *Māgha* (January)). The month of *Māgha* is very often met with in the dating of *paubhas*; to mention but one instance, on a *paubha* belonging to the Ethnographical Museum at Antwerp we read: ". . . 901 Nepal Samvat. . . in the month of *Māgha*".³ According to other sources, the time from the fourth till the tenth month-viz. from *Māgha* to *Srāvāṇa*-would be auspicious for initiation ceremonies. Probably this same period of eight months is also favourable for the 'ordering' of religious paintings. The legend of another thanka runs as follows: "The painting of the subject came to his mind while Krishna Dhana stayed in Lhasa, where he was on business and was a member of the *Lāhakaṇḍala*. . . . This thanka was dedicated in the Nepal era 923 on the third day of the light half of the month, on a Sunday in (the month of) *Jyeṣṭhā*",⁴ that is the month in the Nepal Samvat calendar. We may add that this thanka, taking into account its style, was probably painted at Lhasa. It would be worth-while to check all known captions to see whether the month they indicate belongs to one of those 'auspicious' months indicated above, and this regarding not only pure Nepalese paintings (i. e. Nepalese as to the deities represented) but also regarding thankas of Tibetan workmanship, but ordered by Nepalese. As to the months, we suppose they refer to lunar months. Therefore approximately every 32 months one lunar month has to be inserted, otherwise the festivals that are closely bound to the course of the seasons would fall in a season that would not correspond to the religious prescriptions.⁵

The date mentioned on a *paubha* is given much consideration. The year (1725) and the month (January) do not suffice. Since the fourteenth century the five *pancāṅga* also play an important role. These are five elements-not necessarily all of them mentioned in connection with the date given-which help to fix the moment of the event in a most precise manner. The first in the series is the *tithi*, the lunar day, the duration

2. D. R. Regmi: *Medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu 1965 Vol. I, p. 51.

3. A. E. 53.5.16.

4. L. P. Van der Wee: "A Tibetan Thangka" in : *Oriental Art*, 1969, Vol. XV number 4, p. 296.

5. For a more thorough survey of Nepalese calendars we refer the reader to D. R. Regmi : *Medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1966, Vol. II. p. 793.

of which corresponds approximately to 1/30 th part of a lunar month, whereas a solar day runs from one sunrise to the following one. Next, corresponding to the lunar calendar, each month is divided into two halves of 15 days each (15 tithis) with consecutive numbering from one to fifteen. The period of the waxing moon, i. e. from the new moon to the full moon, is called *śukla pakṣa*, the 'light' half. The following 15 days, during which period the moon wanes and ends with the new moon, is the *kṛṣṇa pakṣa*, the 'dark' half. Further, the first day of each fortnight, i. e. the first day of the *Śukla pakṣa* and the first day of the *kṛṣṇa pakṣa*, bears the name *pratipadā* (*padu*), and in this case is also a Friday, a *Śukravāra*, the *vāra* as well as the *tithi* being one of the five *pancānga*. These *vāras*, or solar days of the week, derive their names from the sun (*Ravivāra*), the moon (*Somavāra*) and the five planets, among them Venus (*Śukravāra*). The remaining three *pancānga* are the *yoga*, the *nakṣatra* and the *karaṇa* which however are not mentioned in our legend.

Now that we have firmly established the date of our Vajravārāhī *paubha*, we can translate it as follows:

This work was completed on the first day (*PĀDU*),

Friday (*ŚUKRA VĀRA*), of the dark fortnight (*KRSNA*)

of the month of January (*MĀGHA*) in the year 1725 A. D.

(*SAMVATA 845*).⁶

To conclude the discussion of this first part of the text, the question has to be answered, to what in fact does the date refer: to the ordering of the painting, to its completion or to its consecration? The most logical reply—in Nepal indeed confirmed by the initiated—is the day of completion. One would at first consider the date of its consecration. But this can only take place when the painting is completed. As the consecration has to take place on an auspicious occasion, taking into account, among other elements, the horoscope of the donor—which may give rise to complicated calculations—the dating could hardly have been inserted beforehand.

The second part of the text on the Vajravārāhī *paubha* runs as follows:

This painting of Śrī Śrī Vajravārāhī was painted by two citrakāras Trairokya Singh and Padmanitya Singh living in Kera Tora at the southern house of Jhotā

Mugara and was given to their priest Vajracarya Sukra Deva of Kvātha-bahāra.

This part will give us some information about the social institutions and the religious observances during the late middle ages in Nepal, i. e. a period which coincides with the part of the Malla rule starting in 1530 and ending with the rise of the Ghurkas.

The names of the two painters of the *paubha* viz. Trairokya Singh and Padmanitya Singh, are certainly quite unusual as we usually come across the name of donors only.

6. We express our heartfelt thanks to Mr. Purna Harsha Bajracharya, Chief Research Officer, Dept. of Archaeology, Kathmandu, for the rendering of the Newari text in Devanagari script into English.

Chance has it that in this case the donors and the painters of the *paubha* are identical and so we have before us one of those very rare scrolls on which the names of the painters are mentioned.

In the caste system, as practised in Nepal at that time, there are four groups, Citrakāras belong to a professional sub-caste that is part of the second group. The profession of painters is thus highly esteemed in comparison with the goldsmiths' caste for instance, which only belongs to a subdivision of the third group. Each caste (there are about 80 in all) has certain obligations and privileges. D.R. Regmi states that "the higher the caste . . . the longer is the period of mourning; the maximum was of 12 days".⁷ (Citrakāras mourned for 10 days). Both the painters of our *paubha*, Trairokya Singh and Padmanitya Singh, live in Kera Tora. The Newaris very often write RA for LA and vice versa. Thus Kera Tora, on the inscription, is no other than Kela Tola still existing in the old business quarter of Kathmandu, namely between Indrachowk and Asantole, at the street that runs from the Hanuman Doka in a north-eastern direction and that ends near Rani Pokhari, the artificial lake dug by Pratapa Malla. In Regmi we further read as follows: "Some of the *Vihāras* served as colonies providing housing accomodation. Each *Vihāra* of the colony type formed a locality, a *tola* of the town".⁸ A *vihāra*—and in Kathmandu alone there are at least some thirty important ones—is a Buddhist monastery, originally inhabited by celibate monks. However, through the influence of the Brahmans they gradually relinquished celibacy and since the 17th century there are no unmarried monks left. These married monks live in the *nani*, premises contiguous to the *vihāra*. They have been integrated in the caste system of Nepal and their caste comprises two groups: the Guvājus and the Bades. All the descendants of the erstwhile monks belong by right of birth to their caste. Only the Guvājus or Vajrācāryas have a priestly status. The closed community could also be established at a certain distance from the *vihāra* proper when the latter owing to a shortage of space did not allow of extension on the spot. In that light we probably have to understand our Kela Tola. We know that the inhabitants of the *nani* (living quarters, *tola*) continue to belong to the *vihāra*. The same is true of our two Citrakāras who entrust their *paubha* to their priest Vajrācārya Sukra Deva of the Kvātha bahāra. Kvātha-bahāra (Sanskrit: Maitripura Mahāvihāra) still exists in the northern part of Kathmandu, on the way to Tabahi.

We can now consider the analysis of the legend as being completed and start the discussion of the main figure of our *paubha*: Vajravārāhī, a very prominent Buddhist deity and very popular in Nepal as well as Tibet. M. Th. de Mallmann has published an extensive iconographical study of Vajravārāhī.⁹ Briefly stated the

7. D. R. Regmi : *Medieval Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 775.

8. Ibid.

9. M. Th. de Mallmann: *Introduction a l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique*,

conclusions arrived at in that study are as follows:

1. Vajravārāhī is a name given to two different deities. The second one falls outside the scope of this article.

2. The first deity having this name—Vajravārāhī - according to M. Th. de Mallmann—belongs to the Hevajra-cycle and is depicted in all the texts she studied as having a white or a red complexion, the latter more exactly “couleur de la fleur du grenadier (Népalais); ‘but’ aucune description... ne prescrit la petite tête de laie qui certaines images de la Vajravārāhī rouge, apparait comme une excroissance au-dessus de l’oreille droite” which M. Th. de Mallmann also considers as being an abnormality, together with the fact that Vajravārāhī, in her red appearance, usually holds a chopper, “alors que celui-ci (le couperet) n’est mentionné que dans le seul Sādhana 220, les autres descriptions attribuant à la main droite le vajram voire exceptionnellement le croc sommé du vajra”.¹⁰

Vajravārāhī may be depicted embracing her yab. This form is not discussed here. In the other case—when she is represented alone—M. Th. de Mallmann gives seven aspects, of which six are red (numbered from 2 to 7) and one white (number 1). Of the red aspects, one has four arms. This leaves us with five, the numbers 2 to 6. But only number 5 wields a chopper, as is the case on our *paubha*. She stands on only one person, whereas in other cases mentioned in the texts, she tramples two persons, Bhairava and Kālarātri. On our *paubha* we notice only one person under her feet, a Shivaist; the typical horizontal lines are very clearly shown on his forehead. Besides, according to M. Th. de Mallmann number five “... a généralement la face porcine latérale... et munie du *khaṭvāṅga*”,¹¹ which agrees with our *paubha*. On the other hand we are of the opinion that number 3 of the series given by M. Th. de Mallmann also shows some affinity with the central figure of the *paubha*: “... elle est entourée d’un maṇḍala, réduit toutefois aux assistantes Dākinī, Lāmā Khaṇḍarohā et Rupiṇ sur les quatre pétales cardinaux du otus dont elle occupe le réceptacle, et—sur les pétales collatéraux—aux quatre coupes crâniennes remplies de “pensée d’Eveil”,¹² Regarding these “coupes crâniennes”, R. O. Meisezahl has the following to say. “Abhayakaragupta berichtet von Lotusvazen die mit dem Willen zur Erleuchtung (tib. *byan chub sems*), mit Blütenstaub (tib. *khrag*) sowie mit den 5 Arten von Ambrosia (bdud rci lna) und Leucheten (mar me lna) der Welt zur Erkenntnis gefül seien...”.¹³ on our *paubha* this *maṇḍala* of Vajravārāhī is restricted to four lotus

Paris 1975, p 425–429.

10. *Idem*, p. 425.

11. *Idem*, p. 429.

12. *Idem*, p. 427.

13. R. O. Meisezahl: “Die Göttin Vajravārāhī in: *Oriens* 18–19, 1965–1966, p. 228–303

vases in the intermediate points of the compass. They are all identical: a lotus arising from a vase that we have to imagine as symbolically filled with the offerings mentioned above. Regarding the ornaments of Vajrāvārāhī M. Th. de Mallmann says: “elle est ornée des Six Sceaux”.

1. diademe (*cakri*) symbolisant Akṣobhya;
2. ornements d'oreilles (*kuṇḍala*) symbolisant Amitābha;
3. collier (*kaṅṭhi*) symbolisant Ratneśa;
4. bracelets (*rūcaka*) symbolisant Vairocana;
5. ceinture (*mekhalā*) symbolisant Amoghasiddhi;
6. tablier d'os, objet rituel”.¹⁴

Vajravārāhī on the *paubha* wears them all; however, she has something more, a detail that at once catches the eye: she not only wears ear-flowers (*karnaphula*)¹⁵ but also *karnapaṭaka* (earflaps). These *Karnapaṭa* also adorn the Mātṛkās, a group of eight deities, all manifestations of Devī and well known in Nepal. Since the 16th century they protect the city of Bhadgaon in the Kathmandu valley, a task performed by the eight Kālīs for Kathmandu and by the eight Kumārīs for Patan.

Regarding the *karnapaṭka* on our *Paubha*, A. Neven is of the opinion that “son diadème de crânes péri de deux étandards. . . . est un détail propre au Nepal mais que nous croyons n'être apparu qu'au 19 ième siècle, ce qui pourrait confirmer notre impression d'une surcharge ultérieure de dorures”.¹⁶ We are not so sure about this addition dating from the 19th century. On glancing through the book *Nepal* with wonderful illustrations by Winkler, our attention was drawn to fig. 114: “Relief en pierre au bain royal de Patan”.¹⁷ This Royal Bath, completely bordered with small stone sculptures, was put up by Shri Nivasa Malla (1681-1684). On the left (fig. 2) Mahālaksmī is rendered; on the right we have Maheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī and Brahmāyanī the respective śaktis of Siva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. All four wear the two *karnapaṭaka* or ear-flaps. The text in the book is by Prof. Mukuna Raj Aryal who writes as follows about the flower- and leaf-ornament bordering the goddess Mahālaksmī “Les motifs de fleurs et de feuillages sont caractéristiques de l'art Malla tardif.” The Mallas retained power till 1768. It is of course possible to add details on a *thanka* at a later time, but with a stone sculpture, as is the case in Patan, this is impossible. We may therefore conclude that ear-flaps as iconographical details did exist during the late

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14. M. Th. de Mallmann: *Introduction à l'iconographie de tantrisme bouddhique*, Paris 1975, pp. 427 and 38.
 15. R. L. Turner: *Comparative and etymological dictionary of the Nepali language*, London 1931: “*Karnaphul*, S. Earring (cf. H. *karnahul* m. a partic. ear-ornament; compd. *karna* and *phul*, lit. ear -flowers)”.
 16. A. Neven. *Etudes d'Art Lamaique et de l'Himalaya*, Bruxelles 1978 p. 17.
 17. J. Winkler & M. R. Aryal : *Nepal*, Fribourg, 1976, p. 119.

Malla period, which-in the case of the bath-is about one hundred and fifty years earlier than A. Neven supposes. We are therefore inclined to believe that they were not added at a later date on the *paubha*, the more so as by a thorough survey of the gold paint this shows the same 'colour' all over the *paubha*.

The *mandorla* surrounding Vajravārāhī consists of three circles comprising *vajras*, skulls and flames respectively. The circle of skulls A. Neven takes as typical Nepalese. It is however also present on the Vajravārāhī maṇḍala, a Tibetan *thanka* in the Musée Guimet in Paris,¹⁸ where it looks like a thin white circle, while on the *paubha* we are studying here, the skulls form a quite distinct part of the *mandorla* because of their size. Furthermore, we have noticed, a band composed of skulls running as a decorative frieze round some temple buildings in Nepal. At times, they would alternate with other elements, such as lion heads and lotuses.

To sum up we may state that this small Nepalese Vajravārāhī-*paubha* is interesting for several reasons:

1. Once again Nepalese syncretism manifests itself, as the Buddhist deity is adorned with ornaments that are usually worn by the Hindu goddesses, such as Mahālakṣmī.
2. The strongly stressed circle of skulls, in our opinion a typical Nepalese detail and possibly particular to Vajravārāhī, certainly refers to strong tantric influences that are everywhere evident in Nepalese religion.
3. An unusual and important element is undoubtedly the presence of the names of two *paubha* painters. Although Nepalese paintings, contrary to Tibetan *thanka*, generally have legends, the names usually refer to donors and not to painters. Here we have besides the names of the painters also a date, an element that will eventually perhaps be valuable for a better knowledge of the history of Nepalese art.
4. When in a paper a date is mentioned, this is usually no more than the year, which may give rise to the wrong inference that the dating shows analogies with European notions of a date. Nothing is less true; the analysis of the legend gives ample proof that many elements, among which astrology and horoscopes play a major role, are important in the fixing of a date.

18. *Dieux et Démons de l'Himalaya, L'Art du Bouddhisme lamaïque*: Paris 1977; nr. 82 "Le mandala est entouré par quatre cercles de protection composés de crânes, de fleurs de lotus, de 'foudre-diamants' et de flammes".

THE VISIT OF PRINCE WALDEMAR OF PRUSSIA TO NEPAL
IN FEBRUARY AND MARCH 1845

Translated by
Per Kværne
Oslo

EDITOR'S NOTE

Prince Waldemar of Prussia visited Ceylon, India and Nepal in 1844-46, and his diary of this journey, edited by Alexander von Humboldt and published posthumously in Berlin in 1853, contains a chapter on Nepal. He visited Nepal, including the Kathmandu Valley and Nuwakot, between February 5th and mid-March 1845, and this is the first English translation of his own account of the visit to Nepal. The expedition surgeon, Dr. W. Hoffmeister, published his account of the journey in 1848. (*Travels in Ceylon and Continental India*, xii, 527 pages, Edinburgh 1848.)

Prince Waldemar's narrative, *Zur Erinnerung an Die Reise Des Prinzen Waldemar von Presson Nach Indian In Den Jahren 1844-46*, consists of two enormously large volumes weighing nearly 18 kilogrammes and measuring 57X42 centimetres (22 X16 inches). Volume I contains 102 pages, 65 plates and 3 maps, Volume II 134 pages, 41 plates and 3 maps. The volumes are apparently quite rare, and after having searched for a set for several years, I came across the two volumes, in very good condition, at a good antiquarian bookseller in the Hague in 1972. After a couple of years I revisited the Netherlands, and an amicable deal was concluded for the purchase of the set.

The English Translation have been completed by Dr. Per Kværne, and the plates have been done, from the original kept in Norway, by Kai Gjølseth, to both of whom special thanks are due for their kind assistance in making this rather unknown account accessible to the readers of *Kailash*. Spellings of places, persons, etc. of the original edition have been retained. Kathmandu, March 1979.

H. K. K.

THE JOURNEY THROUGH HINDUSTAN

From Kalkutta Via Patna, Kathmandu Benares and Delhi to Nani Tāl, January 3rd to May 27th 1845. (Volume I, part 2, p. 12-25).

The kingdom of Nepal or Nipal comprises the mountainous country to the south of the Himalayas, from the River Kali almost to the River Tista, a stretch of country almost 105 miles (i. e. German miles, one mile being 7.5 kilometres, P. K.) long and 20 miles broad, bounded by two foreign territories only: the Chinese territory, viz. Tübet, and the British territory including the protectorates Sikim and Aud. Nepal forms the transition between the Hindostani and the Tübetan peoples, between the votaries of Brahma and those of the Buddha. The most ancient inhabitants of the country are the Newars, to which tribe from the earliest times, the rulers ("mäls") of the country also belonged. However, towards the middle of the last century the dynasty split into three royal houses; one of them called on the radjah of the Gorkhas, a local ruler in the hills of Western Nepal, for help against his cousins. They were overcome and that which so often happens, also happened here: the allies subdued their protégés, and brought not only the land of the Newars, but little by little also, by war and cunning, alliances and marriages, the entire hill country from the Tista to the Sutledj under their sway. Thus the bold Prithwi Narayan passed on the kingdom to his successors in the year 1771, and it is only due to their restless, warlike spirit that they, who still rule over it to-day, in the meantime (1815) have lost a part of it to the west of the Kali, to the British. Since then, the good relations with the latter have been without interruption; they even have an agent at the court of Kathmandu, the residence of the Maharadjah; there, too, is stationed a company of British troops.

The kingdom covers an area of 2,100 square miles,¹ and counts some 2 million inhabitants belonging to different tribes and religious confessions, intermixed with each other in various ways. Regarding the organic life, the land rises in three main stages, from the hot plains of Hindostan to the peaks of the Himalayas covered with eternal snow, each stage being 6-7 miles broad. First of all there is the lower region a few hundred to 3,000 feet high, the first third of which forms the low-lying and most fertile border area of the *tarrai*, once a famous hunting ground for tigers and elephants; the second half consists of wonderful forests of *sāl*-trees, while the third consists of a hilly zone; then follows secondly, the central region of hills from 3-10,000 feet high, which gradually merge into the third, that of the country whose valleys are level, broad and up to 6,000 feet high and whose hills already carry a garment of snow in winter. Thereupon finally follow the high mountains, the highest on earth, likewise a broad but as yet unexplored region with deep and narrow valleys and a few passes which lead, between fields of eternal ice and snow, to the magnificent

1. German miles (P. K.)



DAS THAL VON KATMANDU.

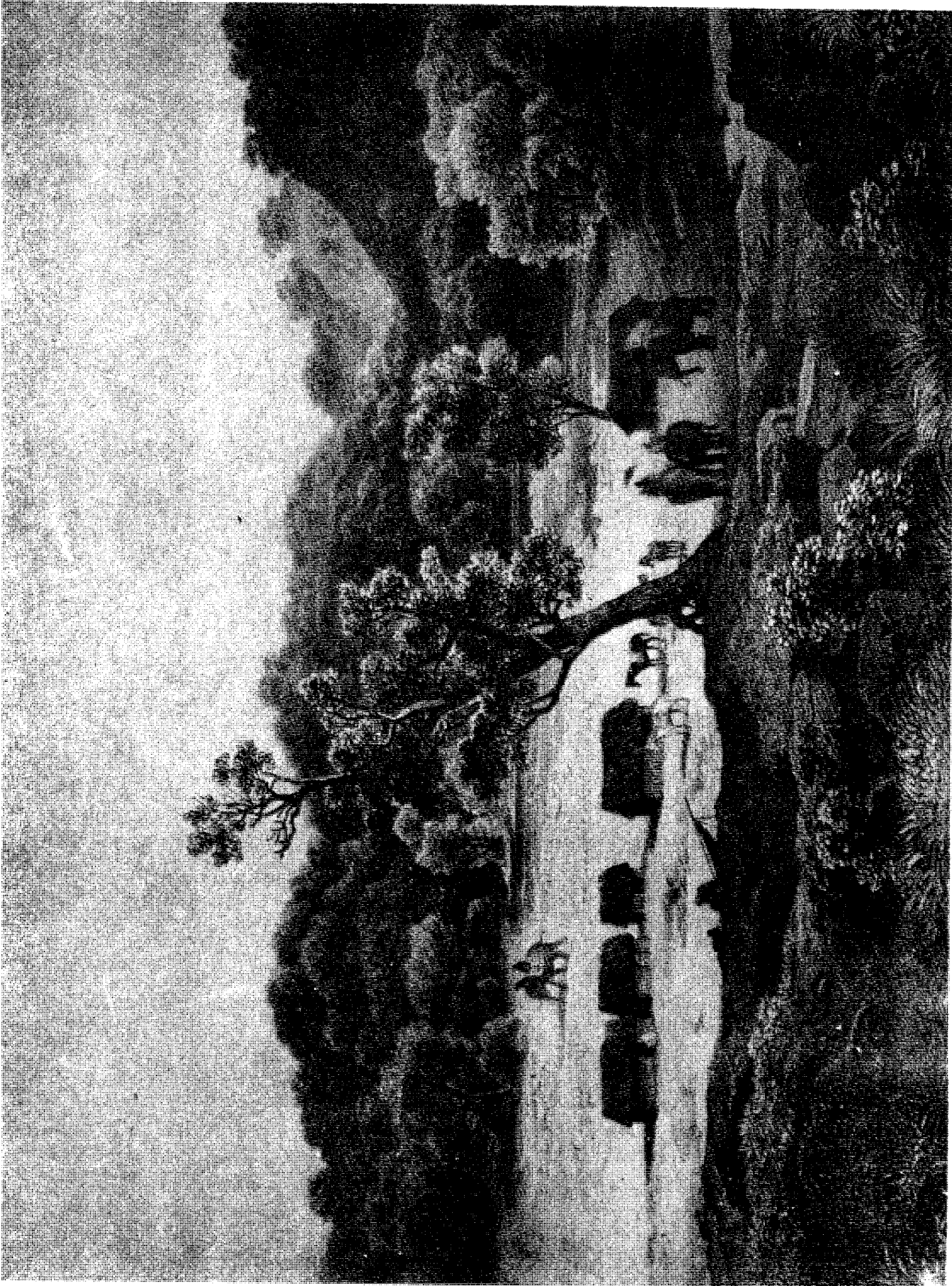
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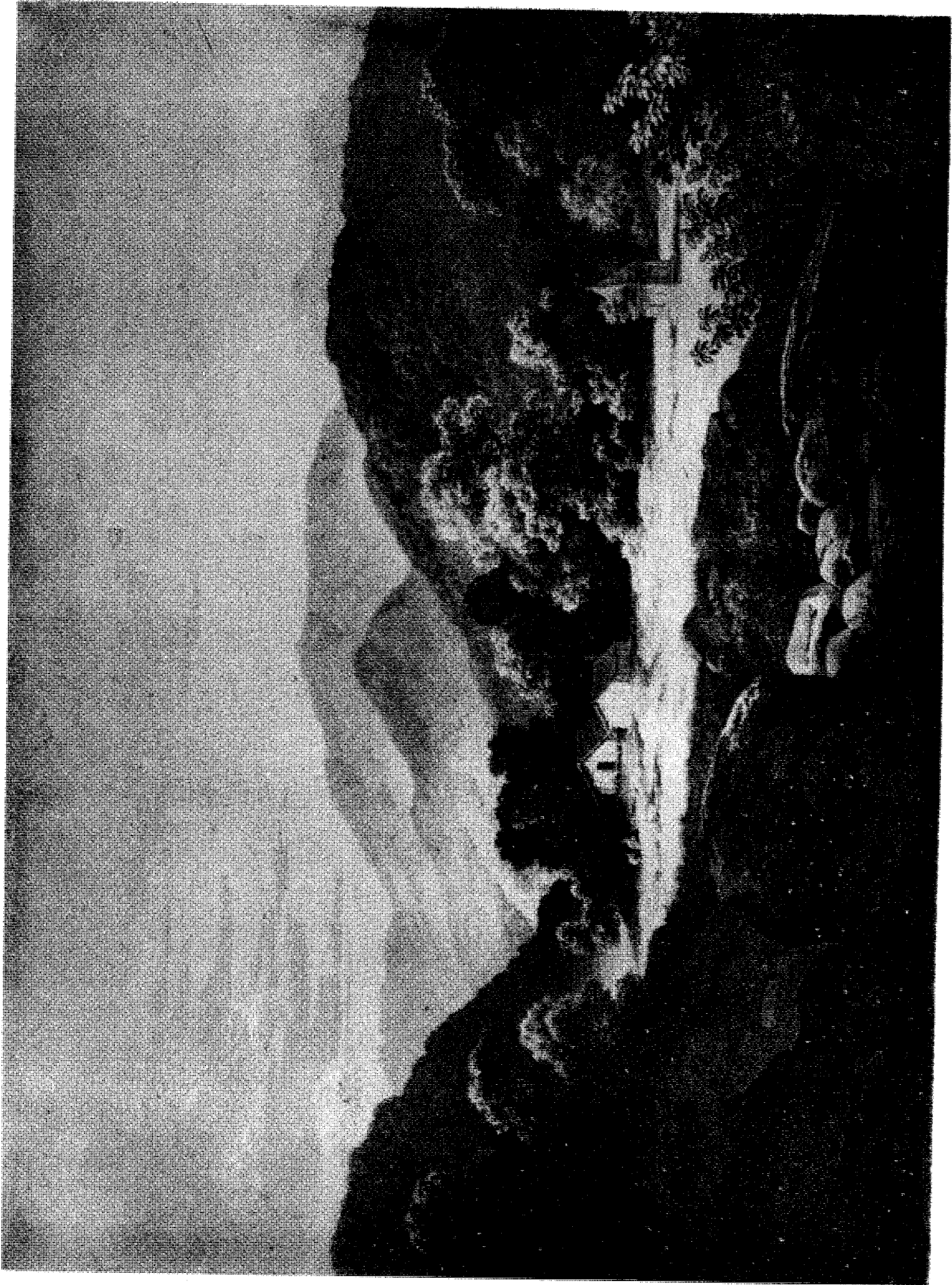
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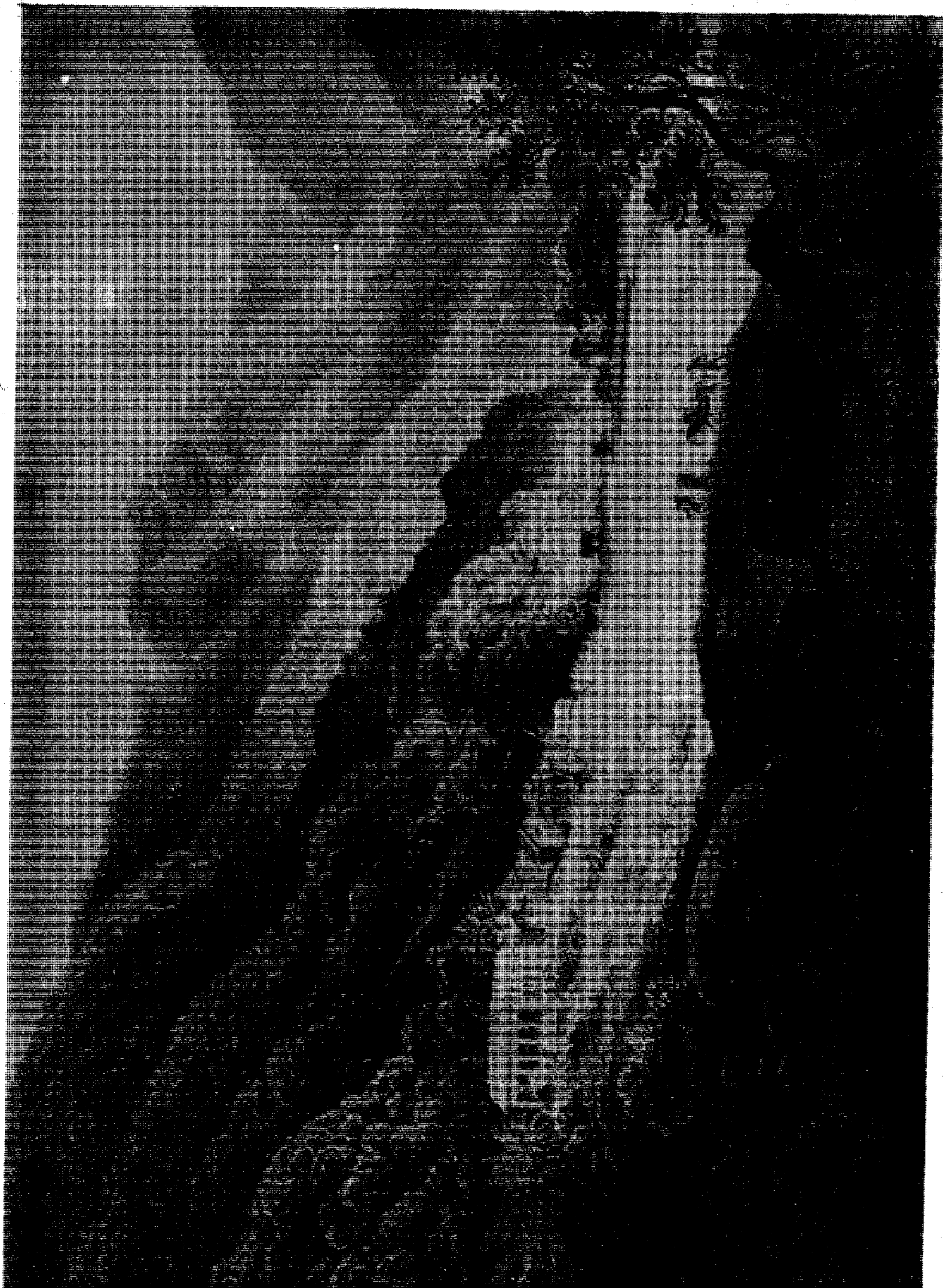
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Bitscheke (Bitschacöte)

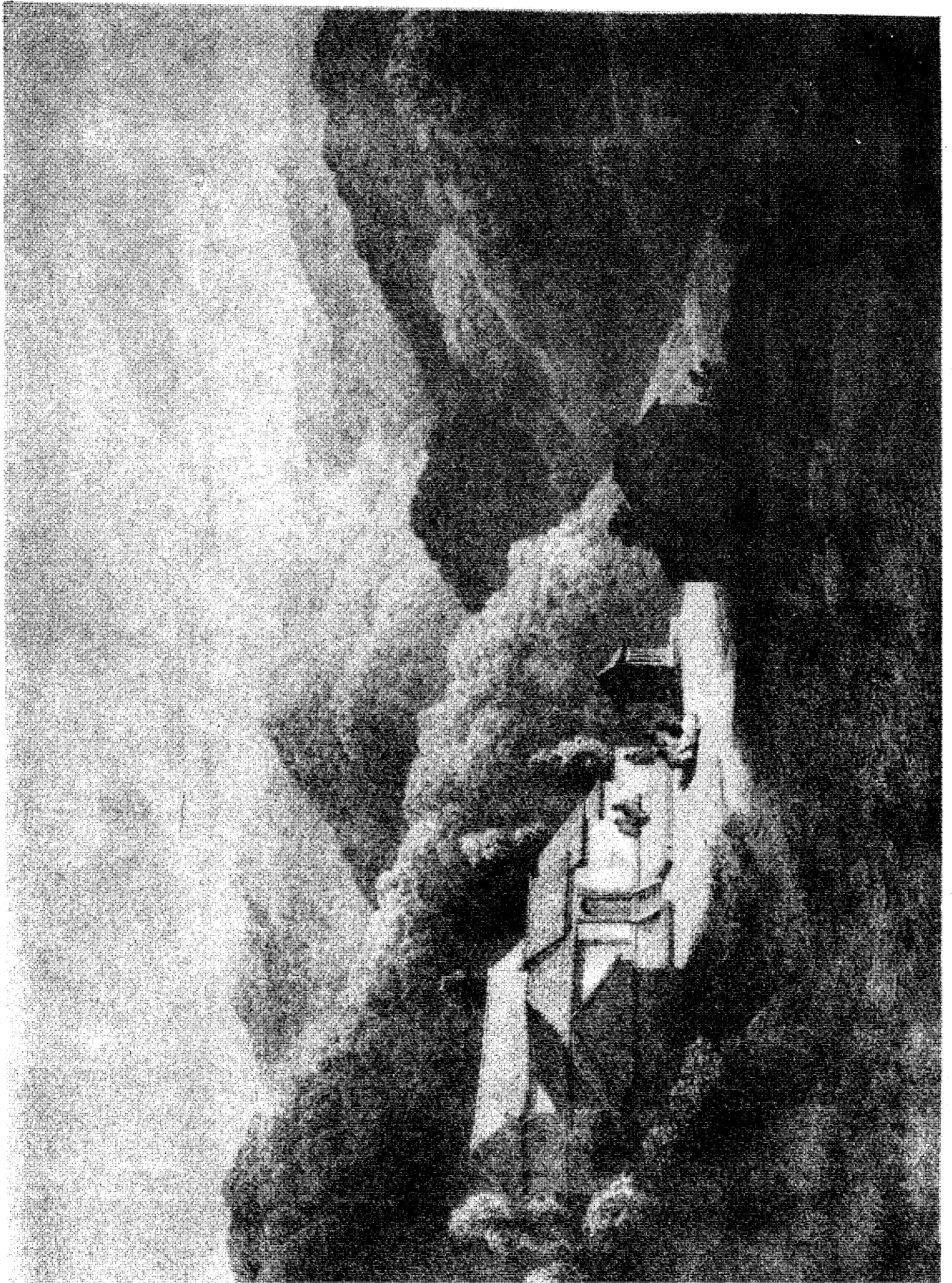


Hettaunda

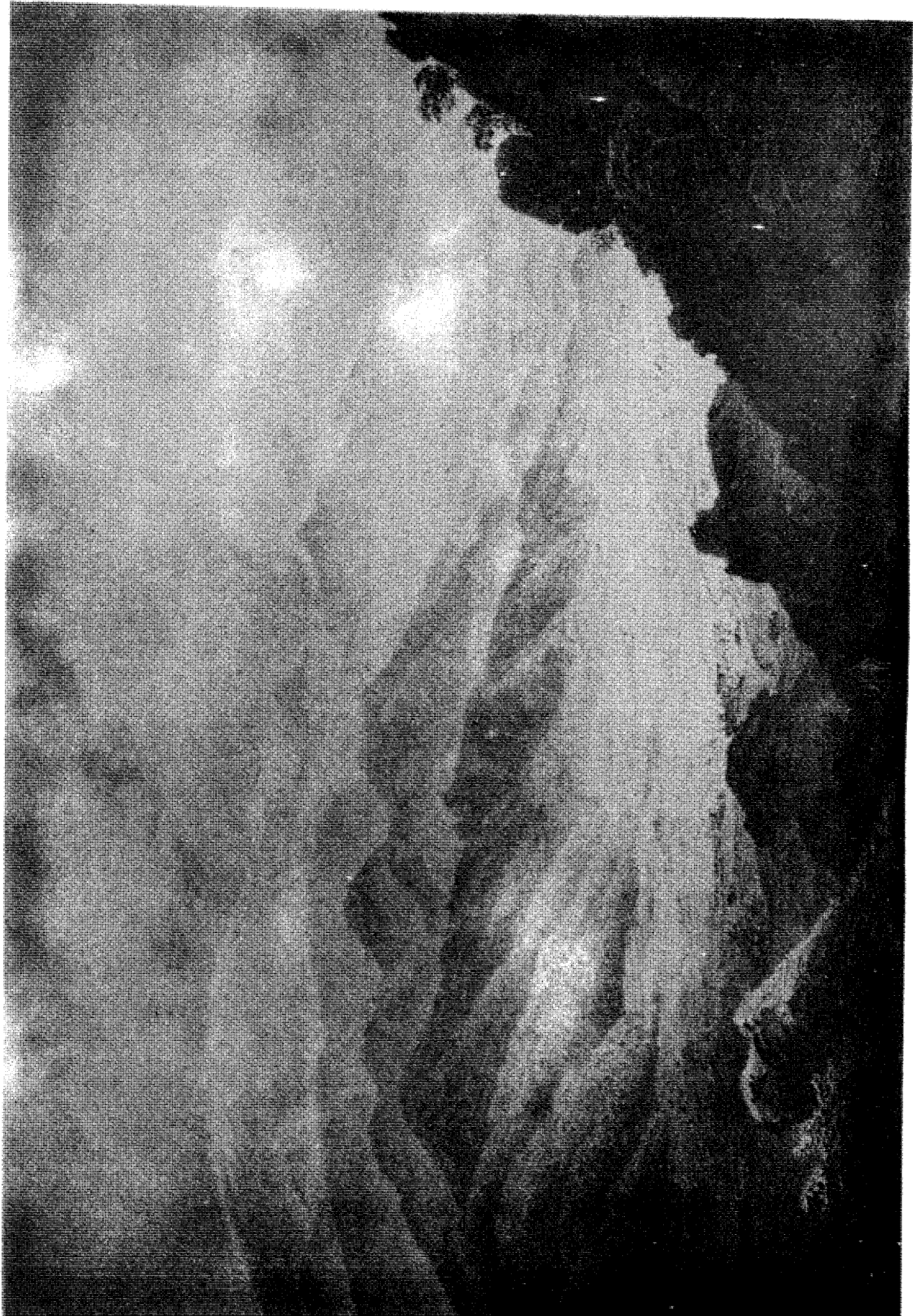


Bempedi (Bimpeddi)





Tschitlong



View of the Katmandu Valley

plateau of Tübet. It was granted Prince *Waldemar* to reach only to the foot of the latter region.

Let us now follow him on his journey. In the frontier post of Bitschko the British resident, Major Lawrence, equipped with four elephants, six ponies and a number of hill palanquins, received the high guest who was not a little pleased to be able to continue the journey on horse-back. The road, which formed the only permitted entry into the little-known, mysterious country, was alive with travellers of all kinds; some of them joined the considerable procession, whose end was formed by a company of Nepalese soldiers serving as a guard of honour.

Thus reinforced, the company reached Hettaunda (see Plate 2) on the 5th,² at noon. There the tents were pitched, and on the following day, "in order to see a rhinoceros", and, if possible, to shoot one, the jungle was traversed on elephants. But the hunt failed; the party returned with small result, and continued the journey early on the 7th, further and further into the hills.

The next stop was Bempedi (see Plate 3) where a new and most interesting companion met the travellers: a young man, Dil Bikram Tappa by name, the nephew of the minister Martabar Singh, whom the King of Nepal had sent to meet the Prince in order to welcome him. Dressed in a black Chinese fur coat and a golden mantle, he rode a spirited dun pony, surrounded by a crowd of servants carrying his umbrella, hookah, sword and bow, and also, in a hill-palanquin, the natch-girls accompanying him. Starting from Bempedi, the Lama Dangra range was crossed by way of Siswa Gorri (see Plate 4), and the little town of Tschiltlong, on the southern slopes of Tschandragiri range, was reached, where the party rested once more (see Plate 5).

On the second morning a two and a half hours' ascent brought the travellers to the summit of the naked and narrow Zanna pass where, however, the overcast and foggy weather did not allow the hoped-for view of the charming valley of Great Nepal; only on the return journey was this the case (see Plate 6). A keen westerly wind, and a temperature of only 4° R,³ and down in the valley, mostly brown fields and leafless trees: it was just like a November morning in the hills of the German homeland. On the top of the pass lies a dilapidated house belonging to the minister, and on solitary knolls a number of small stone redoubts with trenches, all in ruins. A difficult, almost impassable road led so steeply downwards that in only half an hour Thankot (see Plate 1) was reached, and soon thereafter the plain of Kathmandu itself whose numerous rivers and brooks were crossed, partly by means of well-built stone bridges. Even at a distance one could see troops and elephants marched up; Dil Bikram, who already in Thankot had dressed up most elegantly in a Kashmir coat and a pink turban, took

2. February 5th 1845 (P. K.)

3. I. e. Centigrade (P. K.)

the lead on his dun horse immediately behind the company of the Prince. At a quarter of an hour's distance from Kathmandu two beautifully decked tents were pitched; here the party was welcomed with a presentation of arms and music curiously composed by kettle-drums, trumpets, cymbals, horns and bag-pipes, and, with a brilliant entourage, riding a white, gold-harnessed stallion, the premier minister of the Radjah, Martabar Singh, i. e. "Great-hearted Lion", soon appeared, a stately man of fine bearing, with expressive, almost Italian or French features. He wore a golden Chinese coat with every conceivable dragon-arabesque, and carried diamonds, emeralds, pearls and insignia, among them the great medal on which was proclaimed his appointment to minister for life, with power to execute seven persons without accounting for it to anyone. As a sign of his power a sword was carried behind him. Two of his sons followed him and a cousin of the Radjah, all of them overburdened with shining arms, silks and pearls; then some officers in pale red uniforms.

After the flood of compliments and all manner of curious remarks concerning life and death, government, etc. with which he overwhelmed the Prince and caused him great amazement, had exhausted itself, both, together with Major Lawrence, mounted an enormous elephant, and the extraordinary triumphal procession set itself in motion: in front a band of musicians; then riding-ponies, a swarm of officers in Indian costume, but with English epaulettes and-it was unfortunately raining-carrying umbrellas in their hands; then followed a company of soldiers in English uniforms, thereupon some state horses led by the reins and then five or six elephants, splendidly decorated with gold, silver and silk cloth, which carried the Prince and his companions; then more riding-horses and finally again a company of soldiers, all proceeding at a slow pace, and surrounded by a crowd of strange-looking people, who, especially in the very narrow streets of the town, stood packed together shoulder by shoulder. The town itself, through the appearance both of its inhabitants as well as its houses (two or three stories high, built of bricks and with graceful, three-window wooden balconies) made a most favourable impression, which was increased by the many Chinese reminiscences which were everywhere in evidence. In the latter respect the Bhutiyas especially distinguished themselves, with their Mongolian features, felt boots, thick pig-tails and rough felt cloaks, all worn in the same manner by both sexes, while the original inhabitants of the country, the Newars, hardly wore more than a piece of colourful cotton cloth; the *Gorkhas*, however, the conquerers, wore jackets, trousers and even shoes. Among the buildings, the roofs of which everywhere ended in upwards curving corners, the innumerable temples which stand on every streetcorner, in every little square, were particularly conspicuous, with their colossal stone images and their three to four prominently projecting golden roofs, often decked with small bells, which form a quite extraordinary, striking contrast to the style of the domestic houses. In addition, the cobbled streets, provided with gutters, gave Kathmandu a far better

appearance than the travellers had so far found in any Indian town.

The procession passed by the palace of the Radjah (see Plate 10), where some officials, a company of soldiers and even a row of dancing-girls, were lined up to greet it, and continued to the other end of the town about a quarter of an hour's way, to the house of the Resident, a remarkable building in half Gothic, half Greek style, lying on an elevated piece of ground with a wonderful view of the valley and the mountains. Here the minister took his leave with great ceremony and many flowery words.

On the following day, February 10th, an excursion was made to Lalita Patan, or "Patn" for short, the former capital of the valley, situated scarcely half a mile away, and the durbar, already in ruins, was inspected as well as a temple facing it, built with great skill in stone. Reminders of a better past were to be found everywhere, particularly a large number of destroyed houses, as the natives rarely repair a house; rather, anyone who regards himself as man of distinction constructs for himself a new house and lets that of his father decay. Also the rich families here have been killed and extirpated since the intrusion of the Gorkhas.

The next day was spent in a ride to the popular place of pilgrimage of Sambunat (see Plate 12); as a festival was being celebrated, hundreds of pilgrims were met with, particularly women who all wore their hair à la *chinoise*, and who were seen to great advantage in their red and white dress, with magnificent rhododendron flowers in their black hair and wearing heavy make-up. Paspatnat, too, another holy place likewise situated on the top of a hill, was visited a few days later, together with Kasatschi, a Buddhist dagoba, by a village which was inhabited by Bhutiyas for several months of the year. The latter were fully dressed, often in quite pretty red trousers, a straight sword at their side and jewelry in their belt, but without any headdress.

The afternoon of the 11th was spent in visiting the barracks which are built, apparently quite serviceably on the four sides of a great square, in two rows. The artillery itself, mostly three- and six-pounders, seemed to be good but the wagons were deficient.

On the 12th of February-it was a beautiful, sunny day-the presentation at the court took place. The son of the minister fetched the Prince and his companions on four elephants whose heads were decorated with tassels of heron's feathers, bells and crescent moons. —"Surely", he wrote to his mother, "so many Prussian uniforms were never seen before to come riding on elephants. We rode, through the town, to the barracks of the troops, where the minister, again on a splendid white horse, and shining with pearls and diamonds, came towards us with sabre drawn. He mounted my elephant and led us, across the barracks square where five regiments were lined up and displayed their truly rare skill in skirmishing, to the arsenal, a very simple house which usually served as the reception-palace, now surrounded by a great crowd of people. It contained munitions and, ostensibly, 36,000 rifles, which were, however, in a rather poor condition. Here we dismounted, and through an orange

garden which served as outer courtyard we reached the front of the house where three young princes, step-brothers of the Maharadjah, from ten to thirteen years old, received the guests, took each of us by the hand and enquired most earnestly about our health. They made a most favourable impression, particularly the oldest who wore a red turban with a silver brooch set with diamonds and bird-of-paradise feathers and a sumptuous long coat of red velvet; an old minister, dressed completely as a Chinese, with long, erect peacock-feathers on a black cap, who seemed to be their tutor, pushing them now to the right, now to the left, indicating the movements to be made. The oldest and the second of these small boys are already married; the oldest, is also already a father. Showing us the way, they went in front, the minister leading myself and Major Lawrence by the hand, while Dil Bikram led Count Oriolla, according to the usual custom here. We now mounted a pitiful staircae, a veritable henroost. After a long ascent we entered the audience-hall on the third floor, a rather large room with wallpaper of a dirty yellow colour; two mirrors in golden frames and four or five hideous clocks were hanging on one wall beside the door, and round about a number of old French prints, among others of Napoleon and the Duke of Wellington, as well as some portraits and other paintings of the natives. To my surprise father and son were together; the minister, too, was not a little proud of having arranged it thus. Both came towards me, and pressed me, according to the custom of the land, to their hearts. Then they sat down on a gold-embroidered couch covered with green velvet, placed at the far end of a small room, and the three young princesses on another couch next to it; the rest of the assembly took their seats on two rows of European arm-chairs along the walls, and I myself at the side of the young Maharadjah. The latter, a youth of fifteen years, who already has three wives, seems to have the reins of government well in his hands. His dress was most sumptuous: a long raiment of gold cloth, rows of pearls around his neck, bracelets and chains of emeralds and brilliants, and a red turban with a beautiful diamond brooch. He looks very much like his father, but is extremely lively and charming, and I can imagine that a spoilt child like him certainly already may be a true tyrant. He takes no notice at all of his father, the the former Maharadjah, who is supposed to be only some thirty years old but looks like a sexagenarian. The latter clad in simple white, only a yellow turban with a diamond brooch, sat, like an old woman weak and silent to his left; and when he once dared to venture a question one could observe the profoundest contempt appear in the son's traits, and his otherwise not unpleasant face showed a most disagreeable and sinister expression.⁴

4. The son had forced the father to transfer all power to him, so that he only borrowed the name; however, nothing was done without his consent. The most extraordinary scenes are said to have taken place between the two in the durbars; thus for instance at the last presentation of the English resident, the son held his father's mouth shut, and said that he alone would speak and negotiate; at another occasion father and son came riding on chieftains to the house of the envoy and fought each other from these curious horses. At the audience described above, however,

Thereupon my gifts were spread out on the floor which was covered with white cloth, and shown forth one by one; they caused much joy and admiration. There were weapons and musical boxes, also some pieces of coloured cloth, which is very rare here. The conversation, to which chiefly Major Lawrence acted as interpreter, was quite lively; mainly it concerned military matters. There was great marvel at the fact that I had served as lieutenant, and that I, like all of us, and even our king, had marched on foot with the regiment. That my father had been at Waterloo, and that several horses had been shot under him there, made a great impression; for the Nepalese, and in particular the Gurkhas, to which the family of the Radjah belongs, are known as a warlike people. Their system of defence is similar to ours; in the case of war all take up arms; thus also the highest officials have a rank in the army.

“As the conversation turned to my journey, the old Radjah asked whether I had also been to Rome. He is said to read, and even be well informed about the European countries, as regards statistics. While we talked, *natsch* girls danced uninterruptedly, to a terribly confused music of kettle-drums, violins and guitars, just like those I described in my last letter from Patnā; downstairs a regimental band likewise played. When one of the dancing-girls was to stop, a shawl was hung over her head and money pressed in her hand, and immediately afterwards another one took her place. They were ugly and unclean.

“Finally, after the audience had lasted about an hour and a half, the gifts for us were carried around. None of us left empty-handed. The minister hung a fragrant chain around my neck, pulled a short Chinese furcoat over my uniform, and set a golden cap, studded with pearls, on my head. Immediately thereafter fragrant oil and betel were carried in, the sign of departure. Both Radjahs distributed it among us, and embraced me. Led the same way as we had come, we went down the stairs and at once mounted, some on horses, some on ponies, and accompanied by the minister we rode down the front of the lined-up artillery and troops being drilled. We then went at a gallop through the town and dismounted at a garden by Martabar’s beautiful palace. Here the uncle of the minister, formerly a man of great rank and honour, lived as a fakir, sitting on a board in front of a small dog-house, surrounded by the most revolting figures of other fakirs. The man, completely shrouded in a yellow garment, small yellow cap on his head, had a pleasant, tranquil expression at peace with himself. He has renounced the world and, as he put it, found happiness in living like the birds, from hand to mouth. I enquired of him whether he engaged in the reading of holy books. ‘No’ he replied, ‘everything which is written, lives within myself’. He is said to be very influential and a great support for his nephews and his entire

their behaviour was most proper; and although a certain excitement and endeavour on the part of each to be taken notice of could be discerned, the father nevertheless was more reserved and posed only a few, but very good, questions, concerning the revenue and other political circumstances of the Prussian State.

family. As we took our leave, our young companion reverently kissed his feet. Finally, the minster showed me a foundry for artillery and also a rifle factory where truly amazing results are achieved with simple means; and he was not a little proud to to present here a clock-maker as well."

On the following day Martabar Singh had organised a hunt in honour of the Prince, to which he himself came riding on an elephant, a crowd of officers and chiefs on horseback, and the young Radjah on the back of one of the chieftains. Thereupon the latter took his seat on a throne of green velvet, in order to see the hunt in all comfort, as his weak constitution did not permit him to fire a gun. A row of noblemen sat around him in a semi-circle. The miserable weakling had the flies kept away with peacock fans, and in order to remove himself from one place to another, he always mounted the back of a chieftain who, puffing and panting, bowed down under the royal burden, "so that", as Prince Waldemar wrote in the letter referred to above, "one's fingers really started twitching thereat". The hunt itself, to which had been detailed a regiment of soldiers, consisted of a great chase to the terrible din of tamtams, trumpets, and cries. The birds, not daring to descend from high in the air to the ground, flew hither and thither, until, exhausted, they were captured. Thus in fact more game was captured than shot: a rich harvest for Dr. Hoffmeister who was kept busy with skinning for three days. The Prince slew a wild boar, Count Gröben two sows.

On the 14th, the visit was made to Martabar which the Prince had promised him. For this purpose he sent his carriage with fine horses but dirty runners, in other words the two extremes of splendour and filth side by side, which is so common in India generally. A crowd of soldiers stood in front of his door, awaiting orders, and the regimental commanders, who were to receive the Prince.

First he showed his guests the temple he had built for various gods, among others for Hanuman, the ape-god, and Ganese, the god of wisdom, both of which seem to be particularly honoured in this valley: then the garden, which surrounded his residence, and finally the residence itself, a building which, previously destroyed, had again been rebuilt by him with the greatest grandeur (see Plate 11). After he had put a map of the valley, and a picture of the young Maharadjah as well as of himself, before the foreigners, he gave them the opportunity to become acquainted with all his treasures, and especially also the manifold talents of his wives and his quite unoriental condescension towards his officers, and, finally, his glorious munificence in the form of a great quantity of gifts, mostly Chinese things which were more brilliant and valuable than those of the Radjah.

Both the following days were spent in excursions to Paspatanat (see above), as well as on the Nagaryung, where, from the Kaulia pass, one had a ravishing view towards Dhawalagiri and its giant neighbours (see Plate 15); and the third day in a visit

to the third capital of the country, Bhatgang, only two miles away from Kathmandu, once the residence of the Newar ruler, and famous as the centre of Brahminic wisdom in Nepal. On the road thither, which in part is paved and leads through a very fertile, densely populated countryside, a great number of small rivers were crossed by means of curious foot-bridges, also a village, Kenia, which has paved streets, but where nevertheless the pigs are regarded as members of the family. Bhatgang itself is a town of 15-20,000 inhabitants, situated in hilly terrain. The old durbar, now in ruins, is a large building beside the golden door of which elephants, tigers, dragons and statues of gods are carved in stone; it is surrounded by an elegant wooden decoration. However, the town is distinguished above all its Nepalese counterparts by its great abundance of temples. Some of them are entirely of stone. The entrances to each storey, to which lead long staircases, are guarded by stone idols of animals and gods. The greatest of Bhatgang's temples is the one of in front of the durbar, constructed in five storeys. Now that the old wall been has pulled down, the town is open; houses fallen down in ruins everywhere show forth a sad picture of decay. The latter condition is not so much due to lack of lime for mortar, nor to the fact that the inhabitants do not build any vaults, but to the fact that they equip everything with parts of wood and in addition do not plaster their houses, whereby they are exposed to the action of the elements. In front of the town there are large water-tanks, surrounded by walls and small temples, and provided on all sides with stairs for descending.

On the 18th of February the Prince undertook a ride towards the south, to where the Bhagmatti breaks through the hills; this valley probably provided excellent access to the high valley of Kathmandu. However, so jealous of information about their mountain passes are the Nepalese, that so far it has not been possible for the investigations of the English to explore more closely the course of the river and the roads leading to its valley. Some scouts sent out by them for this purpose have never returned, and for all foreigners the difficult road over the Tschandragiri mountains, which the Prince too had followed, is the only permitted access.

In spite of Martabar Singh's exquisite politeness towards the high guest, it was not possible to obtain from him permission to push on into the interior of the country and across its borders to Tibet. Refusing this in a most delicate way, he only permitted the Prince to go to Noakôt, but he did promise to do everything in his power to provide information concerning the administration of the country, etc.; he also invited him to a visit on the following day and on this occasion showed him the grave of his father who had been minister for thirty years, lastly during the minority of the father of the present Radjah, but who had finally been murdered and his body thrown to the dogs. Martabar has not failed to revenge himself in the same way on his father's enemies later on. He is an excellent man, albeit somewhat theatrical and very vain, and he obviously dominated the rulers of the land, father and son. Indeed, since the conquest of the country by the present masters, the Gorkhas, the

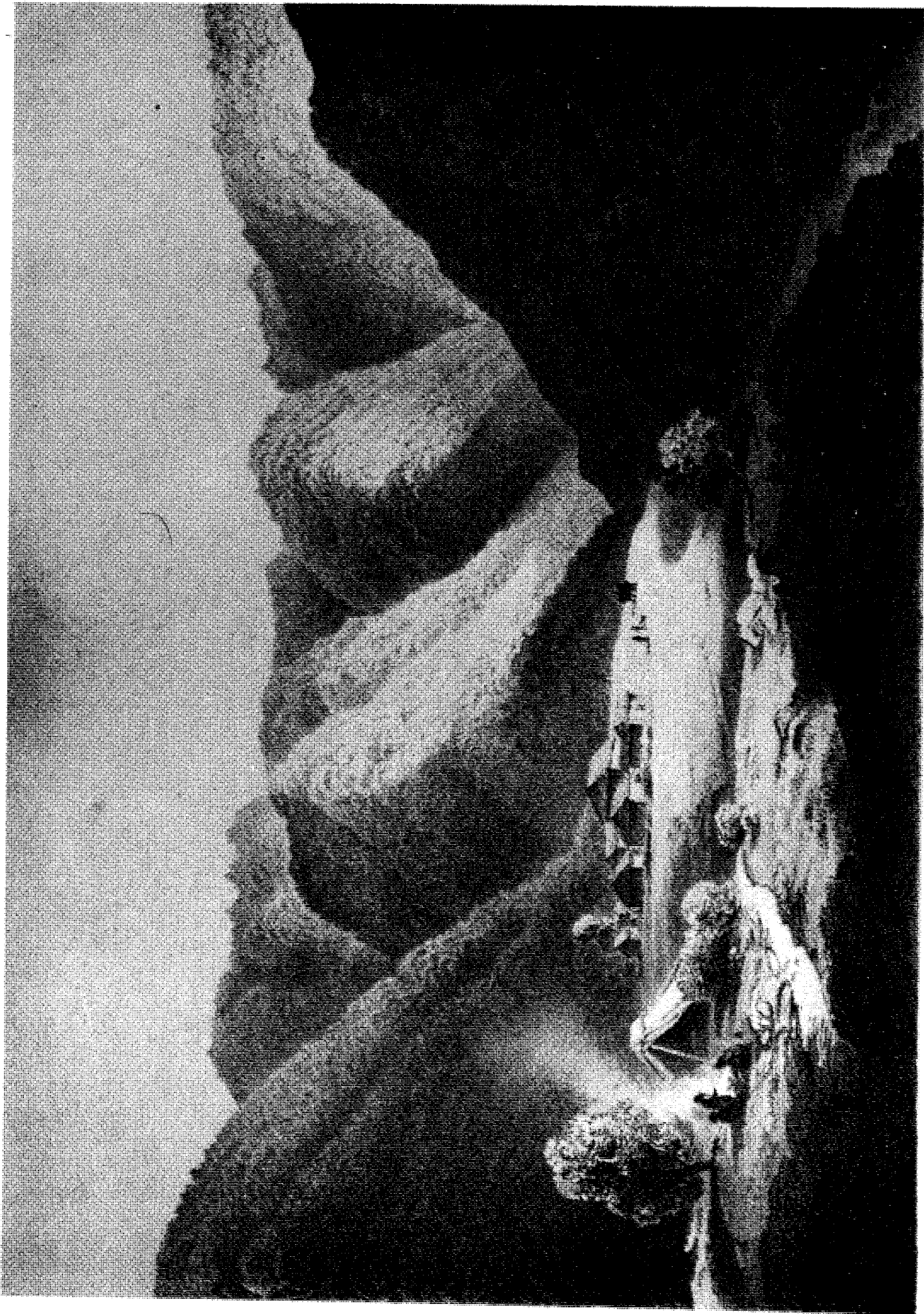
history of the latter and their princes is always closely intertwined with that of their ministers. Nevertheless, in recent times the country has on the whole been ruled quite well; i. e. the predecessor of Martabar's father held the reins of government through a period of twenty years. Also Martabar himself is to be regarded as the real ruler of the country; all power is concentrated in his hands; all rights and all power of the leaders are nothing as compared to his; and yet, the sword hangs above his head, on a thin thread.⁵

On the morning of the 19th there was, in thick fog, the interesting spectacle of a great parade, for the viewing of which chairs were provided. The most surprising thing was to see some quite well drilled regiments.

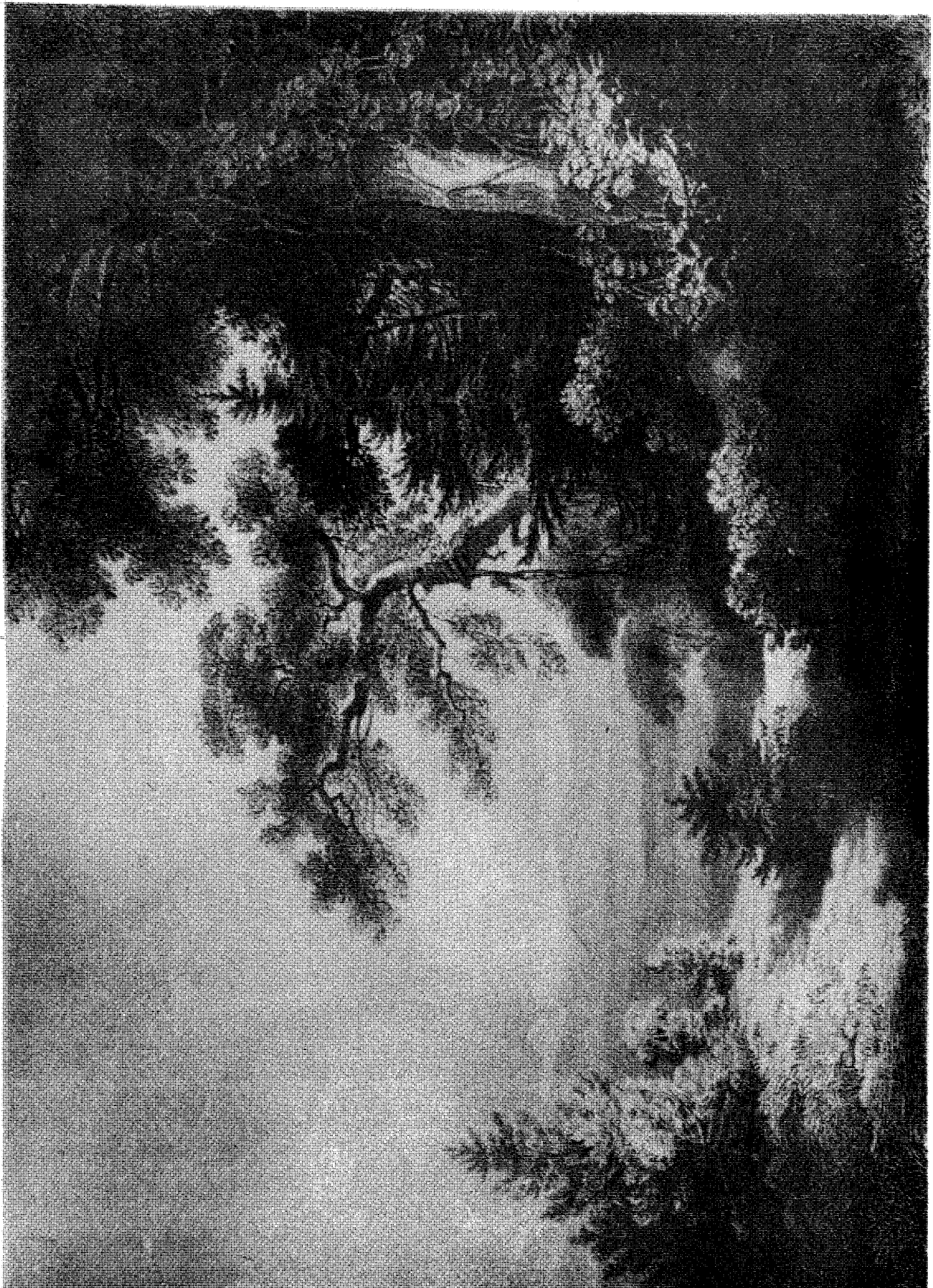
The enquiries which the traveller made concerning the military force of the country disclosed that even in normal times it consisted of 17,000 men, infantry and artillery, but that in three months it can be doubled, and in six months increased three times. All people belonging to the army are paid in the form of allotments of land, on the average only with 6 rupis (4 thialer) a month, and all appointments are as is also the case in the civil administration-only for a year; however, they are frequently prolonged. Also the soldiers when dismissed remain obliged to do service, in other words, a kind of system of territorial militia. The troops are however only drawn from the three tribes of the Khas, Magars and Gurang, whose census in 1839 gave a total of 169,000 adult men. The Newars and the Bhutiyas who live only in the high mountains indulge in peaceful pursuits alone: agriculture and handicraft, and particularly the latter are held in contempt by the more warlike tribes and regarded as cowardly. People vie with each other to do military service, and the minister turns the conscription to his own advantage, in that he only enlists his own followers in the army. The soldiers are courageous and warlike, but have little discipline and are not suited to larger undertakings; an offensive war against the English would be as good as impossible, if only because of the lack of cavalry; whereas the English divisions in Kānpur, Benares and Deinapūr are strongly provided therewith. And in fact it would only be in connection with internal struggles for power that a violation of the borders by one or the other party might be expected.

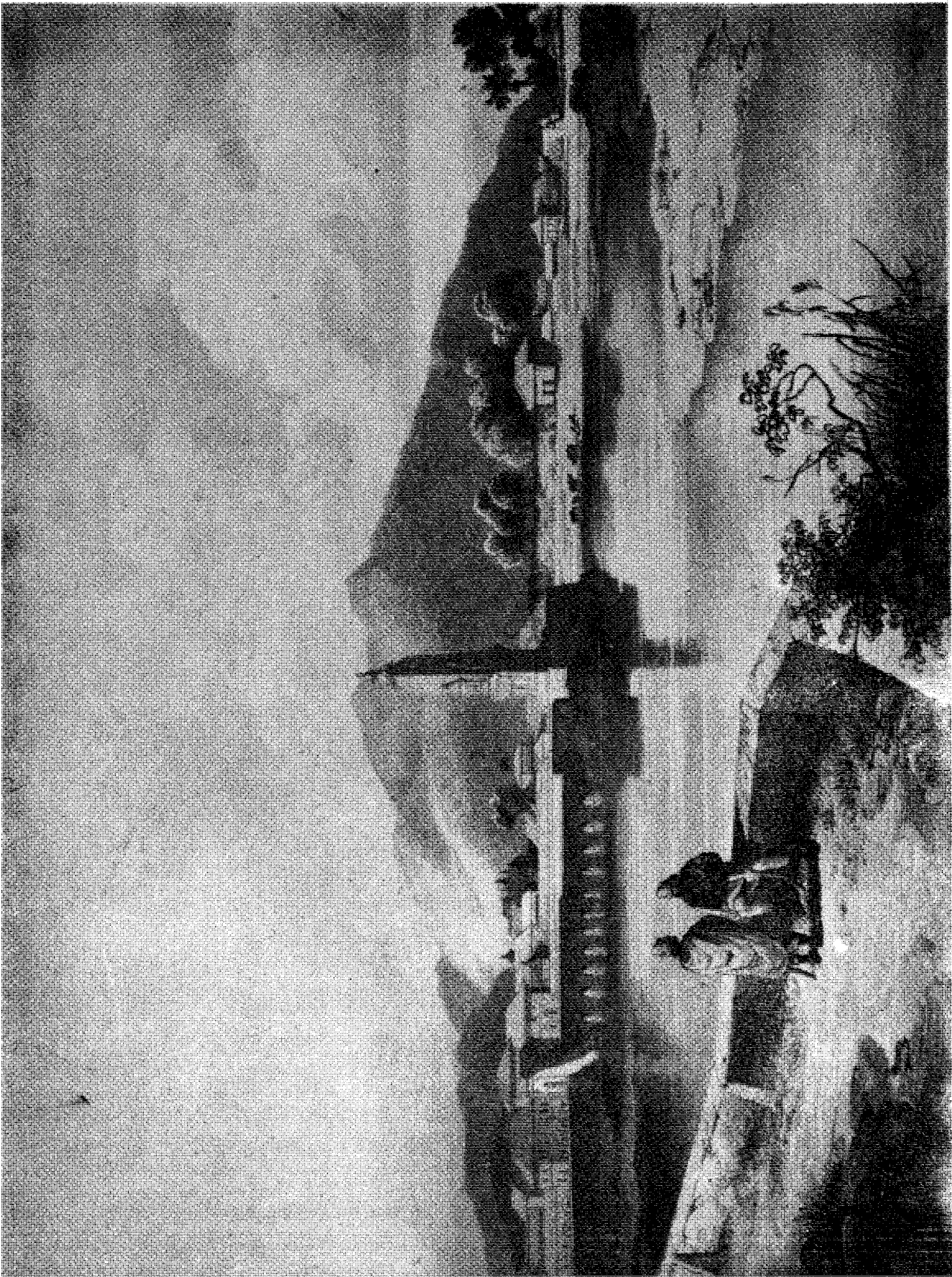
A commissariat does not exist; however, the troops are vigorous and tough. The Englishmen themselves have two regiments of these tribes, and are very satisfied

5. How soon this traveller's observation proved to be true! Soon after, at his arrival in Simla, the Prince received the news that the much dreaded, all-powerful man had been murdered on the orders of the old Radjah ! His own nephew, Djung Bahadur, perpetrated the bloody act, an officer of great ambition and spirit of enterprise, who thereafter was appointed commander-in-chief of the army, and who a year later, after a frightful slaughter which he brought about among the nobles at the court, himself became Prime Minister, and as such in the capacity of envoy extraordinary of his ruler, appeared at the court of Queen Victoria in London in 1850.

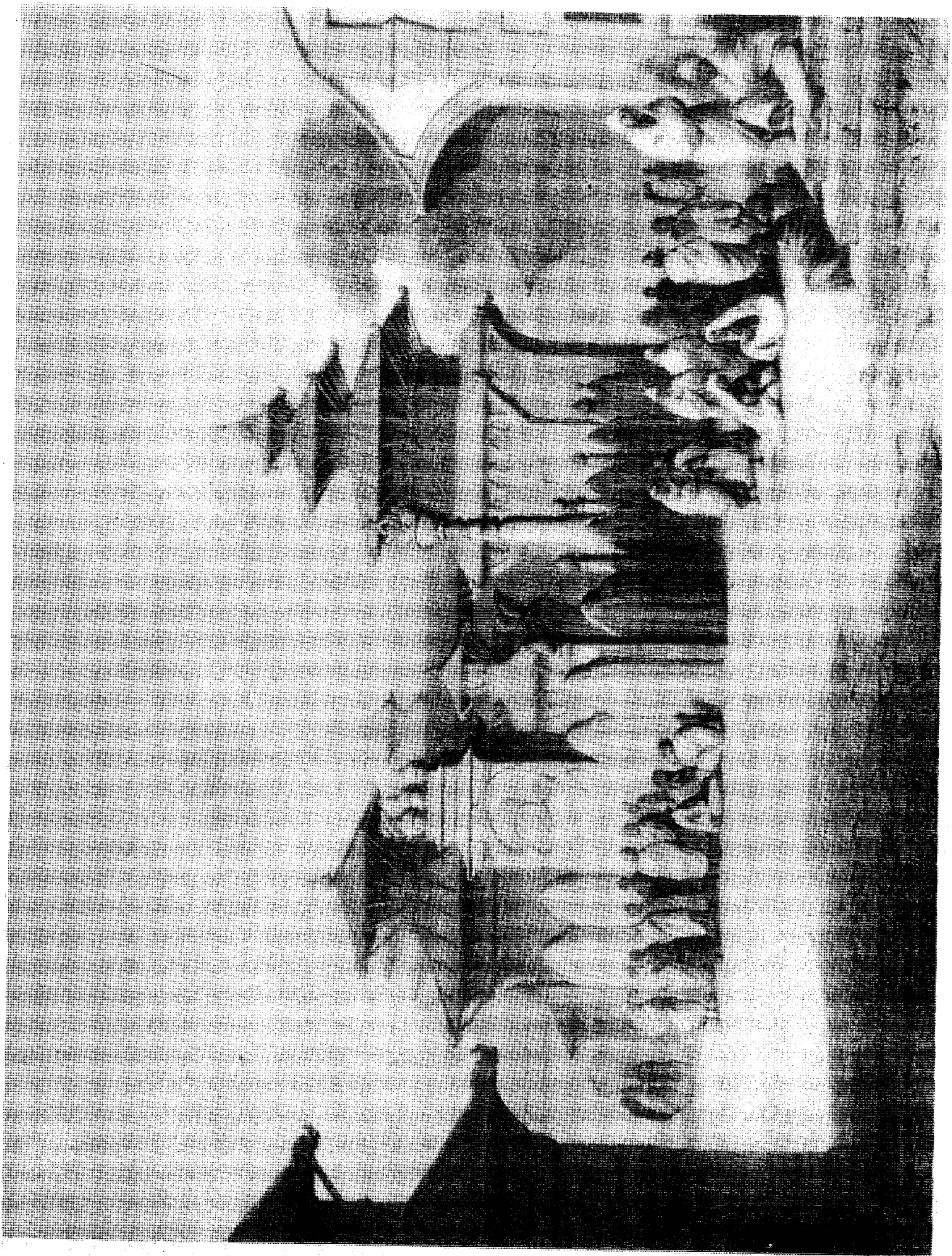


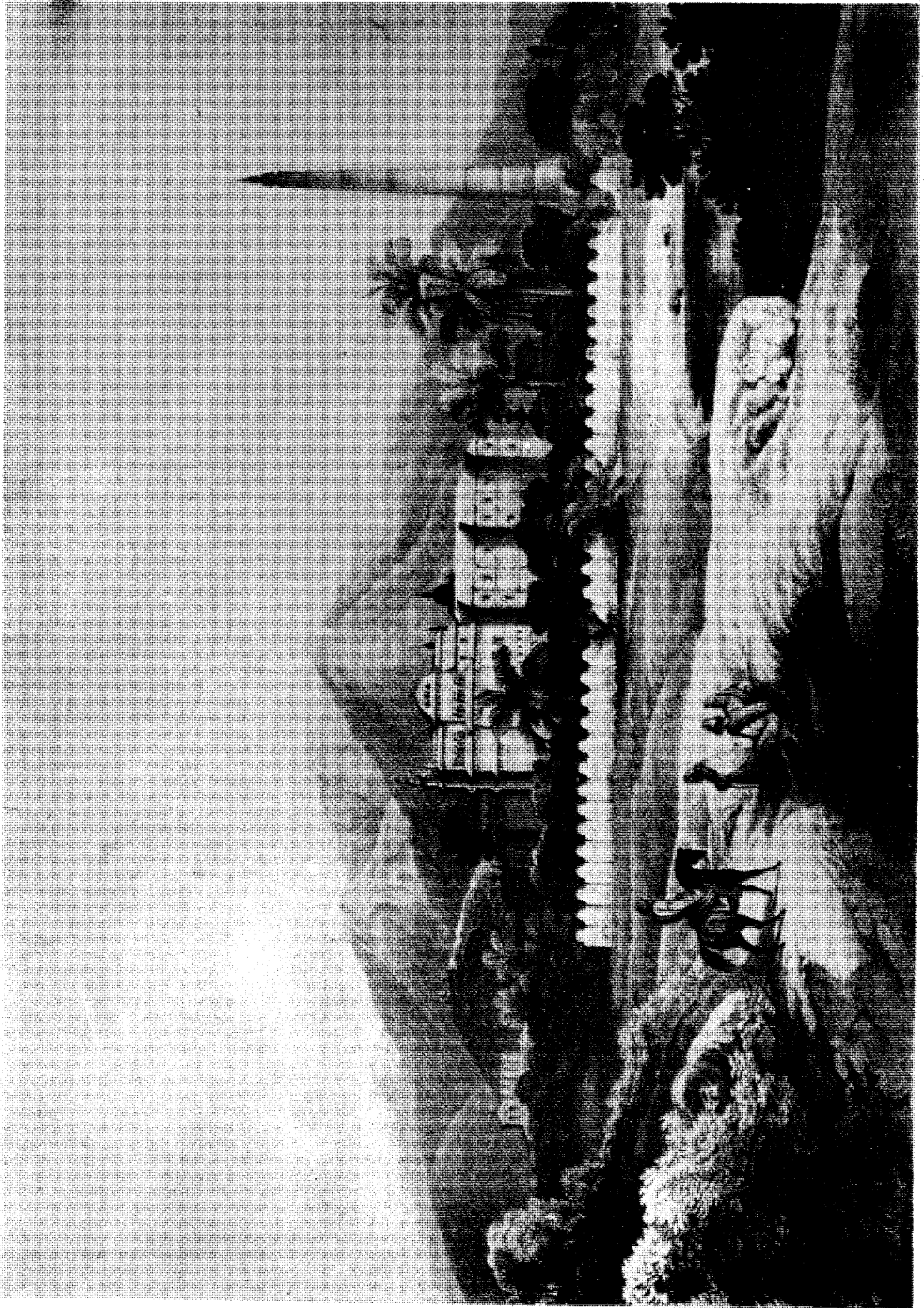
Thankot (Tancote)



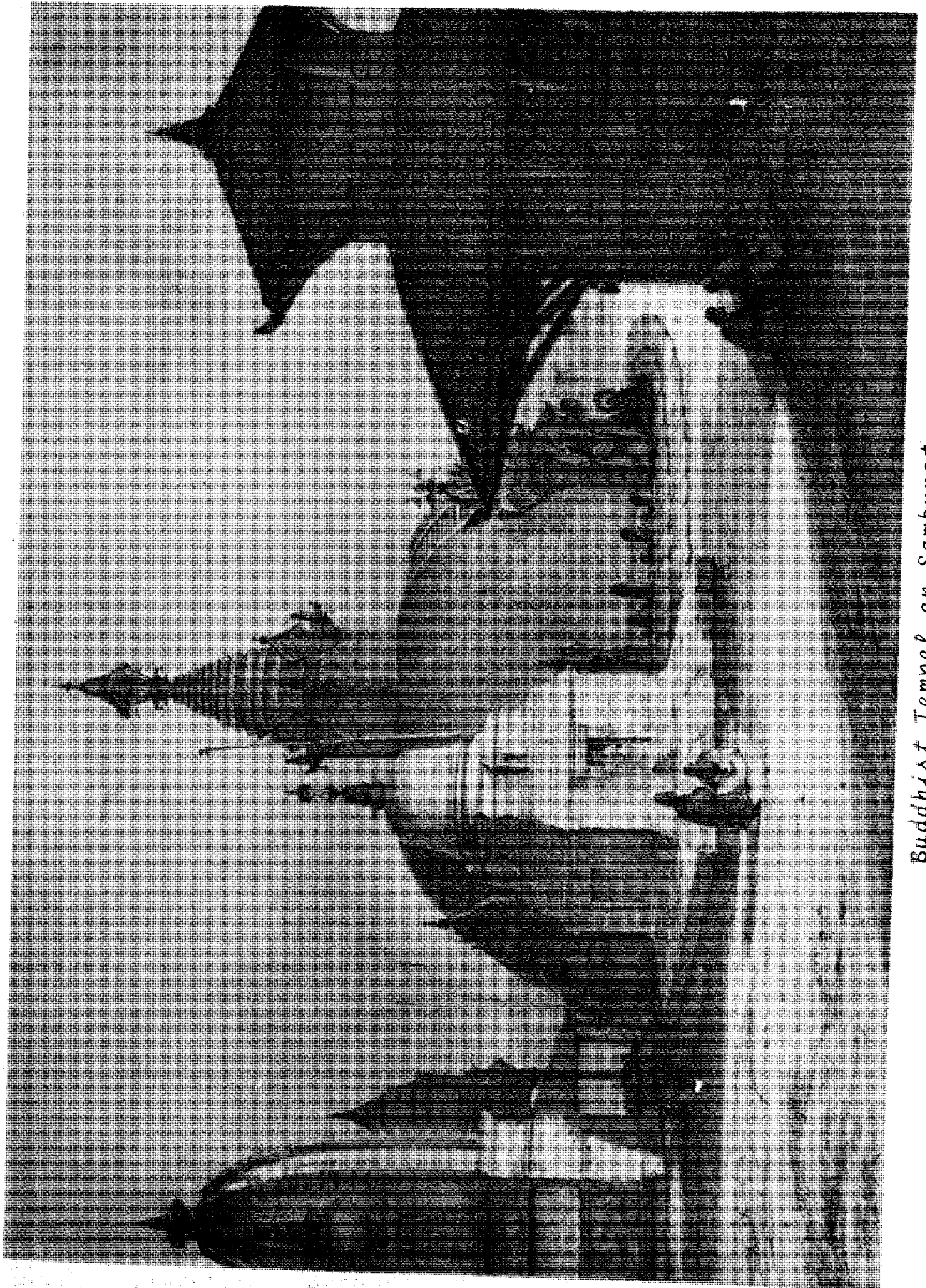


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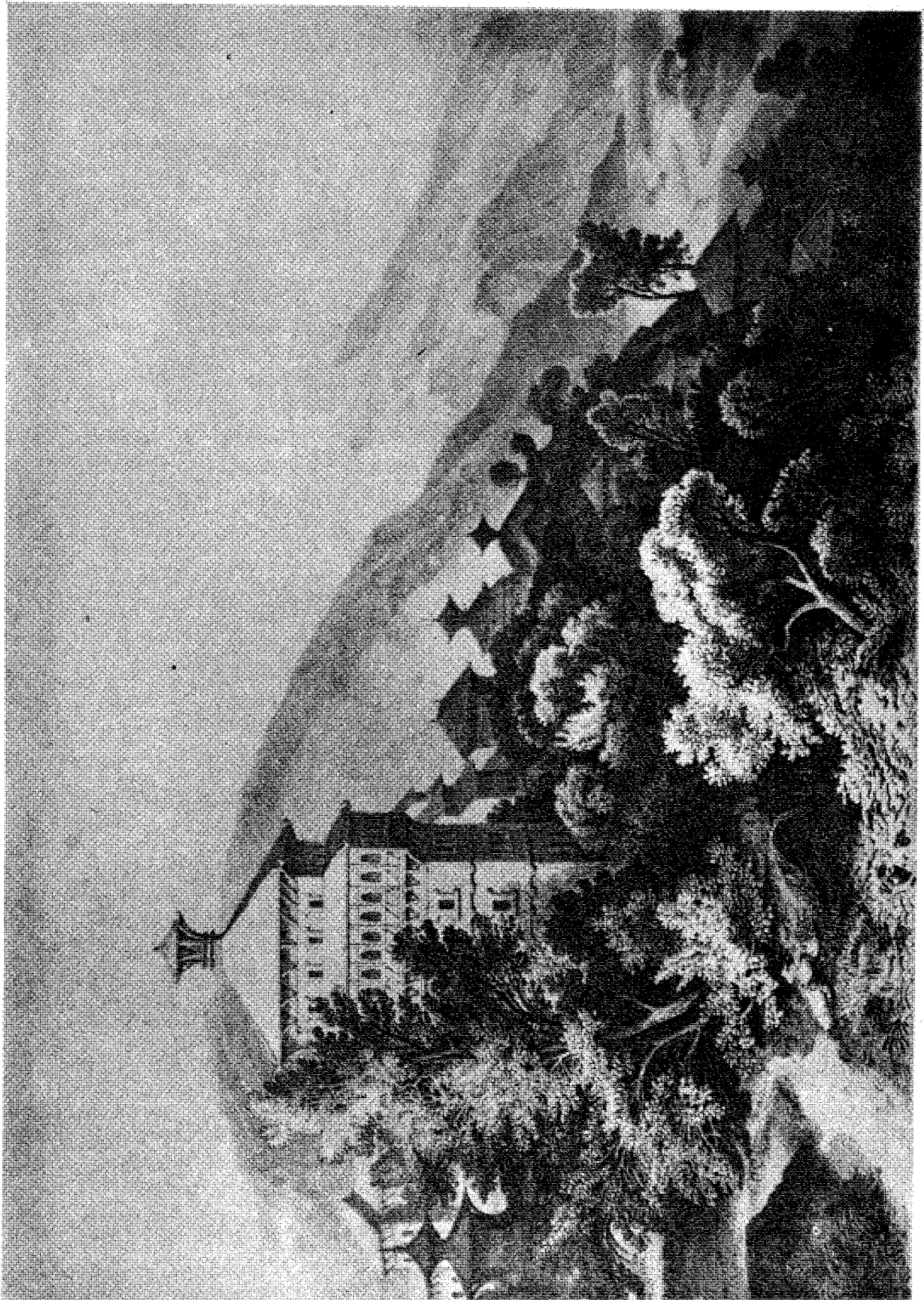




Minister Martaban Singh's House in Katmandu



Buddhist Tempel on Sambunat.



Noakot (Nojacote)



with them. They are powerfully-built, broad-shouldered people, contrasting advantageously with the Hindu sipoys. The artillery, a regiment of 475 men, together with 4 bands and 150 pack animals, is usually in good condition, and has guns, cannon-balls, grape-shot, and hollow projectiles, quite in European style. The powder, for the production of which one must procure saltpeter and sulphur from the plains, as well as the flint-stones, is good enough, but partly spoilt through bad storage. The cannons, of which 140 stand on gun-carriages in the capital, are all pulled by people, and taken to pieces when they are to be transported in the mountains; 16 men carry the cannon and the carriage, and 4-5 men the boxes of ammunition. As remarked above, the carriages are not the best; and particularly on the badly kept roads of the country hardly to be used except in the valley or in position. The infantry carry their guns well, and know well how to handle them. Their dress is mediocre and very different; a Troad bandolier with a cartridge-box and sword hangs over their shoulder. The movements in scattered combat as well as in closed ranks are performed quite well. The men load slowly, each one by himself and in his own way. They do not shoot at a target, so as not to waste the powder.

There are 25 regular and 6 irregular regiments of infantry, consisting on an average of 500 men, armed with 14,382 rifles. The strength of the regiments varies between 90 to 1,500 men. The latter is that consisting of two regiments stationed in Kathmandu, each of which is said to consist of 1 "Sirdar" (general), 2 "Captains" (colonels), 4 "Lieutenants", (majors), 4 "Subahdras" (captains), 10 "Semindars" (Lieutenants), 40 "Howildars" (non-commissioned officers,) 40 "Naiks" (corporals) and 920 sipoys (privates).

About one half of the entire army is stationed in Kathmandu, viz, the artillery regiment with 256 guns, including two 18-pounders, fifteen 12-and forty 6-pounders, the rest 4-and 3-pounders, and 15 regiments of infantry, in all 8,000 men. As for the rest, the army is stationed as follows throughout the country:

in Palpa*		3 infantry regiments (1,300 men) and 25 guns,		
			in all 2,000 men	
" Puentna	1	" "	(400 ")	" 16 "
" Suliana	1	" "	(400 ")	" 16 "
" Sal Gorri	2	" "	(2,000 ")	" 15 "
" Samla	2	" "	(1,500 ")	10 "
" F. Unpendan Gorri	1	" "	(90 ")	" "
" Siswa Gorri	1	" "	(180 ")	" 4 "
" F. Sarpan	1	" "	(200 ")	" "
" Makwanpur	1	" "	(300 ")	" 2 "

* Names in italics signify small arsenals, those preceded by F. forts. An infantry regiment consists in the two stationed in Samla, as well as the regiment at Mackwanpur, Sondri Gorri and Tschodandi consist of irregulars.

in F. Harriorpur	1	''	''	(200 ''		
'' F. Sondri Gorri	1	''	''	(300 ''	''	2 ''
'' F. Dunkota	1	''	''	(600 ''	''	26 ''
'' F. Tschodandi	1	''	''	(600 ''	''	8 ''

Of the same rank as the Sirdars or generals, of which there are now eleven in the army, are the Kaoris, both in the civil and the military sector: above them are only the Tschantras, the royal relatives of which at present seven command regiments as "captains".

However, the army is by no means what it once was; the last decades, which have passed by without war, have done it great damage and its old leaders—the last was Randjore Tapa—are now dead.

Concerning the state as such and its population, the following was learnt or observed.

Every five years an embassy is sent to China, which is fed by the Chinese with dog's meat and other forbidden food so that on their return to Noakot they make a three day's stop in order to perform the necessary ablutions and ceremonies, among other things the drinking of a certain quantity of water from the Noya or Noa.

The total revenue of the country is said to amount to 50 lakhs of rupis or 30 million thealer, of which the Tarrai alone provides about a quarter, viz. 12-15 lakhs. The taxes are certainly not too onerous. In other respects, too, the rule of the country is good, and serious crimes, like murder, theft, etc., are rare.

The country has four provinces: Doti, Palpa, Sariana and Nepāl. The latter, the actual Nepal, only comprises the great valley of Kathmandu and the valleys immediately surrounding and is inhabited by the Newars from Dholka in the east to Nagakot in the west. The valley of Kathmandu has an area of not more than 16 square miles, with 250,000 inhabitants who live in 250 towns and villages. The side valleys taken together are probably larger, but are only inhabited by 150,000 souls, so that they can send their surplus produce to Kathmandu. Apart from the 250,000 Newars, another 20,000 are immigrants from the west, and are engaged in the army, the government or the court; they have lived in the valley since Prithvi Narayan conquered the country with his Gurkhas. Five rulers have succeeded the latter up to the present one (1845).

Not less than ten different languages and dialects are said to be spoken in Nepal. Only one of these languages, that of the Khas or Parbatihās (i. e. the highlanders), who penetrated the country in the XIIIth to the XVth century, is Hindu, the other nine are of transhimalayan origin.⁶ However, the Parbitiya is widely spread, particularly

6. According to B. H. Hodgson the Khas are nevertheless to be counted to the Tibetan race, and their language in Nepal is a curious jargon in which Hindi, however, predominates. The century-long stay in this climate and the intermixing with the blood of the southern neighbours may have caused these physical and linguistic changes.

to the west of the Teisul-Ganga, which is also the Brahmanic centre, among the three warrior tribes mentioned above, to one of which, the Khas, the Gorkhas, also belong. To the east of this river the inhabitants are for the most part Buddhists. The main tribe among them, the Newars, who particularly in the towns everywhere form the majority, nevertheless differ considerably from the Tübetan model with regard to religion, in that they do not have the old monastic institution of the latter, but on the contrary have a division into castes and keep several of its doctrines secret from the common crowd. Instead of Lamas they have their own priests, called "Bangra". They wear the holy cord of the Brahmans and burn the dead but at the same time they offer in the temple of Buddha and partake of the flesh of all animals.

According to the hypothesis of Francis Hamilton Buddhism penetrated the country only in the year 33 B. C. In spite of the fact that its votaries as they themselves admit, have adopted a part of the cosmography and chronology of the Brahmans, and although they worship the divine triad of the latter, together with Maha-Kala, Indra, Ganesa, Hanuman and the goddesses Lakschmi and Saraswati, that triad is nevertheless regarded by them only as the servants of the Buddhas. Padma Pani created, so they claim, the sun from one of his eyes, and the moon from the other, Mahadura from his forehead, Brahma from his neck, Vischnu from his breast, Saraswati from his teeth, Woyu from his mouth, Portewi from his feet, Waruna from his navel; then he said to Brahma; be the lord of Satyayana and create; to Vischnu: be the lord of Radjaguna and sustain; to Mahesa: be the lord of Tamaguna and history.⁷

The Newars, the original inhabitants of the country, who are divided into a large number of small tribes (Muri, Kirata, Limbu, Leptscha, etc.), are a highly industrious people, and even in the arts of architecture, sculpture and painting far superior to all their neighbours. However they leave cattle raising and trade more to the Bhutiyas, whom they resemble in almost all respects, apart from other appearances, also as regards the language, which is a dialect of Tubetan. They are quite simply and lightly clothed, according to the custom of the Hindus, from whom this strong and active people differ most advantageously both as to their own appearance and with regard to the cleanliness of their houses.

The Bhutiyas or Bhotiyas, as the Sanskrit name is, while they call themselves Bod-po, i. e. natives of Bod or Tübet, have in fact retained the language and the appearance of their trans-himalayan brothers and are divided into a large number of sub-tribes: Rongbo, Khat, Berpa etc. The Bhutiyas properly speaking, who only inhabit the highest mountains of the country, near the region of eternal snow, are, except for the head, completely clothed. They are a cheerful and good-natured people, but still mostly on a low level of culture, dirty and poor: large, powerful, yellow figures,

7. The reference is to the three basic constituent elements of the universe according to Hindu philosophy: *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. (P. K.)

of a dark colour and wild appearance (almost minding one of the Lapplandres) with black dishevelled hair. Their dress consists of large sheep-skins, red trousers and stockings and a long under-garment; also a straight sword in their belt. They are said to have books, both hand-written and printed, and many of them are said to be able to read.

The Gorkas, finally, the ruling people of this country, clearly belong to a far higher human race than those mentioned hitheron. In no case of trans-himalayan origin, they are characterised by beautiful facial features, and, as bigoted Hindus, being proud of following no other art than that of war they are skilled in the production of arms.

Profiting from the special favour of being allowed to see a part of the interior of the country, concerning which these various particulars had been collected, Prince Waldemar commenced the journey to Noakot on February 20th, in the company of an English officer, Captain Ottley. In six hours the village of Kaulia, and some 500 feet above it, the summit of the pass bearing the same name was reached, where the night was spent in a house belonging to the British resident, and on the second morning at a temperature of 0°R, ⁸ one had the sublime spectacle of seeing the slopes to the east and south-east covered with hard frost and ice, while the distant majestic high peaks of the Himalayas could be seen with their grotesque, wonderful shapes, enveloped in the rosy glow of the morning sun.

When descending the northern side, a group of Bhutiyas were met with from the area of Mastang, curiously clothed, good-natured people who reported the distance from Kathmandu to Bumkôt (not Malebum for which the place is often mistaken), to be 15 days and to Mastang 30 day's journey; and later a great number of porters, mostly women who brought the natural produce of the Noakot valley: pineapple, oranges, betel leaves, sugarcane and the highly prized garlic to the valley of Kathmandu.

By noon the hill of Nakot, with its temples (see Plate 13), had been ascended, and towards evening one had almost again reached the heights of the Kauliya hill, where the Dhawalagiri and the Chayabung illuminated by the deep red light of the setting sun now showed themselves in their full glory (see plate 15). Here the night was spent once more, and on the following forenoon the return journey to Kathmandu was completed, and in the afternoon yet a ride to Bura Nilkent (i. e. Great Blue-Throat, an epithet of Shiva) at a distance of 3-4 miles, a place of pilgrimage at the foot of the northern mountains. It is a court paved with square stones, which contains the holy water in a large square tank; idols of gods are built into the wall, and in the middle of the tank lies a large, black stone image of Vischnu, resting with his head on Sri Naga (the holy snake); an old priest showed the god his reverence by kissing his feet, or by placing his hand on them and then bringing it to his forehead.

8. I. e. Centegrade (P. K.)

On the 23rd a walk led to the spot where the Bhagmatti unites itself with the Bischmatti. There one could see, as almost everywhere in this valley, a great number of temples (Pattchs) and ghats (stairs leading to the water) also a number of well-fed dogs and many corpses which the holy river carries away; as here, too, only a few inhabitants cremate their dead in the prescribed manner and scatter the ashes in the river. In the evening a display of fireworks took place to celebrate the wedding of an eleven-year old daughter of the Maharadjah with the ten-year old son of the Radjah of Badja, from the western provinces. A great procession went through the town. In the first part, which was opened by music, a regiment of soldiers and a number of servants carrying gifts, a female person caught the attention, veiled and in brilliant clothes; over her head a maidservant held a golden tray with a crown, and another a great screen; she was surrounded by a swarm of singing, finely dressed women wearing red and blue gold embroidered veils, followed by dancing-girls and torch-bearers. Thereupon came music once more, a company of soldiers and, in a similar procession, the bride and her retinue, including a group of comic masks, parrotfaces with long horsehair wigs, Chinese etc., all leaping and dancing; then, carried in a palanquin, the bridegroom, a handsome youth in a beautiful Kashmir shawl, decked with ornaments. He was followed by a procession of all the officers of the garrison, and they in turn were followed, on an enormous elephant, by the three youngest princes in very rich costume; as soon as they caught sight of Prince Waldemar, they descended from their elephant and greeted him. The end was formed by more music and soldiers. After the entire, impressive procession, to the light of torches and the continuous firing of heavily loaded rifles, had made a round through the tightly-packed crowd of on-lookers, who were standing in the streets as well as on the roof tops and in the windows, both parties, that of the bridegroom and that of the bride, began performing a mock-battle on a square, which consisted in throwing at each other sweets and a kind of red powder (hair-powder or rouge) of which people here are very fond, and with which the images of the gods are also painted. A display of fireworks, which really was very good, with squibs, pots-à-feu, suns, Bengal lights, balloons etc., ended the celebration. When dispersing the greatest order and quiet reigned among the people; room was quickly made for the minister everywhere, and the foreigners, too, were shown the greatest politeness and attention.

During the last days of his stay in Kathmandu Prince Waldemar made yet a ride to Kirtapur, the fourth town of the valley on a hill well situated for defence, so that it in fact had been able to withstand the Gorkhas for a whole year, to which the latter retaliated by cutting off the noses of all the inhabitants, men, women and children, after the town had been carried. However, there was no longer anyone to be seen there without noses; only tumbled-down walls, a castle in ruins and so on remained of that event.

Further the Prince attended a mustering of troops, at which the royal pair also appeared, the old Radjah densely surrounded by chieftains, the young in a magnificent dress on a white horse shining with gold. A crowd of sycophants surrounded the young tyrant, who, while the Prince talked with the father, looked about him furiously, made faces or laughed aloud, and could hardly be silenced even by Martabar, who went back and forth and held him by the hand. Thereupon he rode to the court of the minister's palace, where carpets were spread out and chairs set forth, while in the middle of the court a pole had been erected. To this eight buffaloes were tied one after another, and their heads cut off with one blow of the Nepalese national weapon, the "Kora", first by some officers, then by some of the ministers, then by Dil Bikram, and finally by the minister himself who took off his coat woven of peacock feathers and silk, and with the greatest skill cut the body of a one-year old black calf in two. Therewith the spectacle ended; using the back of one of his chiefs as stirrup, the young Radjah dismounted his horse, and bade the Prince farewell.

After Martabar had once more, on the 26th of February, visited the Prince and showed himself in his greatest, truly princely splendour, and at this occasion enumerated all his ranks and honours, his merits, distinctions and riches (his dress alone was worth 40,000 rupies, equalling 27,000 thalers) the return journey was commenced early on the 27th, up to Tschittong in the company of Major Lawrence and the legation doctor Dr. Christie.

The first three nights were spent in Bempedi, Hettaunda and Bitscheko. Here, at Bitscheko, as well as at the subsequent stations viz. from the 3rd to the 5th of March at Bisanli, a tiger hunt was organised (see Plate 14), during eight days, in the company of several Englishmen, and provided with thirty elephants which were placed at his disposal by the Radjahs of Bettaih and of Nepal. However, he succeeded in shooting only two tigers; in addition, some pigs, peacocks and jungle hens were shot. That the result was not more significant was due rather to the indolence and timidity of the guides and lack of familiarity with the terrain, than to lack of game.

* * *

THE PLAY LOKĀNANDANĀTAKA BY CANDRAGOMIN

Michael Hahn,

Kathmandu

Candragomin's play Lokānanda "(The Play Which Creates Joy For the People)"—henceforth LN—ranks with the oldest extant products of Indian stage works. Only very few authors are definitely earlier than Candragomin—Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, and Śūdraka; Kālidāsa seems to have been an older contemporary of his. As regards style LN belongs to the early classical period of dramatic poetry, in contrast to playwrights of the later classical period such as Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Bhavabhūti, and Rājaśekhara. Unfortunately not more than eleven verses of LN are preserved in Sanskrit; the remaining part is available only in an extremely defective Tibetan translation. This may be the reason why a critical edition of this play, which is of such importance to literary history, was published only in 1974 along with a German translation.¹ The following remarks on author, material and contents of LN are based essentially on this publication.

1. The Author of Lokānanda and His Date

The author's name is mentioned five times in LN. The first time it appears in the stage-director's (*sūtradhāra*) prologue (*prastāvanā*) in a stanza which might have read approximately as follows:

प्रबद्धं चन्द्रदासेन कविनापूर्वनाटकम् ।
दर्शयामि सभामद्य तल्लोकानन्दनाटकम् ॥१.४॥

Furthermore, the author of LN follows the practice which can occasionally be observed with Sanskrit poets of mentioning his own name in an additional stanza at the end of each chapter, in this case each act. Thus we find the name of Candragomin in I 21, II 22, III 23, and IV 35. In the *Bharatavākya* (V 48) he once again mentions his own name in the shortened form Candra by way of a kind of *śleṣa*:

भवतु जगतां धर्माभोदः प्रबन्धमहोत्सवः
सुचिरगुणिता मृत्योर्वन्ध्या भवन्तु मनोरथाः ।
मुनिजनकथागोष्ठीबन्धैः शमामृतवर्षिभिः
शिशिरसुभगश्रन्द्रालोकः प्रयातु कृतार्थताम् ॥५.४८॥

1 *Candragomin's Lokānandanātaka. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt. Ein Beitrag zur klassischen indischen Schauspieldichtung.* Von Michael HAHN. Wiesbaden 1974. (Asiatische Forschungen. Band 39.)—As early as 1967 Ratna HANDURUKANDE had published a transliteration and synopsis of Lokānanda, in pages 194–300 of her book. *Mañicūḍāvadāna, Being a translation and edition. And Lokānanda. A Translation and Synopsis.* London 1967. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists. Vol. XXIV.) Compare M. HAHN, *Some remarks concerning an edition of the Tibetan translation of the drama Lokananda by Candragomin,* Indo-Iranian Journal XIII (1971).

In the concluding stanza of the play following the *Bharatavākya* the author quite remarkably grants himself the epithet *vītarāga (Tib. *chags pa dañ bral [ba]*), which is usually reserved for the Bodhisattva only.

This internal evidence of authorship is corroborated by a remark made by I-Ching in the report on his journey to India. There he says:

The great scholar Yue Kuan ["moon official", that is Candragomin] from the East of India composed poetry about the crown prince p'i-shu-an-ta-lo [=Viśvantara, erroneously for Mañicūḍa] hitherto known as Su-ta-na, and all people sing and dance [the root naṭ] throughout the five countries of India.²

Thus there can be no doubt about the playwright's name. The form Candradāsa in I 4 instead of the more usual Candragomin was presumably employed for metrical reasons.

This Candragomin may be identified with the well-known Buddhist grammarian Candragomin on the basis of stanza I 6 in the prologue of LN where we read in the third line in a reconstructed form:

येन व्याकरणं कृतं लघुतरं विस्पष्टसंपूर्णकम्

Compare with this the introductory stanza of Candragomin's grammatical work:

सिद्धं प्रणम्य सर्वज्ञं सर्वोयं जगतो गुरुम् ।

लघुविस्पष्टसंपूर्णमुच्यते शब्दलक्षणम् ॥

In both cases grammar is characterized as *laghu*, *vispaṣṭa* and *sampūrṇa*.

Finally, there is another work which may be associated with the name of Candragomin: the Śiṣyalekha ("Epistle to the pupil") consisting of 116 stanzas (my counting).³ It is a letter in the form of an ornate poem which, according to tradition, was directed to a prince and aimed at converting him again to a spiritual life. Not less than nine stanzas of the Śiṣyalekha are to be found in LN:

Lokānanda	Śiṣyalekha	Counting of Minaev/Vaidya
II 6	91	90
15	69	68
16	72	70
10	74	72
20	75	73
21	66	65
22	101	100
23	102	101
V 48	116	115

2 Taisho Tripiṭaka, Vol. LIV, p. 228 a 9f.

3 Compare M. HAHN, *Der Autor Candragomin und sein Werk*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement II, Wiesbaden 1974, pp. 331-55, above all 340 f.

The Tibetan Tanjur contains an additional fifty-five, mostly smaller, works ascribed to an author with the name of Candra (gomin). Among them there are thirty-five *sādhanas* and related works (e. g. spells against diseases), sixteen *stotras* and four further works belonging to various genres.

In no case can the text be cogently ascribed to the grammarian, playwright and letter-writer, so that for the time being these works may be ignored.

One question remains to be answered: When did the author of LN, *Cāndravā-karaṇa* and *Śiṣyalekha* live? For a long time this was a subject of controversy among various scholars, particularly between S. Lévi and B. Liebich. According to the most recent critical evaluation of the reliable historical facts,⁴ Candragomin must be placed in the 5th century. He developed his activity as a writer presumably during the period A. D. 425–475. This dating, which has repeatedly met with approval,⁵ is in accordance with the style and the formal composition of LN.

2. The Material of LN and its Tradition

Thanks to the works of L. de La Vallé Poussin, S. Lienhard, and, above all, R. Handurukande⁶ the known versions of the Mañicūḍa legend have now to a large extent been published or at least analysed. In the introduction of my edition of LN⁷ an attempt was made to set up a stemma of all the versions which had been dealt with. The most important point in this connection is the assumption of the existence of two recensions of the legend, a longer one and a shorter one. Three texts give proof of the longer version (Lokānanda, the source of the prose interpolation in the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*,⁸ and *Mahajjātakamālā* ch. 49); and four of the shorter versions (*Mañicūḍāvādāna*, *Svayambhūpurāṇa* without prose, *Avadānakalpalatā*, ch. 3, and *Mañicūḍānoddhṛta*). The two versions made known for the first time by R. Handuru-

4 Compare *Candragomins Lokānandanātaka*, pp.3–9.

5 Compare recensions by
S. DIETZ, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*, XX (1976), pp. 198–9.
C. VOGEL, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XVIII (1976), pp. 143–5.
PALSULE, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. LVII (1976), pp. 293–6.

6 L. de LA VALLEE POUSSIN, *Mañicūḍa, as related in the fourth chapter of the Svayambhūpurāṇa*, (Paris, dev. 78), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26 (1894), pp. 297–319.

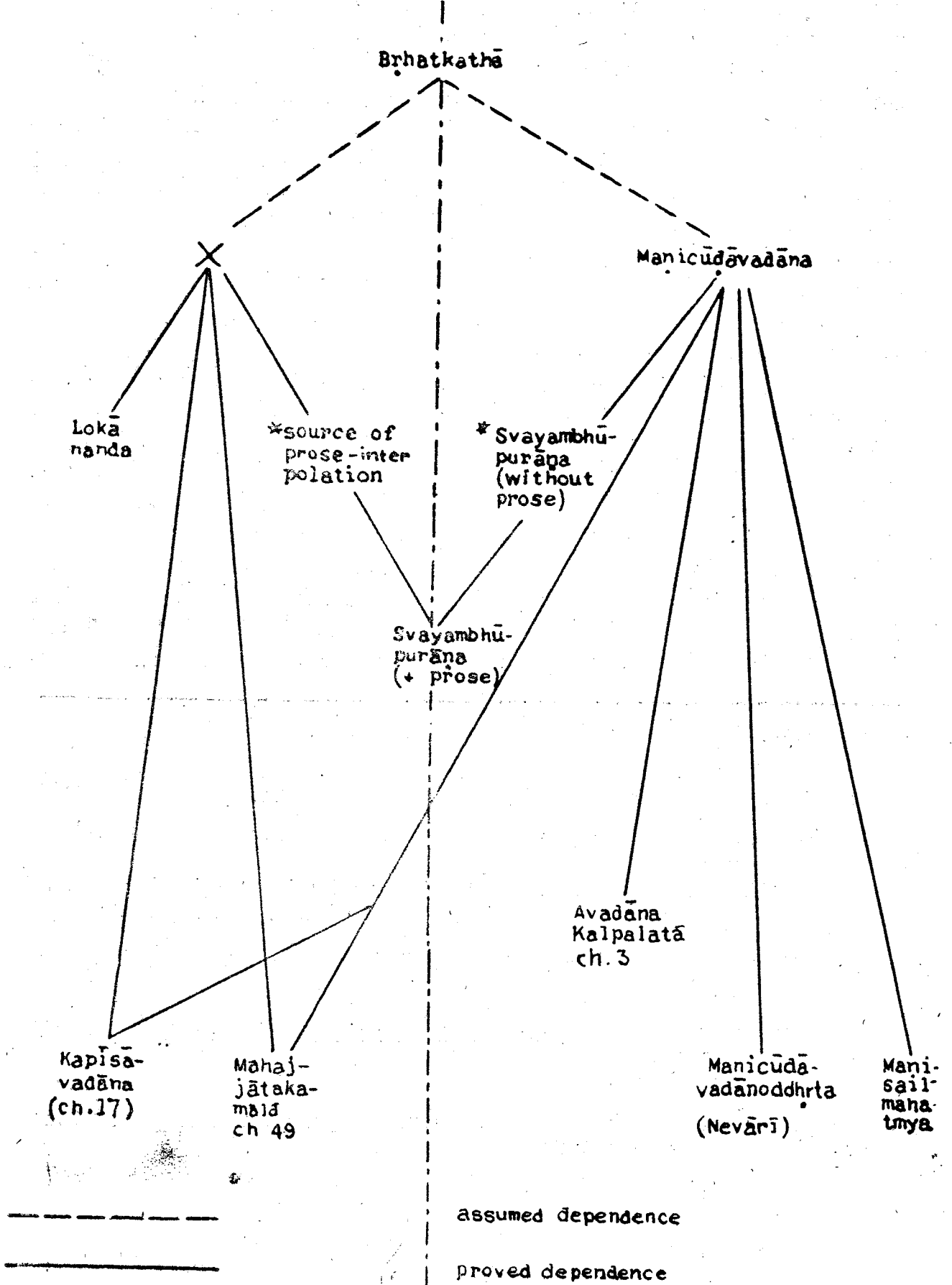
S. LIENHARD, *Mañicūḍāvādānoddhṛta. A Buddhist Re-Birth Story in the Nevāri Language*, Stockholm 1963 (Stockholm Oriental Studies 4.)

R. HANDURUKANDE, compare note 1, and *The Manicūḍa study*, By Prof. Ratna HANDURUKANDE, in: *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyo Kenkyu)*, Vol. V (1976), pp. 309–68.

7 p. 23

8 The published version from the Paris Svayambhūpurāṇa manuscript contains two completely different texts.

DIAGRAM 2



kande in 1976 may easily be integrated into this stemma: the version in *Maṇiśāilamāhātmya* is closely connected with the classical *Maṇicūdāvadāna*, and therefore belongs to the shorter version; the text from the *Kapiśāvadāna* reveals characteristic conformities with the three texts bearing evidence of the longer version, which in detail indicate a common source. This might be either the no longer extant *Bṛhatkathā* or an interposed text which has been lost. The nine known versions of the *Maṇicūḍa* legend may be arranged in a diagram as on p. 54.

The stemma reveals that there is one common representative of each of the two versions, in which the other versions originate. The common representative of the shorter version (recension B) is the *Maṇicūdāvadāna* (MA), the so-called classical prose text. The extract in *Maṇiśāilamāhātmya* relies heavily on it and the Paris manuscript of the *Svayambhūpurāṇa*, too, largely follows MA. *Maṇicūdāvadānoddhṛta* is more or less an adaptation of MA in *Nevārī*, and *Kṣemendra* created a tale in verse in *Kāvya* style based on MA.

Originally MA was presumably written almost exclusively in prose similar to the tales of the *Divyāvadāna* with which it agrees the most. In the present versions there is a total of all 111 stanzas, a great number of which are taken from other works, e. g. from *Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā*.⁹

The MA text tells the story of King *Brahmadatta* of *Sāketa* and his spouse *Kāntimatī* who conceives a child. Her pregnancy longings consist of a number of meritorious acts such as the giving of various gifts to the needy, feeding, medical care, and a sermon. Under wondrous circumstances a son with a miraculous crest jewel is born who therefore receives the name of *Maṇicūḍa*.

Having become king himself he has halls of alms erected and admonishes the people to lead a moral life. In a very short remark it is mentioned that a sage by the name of *Bhavabhūti*, living in the *Himālaya*, finds a girl in a lotus pond, brings her up under the name of *Padmāvati* and, when grown up, offers her as wife to King *Maṇicūḍa*. He demands as a reward that, on the occasion of the presentation of his spouse *Padmāvati*, the king perform a sacrifice and dedicate the merit resulting from it to him. *Maṇicūḍa* agrees, marries *Padmāvati*, and after some time a son, *Padmottara*, is born to them.

One day he preaches a sermon to the people at which the four guardians of the world (*lokapāla*) rejoice to such a degree that they decide to help *Maṇicūḍa* to become enlightened. He then performs the sacrifice of unrestrained giving (*nirargaḍa*) for the benefit of *Bhavabhūti* to which, among others, the neighbouring king *Duṣprasaha* is invited. At first a demon (*rākṣasa*) appears and demands food. As he insists on

having fresh flesh, Manicūḍa, in spite of the general dismay, finally offers himself. The demon devours him almost completely before he discloses himself as Indra in disguise. King Manicūḍa's body is thereupon restored by an 'act of truth', by a *satyak·iyā*. Indra begs pardon for this trial. Then Manicūḍa generously distributes further gifts and dedicates the merit to Bhavabhūti.

The great sage Vāhika then enters and demands the wife and child of Manicūḍa as a reward for his teacher Marici. Manicūḍa complies with this request too and bids farewell to Padmāvati and Padmottara. When the neighbouring King Duṣprasaha demands the royal elephant Bhadragiri, which had already been given to the priest Brahmaratha, a war breaks out and Sāketa is besieged. Manicūḍa has himself taken to the Himālaya in order to buy back Bhadragiri. As a hermit he indulges in moral and philosophical reflections there while the minister Subāhu defeats Duṣprasaha and redeems Padmottara from Marici.

Indra decides to test Manicūḍa again. He sends the *devaputra* Dharma who, disguised as a hunter takes Padmāvati by force from Marici's hermitage. Manicūḍa hears her wailing and rescues her. Māra, disguised as a young man, tries to persuade Manicūḍa to return to Sāketa with Padmāvati but Manicūḍa sends her back to Marici who, however, releases her and sends her to Sāketa by air.

In Duṣprasaha's kingdom plague has broken out. He sends five Brahmins to Manicūḍa who request his miraculous crest jewel. Manicūḍa gives in to them though his skull must be cleft. By the natural phenomena accompanying it the chief personages of the narration gather at Manicūḍa's body. He stresses that he does not regret anything and does not feel any hatred against anybody. By this *satyakriyā* he is cured again, returns to Sāketa and lives there happily as king with his family after Duṣpraṣaha, in whose kingdom plague has disappeared, has begged his pardon.

The longer version (recension A) differs from the one just described in that it narrates in much more detail the period from Manicūḍa's birth to his succession to the throne and his marriage. The shorter version treats this in a very brief and summarized manner. Thus before his marriage he retires to the solitude of the forest and indulges in thoughts on renouncing worldly life. During this time Padmāvati is declared Manicūḍa's bride without his knowing it. This is done through the intermediary of Padmāvati's friend Ratnāvalī who is a *vidhyādhari*. She takes a portrait of Manicūḍa to the hermitage, whereupon Padmāvati falls in love with him. Later on Ratnāvalī shows a picture of Padmāvati to Kāntimati, Manicūḍa's mother. Kāntimati regards her as the appropriate daughter-in-law. When the wedding cord is taken to Manicūḍa he at first strictly refuses to return to worldly life by marrying. Only the threat of Padmāvati's friends to commit suicide makes him change his mind. Then the marriage and the succession to the throne take place. The rest of the plot agrees with the shorter version.

The longer version of the Mañicūḍa legend is represented by four texts which do not seem to be directly dependent on each other but obviously originate in a common source, which was then modified according to the respective context. Unfortunately the adaptation in the 49th chapter of Mahajjātakamālā as such, though quite extensive, is incomplete due to the loss of various leaves. It seems, however, to reproduce the common source quite faithfully. Therefore, one has to rely on the remaining three texts, the prose interpolation in the Svayaṃbhūpurāna published by R. Handurukande, chapter 17 of Kapīśāvadāna, and LN. Among these LN is certainly the most ancient text, although its plot is necessarily adapted to the needs of the stage. In the following section the story of LN is summarized in as much detail as space allows.

3. The Dramatized Version of the Mañicūḍa Legend in Lokānandanāṭaka

LN begins with a prologue on the stage where one can still recognise very easily the division into three parts, namely benediction (*nāndī*), prologue as such (*prastāvanā*) and prelude to the main plot (*āmukha*). Then five acts follow which are linked up with each other by interludes of the *praveśaka* type (preceding the second, fourth and fifth acts). The fifth act is concluded by the Kāvyaśaṃhāra, the *Bhāratavākya* and a concluding stanza mentioning the author himself.

In the following detailed analysis I shall particularly take into account the stanzas the numbers of which are given in brackets. The numbers usually refer to the preceding sentence only. Furthermore, I have subdivided the acts into individual episodes by the combination of a Roman number and a small letter.

Detailed Analysis (Synopsis)

Prologue

Description of the flowers with which Buddha is worshipped (1). *Nāndī*

Description of the jealous daughters of Māra (2). Description of Buddha's imperturbability when, during the meditation which leads him to perfect enlightenment (*saṃbodhi*) various attempts are made to disturb him (3).

The author of the play is Candradāsa (4).

Prastāvanā

He was born in the Jātukarṇa family in the East of India, although 'unable to carry burdens' (*abhārasaha*), he was famous (5).

He mastered several branches of knowledge and wrote a grammar (6).

The actress (*naṭī*) complains that her son wishes to enter the (Buddhist) *Āmukha* order (7). The *Śūtradhāra* wonders if he may be a Bodhisattva. Description of a Bodhisattva (8). Through his merits he will become blissful. (This is a hint at the happy ending of the play.) Description of spring, in prose and verse (9); the latter gives the key-word *cūḍāmaṇi*. Description of Ratnāvali staying behind in the hermitage (10).

Act I

The *vidyādhari* Ratnāvali enters the stage, praises the hero (without mentioning his name) and alludes to a portrait brought with her (11). She enters the hermitage and describes her arriving girl friends Padmāvati and Mādhavi. Padmāvati depicts her (interminate) longing feelings. Ratnāvali alludes to some interesting news thereby arousing her friend's curiosity; she has seen something wonderful. When questioned she gives three (by repetition four) vague answers, finally she describes what she has seen by a *śleṣa* stanza. (12). The two girls' first guess is that it is the moon, their second the Kāma. Ratnāvali tells them that she saw Maṇicūḍa at Sāketa and that a portrait of Maṇicūḍa was stolen by *vidyādhari*s. She announces that the girls, too, will see him and mentions his crest jewel and his being inclined to become an ascetic. At last she shows the portrait – so she herself was the thief ! In a kind of pun (using both meanings of *avadya*) she says that Maṇicūḍa has a fault: he cannot be addressed ('is to be blamed'). (That is, of course, not his fault as he is not present in person). Ratnāvali continues her report: she had presented Padmāvati's portrait to Maṇicūḍa's mother Kāntimati who chose her as daughter-in-law. Unintentionally Ratnāvali grieves Padmāvati by an ambiguous use of *guru*: Maṇicūḍa obeys his *parents* (that is, he will marry Padmāvati)- he feels attracted by the *ascetics* (that is, he will not marry Padmāvati).

I. a

I. B

Bhavabhūti, Padmāvati's foster-father, and his disciple allude to Padmāvati's future motherhood (13). They miss her. They consider possible reasons for her disappearance (14,15). Mādhavi and Padmāvati hide in the nearby forest for shame because of their conversation.

I. c.

Bhavabhūti becomes aware of Ratnāvali's confusion and questions her. But she is too bashful to explain the situation. Through meditation Bhavabhūti realizes it and praises Maṇicūḍa's qualities of character. Mādhavi reveals her joy (16). Bhavabhūti honours Maṇicūḍa's portrait with flowers. He praises the picture (17) and Maṇicūḍa's character (18). Bhavabhūti calls Mādhavi and Padmāvati.

I. d.

Bhavabhūti describes Padmāvati's innocent nature and asks her for the reason for her bashfulness (19). He describes the midday rest (20).

I. e

The play deals with a hero full of character (21).

Concluding

Interlude preceding Act II

stanza

The maid-servant Kuntalikā enters and reports that Maṇicūḍa's parents have already performed the bridal ceremony with Padmāvati's portrait (1) and that the people in expectation of the forthcoming marriage have decorated

Prave-
śaka

their villages (2). She tells Parṇikā, the second maid-servant, that Maṇicūḍa has withdrawn to a penance-grove. Parṇikā does not doubt that he will obey his parents (3). Kuntalikā informs Parṇikā that Gautama, the Prince's friend and the Vidūṣaka, was instructed to make the prince change his mind. Gautama's arrival is announced by the maid-servants.

Act II

Gautama repeats to himself the queen's instruction and imagines the consequences of Maṇicūḍa's childlessness – extinction of the royal dynasty (4). He asks Maṇicūḍa's servant Mañjula who is behind the scenes where Maṇicūḍa is to be found and describes flowers surrounded by bees. He wonders if Maṇicūḍa was carried off by a *vidyādhari*.

II. a

After this cue Ratnāvalī enters and describes Padmāvati's longing for the prince (5) and his distress. Unnoticed she follows Gautama who describes the artificial fountains and the pleasure hill. Ratnāvalī wants to secretly listen to Maṇicūḍa and Gautama.

II. b

Maṇicūḍa deplores the insatiable desire for sensual pleasures of human beings (6).

II. c

कासौ गतिर्जगति या शतशो न वाता
किं तत् सुखं यदसकृन्न पुरानुभूतम् ।
कास्ताः श्रियश्चपलचामरचारुहासाः
प्राप्ता न यस्तदपि वर्धत एव रागः ॥२.७॥

Ratnāvalī calls the waterfall the water-offering for the manes of her beloved friend Padmāvati. Gautama realizes Maṇicūḍa's melancholy. He describes a bee on a lotus leaf (7.) Maṇicūḍa regards the falling pollen as a symbol of fugitiveness (8). Gautama describes the peacocks covered with drops of water (9) which Maṇicūḍa considers as the embodiment of the stream of *āharmas* (10). Gautama deplores his lack of success in changing the prince's mind (11).

A maid-servant brings the marriage thread. Gautama puts it on Maṇicūḍa whereupon Ratnāvalī draws the false conclusion that another bride is provided for Maṇicūḍa. The maid-servant exists.

II. d

Gautama informs Maṇicūḍa of his now being married (12). Maṇicūḍa disapproves of the marriage and expresses his determination to become a hermit nonetheless (13). Gautama asks him why he prefers the forest to his kingdom (14). Maṇicūḍa praises the pleasure of living in a forest (15.16).

II. e

किं सा रतिर्भवति नन्दनभूमिकासु
दिव्याङ्गनाजघनमृष्टशिलातलासु ।
ये मुग्धमुग्धहरिणीगणसेवितासु
निःसङ्गचारुसुभगासु वनस्थलीषु ॥२.१५॥

विशालाः शैलानां विरतजनसंपातसुभगा
गुहा गाढाभोगा हरितवनलेखापरिकराः ।
सरितीरासन्ना मुरजमधुरैर्निर्झरवै-
र्न गम्याः क्लेशाग्नेर्वयमिति वदन्तीव पथिकान् ॥२.१६॥

Gautama reproaches him not to be pitiless towards his family. Mañicūḍa replies that suffering only comes to an end when there is no rebirth (17). He mentions the reasons for being reborn (18). Gautama calls the sensual pleasures a law of nature. Mañicūḍa condemns the sensual pleasures as being worse than poison (19,20).

आपातमात्रमधुरा विषया विषं च
घोरा विपाककटुका विषया विषं च ।
मोहान्धकारगहना विषया विषं च
दुर्वारवेगचपला विषया विषं च ॥२.१६॥

कामं विषं च विषयाश्च निरूप्यमाणा
श्रेयो विषं न विषया विषमस्वभावाः ।
एकत्र जन्मनि विषं विषतां प्रयाति
जन्मान्तरे ऽपि विषया विषतां प्रयान्ति ॥२.२०॥

He refuses to postpone his decision (21).

श्वः कार्यमेतदिदमद्य पर मुहूर्ता-
देतत् क्षणादिति जनेन विचिन्त्यमाने ।
तिर्यग्निरीक्षणपिशङ्गितकालदण्डः
शङ्के हसत्यसहनः कुपितः कृतान्तः ॥२.२१॥

He praises the service done for the benefit of others (22).

स्वयं घासप्रासं पशुरपि करोत्येव सुलभं
यदृच्छालब्धं वा पिबति सलिलं गाढतृषितः ।
परस्यार्थं कर्तुं यदिह पुरुषोऽयं प्रयतते
तदस्य स्वं तेजः सुखमिदमहो पौरुषमिदम् ॥२.२२॥

Which is an essential characteristic of a noble man (23).

यदालोकं कुर्वन् भ्रमति रविरश्रान्ततुरगः
सदा लोकं धत्ते यदगणितभारा वसुमती ।
न स स्वार्थः काश्चित् प्रकृतिरियमेवापि महतां
यदेते लोकानां हितसुखरसस्यैकरसिकाः ॥२.२३॥

Only an egotist –like Gautama–does not consider the distress of his relatives (24). He defines what he understands by ‘relative’ (25). He regrets that nobody asked him to do something for him, so that therefore he has so far not been able to become a ‘place of refuge’ to anyone. Ratnāvalī uses this cue to take refuge with the prince. He assures her of his readiness to help (26). She requests his body; Gautama abuses her as ‘poison-maid’ (*viṣakanyā*). Mañicūḍa assures her of his protection and the fulfilment of her request (27). Ratnāvalī tells him that her girl-friend’s suffering can only be alleviated by seeing Mañicūḍa (28). He decides to set out immediately for the hermitage in the Himavat. They take the lamenting Gautama with them on their flight. Mañicūḍa describes the earth from the air (29,30). Gautama asks silly questions about the stars. Mañicūḍa describes the heavenly Gaṅgā (31). Then the Great Bear (*saptarṣi*) having been worshipped Mañicūḍa’s marriage and fatherhood are announced (32).

Candragomin writes a play illustrating the Buddhist doctrine (33).

Concluding
stanza

Act III

Mādhavī depicts Padmāvati’s grief and when turning round sees Padmāvati, leaning on her friend Bindumati’s body.

III. a

Padmāvati blames Kāma. She erroneously takes the arrived ‘dear friend’ for the returned Ratnāvalī and shows her excitement. Neither the cooling moon stone (*candrakāntamaṇi*), nor the moistened lotus leaves, nor sandal water can cool her pain. She regards Mañicūḍa’s portrait and praises him (1). Mādhavī draws her attention to a strange phenomenon in the sky (the arriving Ratnāvalī, Mañicūḍa and Gautama not yet recognized as such).

Gautama describes the peaceful hermitage as does Mañicūḍa (2).

III. c

शार्दूली स्नेहगर्भं मुकुलितनयनं लेढि शावं हरिण्या
बन्धुप्रीत्या शिखण्डी तिरयति फणिनामातपं कीर्णवर्हः ।
सिंही रक्षत्यपत्यं स्वमिव कलभकं निर्गतायां हरिण्यां
संत्रया येषां निवासे गहनागिरिदरीशायिनस्ते जयन्ति ॥३.२॥

Ratnāvalī, Gautama and Mañicūḍa glorify Padmāvati’s beauty (3).

Mañicūḍa praises Padmāvati's enchanting eyes and sweet voice (4). Ratnāvālī approaches Bindumatī, Madhavi and Padmāvati who faints when she sees Ratnāvālī coming alone. Ratnāvālī calls Mañicūḍa for help who caresses Padmāvati and describes his feelings (5) and Padmāvati's face (6) who recovers from her swooning. Mañicūḍa compares her body with a flower (7) and tries to sooth the embarrassed Padmāvati (8). Padmāvati honours Mañicūḍa's portrait with a garland of flowers bound by herself. Gautama wishes to unite Mañicūḍa and Padmāvati, but Mañicūḍa resists and imputes Padmāvati of intending to seduce him by her coquetry (9).

प्रथयति मयि व्याजेनाङ्गं ह्रिया च निगूहते
क्षिपति विशदस्निग्धं चक्षुः क्षणाच्च नियच्छति ।
मम न सहते दृष्टा दृष्टिं पुनश्च समीहते
ब्रह्मति हृदये कामं बाला न चोज्जति वामताम् ॥३.६॥

A wild elephant comes rushing along as Gautama reports. (10) Padmāvati out of fear embraces Mañicūḍa who soothes her (11) and checks the elephant (12), she however, to his embarrassment, continues to embrace him.

Bhavabhūti's disciple enters and depicts the general confusion. When seeing Padmāvati and Mañicūḍa in their embrace he takes Mañicūḍa for the responsible person and calls Bhavabhūtt for help.

III. d

Gautama menaces his disciple with a stick.

Bhavabhūti expresses his indignation (13) Mañicūḍa tries to appease him (14). Ratnāvālī Bhavabhūti threatens with various imprecations (15), whereupon decides to reveal the true facts (16). She tells him of Mañicūḍa's rescuing Padmāvati from the wild elephant and reveals his identity. Bhavabhūti, blames himself for not having recognized him (17,18) and begs his pardon. Gautama and his disciple are reconciled. Bhavabhūti gives Padmāvati as wife to Mañicūḍa (19). Mañicūḍa refuses on the pretext that his parents have not given their approval and that Padmāvati belongs to a different caste. In both cases he is refuted. When Mañicūḍa still is not prepared to comply with his wish Bhavabhūti announces that he would burn himself together with the girls; Gautama joins him in his threat. Thereupon Mañicūḍa declares himself prepared to marry Padmāvati (20). Everybody is happy and Bhavabhūti draws a parallel between himself and Mañicūḍa (21). He performs a sacrifice and describes the end of the day (22).

III. e

By watching the play the spectators gain the highest knowledge whose object is the Buddha himself.

Conclud-
ing stanza

Interlude preceding Act IV

Mādhavi is sad that Padmāvati has been away for more than a year. The untimely blossoming of the trees indicates the birth of Padmāvati's child. The Brahmin Mauñja enters and tells her that a son, Padmottara, is born to Padmāvati and Mañicūḍa has become king. His parents who had withdrawn to a penance grove left it, however, again as Mañicūḍa had followed them. Then they had a penance grove arranged in the royal garden in order to make Mañicūḍa fulfil his duties as a ruler. Mañicūḍa is now performing a *nirargada*-sacrifice. Mādhavi expresses an auspicious wish for Padmāvati which however, unintentionally has a negative meaning. Mauñja draws the attention to the dangerous consequences.

Act IV

A servant enters and speaks spitefully of Brahmins who help themselves, without constraint in the hall of alms. IV. a

Subāhu, Mañicūḍa's prime minister, rebukes the servant and praises Mañicūḍa's great liberality.

Exit. Servant

Subāhu inspects the gifts and describes them (1,2). He hints at the neighbouring king Duṣprasaha's envy of Mañicūḍa's crest jewel. He describes the noble character of the arriving king (3). IV. c

Mañicūḍa asks whether the petitioners are satisfied (4) Subāhu answers in the affirmative (5). Mañicūḍa tells him that after all it was not his own property he is giving away, the concept of property leads to the assumption of an 'ego' (6) and he seems to fight against this false conception by giving away his body (7). The earth trembles (8,9). IV. d

Padmāvati is brought by a maid-servant. Mañicūḍa describes the earthquake (10,11) as does Subāhu (12). Mañicūḍa tells Subāhu to appease the people. Subāhu Exit. Mañicūḍa makes an offering to the goddess of the earth and requests her to protect the people in return (13). The priest performs the sacrifice. IV. e

इन्द्रागच्छ । हरिर्व आगच्छ । मेधातिथेर्मेष । वृषणश्वस्य मेने ।

(The Tibetan translation quotes the Sanskrit original.) Gautama discovers a demon (*rākṣasa*) in the fireplace and depicts him (14).

The *rākṣasa* threatens to harm the people (15). When asked by Mañicūḍa, he declares that he wants to eat flesh and ony that which is freshly butchered (16). Mañicūḍa offers his body (17). Against the objection of Padmāvati and V. f

Gautama he confirms his decision not to reject any petitioner (18). The priest refuses any participation and offers himself instead (19). Mañicūḍa replies that the *rākṣasa* wants only him (20) and that he is more suitable for him (21). When the *rākṣasa* urges Mañicūḍa, Padmāvati offers herself. The *rākṣasa* talks about the connection between tastes and temperament, according to which only Mañicūḍa is eligible (22). When Mañicūḍa starts to cut himself up, Padmāvati, Padmottara and Gautama in vain offer themselves. The *rākṣasa* eats the king's flesh. Exeunt Priest and *rākṣasa*.

The *rākṣasa* returns in his true shape as Indra. The king, already half-dead asks him to continue to devour him. Indra reveals himself explaining that he tried Mañicūḍa to show his noble character to the whole of mankind. Again strange natural phenomena take place, the goddess of the earth enters (23). IV. g

Indra once again praises Mañicūḍa's self-abnegation (24). The goddess, of the earth proclaims her joy (25) and cures Mañicūḍa with nectar (26) She, too, praises his unlimited readiness to sacrifice himself (27); exit. IV. h

Indra offers to let Mañicūḍa live in heaven; Mañicūḍa however, refuses, as there are no petitioners. Instead Indra will take Mañicūḍa's parents to heaven; exit. IV. i

The sage Marici enters and demands Padmāvati and Padmottara. Gautama protests against it but Mañicūḍa immediately gives both of them to the sage (27). Padmāvati wails and refers to the future extinction of the royal dynasty. Mañicūḍa remains untouched. Padmottara does not comprehend the situation. Gautama abuses Mañicūḍa as being ruthless (28) and swoons. Mañicūḍa blesses his wife and son (29). and admonishes them to be obedient (30). Padmāvati honours Mañicūḍa (31). Padmottara asks his father to grant him the fulfilment of his promise to give a horse to him. Mañicūḍa reveals his Pain (32). Exeunt. Marici, Padmāvati and Padmottara. IV. j

Mañicūḍa again speaks of his sorrow (33). Gautama recovers his senses. The attendants of the palace enter and describe how Mañicūḍa's parents are flying to heaven in a celestial chariot (*vimāna*) (34). Being left by his family Mañicūḍa decides to become a hermit (25). Gautama wants to follow him. The attendants anticipate Mañicūḍa's living as a hermit (36).

Candragomin transformed the legend into a play (37).

Concluding stanza

Interlude preceding Act V

A *vidyādhara* praises Mañicūḍa's glory comparing it to a number of white objects (1). Mañicūḍa's fame has reached all parts of the earth (2). Padmāvati and her son live with Marici on the Himavat, Marici is said to

*Prave-
ṣaka*

have requested them for a noble reason: in order not to have them demanded by someone else (3). Without knowing Maṇicūḍa lives not far from Padmāvati. Duṣprasaha besieges Sāketa (4). The *vidyādhara* by a rhetorical question describes the mountain on which Maṇicūḍa may live (5). The seeing of Maṇicūḍa alone is blissful (6). The *vidyādhara* describes a mountain grotto (7) and Maṇicūḍa meditating in it (8), on whom the gods let falls flowers (9).

Act V

Maṇicūḍa has just finished his meditation and describes the four stages of meditation (*dhyāna*) (10). Gautama wants to have a share of his meditation, Maṇicūḍa pictures for him the bliss of meditation which, however, can only be reached by concentration (11). Prerequisite for it is the doctrine of non-duality and freedom of passion (12). Gautama asks for the difference between the bliss of meditation and the happiness, of sensual pleasure. Maṇicūḍa replies that the former cools, the sensual pleasures, however, burn him by the fire of sexual desire and hatred; ignorance (*moha*) is only alluded to (13). Thereupon Gautama starts to meditate. Suddenly he hears someone crying. Maṇicūḍa identifies it as the lament of a woman (14). Both think they know the voice. Maṇicūḍa wants to search for it, Gautama, however, gives the advice not to interfere. Maṇicūḍa objects that only through constant readiness to help may one be sure of having friends in each existence (15). When approaching the noise both of them recognize Padmāvati.

V. a

The savages (*śabaras*) drive Padmāvati in front of them. They have caught her and she shall be a wet-nurse to their sons. Padmāvati calls for her husband. When he suddenly appears she faints. Gautama wants to attack the *śabaras* with a stick but Maṇicūḍa admonishes him to forgive them (16). The *Śabaras* are so much impressed by Maṇicūḍa that they flee of full fear.

V. b

Maṇicūḍa questions Padmāvati and learns from her that Padmottara, too, has been kidnappd. Padmāvati reports how when picking flowers, she was carried off. Maṇicūḍa sends her back to Martci which makes Padmāvati desperate. Maṇicūḍa gives reasons for his attitude: one must not take back what once had been given (17). He quotes Buddha: (18).

V. c

सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।

संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं हि जीवितम् ॥

Separation for the sake of the *dharma* is better than any reunion (19). Padmāvati is not able to go away, Maṇicūḍa sends Gautama to accompany her. When Padmāvati looks at him requestingly for the last time Maṇicūḍa

replies in a moralizing manner that separation is the fate of all human beings (20), a postponement therefore is useless; he cannot console her, unless four things happen: their reunion, Padmottara becoming king and commander of the arms, his seeing the parents again in the state of detachment, his subjects being no longer oppressed by Duṣprasaha (21). This is confirmed from behind the scenes ! Mañicūḍa is praised (22,) who for fear of being blamed with breaking his word sends Padmāvati and Gautama away.

After this repeated loss Mañicūḍa's crest jewel has become useless (23). Thereupon a Brahmin enters. Gautama and Padmāvati suspect that he will request something of Mañicūḍa and stay with him. The Brahmin recognizes and praises Mañicūḍa (24). As Mañicūḍa's right eye twitches, he concludes that the Brahmin is an important petitioner (25). The latter requests—after initial embarrassment—Mañicūḍa's crest jewel (26). Gautama approaches and attempts again to impede the fulfilment of the request. Mañicūḍa regards the Brahmin as the giver and himself the petitioner (27), the latter has a much higher salutary quality than a wishing gem (28). The Brahmin complains that it is impossible to remove the crest jewel (29). Mañicūḍa asks him to pull it out without hesitation, it would only benefit him (i. e. Mañicūḍa) (30). Gautama calls the forest gods for help. The Brahmin takes Padmāvati who comes running for a forest goddess. Mañicūḍa discards Padmāvati's objections by a description of men being whirled around in the *samsāra* (31). The Brahmin feels pity and wants to renounce the anger of Mañicūḍa. The Brahmin now informs them that the crest jewel was to be used to fight against the plague in Duṣprasaha's kingdom, he describes the effects of the plague (32). Then Mañicūḍa himself pulls out his crest jewel (33), gives it to the Brahmin and loses consciousness. Gautama and Padmāvati wail; the Brahmin, seeing Marici come, justifies himself by indicating that he only fulfilled Mañicūḍa's wish; exit.

V. d

Marici arrives with Ratnāvalī, he describes extraordinary natural phenomena, e.g. a solar eclipse, (34) and draws the conclusion that a misfortune has happened to Mañicūḍa. They look for Padmāvati and find her together with Gautama and the unconscious Mañicūḍa. Marici bemoans Mañicūḍa (35). Padmāvati in her grief calls for Padmottara.

V. e

Padmottara and Subāhu enter. Subāhu found Padmottara again, defeated Duṣprasaha and is now looking for Mañicūḍa (36). Padmottara is bitten by a snake, only Mañicūḍa's crest jewel can save him. The two come to Padmāvati and the others who are bemoaning Mañicūḍa. Subāhu describes him lying there without his crest jewel (37) and announces Padmottara's approaching death; he swoons. When everybody is lamenting Marici perceives

V. f

that *vidyādhara*s rain sandal water and flowers on Maṇicūḍa (38). Padmāvati asks Marīci for permission to burn herself, Gautama wants to join her. Marīci watches how Maṇicūḍa starts moving and recovers (39). Subāhu tells him of Padmottara's being better and assures him that Maṇicūḍa was tricked otherwise he would not have given his crest jewel to his enemy. When Marīci doubts whether Maṇicūḍa will ever regret it, the latter proclaims a 'truthful resolve' *satyakriya* (40), as a consequence of which immediately a new crest jewel grows on Maṇicūḍa's head Marīci describes how thereby Padmottara is at once healed (41). He gives wife and son back to Maṇicūḍa and begs his pardon. From behind the scenes the wish is expressed that Maṇicūḍa may become a Bodhisattva (42). Marīci watches a host of gods filling the sky (43), among them there are Maṇicūḍa's parents to bless him and his wife and son. Marīci asks Maṇicūḍa to return to Sāketa in the celestial chariot (*vimāna*) sent by Indra (44). Maṇicūḍa describes his travel through the air (45). Marīci relates that Duṣpreasaha and his people after the kingdom having been freed from the plague honour Maṇicūḍa and Maṇicūḍa's arrival at sāketa (46).

As the four conditions mentioned in V. 21 have been fulfilled is there nothing left to be wished by Maṇicūḍa (47). Prayer for the spiritual and physical well-being of all beings (48).

*Kavya-
saṃ-
phara*

भवतु जगतां धर्माभेदः प्रबन्धमहोत्सवः
सुचिरगुणिता मृत्योर्वन्ध्या भवन्तु मनोरथाः ।
मुनिजनकथागोष्ठीबन्धैः माशतम् वर्षिभिः
शिशिरसुभगश्चन्द्रालोकः प्रयातु कृतार्थताम् ॥५.४०

Wish for the success of the actors and frequent performances of the play (49).

Conclud-
ing stanza

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