

Nepal

(Continued)

-Sylvain Levi

II. Inscription of Lazimpat

Lazimpat is a hamlet situated to the East of Kathmandu. The inscription is traced at the foot of a kind of stone tablet that still rises in the middle of the field. The table which measures about 0,65 in width by 0,70 in height bears a composition in relief in which the people of the country recognize and worship a Yogini. In fact the image represents as is proved by the dedications, a "Vishnu Vikrantamurti, worshipped by the gods and the sages". The god who is crowned with a mitre (Mukuta) possesses as against the usual custom four pair of arms, one of the right arms carries the disc another the bludgeon (gada), another leans on the thigh. The legs open out at a great angle, as it suits the god who covered the world in three paces; one of the feet on the base of the frame, the other points towards heaven.

In the lower right angle is read the prologue of the miracle. King Bali pours the water

that consecrates the donation on the hands of a dwarf (vamana); behind the king his wife and two servants, one of whom leads a horse whilst the other is crouching. Above a personage whose attitude is expressive of a fall is undoubtedly Bali again overthrown from power. On the other hand under the right arms of the king Laxmi carried on a round lotus (padma) and holding in her hand a lotus in the shape of a brush (utpala). Behind her Garuda with wings spread kneeling the hands joined in adoration on her chest. A naga whose long plume coils supports on his knees the toes of the god.*

The whole piece worked with real manhood shows the skill of the Nepalese sculptures towards the year 500 of the Christian era. In the general scarcity of chronological data relative to India this stone dated supplies a useful land-mark to the history of Indian sculpture and its schools.

The inscription of the dedication in two lines occupies the whole width of the base; the

*. The legend of Bali and the dwarf is indisputably Visnuist; but it is not unknown to Buddhism at least to Nepalese Buddhism, so greatly syncretic. It is narrated in detail in the Karanda vyuha (manuscript of the National Library, Burnouf 92, p. 23. Sqq)

characters have an average height of 0,007. The writing is identical to those of the other inscriptions of Manadeva. The inscription is drawn up in correct Sanscrit. It is prepared on the type of the other dedications of the reign; on the top the date; then a stanza here in the complicated metre of the sragdhara. The indication of the month and of the day of the month is thrown outside the verse, in the end. The name of king Manadeva is associated to that of his mother Rajyavati as on the pillar of Changu Narayan which is dated in the preceding year (or three years earlier); it is to the benefit of the Queen - mother that the sculpture is established.

The image is undoubtedly one of that tradition recorded in the Vamcavali, assigns to the peity of Rajyavati (11,98).

The date is shown in numeral letters very clear on the stone, except the figure of the units which may be read. 9.

Text

1. Samvat 300 80 7 matuh cri Rajyavatyā... nadeh sarvada etc., (See page 21, 'Nepal', Vol. III, by Sylvain Levi)

Translation

1. Samvat 387. For the increase of the merits of Rajyavati, his mother... king Manadeva with the good and pure thought...

2. ... (has erected) a Visnu in the pose of the (three paces), exalted by the gods and the sages the sole protector of the world of creatures. Clear fortnight of Vaicakha, the...

III. Inscription of the To-Bahal at Kathmandu

The inscription of the To-Bahal is engraved on a socle which is half buried in the

(Foot Note to page 21; 'Nepal', Vol III, by S. Levi)

L2. It is to Mr. Thumas that I owe the almost certain reading stha (pa)yam asa instead of stha. nam apa which I have given in the "As. Journ."

ground in the interior of Kathmandu, quite close the eastern gate. The socle carries to-day a statue of Mahakala (commonly Mahankal) recognizable with its crown of skulls with its sceptre supporting the vajra especially with his packet (purse or a half lime) which he holds in the hand and with the serpent that encircles his neck and enwraps his waist. One cannot state that this statue is the original one, because the dedication mentions the image of an Indra Divakara. Besides I ignore which divinity could have been designated under this name, and it may concern a hybrid god with a dual character such as the Surya-Vubayaka of Modern Nepal.

The inscription is engraved on three lines, the last one incomplete the two first have a length of 0,60; the letters have an average height of 0,01. In its whole it closely recalls the inscription No. 2 of Bhagvanlal which dates eleven years later. The paleographical character is exactly the same and does not provoke any remark. It is also a Sanscrit and also disposed in the same manner; on top the date "samvat 402" then the dedication in two clokas; lastly in prose, the indication of the landed property attributed to the donation. The date is expressed in numeral letters. The complementary mention of the month and the day contained in the first verse does not furnish any date that would permit of verification.

The founder of the statue is a trader chief of corporation Guhamitra. The land ceded lies in a locality (pradeca) which bears a purely Nevar name of a fairly uncertain reading. The indication relative to the land, expressed in prose, contrast by their uncouthness and

their incorrection with the pure and flowing style of the verses of the dedication.

Text

1. Samvat 400 2 (11) rajnah cre Manadevasya samyak palayato mahem... etc ... (see page 23, 'Nepal', Vol III, by Sylvain Levi)

Translation to the text

The year 402, (In the days) when king Manadeva justly governs the earth, the fiftieth day of the month asadha, clear fortnight by a desire of doing, good, Guhamitra, chief of a mercantile corporation, has piously erected here, under the name of Indra holy Divakara.

(He has assigned to it for revenue) a field in the locality of Yathagumpadum of (the value of) one hundred (panas) and land measuring a pindaka.

IV. Inscription of the pillar of Harigaon

Harigaon is a village situated at a distance of one league East of Kathmandu. The

site which no local legend consecrates (to my knowledge at least) must have, however, known glorious days at one time. I have gathered there, besides the inscription of the pillar two stelae of king Amcuvarman. The pillar is situated to the east and outside the village, at the foot of the mound that supports Harigaon and which descends in steep slopes. In January and February, I found this pillar surrounded by a pool of water which made the approach to it difficult and which seriously complicated the task of stamping. It was necessary to hold on to the pillar with one hand while the other stretched and beat the paper; a small mound which borders the pool of water, carries a rudimentary chapel wherein lie the truncated debris of ancient sculptures, gathered in neighbouring fields. The priest (pujari) who looks after the chapel knows nothing of their origin real or of their history (debris).

The pillar in its whole is in good state but the inscription has suffered. It occupies no less than 73 lines but the last twenty lines alone

(Foot Note to page 23; 'Nepal', Vol III, by S. Levi)

- L2. The name of the locality is doubtful. The second character of the name may be 'thu' or even 'kha' or 'khu'. The third is certainly a 'g' but from the foot of the stroke there separates an oblique dash at an acute angle too precise to be considered as a break and which gives to the 'g' the value 'gu' in the inscription of Bilsad (key Buhler, Paleogr, table IV; 1. 9, col IV). But at line 3 of our inscription the same dash is combined with the 'u' of 'bh' to mark the lengthening of 'bhumih'
- L3. The Group 'sya' in 'catasya' is dubious. ... The short 'i' final of 'mani' is probably to be corrected in 'i'. ... The word 'ca' is engraved at a distance of 0, 02 from the preceding letter.

For the expression 'pindakamani', key, Bhagv. No 11, of Jisnugupta, 1.18: "acitipindamanikanam bhuh"; and also Bhagv. No 9 also of Jisnugupta, 1.11.12 pindakam upasambhartya" where Bhagvanlal places in note 'pindaka', which is a synonym of the more common 'gras' seems to denote a share of the produce of the field."

are intact. The thirty preceding ones (24-54) are truncated and often at both ends. The rest disappeared to a great extent so that of the first seventeen lines there scarcely remains the final syllables. The writing covers in its whole a height of 1,65 by a width of 0m, 28; the average height of the letters is 0m, 008, and the average space between the lines is 0m, 016.

The characters engraved and traced with care are of the Gupta type. In default of a precise date which the inscription does not provide, the paleographical data supply a substantial clue in the substance of a well-known series. Among the Gupta inscriptions, it is to the oriental type, as was expected, that the characters of the inscription are connected; they are analogous and almost identical to those of the pillar of Kahaum, in the district of Gorakhpur, dated in the reign of Skanda Gupta and in the year 141 (460/1 J. C.). In the Nepalese series, they are ranked with the group of Mana deva (385 local era-497 J. C., id, according to my hypothesis) and of Vasanta deva (433 x local era-456 J. C. id) in contrast with the group of Civadeva (516 and not 316 local era-627 J. C.) of Amcuvarman and of his successors. The most characteristic letter is the 'ha' frequent in our inscription (1.3.24.26, 29,33 etc) and which is always open towards the left of the scribe, whereas beginning from Civadeva it turns over on its axis and regularly presents its opening on the right. In the la (1, 57,61, etc), the lower curve is directly connected to the vertical stroke whereas beginning from Amcuvarman this curve is directly connected to the stroke by a dash forming a right or an acute angle with it. The ya bears on an almost horizontal base and forms on the left a curve entirely closed whereas in the inscriptions of Civadeva, the base separates in two parts one rounded the other straight, at the foot of the middle dash and beginning from

Amcuvarman it rounds off in two curves of different levels. The 'tha' the 'dha' trace exact ovals, whereas beginning from Civadeva the line on the right rises vertically and these two letters take thus a more and more angular aspect. The gha (1.72) has a clearly angular outline, instead of the rounded form that it presents with Civadeva (inscr. of Dharampur, last line). The va has again the three sides curved and especially the dash on the reign of Civadeva. Our inscription then certainly belongs to the VIth century of the Christian era.

It is entirely drawn up in Sanscrit and with the exception of the last line which forms a colophon in verse. It contains thirty four stanzas in varied metres which attest a real freedom. The first six (1-6) by judging from the final syllables, alone preserved are epic clokas; then thirteen in upujati (7-20), one in rucira (21); two in cikharini (22-23); two in prabarsani (24-25) one in manjubhasini (26); two in malini (27-28) two in sragdhara (29-30); another in rucira (31); three others in malini (32-34). The style marks the stamp of the proper epoch. The inscription embellishes our lexicon with a few new words of a faultless formation: (dus) pratipadam, 1.39; upanibudha, in the meaning of 'verbal composition' (ib); prapata (49); tryatmana (56); niramhasam duritabhidam tamomusam (63) aparajssa (66); ksayina (65) ksayakena (67); samvivek (69). The aorist asrksat (37) is irregular without being completely wrong. The writing is in its whole very correct. I can scarcely note anything save the omission of the 'd' redoubled in sanksmiyadurbodham (57) for sanksmiyadur and bhavan (54) for bhavan. It is proper also to remark that the mute is regularly redoubled after an 'r' as it is the regular usage with the Licchavis until the accession of Amcuvarman.

After the thirty-four stanzas, a colophon in prose of one line only designates the inscription as a hymn (statra) in honour of the blessed Dvaipayana. Dvaipayana is one of the names given to the author of the Maha Bharata. The Maha-Bharata which mentions it several times gives the etymological explanation:

evam Dvaipayano Satyavatym Paracara
myasto dvipe sa yad batas tasmad
Dvaipayanaḥ”
smrtah (1,2415).

“Thus it is that Dvaipayana was born from Satyavati united with Paracara. As he was of young age, placed on an island (dvipa) they called him for that reason the Child-of the Island (Dvaipayana). “The complete name is Krsna Dvaipayana with the surname of Vyasa “the diasceust”:

“Vivyasa vedan yasmat sa tasmad vyasa iti smrtah (1,2417). “Because he has compiled the vedas he is called vyasa”. The Maha Bharata seems to employ these names indifferently; yet in course of the narration (because the poet is at the same time one of the actors of the epopee), the appellation “Vyasa” seems to be the most commonly employed. As an author of the poem the personage receives rather the designation of Krsna-Dvaipayana example:

Krsna Dvaipayavaprokah supunya
vididhah kathah (1.10)
... .. anukramah
punyakhyanasya vaktavyah Krsna
Dvaipayaneritah (1,2294)
Krsna Dvaipayanenedam krtam punyam
cikirsuna (1,2309).
Krsna Dvaipayano munih
nityotthitah cucih cakto Maha Bharata-
tam aditah (1,2322)

The two names thus compared take a kind of organic unit in which the first term losses so to speak, faculty of

independent flexion. The name of Krsna is very rarely employed singly to designate the poet, so as to avoid undoubtedly too easy a confusion with the God Krsna. I have met it for my part, 1, 57:

anujato 'the Krsnas tu Brahmana...

in the final eulogy of the poem XVIII,183:

Krsnena munina vipra nirmitam salya-
vadina.

(I also recall the designation of Karsna Veda given to the Maha-Bharata, 1, 268-2299).

The name of Dvaipayana on the contrary is frequently employed alone, p. ex. 1, 2105, 2405, 2415, 2443, 3802 (passage in prose), 4235 etc. I shall only mention here those passage in which Dvaipayana designates the author of the epopee;

Dvaipayanena yat proktam puranam
paramarsina (1.17)
tad akhyanam varistham sa krtva Dvai-
payanaḥ prabhuh (1,55).
Dvaipayanosthaputanihrtam amrtam
aprameyam (XVIII, 211).

And it is also under this name alone that the Nepalese poet glorifies the precentor of the Pandavas. It is not without interest to note from the point of view of literary history, that all the passages of the Tantra-varttika of Kumarila cited by Buhler (in his essential account on the history of the Mahabharata, Vienna, 1892) designate the author of the Maha Bharata in the name of Dvaipayana singly:

Valmiki Dvaipayana-prabhrtibhih
Yatha Maha Bharatanirvacananvakya-
ne Dvaipayane
noktam ... (p. 9).

Dvaipayana-deyac cahuh ... (p. 11)
follows a citation of the Maha-Bharata.

‘Yad api Dvaipayanenoktam... (p. 17)
id.

The Passage of a versified commentary that Kumarila mentions does likewise:

Ya capi Panduputranam ekapatnivriddhata
sapi Dvaipayanaenaiva vyutapadya pratipadita... (p. 12)

The particularity is striking more so even than in the two passages in which Kumarila mentions the same personage as the actor of the epic intrigue he designates him under the name of Krsna Dvaipayana (p. 13) and of Vyasa (p. 20). It is difficult to believe in a mere hazard. The author of our inscription has undoubtedly chosen for set purpose as the most appropriate appellation the name of Dvaipayana to celebrate the author of the Maha-Bharata.

The Nepalese poet or at least the client who pays for his service does not address Dvaipayana a disinterested homage. It is a son who desires the success of his father and who asks to this effect the efficacious protection of the epic precentor.

Dvaipayana is not invoked as god; it is more like a saint that he is solicited here. We still ignore we shall always ignore perhaps what kind of help was expected from him what enterprise came to place itself thus under his patronage. But this worship addressed to Dvaipayana towards the VIth century in the bosom of the Himalayas surprises one by its singular character.

The Maha-Bharata itself it is true, defies its own author.

Krsna Dvaipayanam Vyasam Viddhi
Narayanam bhuvik
ko hy anyah purusavyaghra Maha-Bharatakrddhabet
(XII, 13428) adhy. 346.

"Krsna Dvaipayana is know thou Narayana (Visnu) on the earth. Who else in fact, O tiger of men could be the author of the Maha-Bharata?"

The Vishnu Purana, 111, 4, 5 repeats the same verse with a variation of little importance:

ko hy anyah Pundarikaksad Maha-Bharatkrddhabet.

But the apotheosis here seems to be purely literary. Even in the XIth century the Cashmerian Ksemedra who composes an abstract of the Maha Bharata and completes his work by a stanza of eight lines to vyasa "vyassastaka" celebrates his model only as a talented poet. It is in the XIIIth century and with a jaina poet Amara Candra that Vyasa identifies himself with Visnu. Among the luminary stanzas in honour of Krsna Dvaipayana Vyasa that open each section of the Bala-Bharata, several expressly proclaim this identity.

camamrte vicramadhir viveca yah sa
patu Paracara Vighraho Harih (V. 3, 1).
Vaktum jagathanakaranena Vyasibhavan patu sa vo Murarih (VIII, 1)
Paracarah patu sa man tamalacitidyutir
Daityabhido Vatarah (XIII, 1)

Vyasa has become an avatar of Visnu; it is Visnu himself. But this supreme exaltation is the fatal and logical crowning of our Nepalese hymn. Dvaipayana in the eyes of his devotee is not the prince of literature; he is a real prophet who has come to disclose to humanity the essential secrets and show the road to salvation. "Manu, Yama, Brihaspati, Ucanas have given, it is true code of laws (see 23), but Dvaipayana has studied the history of kings to draw examples from it and he has made the (Maha) Bharata as a book for teaching (see 24). He has made and so well the (Maha)

Bharata for the salvation of the world (see 26). How could the Veda have been here below without the (Maha) Bharata which is its principle (see 12) Dvaipayna is the adversary of vice; he has won over false logicians (kutarika, see 14 and 21) who were starving against the three vedas in particular the Buddhists (saugata, see 11 and 21). He has marked out the path of freedom (see 25) by revealing the being in one-self (see 27 and follow), the Atman (see 29)."

The pillar of Harigaon comes thus to confirm by an authentic document and which dates back two centuries earlier than Kumarila the thesis supported with authority by Buhler and taken up again after him by Dahlmann. The Maha Bharata is not an epos it is smrti a didactic treatise of moral illustrated by an epic intrigue guided by its instinct or rather by the virtue of unconscious traditions, the Hindu talent still proclaimed only recently the educative values of the Maha-Bharata. Pratap Chandra Roy that enthusiastic Bengali who consecrated his life in the spreading of the old poem, called with reason his work of propaganda; Datavya-Bharata-Karyalaya; to him as well as to the Nepalese poet to Kumarila to the doctors and the erudites of ancient India, the Maha Bharata was to teach to the Hindus their duties. It was, besides the avowed pretension of the diascevaste who composed these epic thapsodies; testimonies swarm in the whole poem and if I cite a few it is especially to show to what extent our stotra is directly inspired by them.

In book I, I, see 57 sqq, Vyassa makes known to the Brahma god the poem he has just composed; he represents it as the substance of the Vedas of the Itilisas and of the Puranas:

Jaramrtyubhayavyadhibhavaviniccayah

"Old age, death, dangers, illness, existence and

non-existence are clearly defined in it." (key, see 32: camitabhavaḥ bayena...

All the practical sciences are found in it and to crown them:

yac capi sarvagam vastu tac caiva prati-
paditam

"The Universal truth is also explained in it." (key, see 30; sarvagam vyapibhavat caitanyam...) I, 2298;

asminn arthac ca kamac ca nikhileno-
padicyate
itihese mahaopunye buddhic ca para-
naisthiki

"In this legendary of great holiness the interest and the desire are fully taught and also the transcendent reason". I, 2305

dharmacastram idam punyam artha-
castram idam param
moksacastram idam punyam

"Here we find a treatise of the very holy duty; it is here the supreme treatise of the interest; it is a very holy treatise of delivrance." (key, see 24, 25) XVIII, 211:

Dvaipayanosthaputanihsstam amrtam
aprameyam
punyam pavitram atha papahrah civam
ca

"From the books of the Dvaipayana has spurted ambrosia beyond all measure, sanctifying purifying destroyer of sin and kind." (key see 19). XII, 13439:

Dharman manavidhamc caiva ko bru-
yat tam rte vibhom

"The duties of all kinds who could enumerate them saves this master. (key see 27, 29, 30)

On the other hand after the epoch of the pillar of Harigaon the imitation of the same

models and the community of the same sentiments provoke among the poets who celebrate vyasa, striking coincidences with the Nepalese poet. The author of the Vani-samhara exalts in these terms in the prologue of his drama the singer of the Maha-Bharata:

cravananjaliptapeyam viracitavan
bharatkhyam amrtam yah
tam aham aragam atrsnam Krsna
Dvaipayanam vande (see 4)

"The ear becomes hollow like the hand that salutes to drink the ambrosia that he created under the name of (Maha Baharata; he is passionless, without thirst Krsna Dvaipayana. It is him whom I adore. (key, sup. Moh. Bh., XVIII. 211 and inscr. see 17.19 and 31)

Ksemendra speaks thus in the stanza of eight lines to vyasa which I have already mentioned:

(namah).....trailokyatimirocchedadi-
papratimacaksuse (see 3).

"The darkness of the three worlds dissipates by the light of your look" (key see 27 and 32)

(namah)Vyasaya dhamne tapasam
samsaryasaharine (see 8).

"Homage to Vyasa in whom reside the pious mortifications that destroy the torments of transmigration" (key see 34).

Lastly the luminary stanzas of the 43 sargas of the Bala Bharata would furnish they also numerous comparisons if the enumeration did not risk becoming fastidious.

This is the inscription of the pillar of Harigaon directly concerns literary history; it brings it a useful document, and even a fairly precious one. To religious history it sets a problem that it scarcely helps to solve. It attests a worship given to Dvaipayana (Vyasa) since the VIth century, and that nothing atte-

sts elsewhere in Nepal or even in India. I cannot help believing that we have here a monument of the Bhagavata sect. So little known yet in spite of the great role it has played; a great number of kings designate themselves in their inscriptions like the "very holy Bhagavatas" parama Bhagavata (key, p. ex. Fleet Gupta Insc. p. 28 note). The worship of Vyasa is one of the traits that characterize this sect, ksemendra born in a Civaistic family, but converted to the doctrine of the Bhagavatas takes the surname of vyasa dasa "the slave of Vyasa". The especial worship of Narayana is another trait of this sect; the invocation. Narayanam namaskrtya etc which is found on top of each great division of the Maha Bharata suffices in Buhler's judgement (memo-randum cited p 4 and 5) "to demonstrate that the poem is a smrti of the ancient Bhagavatas" because "it is invariably found at the head of the works of the ancient Bhagavata sect" and Vyasa is generally found associated with Narayana' Nara and Sarasvati, in a common homage. Precisely the worship of Narayana is well spread in Nepal; the valley still has four famous Narayanas and one of them at least Changu Narayana is certainly anterior to our inscription because the pillar rises there... .. analogous to the pillar of Harigaon... .. where Manadeva has drawn in samvat 386, his long inscription in verse, worthy to play the counterpoise to ours by its literary worth. We are then authorize to suppose without much fear that our stotra of Dvaipayana offers us an authentic hymn of the Bhagavata worship.

Text

1... .. sa yatatmane

2 dhiyaisa te namah (1)

3... .. pratidehani mr...

4 vikirnnabhanuna (2)

(etc. see pages 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 'Nepal', Vol III, by Sylvain Levi.)

Verse 12. This verse seems although very fragmentary to allude to the passages of the Maha-Bharata that make another Veda of the poem. Key the expression of 'Krsna Veda' cited in the introduction p. and the expression of "Veda... .. Maha Bharata... pancaman" in the Mh. Bh. 1,2418.

Verse 15. The Dict. of Petersburg gives for prati-vid in the simple only Vedic examples. The classical language employs the causative.

Verse 17. The verb ni-hims is missing in the Dict. of Petersburg.

Verse 19. The form vyasrksat is irregular, without being totally correct. It is due to the analogy of forms like adiksat etc. where the roots in final c, t, h substitute the 'k' before the 's' of the aorist. The third person undoubtedly implies the subject 'bhavan' like in the following verse and is equivalent to the second.. I owe M. Kielhorn the reading dharmmam vidhinanvatistha that (h) instead of dharmmam-vididhan atisthi that I had printed in the As. Journal.

Verse 20 The word pratipada is missing in the Dict. of Pet. For upanibandha Bohtlingk has only collected this word in the suppl. 3 of the Abbreviated Dict. and with the meaning of 'vow'. It must evidently be assigned here the meaning of "composition, verbal arrangement" which is found again in a great number of related words. Mr. Thomas has shown me the same use in the title of the Mahayanasamgrahopanibandhana (Roy. Journ. As. soc. 1903, p. 586). I do not exactly know to which root to connect the conditional vy-anaksyat.

Verse 21. The mention of the Saugatas. like in verse 5 shows that at least in the judgment of the Nepalese poet the Maha-Bharata positively fought the Buddhists. It undoubtedly had in view the passages such as XII, 566.

parivrajanti danartham mundah kasayvasanah... .. in which Dahlmann refuses to recognize the disciples of Buddha V. 23 of the four authorities mentioned here, there are positively designated in the Maha-Bharata as authors of castras:

ucana veda yac chastram yac ca veda
Brhaspatih (XIII, 2239).
Manunabhihitam castram (XIII, 2534)

I do not know of any references to a castra of Yama but the Mh. Bh. cites on authority, gathas, under its name:

atra gatha Yamodgitah kirtayanti puravidah (XIII, 2477).

Verse 25. Prapata is missing in the Dict. of Pet. --- M. Kielhorn proposes to correct into prahata:

Verse. 27. The metre and the meaning impose the correction: bhavan... The reading of the abstract that ends the first verse is embarrassing, it seems however, to contain a series of words with a double meaning; dosa 'sin' aca 'hope' and 'horison'.

Verse 28. Tryatamana, if the reading of it is correct, is a new word which seems to signify "he who has for essence the three: Brahma, Visnu, Civa or the trayi". M. Barth suggests to me the correction trayatmanam mantravacam "the triple Veda".

Verse 29. To correct: sauksmyad durbo-dhami; vicuddheh.

Verse 30. The correction sarvvakalapratiche seems to force itself for the meaning; the metre naturally is not affected thereby.

Verse. 31. Niramhas, duritabhid, tamomus, are not given in the Dict. of Pet.

Verse 32 Ksayin, ksayaka, aparajas are missing in the Dict. of Pet... M. Kielhorn shows me with reason that ksayakena would be needed with the nasal lingual.

Verse 33. Samvivekin is missing in the Dict. of Pet.

Verse 34. Nunusad, faulty formation for nunusan.... Instead of para laghvim to read rather parilaghvim I owe these two observations to Mr. Kielhorn.

Translation

(Pages 36-41, 'Nepal', Vol III, by Sylvain Levi).

- 1) with the restrained soul... ..
homage to you.
- 2) . by body...by the spread brilliancy
- 3) ... all in self... .. like - ...
- 4) by the brilliancy... .. beautiful like...
- 5) .. by the path of Saugata... .. by the existences.
- 6)
- 7) without illness.
- 8)awakening they would conquer.
- 9)
- 10)
- 11) deeply engrossed in hereby opposed to the three Vedas. there would not be to-day in the world, if you had not been of Duty.
- 12)the Veda, the words of which were scattered without beginning or end... how could the veda have existed here below if you had not given for start the (Maha) Bharata
- 13) By the purity of proofs knowing the exact reality, you ... the quivering; thus wishing for the good of the world, if he had not spread along... ..
- 14) Leaning only upon the false logicians on the spot ; he has not examined separately the proof, how that ... to stand erect... ?
- 15) also the cause of separation of the vital breaths no contradiction ...you alone know everything precisely in detail and there is no one else but you who knows in the world.
- 16) ... the praise perhaps or as a consequence of the repetition; among the things to praise ... words ...; the praise of virtues according the rule and not as a result of the good character, and not a single repetition in you ...
17. You have slain Vice entirely, but you have not ... the flood of passion, etc ...; having shaken concupiscence ... and sensual, you are pure ...
- 18) If the ... that cannot be distinguished as to the form of the desire had not been unveiled ... Smrtis lack of Srutis the world to-day fatally.
- 19) Shattering into fargments the strayings he has spread the amrta and of himself Duty and that which follows have risen in the world . The ... by you has found solid plate in this world; it is you who have fulfilled Duty according to the rule.
- 20) This thing difficult to understand the paradise etc ... is only a fiction of words; ... exists. (How) could the world have seized it if you had not discovered it here below ?
- 21) (Maltreated) by false thinkers which the embracing of evil contains by false logicians and also by the disciples of the Sugata (Buddha) (the word) finds an asylum in you, his master with the spread voice, like a river in the ocean.
- 22) because he has acquired the exact meaning on hearing your poem, immediately

- inaccessible to man; ... in search for the supreme object, he raises high his error immediately, losing ... of science.
- 23) ... in the treatise of Manu, of Yama of Brihaspati of Ucanas, the regulation of duties...; shaking object by object, skilfully you have ... entirely with the fruit.
- 24) ... in repeating the history of the kings, since the beginning of his study, you proposed yourself to apply it case by case in a poem; and ... by repeating it you have made here below with all your energies, the (Maha) Bharata, etc ... to serve for teaching
- 25) The men tossed on the sea of life the thought dragged by the weight of passions, immersed in mistakes, you ... have indicated to them the path of salvation and you return them in this world, by your counsels of the ...
- 26) you have a clear speech; by the effect of compassion, your intelligence applies itself to the good of others. Once for the salvation of the world, you have had done... and so well ... the (Maha) Bharata, you caused to be seen on the earth the work of your word.
- 27) You know the various laws; you are the judge of the works of speech. The net-work of errors is limitless; therein is really found hope the physical passion and other faults; (but you who ...) the interest of others, you scatter this net-work, like the Sun scatters darkness.
- 28) You know how to employ them each one by his case; you have been the guardian; you have a clear knowledge of it; your discernment is infallible; you have taught them in the world; you have divided them among the lot; one would think that in you was wished to be incarnated the sum total of the triad of sacred words.
- 29) His subtlety makes it hard to comprehend him and yet he envelops the world and judgement does not reach his origin and yet the sages, in leaving their tradition attain his real nature. Science is his form; absolute purity resides in him; he has exhausted without leaving anything behind the links of transmigrations. The Atman cannot be expounded by any other save you.
- 30) Substratum by substratum he is scattered & yet he is not scattered since their real nature is exempt from differentiation; he is overlasting because he is not united with the attributes of substance and yet he is not so through fault of notion of the complete time; since he is not connected either with the destruction or production of the world he is lasting; and yet he is everywhere, by the virtue of his extension. He is intellect and yet he is found in the category of form. Who else in the world save you, could expound (this).
- 31) Freed from sin killer of evil discriminator ravishes of darkness, annihilator of existence master of speech excellent mind heart free from attachments the word that I expound follows (you) respectfully unceasingly.
- 32) You have crushed the fear of regeneration (or-of beings); you have destroyed the mass of ignorance; you have been to the end of what can be learnt. You have side-tracked dust and thanks to you the whole world shines far like the sky shines thanks to the destroyer of darkneses.
- 33) The modalities of the being in yourself you have known how to distinguish them you

have thus broken the births (successive); You have the complete discernment of those words that have an ambiguous meaning. A compact cloud rises and spreads everywhere blindness; but you dissipate it. The fall of the world is not an impediment to you; you shine like the Moon in space.

- 34) And I have also wished to honour you, you who have broken the chains of transmigration who have emerged from the darkness who have nothing dusty, very venerable primitive. As well As I can I promote my very feeble voice, Thus then dispose the prosperities in favour of my father here below. The hymn of the blessed Dvaipayana has been composed without a stop.*

V. Inscription of Timi

This short of fargment comes from Timi, between Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. I have related elsewhere (11, p. 376) the circumstances under which I found it. There only exists a narrow land of the lower part of the stela. The few characters preserved are of a remarkable clearness. The characters have an average height of 0m, 01 above the line; the average space of the lines is 0m, 02.

The text is a royal edict as it appears from the last line; but the object in it cannot be precised. The date to judge by the large and simple tracing of the letters would seem to go back to the epoch of Vasantadeva. The question would be about determined if the inscription offered us an entirely clear case of the group r silent (of letters) since the redoubling of the silent regular before Amcuvarman ceases with him. But at the third line the stone being chipped the reading his dubious above the rva; the first syllable of the fourth is light

and soft and on the fifth line the character that follows sa is damaged; one hesitates between rvai and ca ? what there remains of the name of dutaka in the last line suggest no hypothesis.

Text

1. Yana
2. m. acesanai
3. Guror V (v) asudevasya
4. rtthe bhuyad ity asma(bh)i
5. nanusmaranam i
6. dbhii sa ca rangasamamsa(m)e
7. s tavad akrastavyo yam
8. vasau na sampannatika
9. tik ... dhanyamani

(Several lines are missing)

10. dbhir api

11. (sva) yam ajna du (takac ca) t (ra) devapa

VI. Inscription of Kisipidi

Samvat 449

Kisipidi is a small hamlet situated in the neighbourhood of Thankot to the west of the valley (v. 11, 392). The stela, partly imbedded in the ground, is entirely worn away on the top; the six inferior lines, protected by the soil against the inclemencies are alone legible and even in a fairly good state of preservation. The width is 0,35; the characters have a height between the lines of about 0,013, the space between two lines is about 0,04. The letters are large deeply engraved identical to inscription 3 of Bhagyanlal dated, in Samvat 435, to which this one is posterior by eleven years; the same dutaka figures on either side with the same titles: sarvadanda, nayaka mahapratihara, Ravi-

* Mr. Thomas thinks that anuparamena designates the author of the inscription and that is proper to translate "... has been made by Anuparamam".

gupta. The title of mahapratihara, 'grand usher' is common in the epigraphy of India; that of sarvadandanayaka 'generalissimo' is a variety so far purely Nepalese of a title in usage all over India: dandanayaka. It is not without interest to observe here that towards the very epoch of our inscription one of the first kings of the Valabhi dynasty Dhruvasena I adds to his title of maharaja those of mahapratihara and mahadandanayaka (in 526 J. C.). Thus these title fairly naturally accumulated and numbered among the highest of the Imperial heirarchy.

The capital interest of this inscription mutilated as it is, lies in its date. The donation is made in the course of a month doubled by intercalation "in samvat 449 the first asadha the clear fortnight the 10th." The mention of an intercalary month is a stroke of good luck to the chronologists; the intercalation is regulated by considerations of theoretical astronomy which is easy enough to calculate. A lunar month in the course of which the Sun does not change its sign (in the Zodiac) is redoubled the motive is clear. The application admits of fairly serious divergencies; 1st the calculation can be based either on the average motion; 2nd the intercalated month can either receive by anticipation the name of the month normally awaited but delayed by exception or repeat the name of the month in the course of which it happens thus according to the system in use the supplementary month tacked on in the course of the month of Jyaistha can be called either asadha I or Jyaistha II. Luckily these difficulties are partly removed in the case of ancient Nepal. The mention of a pausa I (prathama pausa) in an inscription of Amcuvarman year 34 suffices to establish that the Nepalese astronomers calculated the intercalations on the average motion; because in the system of the apparent motion pausa is never intercalary, Elsewhere

the designation applied in this same case to the supplementary month shows well that the intercalation receives the name of the month normally awaited and not of the current month. Then the month mentioned here must happen in a year in which according to a calculation based on the average motion of the Sun and the Moon there must have lapsed after normal month of Jyaistha a lunar month begun when the Sun had already passed in the sign of Mithuna and ended before the Sun had entered in the sign of Karka. The phenomenon irregularly takes place in each century. From 400 to 499 J. C. four times; from 500 to 599 J. C. three times; from 600 to 699 J. C. once; from 700 to 799 J. C. four times. If the year 386 samvat of Manadeva really corresponded, as M. Fleet wished it to 628 current caka the year 449 should necessarily correspond to $628 + 63 = 691$ current caka (=768-769 J. C.); now no method gives any supplementary asadha to this date. The combination proposed by the learned epigraphist is then to be entirely rejected.

On the other hand, I have for a long time shown that the year 34 of Amcuvarman with its intercalary pausa should correspond to 629-630 J. C. (Asiatic Journal, 1894), II, 55 sq). Amcuvarman is at first the minister then the successor of Civadeva whose inscriptions are still found beyond 520 samvat. The date of 449 samvat is anterior to this term by about 70 years; it must then fall towards the middle of the VIth century of J. C. the system of the average motion only gives three intercalations of asadha; in 482 current caka (559-60 J. C.), in 620 current caka (597-8 J. C.). My personal results concord for that century with the Tables of Sewell and Dikshit. The last two results are to be side tracked since they would throw the end of the reign of Civadeva right under the successors of Amcuvarman (578-70=648 J. C.) 597-70=667 J. C.). The first alone is to be

considered because it takes in Civadeva, Samvat 520 to the very epoch of Amcuvarman (559+71=630 J. C.) and that the two reigns must precisely coincide in part. The date of the pillar of Changu Narayan gives us another means of control. How we have seen that in taking for starting point the equivalence Samvat 449=483 current caka the details of the inscribed date on the pillar verify themselves completely for 386 Samvat=419 current caka. We thus obtain for the starting point of the Licchavis era 419-386=33 current caka=110 J. C... I ignore to which event this era can be related to if in the neighbourhood of the caka era. The number of reigns lapsed, which is 19 from the origin of the Licchavis to the accession of Manadeva (according to the unanimous agreement of the traditions, key, 11, 91 sq) is surely very small to cover up a stretch of four centuries. Perhaps the Licchavis had brought their own era from the Indian cradle perhaps they perpetuated a local era of Nepal that dated back to the expulsion of the Kiratas.

Text

The entire top of the inscription is missing

1. yuyam adyagrena ce
2. mu(c)itakaram dadantah sarv-
krtyesv ajnavidheya
3. manaso loke sukham prativa...
4. dutakac catra sarvvadandanyakama-
hapratihara... ..
5. Ravigupta iti samvat 400 40 9 prathamasa
(dha)
6. cukladacamyam

Translation

- (1-3) You to-day paying the usual tax
... docile to all the orders of duties... .. the
mind ... in the world You will live happily.

(4-6) And the delegate is here the generalissimo, grand-usher, Ravigupta, Samvat 449, first asadha, clear fortnight, the 10th.

VII. Inscription of Ganadeva at Kisipidi

year 4

The stela that bears this inscription is found in the immediate neighbourhood of the stela dated 449 at Kisipidi. It is adorned with a fronton much analogous to that of the stela of Vasantadeva year 435 (Bhag. No. 3) and entirely identical to that of the stela of Tsapaligaon year 489; a cakra (rim, spokes nave) is represented three fourths in an oblong sketch (outline) and two shells (cankha); he arranged one to the right and the other to the left. The inscription strictly speaking covers a height of 0m, 50 and a width of 0m, 011 the space between the lines is 0m, 02. The left part of the stone is in good state; the half of the left is completely worn away.

The style of writing is exactly that of Vasantasena; the outline of the letters is large, clear elegantly rounded; the angle had not yet taken the place of the curve; as an instance the twist of 'na' the oval of the 'tha' etc. The 'ha' continues to present the opening of its concavity on the left of the scribe. The redoubling of the silent after 'r' is constant. The execution is remarkable in the last line the final aksara of the word 'cravana' omitted at first by the engraver has been added below the line.

The object of the chart is a favour granted to the villagers of 'Kicapricin'; it is manifestly the ancient form of the name pronounced to-day Kisipidi (as I gathered it orally; I ignore the style of writing in usage), persistence of the ancient names of Nepal is thus found

attested by a new example. The nature of the favour conceded remains enigmatic; it seems that the king is satisfied by renewing a privilege granted by his predecessors.

The name of the king is Ganadeva. This name is missing in all the lists. I have already had the occasion of proposing an explanation on this matter (11.121). Of the date there only remains the figure of the hundreds clearly recognizable on the stamping and on the photograph that I took directly of the stone; the signs of the tens and units placed at the extremity of the line have completely disappeared. The inscription belongs then with certainty, to the Vth century of the Nepalese era. I have just mentioned the close resemblance of its style of writing to that of Vasantadeva who reigns in the second quarter of the Vth Nepalese century. The same relation is shown in the protocol employed on either side Ganadeva, like Vasantadeva, reside in the palace of Managrha; he bears the fairly modest title of (bhataraka) 'maharaja' he employs prasadagupta as royal delegate, like Vasantadeva employs Ravigupta his favourite undoubtedly his prime minister on whose report he acts exercises the cumulated functions of 'sarvadanayanaka' and of mahapratihara, as does Ravigupta under Vasantadeva. Lastly the name of the royal delegate is accompanied with a mention which is found again with Vasantadeva and is only found again with him ... 'te vyavaharatiti, "he exercises at ..."

On either side are also found fragments of an analogous wording which epigraphical comparisons allow to complete:

"... ..tya yuyam adyagrana ce(sa)samucitakaram dadantah sarvvakrtyesv ajnavidheya ... manaso loke sukham prativa" ... (Kislpidi, year 449)

... -- tad yuyam cravanavidheyas tathaiva ... sukham prativa(tsy)tha. (Ganadeva, I, 10-11)

This wording has not succeeded in Nepal; it is always replaced later by a wording of a more imperious character and more threatening. In India on the contrary, different wording are found. In the VIIIth century, Tivara deva of Kosala (Gupta inscrip., p. 294, 1.25 writes:

"iti avagamyā bhavabhir yathocitam asmai bhogabbagam upanayadbhīh sukham prativastavyam iti".

Maha Sudevaraja (in., 197.1,13), Maha Jayaraja (p. 193,1,11):

"te yuyam evam upalabhyasyajnacranavidheya bhutva yathocitam bhogabhamgam upanayantah sukham prativatsyatha".

Bhojadeva, in the year 100 of the Harsa samvat (Ex Ind., V, 212, 1,15):

'prativasibhir apy ajnacranavidheyair bhutva sarvvaya esam samupaneyah"

Harsa vardhana (ciladitya) Ep. Ind. VIII, 157, 1.15):

"prativasijanapadair apy ajnacranavidheyair bhutva yathasamucitatulyameyabhagabhogakarahiranyadipratyah anayor evopaneyyah".

Jayanatha and Carvanatha whose protocol reminds one so often that of Nepal in the series of their inscriptions spread between 177 and 214 Gupta (Gupta Insc., 118-136, with a few variations):

"te yuyam evopalabhyajnacranavidheya bhutva samucitabgabhogakarahiranyadipratyayan upanesyatha".

Lastly the maharaja Laksmāna in his chart of 158 Samvat, so similar to the Nepalese formulary (Ep. Ind., 11,364,1 6):

"tad yusmabhir asyajnacraavanavidheyair
bbhavitavyam samucitac ca pratyayah meyahi-
ranyadayo deyah".

The chancery of Nepal is then in the days of Vasantadeva and Ganadeva, under the influence of a Hindu chancery that soon after, ceases to exercise its function. Another word of Ganadeva's chart furnishes an analogous indication. The despatch addressed to the interested parties does not end with the usual word: Samajnapayati, but (after a mutilated phrase) by 'manayati' which corresponds fairly well to our expression: have the honour of which reveals more courteous or more timid authority. I doubt again the same expression in the wording of the despatch of a chart dated in the year 300 Gupta, in the reign of Cacanaka raja and come out of a chancery in the neighbourhood of the south of the mouths of the Ganges (ep. Ind., VI, 144,1.20):

grame vartamanabhavisyatikumaramtyop-
arikatadayuktakananyamc ca yatharham puja-
yati manayati ca viditam astu....

Text

1. (Svasti) Managrhad bappapdanuddhyata...
2. maharajacri Ganadevah kucali.....

(etc. see pages 55 and 56, 'Nepal', Vol III,
by Sylvain Levi)

Translation

(1-5) Wishings or greetings of Managrha. His father follows him in thought; the (sovereign) the great king Ganadeva in good health has the honour of (addressing) in following (the order) by beginning with ...; to all the masters of households in the village of Kicapricin.

(5-9) The kings before me had saying; neither nor should not enter there. And (on the report) of the generalissimo grand-usher ... the province... -

(10-15) Here is the favour I grant you and you then... .. docile in hearing my orders and also ... you will remain to live there happily. And those who respectful of the law respecting they will maintain my formulary.

The royal delegate is here Prasada-
gupta; he exercises a... ..

(15-16) Year 4... .., cravana, clear fortnight,
the 1st.

(To be Continued)