

NEPAL

(Continued)

Sylvain Lévi.

The inscription of Pashupati is no more from here of any positive help. After Vasantadeva, it jumps by the intermediary of Udayadeva right up to Narendradeva, father of King Shivadeva who reigns a century after Amsuvarman and grand-father of King Javadeva, author of this inscription dated from 153 a century and a half after Amsuvarman. The portion of the verse which expressed the filiation of Narendradeva opens (or begins) with a mysterious expression and is continued by an omission. The only positive fact is that from Vasantadeva to Narendradeva, the sceptre has been handed down in a broken line and that the legitimate dynasty has undergone an eclipse during an interval, not determined. The words *asyantare* which serve to connect Narendradeva to Vasantadeva, betray by their difficulties, the constraints of the official panegyrist; one can attempt to interpret them by *asya (vamcasya) antare* 'in an interval of his race', or in a disappearance of this race or even 'in another branch of this race'; and in other ways again because each one of these two names is susceptible to translations infinitely varied. The ac-

cession of Amsuvarman, founder of the Thakuri dynasty is an authentic and unquestionable fact; but the fall of the Licchavis seems to be the result of a crisis which has become complicated with other accidents; the Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick which gives Amsuvarman as the successor direct and legitimate of Shivadeva retains the memory of an Abhiva conquest during the reign of Bhimadevavarman, the pastoral dynasty which was credited as being one of the most ancient dynasties of the kingdom would have tempted a restoration; three Abhiras sovereigns would have exercised the power during 175 years; but the predecessor of Amsuvarman, Shivadeva, brings back the Solar dynasty to the throne.

It is already on a prince of the same name (26) Shivadeva that I have separated myself from the dynastic lists, immediately after the reign of Gunakamadeva (25). This first Shivadeva is in three of the Vamsavalis (W.V.B.) an important personage hero of numerous legends and consecrated by a multitude of pious works. His successors: Narendradeva (27), Bhimadeva (28), Vish-

nudeva (29), are only known by name: Vicva Gupta deva or Vicvadeva (30), who follows them is associated like Shivadeva to religious memories. The Shivadeva of the inscriptions, authentic predecessor of Amsuvarman is the author of numerous donations and foundations; not a single king is represented in Nepalese epigraphy by a greater number of documents. Perhaps the two Shivadevas of Kivpatrick's list (26 and 32) the Shivadeva (26) and the Vicvadeva (30) of the other Vamsavalis must reduce themselves to a single personage, identical to the Shivadeva of the inscriptions. Narendradeva and Bhimadeva would then play the parts of Louis XVII and Napoleon II, they would be the essential intermediaries in order to guarantee the legitimate transmission of the power, right through revolutions and dynastic crises from the Licchavi predecessors of Amsuvarman, to the official successors of this prince.

With Shivadeva, the dynasty is displaced; it abandons its ancient residence of Banecvara where it had maintained itself since the accession of its founder Bhumivarman and it removes itself to Deva Pattana (Deo Patan), the town adjoining the temple of Pashupati, founded in the days of Ashoka embellished and enriched by Bhaskaravarman, successor of the ancient Pasupreksadeva. Shivadeva erects thither a palace with nine stories; he founds thither a gate, two wells, three fountains, four images of Nrtya Natya, five platforms for dancing, six blocks (of stone), seven Ishwaries, eight Agamas, nine Geneschas; then by reason of the circular

shape of the town he gives it the name of Gola, 'the ball'. He also founds Nava-tola, established thither four Ganesh, four Bhairavas, four Nrtya Natyas, four Mahadevas, four Kumaries, four Buddhas, four Khambas, four Gagancaris and four quadrants with images of Bhuddha. He is also the founder of Mahagara and other localities again. Religion especially interests him, he institutes and regulates untiringly. He instals at the sides of Pashupati Nrtya Natya of Mount Cataruda and Kamecvara Bhimasena; he erects a Vacana Vinayaka. He recognizes Vatsala Devi as the principal divinity of Nepal accords him a human sacrifice yearly creates or institutes a procession of the chariot in his honour. He restores the religion of Bhuvaneshwari, of Jayabagishwari and of Rajeshwari etc. He decides that the Vajrayogini (of Sanku) will be re-painted every twelve years only. Humbly attached to a yogi whom he holds as an incarnation of the irascible Durvasas and whom he adopts as a guru, he abdicates, leaves the throne to his brother Narendradeva and goes to live as a humble disciple near the yogi. The yogi once dead; he attaches himself to a bhiksus who he takes for guru, enters the Buddhist orders, constructs a convent wherein he retires; but at the end of four days of monastic life, he recognizes that he was mistaken on his vocation; asks to return to the world; takes out the yellow garment of the Bhiksus; receives the sacrament of Acarya and builds in the neighbourhood of the first convent, another convent where he goes and lives at home; it is the convent known today under the name of Onkuli Bihar in Patan. One day whilst

he gave himself up to meditation, his skull burst and whilst the soul escaped through there shot out a mysterious jewel enigmatic in form and size.

Punyadeva, a son of Shivadeva, when he had already become Vajracharya, accomplished the funeral rites and Narendra-deva continues to occupy the throne which lets out to his son, Bhimdeva. Vishnudeva reigns next then Vishwadeva or Vicva gupta deva. This king wishes to suppress the human sacrifices which was offered to Vatsala but a divine manifestation dissuades him from his intention. He is instrumental in the working out of a large statue of Vishnu, in stone on the Northern side of the Bagmati and Bishnumati (This is the Vishnu natha founded, according to Kirkpatrick by Vishnu Gupta the Abhira); he also erects, in order to win the favour of Jayavagishwari, a statue of the Navadurgas and Kumaries. Having no son, he gives his daughter in marriage to a Thakuri Vaicya of pure caste, named Amsuvarman who inherits the throne. But, before Amsuvarman takes over the power, Vikramaditya of Ujjayini arrives in Nepal to impose on this kingdom the era which he has just founded thanks to the fabulous riches which enabled him to liquidate everywhere, all the debts; it is at this price that a monarch can and must found an era; he further institutes at the village of Harisiddhi, a dramatic representation which Hindustan allows at last, Amsuvarman to reign over the country.

Three inscriptions expressly bear the name of King Shivadeva as their author;

one of these was found by Bhagbanlal at Buddha-Nil-Kantha (Jalacayana), is undated; another was discovered by N. Bendall of Bhatgaon in the Golmadhi-tol is dated from 516 or 518 (and not 316 or 318); the last one which I found myself at Bhatgaon in the Tulacchi-tol allows only in the clear reading of its date the figure of the hundreds 5 followed probably with the sign of the first ten. The first one the inscription of Buddha-Nil-Kantha is truncated; there only exists of it the formulary of introduction, but this fragment suffices to observe the identity of the protocol in out of three texts. Shivadeva resides in the palace of Managriha, he has not changed the 'darbar' whatever the Vamsavalis might say he is the 'banner of the Licchavis race'; the regular successor of his father (Bappa Badanudhyata) who continues to follow him with his thought. Like his ancestors the Licchavis, like Vasantadeva or Ganadeva, he is satisfied with the title Bhattaraka-Maharaja which seems very domest in comparison to the royal titles customary in the VIIth century, but which tradition consecrated as the expression of the antiquity of the dynasty. The inscription of Buddha-Nil-Kantha declares that Shivadeva is 'learned, versed in politics, well brought up, heroic, constant and that here only began his merits where there is nothing wanting'. The two charts of Bhatgaon even renounce at this attempt at renumeration. 'Numerous the sum total of his virtues develop his glory.' Both the description testify to the persistency of the customs of the chancery. They take up each separately the elements of the formula employed a century earlier by Vasantadeva; 'learned,

well versed in politics, sympathetic, liberal, courteous, pious, majestic, he expanded the purity of his glory. After this preliminary the king addressed himself directly to those concerned, he informs them of his health, greets them good-morning and communicates to them his decision; but he takes care each time to carry back the initiative and as a consequence against it to his counsellor the 'great marquis' (Maha-samanta) Amsuvarman; by an unexpected reversing of situations, the vassal is more pompously praised than the sovereign; 'the great marquis Amsuvarman has an illustrious renown which is also immaculate and well spread, his active valiance has reduced to a state of calmness the power of numerous rivals' (Bhatgaon); or again 'the multitude of great battles which he has won, earns his heroism a lustre which crushed the might of all his adversaries; the pains he takes too carefully, watch over the people has earned him a splendid glory which fills up the disc of the earth' (Buddha-Nil-Kantha); on his request (Vihnapitena), the king as a mark of consideration to him and compassion for those concerned confers privileges of some classical nature; the officers of the crown are only authorised to enter on the state territory, to collect the three contributions; they are forbidden to enter, thither, either to hand over written notes (summons to appear, notice for settlement of outstanding) or on the occasion of the five crimes usually reserved to royal jurisdiction. The favoured localities clearly bear barbarous names, otherwise said Nevars. Khrpun (Bhatgaon), Mahostanstsara (ib., Golmadhi-tol). The same delegate (dutaka) is

entrusted with the surveillance of the execution of the two charts of Bhatgaon; he is Bhogavarma-Gomin.

Two other inscriptions, badly mutilated, must also be related to Shivadeva by virtue of their date of their writing and by their formulation; they are located in two neighbouring localities, of Dharampur and at Thoka, in the North of Kathmandu and in the North West of Buddha-Nil-Kanth. The stele of Dharampur is dated from 520 the end of its alone is decipherable; it stated a double privilege conceded by the king. But there is a want of detail; the fragments mention a Lalla-kara who appears again in an inscription of Jisnu Gupta and indicate the use of the 'pana' of copper as the monetary unit. The stele of Thoka is dated from 519; it is a chart of donation which determines with its usual minuteness, the boundaries of the given land. The dutaka of Dharampur is Bhogavarma Gomin; that of Thoka, Vartta-Bhogacandra.

Thus, three times out of four, it is the same personage, Bhogavarma-Gomin who is delegated as the representative of the royal power. The other delegate, Bhogacandra, bears a name closely resembling the first one, equally formed by the word 'bhoga' in a combination. Well, names of this type are far from being ordinary; the Corpus does not mention for the period of the Guptas, any example outside Nepal; the lists of M. Kielhom which includes almost the whole of the history of the middle-ages and modern times in India, adds in it one example only Bhogabhata. But in Nepal, besi-

des Bhogavarman and Bhogacandra, the dutakas of king Shivadeva the inscriptions mention Bhogadevi, sister of this Amsuvarman, who was the counsellor of Shivadeva before usurping his throne. Bhogadevi has a son nephew of Amsuvarman and who is called Bhogavarman. A century after Amsuvarman, a new Shivadeva, king of Nepal, marries a princess born in the race of the Maukharis in the family of the Varmans—daughter of a Bhogavarman who had espoused the daughter of a powerful king, Adityasena of Maghadha. The race of Maukharis was equal to that the Licchavis by its ancientness and surpassed it in purity in the VIIth century, a contemporary of Amsuvarman, Bana in his romanesque history of the Emperor Harsa, did not hesitate to declare that 'equal to the footprints of Mahecvāra, the race of the Maukharis is on the summit of the earth's supports (kings or mountains) and whom the whole world religiously worship. The very sister of Emperor Harsa, Rajyasri had espoused a prince Maukhari Grahavarman. The names of Bhogavarman (Gomin), Bhogacandra, Bhogadevi compared with the names Bhogavarman the Maukhari, seem to denote the Maukhari consented in giving his daughter in marriage to a descendant of Amsuvarman (Shivadeva), a Licchavi of Nepal, should for better reasons accept willingly for son-in-law, Amsuvarman himself. In fact of alliances, the Licchavis of the mountains could not have been more exacting than the Maukharis of Hindusthan.

Bhogavarman, 'Dutaka' of the chart of the Golmadhi-tol, is undoubtedly identical to the nephew of Amsuvarman who bears the same name. The chart, dates of Samvat 518 is only five years anterior to the chart

of Amsuvarman (Samvat 39), wherein Bhogadevi, sister of Amsuvarman is designated as the mother who gave birth to the noble (sri) Bhoghavarman; this designation seems to point out that Bhoghavarman held a high position. Bhoghavarman-Gomin is certainly the same personage as Bhoghavarman. 'Gomin', in fact, is only a title tacked on to the name. The lexicons give us no help to exactly find the worth but they are at least agreed upon with the other documents to give it a significant essential Buddhistic. The Gomin is an 'Upasaka'; a faithful layman who takes the vow to observe the five essential abstinences and to come to the help of religious men.¹ But all the Upasakas are not Gomin. The most famous of Gomin Candra and the grammarian and theologian was simply called Candra and the grammatical system of which in the creator has remained known under the name of the grammar of Candra 'Candra Vyakarna'; he was originally an Upasaka, but he became Upasaka-Gomin on the express indication of Avalokiteshwara, when the goddess Tara had by a miracle carried him to island in the ocean which was still barren, but which soon peopled itself thanks to him 'Ever since then Candra received the name of Candra Gomin.'² The Tibetan historian of Indian Buddhism still names Ist Kamala Gomin, another devotee of Avalokiteshwara who had cognizance of the Tripitaka, Upasaka, servant of those religious men who lived in the contemplation of Mahayana.³ This Kamala Gomin was a contemporary of Dharmakirti who lived in the reign of king Srong-Stdan Sgam-po, the very son-in-law of Amsuvarman. 2nd Mudgara (the name is doubtful) Gomin author of a famous hymn but especially known for having enlarged the monastery

of Nalanda; he was a Brahman by origin, but who observed 'the vows of Bhadanta of an Upasaka'⁴ 3rd Kumarananda an Upasaka-Gomin of the countries of the south who instructed 5000 Upasakas and made them understand the Prajnaparamita whilst another Upasaka Maitikumara engaged in domestic life, popularized the Dhyana of the Mahayana.⁵ The Singalese literature numbers among its illustrations a Gomin, Gurulu Gomin author of the Amavatura and of the Dharmapradipikava, which tradition classify in the reign of Aggabodhi 1st at the close of the VIth century (564-598).⁶

The name only has survived of Indra Gomin, the grammarian.⁷ The Tibetans regularly translate Gomin by *btsun-pa*, which signifies respectable, noble venerable faithful in the observance of religious duties. The Mahavyutpatti, which mentions the name of Candra Gomin in the five canonical language (177) bases all its translations on the Tibetan interpretation, for example, in Chinese, 'miaoyne, perfect Moon'. This interpretation bases itself on the testimony of Candra Gomin himself who in his grammar (IV, 2, 144) explains Gomin by *pujya* 'honourable'.

The vartta Bhogacandra, the other delegate of Shivadeva, bears the title of vartta; the term vartta is regular derivative of the word 'vrtti' subsistence. The vartta would correspond exactly, as regards the form and actual worth with the varttiyas modern Nepal; the Varttiyas are the vassals who have received in perpetual donation a fief free of charges but without any right of jurisdiction.⁸

The kings of Thakuri dynasty W.V.B. of Nepal are shown below:

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|-----|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | Amsuvarman | 68 years. B.V.W. |
| | Unghoo Burmah | 42 years. |
| 2. | Krtavarman | 87 years. B.V.(W.) |
| | Kirto Burmah | 18 years. K. |
| 3. | Bhimarjuna | 93 years. |
| | Bheem Arjoon Deo | 39 years K. |
| 4. | Nanda deva | 25 years. B. |
| | Nund Deo | 95 years. V. (W.) |
| | | 13 years. K. |
| 5. | Vira deva | 95 years. B.V. (W.) |
| | (5) Seo Deo | 16 years K. |
| 6. | Gamdraketu deva | |
| | B.W. | |
| 7. | Narendra deva | 98 years. V. |
| | " | 7 years. W.B. |
| | (6) Nurrender deo | 37 years. K. |
| 8. | Vara deva | 8 years. W.B. |
| | Vala deva | 23 years V. |
| | (7) Bul Deo | 17 years K. |
| 9. | Cankara deva | 12 years. B.V.W. |
| | (8) Sunker Deo | 12 years K. |
| 10. | Varjganaba deva | 13 years. B.V.S. |
| | (9) Bhem Arjoon | |
| | Deo (the 2nd) | 16 years K. |
| 11. | Bali deva | 13 years W.B. |
| | " | 12 years. V. |
| | (11) Srec Bull Deo | 16 years. K. |
| 12. | Jaya deva | 15 years. B.V.W. |
| | (10) Jye Deo | 19 years K. |
| | (12) Condur Deo | 7 years K. |
| | (13) Jye Deo | |
| | (the 2nd) | 42 years. 7 m.K. |
| | (14) Bul deo | |
| | (the 3rd) | 11 years. K. |

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| 13. Balarjuna deva | 17 years. B.W.V. | (3) Bul deo K. | 12 years. V. Bd. |
| 15. Ballunjoon Deo | 36 years. 7m. K. | 3. Padma deva | |
| Ragheeb Deo | 63 years K. | W.B.V. | 11 years. |
| (16) Raghava | | Puddiem Deo K. | 6 years. |
| deva | 46 years 3 m. Bd. | (4) Pradyaumnakama deva Bd | |
| Jaya deva | 10 years Bd. | 4. Nagarjuna deva | |
| (17) seeker Deo | 88 years 6 m.K. | W.B.V. | 3 years V. |
| (18) Soho Deo | 33 years 9m. K. | | 2 years Bd. |
| 14. Vikrama deva | 12 years. B.V.W. | (5) Naug Arjoon K | 3 years. |
| | 8 year 9 m. Bd. | 5. Cankara deva | |
| 19. Bickrum Deo | 1 year m. K- | W.B.V. | 11 years. V. |
| (20) Nurrender Deo | 1 year 6 m. K | | 15 years Bd. |
| Narendra deva | 1 year 6 m. Bd. | (6) Sunker Deo K. | 17 years. |
| 15. Gunakama deva | 51 years. W.B. | (Thakuris of Patan of the family of | |
| | 65 years. 5m. Bd. | Amsuvarman W.B.V.) | |
| Gunadeva | 51 years V. | 6. Vama deva | |
| 21. Goonokam Deo | 85 years 6 m. K. | W.B.V. | 3 years V. Bd. |
| (22) Oodey Deo | 6 years K. | Bam Deo K. | 3 years. |
| 22. Udaya deva | 5 years. 5m Bd. | 7. Harsa deva W.B.V. | 15 years. V. |
| 23. Nurbhoy Deo | 7 years K. | | 14 years Bd. |
| 16. Bhojadeva | 8 years W.B.V. | Shree Horkh | |
| 24. Bhaj Deo Budra | 9 years m.K. | Deo K. | 16 years. |
| 17. Laksmikama deva | 22 years. W.B.V. | 8. Sada Shiva deva | |
| | 21 years. Bd. | W.B.V. | 21 years V. |
| 25. Letchmi Camdeo | | Seo Deo K. | 27 years 7 months. |
| Dutta | 21 years K. | Shiva deva Bd. | 27 years 5 months. |
| 18. Jayakama deva | 20 years. W.B.V. | (9) Indra Deo K | 12 years |
| (26) Jye Deo | 20 years. K. | Indra deva Bd. | 12 years |
| Vijaya | 31 years Bd. | 9. Mana deva | |
| | | W.B.V. | 10 years. |
| (Thakuris of Nayakot W.B.V) | | | 4 years 7 months Bd. |
| 1. Bhaskara deva | | 10. Maun Deo K. | 4 years 7 months |
| W.B.V. | 13 years. V. | 10. Nara Simha deva | |
| | 3 years Bd. | W.B.V. | 22 years |
| Bhaskur Deo K. | | (11) Nurrender | |
| (2) Oodey Deo | 7 years 1 month. K. | Deo K. | 5 years 4 months |
| 2. Bala deva W.B.V. | 12 years. V. Bd. | 11. Nandra deva | |
| | | W.B.V. | 21 years |
| | | Ananda deva Bd. | 20 years. |

12. Rudra deva
W.B.V. Bd. 10 years. B.V.
7 years W.
8 years Im. Bd.
Rudro Deo K. 80 years
13. Mitra deva W.B.V. 21 years
Amrita deva Bd. 3 years 11 months
Omret Deo K. 3 years 11 months
(Rudra deva)
14. Someshwara
deva Bd. 4 years 3 months
Soomeesur Deo K. 6 years 3 months
15. Gunakama deva
Bd. 3 years
(Laksmikama deva)
16. Vijaya Kama
deva Bd. 17 years.
Buz Caum Dea "

The successor of Shivadeva Amsuvarman is among the ancient kings of Nepal, the spoilt child of fortune. He ascended to the throne without his birth entitling him to it; he has founded a dynasty; he has introduced a new era; the Chinese have recorded his name; the Tibetans have connected him to their legends. By the testimony of the Vamsavalis (excepting Kirkpatrick), Amsuvarman was the son-in-law of his predecessor; he left the palace of Deo Patan which Shivadeva, the Licchavi had erected and changed his residence to Nadhyalakh, a little further to the South; he erected thither a great 'darbar' with splendid courts (canka); he also built thither houses for his ministers and officials. He was vigorous, active, feared, indefatigable in the pursuit of his human ends.⁹ He was taken up with Prayagatirtha, and persuaded the local Bhairava, Prayaga-Bhairava, to follow him and dwell

near his palace; in return he gave him a meat offering every year. The gods who will then showed themselves to mortal eyes, ceased after his reign, to manifest themselves in their real form. The Vamsavalis of Wright and of Bhagvanlal place his accession in the year 3000 of the Kali-yuga (101 B.C.)

Epigraphy permits us to follow the carrier of Amsuvarman. He appears firstly in Shivadeva's inscriptions in 518, 519, and 520 S., like the 'great marquis' privileged counsellor and unique dispenser of royal favours; the panegyric of the manifold virtues of the minister, cleverly grafted on the official eulogy of the king, shows in its contents a threatening countenance. The usurper already works under the mayor of the palace, Amsuvarman has vanquished numerous enemies; he is the hero; he has the 'pratapa', this dazzling brilliancy of majesty which is the stamp of the royal person.

The Revolution is accomplished with the inscriptions of Harigaon Shivadeva has disappeared; Amsuvarman alone occupies the scene. He has deserted, as is exactly indicated in the Vamsavalis, the old palace of Managriha, consecrated by the souvenir of the Licchavis; he took up his abode at Kailasa Kuta, the Madhya lakhy of the chroniclers and it was there that he organized his court. However, he has not yet taken the royal title, he continues to designate himself as the great marquis; it was only in the year 39 that he drops that title, but with daring assuming another; he is simply shree-Amsuvarman with the most ordinary of titular appellations (shree). He receives for the first time in the documents which are known to us, the majestic title of 'maharajadhiraaja' in an inscription of king Jishnu-

gupta dated from the year 48. The embarrassment of a badly defined positions again betrayed in other details of the protocol Shivadeva, like his predecessors, declared in the beginning of his inscriptions that his loving father followed him with his thought and affirmed by this saying his birth rights to the throne, he occupied. Amsuvarman dares not at first employ this saying, when the recollection of the 'coup d'etat' was still so vivid but he adopts it after a slight modification. He substitutes the father to whom he cannot claim a personage much more important and whose authority suffices in concealing all; the saint Pashupati, the sovereign, it is this god who watches over Amsuvarman. The father only exists in the background, in the expression 'bappa-pade-parighita' remarkable by the conciseness of its distinction. The verb parigrah extracted from the root grah 'to take' applies itself to the solemn and legal introduction of a person who is a stranger in the family, in the house, etc. If Amsuvarman, as is shown by the Vamsavalis, has espoused the daughter of Shivadeva who had no son, has been introduced by a sort of adoption in the quality of a son-in-law in the royal family. Whereas the wife follows ordinarily the husband in this case, the husband has followed the wife to erect himself a throne. Besides Amsuvarman quickly drops this compromising title; beginning from the year 32 perhaps from the year 34 positively, he only employs the ordinary wordings, faithfully reproduced afterwards by all his successors; 'bhagavat-pashupati-bhattaraka-padamugrghita bappa-padanuddhyata'. The Saint Pashupati favours him; his father (adored) follows him with his thought. A fairly long control of power, has as early as

the year 34, transformed the occupation into legitimate possession.

The panegyric of Amsuvarman sustains in the course of its inscriptions oscillations of the same nature. But from the palace, he pompously spreads his praises in rivalry with the king and he exalts by the medium of the scribes, his military virtues and his great victories; once in full control of the reins of power, he changes his tone and proclaims only the new administration, it is peace; 'His activity is only pleased in doing good to others'. After the year 30, the eulogy disappears from the protocol; but still in the year 32, in a misplaced verse tacked on like a tail to the inscriptions, Amsuvarman again protests against his social preoccupations; 'my purified heart has no other ambition than the good of the people. How can my people become happy: said I to myself...'. The eulogy does not appear in its proper place till 39 but the personage has once again changed his skin. Amsuvarman appears to posterity as an erudite and a philosopher; 'He has spent his days and nights on a great number of technical treaties (castras), he has pondered over their meaning he has ruined erroneous doctrines'. The eulogy unexpected as it seems appear however to be deserving. Hion-Asang, who passes near Nepal in the days of Amsuvarman had heard the boasting of this prince who distinguished himself by the wealth of his knowledge and the sagacity of his mind. He had himself composed a treaties on the knowledge of sounds (Cabdavidyacastra), he esteemed science and respected virtue. His reputations had spread to all parts.¹⁰ The Pandits of Bhatgaon in the days of Kirkpatrick still preserved a tradition which dated the intro-

duction of the first Sanscrit grammar in Nepal, in the day of 'Unghoo Burmah' (Amsuvarman) of the posterity of (Pussoopush Deo) 11 The researches I have undertaken to discover the Grammar of Amsuvarman have so far been to no avail. Even the tradition recorded by Kirkpatrick in 1793 seems to have entirely fallen in oblivion. The inscriptions of Amsuvarman seem to bear manifest traces of the grammatical preoccupations of the king. Before Amsuvarman, the Licchavis have as a constant practice of reiterating the consonant which follows the letter 'r' either in the body of the same word or in the meeting of two words Panini (VIII, 4, 46) teaches that this practice is discretionary; it is, however followed most often in epigraphical texts. Amsuvarman, on the contrary constantly withholds himself in this case, of reiterating the consonant in a combination. The change appears in his name also. Shivadeva, the Licchavi writes Amsuvarman with an 'm' reiterated; Amsuvarman in his charts, writes Amsuvarman with a single 'm'. His successor, Jisnu Gupta remains faithful to this epigraphy; but the ordinary folks remain attached either through negligence or routine, to the ancient usage. In an inscription dated in the last years of Amsuvarman, but which commemorates a private foundation, the name of the king is written Amsuvarman with the 'm' double as also the name of the donor Vibhuvarman.

The first personal inscription of Amsuvarman in the year 30 shows him undoubtedly on the morrow of his accession, claimed by the organization of his court; it is the moment when he establishes his

personal around the new palace. The site, which the Vamsavalis call Modhyalakhy, bears in the inscriptions the name or Kailasakuta, the pinnacle of Kailasa' by allusion to the mountain where Shiva loves to dwell, on the high Tibetan Plateau, towards the sources of the Indus. This name of Kailasa Kuta still remains connected to a ridge situated to the North and directly above the temple of Pashupati Harigaon where I found this inscription erected against a chapel with the inscription of the year 32 serving as a counter-poise, is situated to the west of Pashupati separated by the 'Stream of Washermen' (Dhobi Khola) from the plateau which supporters Deopatan, the town of Pashupati and which falls again with an abrupt slope to the East on the Bagmati. Modhyalakhy according to Wright, is situated on the road to the South of Deo Patan; for my part, I have not succeeded in having myself explained the site. In either case, the new royal residence was either to the North, South or West in the immediate neighbourhood of Deo Patan, the capital of Shivadeva and in the immediate neighbourhood of the palace of Licchavis. Managriha, since one of the gates indicated in the distribution of Amsuvarman is called 'the gate of Mana griha'.

The inscription in fairly good preservation has however, suffered a little; it regulates a certain number of donation but the statement of the circumstances is missing. It appears that Amsuvarman institutes 'Jagirs' in favour of those who have with different title contributed to his anointing; the temple of the goddess Sasthi, one of Durga's forms, the inspector general of armies, the prefect of the donations, the

elephants of the coronation, the horse of the coronation, the bearer of the fly flap, the bearer of the banner, the worker of the water, the watcher of the pithas, the bearer of the Pashupataka, the blower of the conch, even the sweepers, the gates, the great road, receive a sum in virtue of a rent undoubtedly rated in 'pu' and 'pa' probably in puranas and in panas.

The second chart of the year 32, attributes donations to institutions and religious organizations and also to individuals. It presents an interesting tableau of religious Nepal in the course of the VIIth century when Shivaism and Buddhism shared themselves without disagreeing the royal favours. Pashupati occupies the foremost rank but his Jagir does not exceed the others; behind him comes Dola-Cekhara-Svamin, the god of Changu Narayan. Then the Buddhist convents, foremost the Gum-Vihara, never came of the Mani Chaitya, situated on the outside of the town of Sanku; the Manavihara, probably the convent founded by Manadeva; the Kharjurikavihara, and following these the convents of lesser importance which are not particularly designated and which receive three times less than the first one. The secondary temples come after the viharas of the second order and are treated like them; the Rameshwara, the Hamas grihadeva, the Maneshwara, the Sambapura, the Vagvati para-deva, the Parvateshwara, the Nara-simhadeva, the Kailaseshwara, the Jalacayana, the Bhumlakika receive each 3 pu (ranas) and 1 pa (na). The other temples of the gods (devakula) only receive 2 puranas and 2 panas. Lastly, the decree ends up with a few attributions, little

edifying; Bhattaraka padah, the brotherhood (Pancali) of Sapela (?), the brotherhood in general one of the servants of the palace, the ganstikas, the servants in general.

There remains two charts of the year 34; one of the month of Jyaistha (Bendall, 2) is to be found in Patan; it confers on the brotherhood (pancalikas) of the village of Matin, the revenues of several lands to be destined to the upkeep of an edifice a temple undoubtedly which Amsuvarman had restored and which was built of bricks and wood. It was necessary to replace its doors, the panels and windows. Amsuvarman entrusts the execution of his order to Vindusvamin, the inspector general of the army. The other inscription of the year 34 is dated in the month of Pausa (Bhagv. 6); it was discovered in Bungamati, the small borough which is known to be the cradle of Matsyendra Nath (in Navar: Bunga) and which keeps six months in the year, the image of god and a deposit in trust. The tenor of the decree is almost indecipherable. The king's delegate appears to be an official of the name of Vikramasena. A ksatriya (rajaputra) of this name is designated as royal delegate in a truncated (mutilated) chart of the year 535, posterior by seventeen years to the chart of Bungamati.

The first of the two inscriptions of the year 34 marks a new progress of Amsuvarman's authority. Shivadeva, his predecessor, would introduce according to the usage consecrated, at the foot of his donations, a prayer and a threat; 'let it be known and that henceforth nobody among those who live by my favours or any other act. And if anyone in disdain of this order,

acts or abets, the action otherwise, I shall not in any way support him. And the kings who will reign after me respectful of the law and attach to the favours granted by their royal predecessors, must observe exactly this order, (Bendall, 1). Amsuvarman in his first decree of the year 30 is content with appealing to the fidelity of his officials and kings to come; in 32, he even cancels this appeal. But in 34, he renews with insignificant variations of detail the final working of Shivadeva; the only difference worthy of mention is the substitution of the first person in plural 'We' (Vayam) to the singular 'I' (aham) which Shivadeva made use of.

The last decree of Amsuvarman dated in the year 39 (Bhagv. 7) spreads and develops this wording. This decree which is to be found in Deo Patan near the temple of Pashupati confers to the brotherhood of Adhahcala (Adahacala-pancalikebhyah) the surveillance of three lingas, the curabhogecvara dedicated to Pashupati by Bhogadevi, sister of Amsuvarman and mother of Bhogavarman on behalf of the merits of Curasena husband of Bhogadevi; the Laditamahecvara founded by Bhagyadevi, daughter of Bhogadevi and niece of Amsuvarman; the Dak-sinecvara founded by the ancestors of Bhogadevi. The decree addresses itself to the vrttibhujah, to those present and those to come of the paccimadhikarana, the adhykaranā or the Western province; the vrttibhujah are probably the feudal proprietors who enjoy (bhuj) the revenues of the territories given as a fief identical to the carttas and also the vrttiyas of modern Nepal. Lastly,

the royal delegate is the yuvaraja, the heir apparent, Udayadeva.

The last inscription of Amsuvarman's period emanates from a private individual, it is to be found at Kathmandu (Bhagv. 8). The date of it is doubtful; the sign of 40 is clear in it, but the unit which followed us indistinct. Bhagavanlal translated it conjecturally as a 5; M. Fleet is tempted to make out a 4 of it. 'By the favour of Shree-Amsuvarma, the vartta Vibhuvarman has had constructed this water pipe to the profit of his father's merits.'

Alike the inscriptions, the coins testify to the power of Amsuvarman. The first of Nepal's kings, he stamps the coins in his name. There exists several types described by Cunningham. The diametre is about 0.025 millimetres; the weight, very irregular, is of 11 grammes to 16-20. The constant emblem is a kind of winged griffon turning towards his right proper, a fore-foot raised in the attitude of walking; on the camp, the legend Shree-Amsuvarman or 'cru-Amcoh'. On the reverse, sometimes, the same lion with a moon crescent above its head; sometimes the sun radiated with the legend, 'maharajadhirajasya'. Perhaps it is useful to see here an allusion to the name of the king which contains the word 'amsu' 'ray'. In fact the legend on this coin exactly occupies around the solar disc, the place which in certain of Pashupati's coins is occupied by the prolongation of the solar rays. On another series, the reverse, shows a cow turned towards its right proper with a legend which has so far been read; Kama-dehi or (Bendall) Kaman dehi. But on the one hand, the ansuvara is missing clearly

on the facsimiles published and this king of prayer; 'give the desire' is hardly justifiable either by analogies or by arguments. It seems more natural to search in it for a designation of the cow abundance currently called Kama-dugh, 'which allows itself to be milked of everything wished for'.¹²

The distribution of Amsuvarman's inscriptions at Kathmandu, Patan, Deo Patan, Bungamati, shows that this prince exercised his sovereignty on the very centre of Nepal; the chart which regulates the maintenance of the lingas erected at Pashupati by his sister and his niece and which is addressed to the vrttibhujah, of the Western department (or province) leads to believe that the power of Amsuvarman spread fairly far in the East; from the point of view, of even the valley, Pashupati is certainly situated rather in the Eastern portion of Nepal. An indication of the Vamsavali seems well to confirm this supposition; 'Amsuvarman took to Prayaga Tirtha and persuaded Prayaga-Bhairava to accompany him into Nepal'. Wright adds, wrongly that the Prayaga-tirtha is the confluent of the Ganges, Jumna and Sarasvati, Prayagatirtha being the Hindu name of modern Allahabad. In fact, Nepal possesses a tirtha of the name of Prayaga; it is situated to the E.S.E. of the great valley, near the town of Panavati in a valley apart at a distance of two leagues, south of Banepa, at three leagues, S.E. of Bhatgaon. The mount Namobuddha which the local legend designates as the scene of the Vyaghrijataka is above Panavati. According to tradition, the ancient name of this region was Pancala-deca, the country of Pancala. Amsuvarman would then have submitted to his power, this distant region

and in order to connect it more closely to Nepal proper, he would have carried the local divinity into his palace; it is the Roman method renewed in the Himalaya.

Immediately after the reign of Amsuvarman, the Vamsavalis indicate an epoch of troubles; Vikramaditya of Ujjayini conquers Nepal and introduces thither his era. The Nepalese chronicles then interpret the dates of Amsuvarman by the aid of the Vikrama-Samvat; according to their system, Amsuvarman would have reigned towards the year 30 or 40 of that era or a dozen years or so before the birth of christ. Another doctrine seems to have interpreted the dates of his decrees according to the method of the Loka-Kala which omits the numbers superior to the tens and is content to enumerate the years in the interior of each century; the 0 of the era employed by Amsuvarman has been taken as being identical to the 0 of the XXXth century of the Kali-Yuga. Amsuvarman would have ascended the throne in 3000 K.Y. or in 101 B.C. Between two systems which admit of a difference of one century the agreement seems to be more than sufficient to the Hindu chronologists. Without speaking of all the arguments which are opposed to these whims the testimony of Hiouen-tsang is decisive; Amsuvarman belongs within a trifle, to the same epoch as the Chinese traveller that is to say to the first half of the VIIth century. Precisely at the beginning of this century the Emperor of Hindustan Horsa Vardhana Ciladitya founds an era which begins from 605/606 J.C. It has seemed natural and essential to Bhagvallal to bring back the dates of Amsuvarman to the Harsa era. Mr. Buhler believed in finding a posi-

tive proof in support of this thesis in a passage of the Harsa-carita where Bana, playing on the divine merits of his hero, expresses himself thus *atraparamecvarena Aucaracailabhve durgaya grhitah karah*. 'The phrase as it admits has a double meaning; it signifies; '1st' In him the supreme Lord (Shiva) has taken the band of Durga (his spouse), daughter of the snow-Mountain, (Himalayas) '2nd', In him a suzerain lord has taken the duty of the inaccessible region of the snowy mountains'. Mr. Buhler with his Pandit ingenuity recognized in this trait an evident allusion to the conquest of Nepal by Harsa.¹³ I admit that the allusion seems to me to lack transparency; an artist in ambiguity such as Bana would have known how to mark his intention by less vague traits; not a single detail evokes here in Nepal. The term 'tusara' seems to have been introduced here purposely to specify the witticism; tusara is identical to tukhara; the two letters 'sa' and 'kha' are constantly employed one for the other and the theorists place in principle their absolute identity in the puns. In the second meaning, the phrase then signifies that Harsa has received the duty of the mountainous and inaccessible land where live the Tukharas, the Turks, otherwise said of Hindu Kutch. The Tukharas had founded lasting kingdoms on the North-Western frontiers of India; the religious men of Tukhara had in the VIIth century, a particular monastery in the neighbourhood of Mahabodhi in the heart of Harsa's States.¹⁴ A concession of this nature, granted to a foreign state, did not go without a kind of royalty (fine) which the panegyrist had chance in changing into a tribute.

I have already mentioned in an analogous case in the history of India; when the king of Ceylon obtained a land from Samudra Gupta, also at Mahabodhi, to erect a monastery destined to the Singhalese monks, Ceylon, was registered among the tributaries of the Gupta Empire.¹⁵

Whereas Harsa Vardhana was being held in check in the North West by the barbarians whom India designated under the collective name of Hunas in the south by the Calukya Pulikesi, sovereign of Deccan founded in Hindusthan from Guzerat to Bengal an ephemeral empire which was not even destined to survive him a new nation was suddenly constituted on the lofty plateaus situated to the North of the Himalayas on the very frontier of Nepal and at the same time the secular equilibrium of Eastern Asia was shaken and broken. Inclined towards India since their migration to the southern valley learned, organized, policed by India, half introduced in the Hindu world, the Nevars of the Nepalese country had undoubtedly forgotten their distant brethren who had been true to the rough alpine meadow of beyond the mountains to the wandering life of the shepherds in the frozen solitudes to the religion of the evil spirits and coarse fetiches. Two barbarians of talent sufficed to draw out in fifty years from this human cattle a formidable army which imperilled India and China and a learned clergy which was to offer a supreme asylum to Buddhist science. The Chinese who had in particular so much to suffer from these new comers have carefully noted the stages of their formation.¹⁶

Under the dynasty of the Soei in the period called K'aiOhoang between 581 and

600¹⁷ a chief named Loun-tsanso-loung-tsan (Srong tean, who dwelt to the west of Tsang-ko (portion) of the Sse-tch'-oan of the Koeitcheon Koang-si and Hou-koang, united the scattered clans into a kingdom determined the populations in the towns and gave his subjects the name of 'T'oup'o, transformed afterwards into 'T'ou-fan by an erroneous pronunciation. In the indigenous dialect, however the name of the country is 'Bod' Yul, country of 'Bod' and it is this name that Sanscrit reproduces under the form of 'Bhota' or 'Bhotta' which is met for the first time in an inscription of Shivadeva dated Samvat 119 (Bhagv. No. 12, 1, 16). By an intermediary line, still dubious, the Europeans have altered this name into Tibet. The first king of Tibet extended his power towards the south-west as far as the country of 'po-lo-men; the country of the Brahmans or Indian. At the beginning of the dynasty of the T'ang (towards 620), he disposed of 100,000 soldiers.

The Tibetan tradition¹⁸ gives this personage the name of Gnam-ri Srong-btsan; this prince would have conquered the country of Gru-gu which touches India and also the gNa-zhur of the West; as early as his reign, Tibet would have received from China the rudiments of medicine and astrology. But however mighty might have been the founder of the Tibetan Empire, his glory was going to be eclipsed; his son and heir was to be the Clovis and the Charlemagne of Tibet. The Chinese call him Tch'i-tsong-loungtsan; the Tibetans Srong-btsan agam-po. The Tibetan chronicles agree among themselves in fixing his birth in 618, his accession in 629 and his death in 698; but the annuals of T'ang on the faith of the official documents record his death in the year 650. The ordinary

exactitude of the Chinese historians is here again confirmed by the testimony of I-tsing and by other proofs; the Tibetan dates are worthless. Srong-btsan agam-po passes for an incarnation of the Bodhisattva into India a mission of sixteen persons under the orders of Thon-mi a-nu to study thither the secrets of the writing; the mission proceeded to Kashmere, received thither the lessons of the Brahman Li-byin (Lipikara? 'the scribe') and of the Pandit Lharig-pa song-ge-agra (Devavidya-simha-nada?) and brought away into Tibet, as the most precious of booties an alphabet which very nearly reproduced the writing current in the North of India and which adapted itself however, to the most delicate notation of Tibetan sounds.

Once he became master of the writing; the barbarian thought himself the master of the world and the event seemed to justify his naive confidence; one by one he conquered the Rtsa and the Shing in the East, the Blove and the Zhang in the south the Hor in the North; his domains covered the whole of Tibet, the basin of the Kou-kou north western steps of China, Assam and Nepal. He ruled on half of Jambudvipa.¹⁹ He determined to consolidate his power with alliances of a high rank; he solicited the hand in India of a Nepalese princess in China of an imperial princess Thon-mi a-nu surnamed Sambhota, who had already given proofs of her capacity, was requested to call on the King of Nepal who assumed the title of Devahla and the name of 'Armour-ray'.

I have already demonstrated in a proceeding work that this prince is indubitably Amsuvarman.²⁰ The bodhimor of Moghul descent adds that the residence of this prince

was called Erdenin Dvip, which is equivalent in Sanscrit to Ratna Dvipa and that the palace was called Ku Kum GLui.²¹ Srong-btsan agam-po's envoy would bring as a present to the King of Nepal a marvellous casque adorned with precious stones, which seems to allude to the meaning of Amsuvarman's name 'the casque of light.'²² The princess whose hand he solicited in marriage was than sixteen years old;²³ her complexion was pure, the lines of her faces announced a marvellous destiny, she was perfectly virtuous and very beautiful; the perfection of her whole person left nothing to desire; her mouth exhaled the perfume of the blue lotus; she dominated by her delicateness and her grace.²⁴ Her name was the Lha goig (the princess) Bribtsun.²⁵ Even her birth was miraculous. 'When Chutuktu Niduler Rsoktschi recognised that the time had arrived when the being who breathed in the kingdom of snows in Tibet were about to convert themselves he omitted from his person four rays. The ray issued from his right eye sent to the Kingdom of Balbo (Nepal) and he filled the whole of this kingdom called Devahala and also his palace. And thereupon the spouse of the king became pregnant ²⁶ Srong-btsan agam po was born, he also, from one of these rays; and the two others incarnation themselves in Thon-mi Sambhota and in the Chinese princess.

The Tibetan had too pressing arguments at the services of his matrimonial diplomacy to fear a refusal. Amsuvarman welcomed his request and gave him his daughter. He had not the forecious stubbornness of the Rajputs of Chitpr, so dear to Hindu legends and who preferred being buried in the ruins of their town rather than

give one of the daughters of their caste to a foreign prince. In order to assuage the bitterness of this misalliance, he was able at least feign to believe in the complaisant inventions of the genealogists who connected the Tibetan dynasty either to the Licchavis or to the Cakyas of the mountains or again to the kings of Magadha and of Pancala.²⁷ The Licchavis of Nepal and their ally Amsuvarman, would have reluctantly protested against the grafting of a new bough on a trunk already ladden with so many suspicious branches.

Besides, if the Brahmans grumbled Buddhism exalted, the young queen opened an immense domain to law. She carried away to her new motherland three supernatural images (Svayambhu), one of Akso-bhyavajra, another of Maitreya and lastly one of Tara the white woman, made in sandal wood of tocirse; and further a complete court accompanied her as far as the town of 'Bschirgalangtu of the country of Manjul (where stands the pass of Kirong): a Tibetan escort led her from there to the palace of her husband.

Two years later on the hearsay on the Tibetans but certainly in the year 641, another princess came to join her thither equally in the name of a spouse as pious, as devout, but of still nobler blood and of a more distant origin. From 634 to 641, Srong-btsan agam-po at the head of his hordes who were irresistible had invaded and pillaged the Chinese territory in pushing as far as Soung tchou (Soung-pan-t'ing of the Ssetc 'can); to conclude peace, he demanded the hand of a princess of the imperial family, indignant at so exorbitant a pretension, the

Emperor T'ai-tsoung then at the height of his power refused to concede. The Tibetan weapons ended however in a triumph over the scruples of Chinese etiquette, as they had created preventions of caste in Nepal.

The princess Wen-tch'eng, kinswoman of the emperor had to resign herself sadly to proceed by a long and arduous road towards the frozen countries wither the political caprice of a conqueror claimed her. She also brought away her images and her books of Buddhist piety. Devotees of the same gods, the two queens did nevertheless reckon on placing them at the service of their influence and respective interests, the nobles, whom the Chinese arrogance had too often wounded refused to recognize Wen-tch'eng as the first queen and the Nepalese princess preserved her rank. But Srong-btsan sgampo nevertheless deeply felt the influence of China; as early as 641, he requested the admission of young Tibetans to the courses of the imperial school (Kouo-hio). He began wearing a silk garment asked for Chinese erudites to learn how to compose verses then for workmen capable of teaching the indigences the manufacture of wine, mills, paper, ink. The civilization of China was thus establishing herself on the boundaries of Nepal. India, on the other hand sent her doctors; Kumara came from Central India, Cilamanju from Nepal, Tabutta and Ganuta (?) from Kashmere. Viharas were erected; under the direction of Thonmi Sambhota, the translation of Buddhist Writings was undertaken. Buddhism, adopted by the king propagated itself among his subjects and the grateful Church deified the two princesses as two incarnations of Tara; united in the same veneration, identical images were assigned to them; sitting on a lotus throne with the left leg bent and the

right alone resting on the ground they hold in the right hand which rests on the knee, a blue lotus. The colour of their bodies alone distinguishes them; the Nepalese princess is white; the Chinese, green.²⁸

Father-in-law of Srong-btsan sgampo whom he would not have spontaneously selected for son-in-law, Amsuvarman passed in the sphere of Tibetan influence. Nepal was only a dependence of Lhasa; she was still a vassal in the beginning of the VIIIth century, according to the positive testimony of the Chinese. One must evidently taste the paradox to believe that this very Amsuvarman had adopted the era of Harsa Ciladitya; I have in my 'Note on the Chronology of Nepal' shown the difficulties of the calender wherein clashes this thesis; the historic impossibility appears in it so striking. The era inaugurated by Amsuvarman cannot come from India because it is separated from her by politics; it must have as a starting point as I at first thought, the accession of Amsuvarman or it derives its origin in Tibet and marks by its very adoption the subjugation of Nepal to her new suzerain. If Amsuvarman had founded it, it is surprising that none of the inscriptions of this king are anterior to the year 30; on the contrary the inscription of the year 30 which I discovered at Harigaon seems to be well associated with the ceremonies of the anointing.

For reasons of astronomical nature which I have discussed elsewhere the year 34 of that era can only correspond to 629 J. C.; the year 30 then corresponds to 625 J. C. The inscriptions in the name of Shivadeva as king and of Amsuvarman

as mayor of the palace dated in the traditional era of the Licchavis descend as far down as the year 52 which corresponds according to my calculations, at 631 J. C. One must, in this case, admit the existence of an intermediary period where the two eras would have employed parallelly, the personal authority of Amsuvarman not being recognized then by everybody. Amsuvarman would have adopted the Tibetan era to court them as if he spontaneously declared himself their vassal. The victorious excursions of Lous-tsan-so-loung-tsan, who had reached Central India (P'o-lo-men), had learnt by experience in India, what power was being formed in the North and the first victories of Srong-btsan sgam-po had proved the vitality of the new empire.

It is impossible, I admit, to positively demonstrate the Tibetan origin of Amsuvarman's era and that of the Thakuris; but the fairly numerous indications seem to corroborate this opinion. The encyclopedist Ma Toan-lin, basing himself on the Chinese documents, fixes the beginning of the Tibetan empire in the period K'ai-hoang, between 581 and 601. The learned historian of the Huns, of Guignes, concludes from his side that Tibet "had been subjugated to different kings up till about the year 589 J. C".²⁹ Dalai Lama in his diplomatic correspondence with Lord Cornwallis successively dates with 1203 and 1206 two letters written in 1789 and 1792 J.C.³⁰ respectively. The point of departure of this era would then be 586 J.C. An era, the use of which is confined actually in Bengal and which bears thither the name of San, begins from 593 J.C. as its first year; no information exists on

the origin of this era which is purely a traditional one. The initial epoch is with a difference of two years only identical to that of Amsuvarman; and to him who knows the complications of the Hindu calendar, the frequent confusion of year present and those spent an error of two years in a period of 2300 years seems unimportant.

Lastly, the Tibetans themselves teach that prior to the introduction (in 1025-6 J.C.) of the system called Kalacakra and founded on the cycle of Jupiter there stands a period named Me-Kha-Gya-tsho. The word is a compound numerical symbols; me the fire, expresses 3; Kha the space, 0; gya-tsho, the lakes, 4.³¹ Read according to the Indo-Tibetan method, me-kha-gya-tsho signifies 403 to 1025 J.C. would then be 622 J. C. But I have already more than once pointed out to what an extent these expressions in numerical symbols lend themselves to inversion of figures. If one re-establishes by hypothesis Kha-me-gya-tsho one will read 430 instead of 403 and the initial epoch (1025-430) will correspond to 595 J. C. It is the very date to which I was led by the astronomical calculation of the Thakuri. The year 595 can mark, either the accession of the first king of Tibet, Lountsang so loung-tsan or the birth of Srong grand son of young age. If he was born in 598, he had then in fact fifty five years (of age).

The Nepalese chronicles give to the dynasty of Amsuvarman the title of Vaicya Thakuri; the Thakuris even at the actual moment, are all the individuals who belong to the royal clan, whatever be their position indeed self-made, etc;

they owe to their birth certain exemption of charges, certain revenues and even a positive right to intervene in affairs of the state if the kingdom appears to them in peril.

Vaicya on the other hand is the name of the Rajput clan, whence Amsuvarman came out. It cannot be a question here of the designation applied by the codes to the third caste of the ideal Brahmanic society the merchant caste. Besides at the same time, the Emperor of India, Harsa is also a Vaicya, according to the exact and precise indication of Hiouen-tsang who has visited his court. General Cunningham thought he discovered the descendants of this clan in the Rajput Bais (Vaicya) who inhabit the south of the province of Oudh and who claim having reigned at one time on the territory between Delhi and Allahabad.

After Amsuvarman the history of Nepal enters into a period of confusion. The dynastic lists continue to give the names and the dates; but the epigraphy, however, much fragmentary it be, suffices to convince them of error.

I shall first relate the solid facts established by the inscriptions or by the testimony of Chinese documents.

Amsuvarman was dead towards 639-640. The first prince who appears to reign after him is Jisnu Gupta. Of this prince there exists scattering testify that Jisnu Gupta ruled over the whole valley. One only (Bh. 9) bears an exact date, it dates from the year 48, posterior by three or four years to the last one of Amsuvar-

man's reign, (48-648 J.C.). The inscription of Thankot, mutilated allows one to perceive the sign 500; the tens and the units have entirely disappeared. If my perusal is exact, Jisnu Gupta has employed parallelly or at different period, the era of Amsuvarman and the era of the Licchavis. The fact would be in agreement with the account of the Vamsavalis which mention between Amsuvarman and Narendra deva, the use of two eras in rivalry.

"King Nanda Deva, having learnt that the era of Calivahana (The Brahmanic Vamsavali says ; of Vikrama) was in usage in other countries introduces it in Nepal. But certain people through gratitude for Vikramajit (Vikramaditya) who paid off the debts of the kingdom, were not willing to renounce the era he had founded; and the two eras were maintained in usage side by side". The usage of the Licchavi era would be better explained by the fact that Jisnu Gupta seems to affect to present himself as the restorer and liegeman of the ancient dynasty. He resides at Kailas-Kuta, in the palace of Amsuvarman and it is from there that he dates his edicts but he names, first of all, at the head of his protocole a king of the Licchavi house hold residing in the old palace of Managriha. The titles which he confers on this puppet of affectation, manifest further significant variations. Dhruva deva the fictitious suzerain is in the inscriptions (Bh. 9 and 10) Bhattaraka maharaja shree Dhruvadeva; Manadeva on the inscription of Thankot, receives in it only the title of Bhattaraka shree Manadeva. The relation between the suzerain and the vassal remain obscure, by the fault of the stones which hardly offer reliable reading and by the will of the

official scribes who were careless about determining a delicate situation. It is evident that Jisnu Gupta was not the legitimate sovereign; his name formed with the participle 'Gupta' separates him at the time both from the Licchavis and the lineage of Amsuvarman. The royal names in 'Gupta' are only met within Nepal in the mythical dynasty of the Gopals (Jaya-Gupta, Parama-Gupta, etc) who received the throne of Nemuni. They reappear nevertheless, in the historical epoch and very close to Amsuvarman in a dynasty of usurpers mentioned by Kirkpatrick. During the reign of Bhem Deo Burmah (Bhimadeva Varma), the Aheers (Abhiras) who had been from the beginning the sovereigns of Nepal recovered their domains: 'Bishen Gupt' the conqueror, reigned 74 years, then Kishnoo Gupt 61 years; Bhoomy Gupt 40 years. Then Seo Deo Burmah (Shivadev Varma) of the posterity of Nevesit (Nevesit-Nimisa) subjugated Nepal again, expelled the Guptas reigned 41 years; he then left the throne to Unghoo Burmah (Amsuvarman). Bishen Gupta in Kirkpatrick's pictorial represents Vishnu Gupta, Kishnoo Gupta which is an impossible name dissembles under an error of copy or impression (the case is frequent) Jishno Gupta, viz, Jishnu Gupta. The name of Bishen Gupta (Vishnu Gupta) given by Kirkpatrick to the first king of this series is carried in the inscriptions of Jisnu Gupta by the heir apparent to the throne. These Abhiras kings are missing in the Vamsavalis of Wright and Bhagvanlal but they appear to have left a slight trace in the Brahmanic Vamsavalis; the successor of Vishnudeva Varman and the predecessor of Amsuvarman bears in it the name of Vicva Gupta deva. One has then.

KIRKPA- TRICK	BRAHMANIC VAMSAVALIS	WRIGHT AND BHAGVAN- LAL
Bhem Deo Burmah	Bhima deva Varman	Bhimadeva Varman
3 Aheer kings:		
Bishen Gupt		
Kishnoo Gupt	Vishnu deva Varman	Visnu deva Varman
Bhoomy Gupt	Vishnu Gupta deva	Vicva deva Varman
Seo deo Burmah		
Unghoo Burman Amsuvarman Amsuvarman		

Vishnu Deva, behind Bhimadeva is identical to Bishen Gupt, Vicva Gupta Deva mingles in a unique personality the dynasty of the Guptas and Shivadeva their victor, The remembrance of an usurpations has been preserved, but the chronological order has been upset. Jisnu Gupta would be an Aheer, an Abhira; he is born of an indigenous family which pretended perhaps having given kings to the country, in fact his ancestors are of a mediocre rank his great grandfather whom he recalls in the inscription of Thankot, bears the name of Mana Gupta Gomin he dares not even award him a title of honour as ordinary as the word shree placed before his name. The name besides has really a raciness (of style); it recalls the designations of Mana Deva, Mana Griha, which have already struck us with their local character. It is possible by basing oneself on the analogy of names that it be expedient also to connect to the same family the Ravi Gupta who appears in the inscriptions of Vasanta Deva, in the VIth century as great.

bailiff (maha-pratihara) and generalissimo (sarva danda mayaka)

So then Jisnu Gupta in default of formal titles, prides himself in having reached the height of power in consequences of a pure lineage (punyanvayad agatara-jyasampat, Bh. 9). This lineage according to the inscription of Thankot, is that of Soma (Somanvayabhusanah), the Lunar Race. The chronicles on the other hand classify the Licchavi dynasty in the Solar Race (Suryavamci). In imitation of the most legitimate kings he declares that "the saint Pashupati adored sovereign has him for favourite" and that "his adored father follows him with his thought". He is satisfied with the name of Jisnu Gupta, excepting at Thankot where he proudly joins the word deva. His devotion to Vishnu shown by his name, is also expressed in the symbols which adorn his stelas; the fish (Patan) or the cakra (Kathmandu) between two conches (Thankot).

Irregular successor of Amsuvarman, Jisnu Gupta does nevertheless claim to be his heir continuator. Whereas Amsuvarman had hesitated to adopt with the power, the royal title, Jisnu Gupta expressly designates it as maharajadhiraja. He reproduces his formulary and also reproduces his stamp (coin). The coins of Jisnu Gupta show on the obverse the lion marching which Amsuvarman had adopted as a stamp on the reverse they are decorated with a king of vajra. Their legend also imitated from Amsuvarman, simply gives the name of the king in the genitive case preceded by the titular shree:shree Jisnu guptasya. Their diameter is 0.025 millimetres and their weight 12gr, 37.

It seems in short, that on the death of Amsuvarman, the succession was once more troubled. The heir apparent Udaya deva, mentioned in an inscription of the year 39 disappears, either that a premature death had removed him or that a more enterprising rival had suppressed him. Jisnu Gupta in control of the power resuscitated to his benefit the political fiction which had so well succeeded to Amsuvarman. He installs on the throne as a nominal sovereign, a prince of the Licchavi family, and under covert of this, he exercises an absolute authority, separated from royalty by hardly perceptible shades which he always attempts to render more fleeting. One can well be surprised that the sovereign of Nepal. Srong-btsan sgam-po, had allowed others to despoil the heirs of Amsuvarman who were his parents, his nephews, undoubtedly; but the Tibetan armies were at that moment engaged in distant campaigns, towards the Konkounor or the Chinese frontier in an impossibility of intervening. No sooner did he have his hands free than the king of Tibet hastened to re-establish order in Nepal; Jisnu Gupta had to yield his place to Narendra deva.

The charts of Jisnu Gupta deal with various questions of administration. That of Patan dated Samvat 48 opens with a mention of Dhruva deva the Licchavi immediately followed with an eulogy in verse of Jisnu Gupta. The first quart of the stanza is missing; the remainder shows us that "Jisnu Gupta wishes for the good of subjects, has an irreproachable conduct, born of a pure race which has helped him to reach the plenitude of royalty and all the inhabitants of the towns allow themselves to be guided by his orders". A marquis

(samanta) of the name of Candra Varman informed him that a water pipe laid out for the benefit of three villages (Thambu, Gaugal, Mulavatika) by the emperor (maharajadhiraja) Amsuvarman was damaged, through want of repairs; he has had it restored and now he grants as a gift to the three villages a certain number of irrigated fields so that the revenues may be collected for the upkeep of the water-pipe. In faith of which he awards them a chart on stone (cilapattakacasana). The heir-apparent, Vishnu Gupta, is entrusted with execution of the order.

The two other charts are concerned with the village of Daksinakali, the one and the other, of analogous formulary, begin by an invocation in verse and in a complicated metre; literature in Nepal as elsewhere in India, has annexed itself the epigraphy. In the one (Thankot) dated it seems in the Licchavi era, Jisnu Gupta seems to confirm a donation made at one time by his great grand-father, Mana Gupta Gomin; the limits of the donation are traced with usual minuteness, then the village receives as an addition, a new favour; certain duties of a landed nature are reduced by half, one can see figuring in it a Malla-tax (Malla-kara) which has already appeared in an inscription of Shivadeva. The royal delegate is again Vishnu Gupta the heir apparent. The third chart (Kathmandu) regulates again a question of irrigation, the text is very badly mutilated; there was a mention of a great marquis (mahasamanta) whose name ended in deva. The revenues collected by the irrigation are destined for the repairs of the canal for the worship of a divinity (...lecvara Svamin) and for the upkeep of a pancali

for religious and administrative functions, company and brotherhood at the same time.

The fourth inscription commemorates a private foundation; it is traced on a stone which supports a parasol above an image of Candecvara in the temple of Pashupati. It begins with a complicated stanza in honour of Chattra-candecvara, "Candecvara with the parasol", follows the fragmentary statement of a donation of lands approved "Under the triumphant reign (vaiaya-rajya) of Jisnu Gupta by the Acarya Bhatvatpranardana Pranakancika to the profit of Chattracandecvara and of a water-pipe of the village of Ku, with the view of paying the restorations and repairs. The administration of the revenues is entrusted to several religious communities: Mundacrankhalika Pashupati-acaryas, Soma-Khaddukas...

The heir apparent of Jisnu Gupta, Vishnu Gupta did not take the throne or he only enjoyed it for a short time, because towards 645 the legitimate dynasty had recovered the power; Narendra deva reigned over Nepalese legend and history. His memory is indissolubly linked to the religion of Matsyendra Natha, the patron of the valley which he went for in search far and wide in company with the saint Bandhudatta; he has lived in exile at the court of Tibet, he despatched embassies to the Emperor of China; he received the visit of priests, pilgrims and Chinese ambassadors. And yet, there remains nothing of him to us, no chart, no coins or any other direct document. The ancient epigraphy has only preserved one mention alone of this prince, it is inserted in that genealogy of Jaya deva (Bhag. 15) which I have already mentioned and discussed more than

once in connection with the Licchavis. After Vasanta deva the genealogy suddenly passes by an unfortunate transition to Udaya deva followed himself by Narendra deva. Bhagvanlal thought he read in the space which separates these two names in the body of the same verse, a collective recall of thirteen anonymous kings destined to guarantee the legitimate filiation of Narendra deva. But in fact the final syllable of the word *jatas* 'born' has not the long vowel indicated by Bhagvanlal and which would serve to support his interpretation the 'a' is manifestly short and inconsequence excludes the thought of the plural. M. Fleet has recognized it on the very stamping (metal) of Bhagvanlal; a copy of this text, executed visibly which I owe to the good-will of maharaja Shamsheer, also bears the wording '*jatas*' followed by two doubtful syllables and a gap of four syllables corresponding to the words "trayodaca tatas thirteen afterwards" of Bhagvanlal. It then seems essential to construct and translate thus: "A king Udaya deva born; ..Nareddra deva". Udaya deva is designated in the last personal inscription of Amsuvarman (Samvat 39) as the heir apparent (*yuvaraja*). This Udaya deva was the son of Amsuvarman? One would expect in this to recover in his name the element 'varman' which is equivalent to a family name; on the other hand one is surprised to see appear in its place the word *deva* which characterizes especially the Licchavi Prince chosen as heir by Amsuvarman in order to avoid every opposition to his authority. It would then be explained that Jaya deva retook, beginning from Udaya deva the thread of his genealogy. The Chinese annuals, well informed on this epoch of Nepalese history, mention that the father of Narendra deva was over-

thrown from the throne by his younger brother; Narendra deva fled to Tibet to escape his uncle. The usurper cannot be Jisnu Gupta himself, for reasons I have marked; it is perhaps one of those Licchavis whom Jisnu Gupta had placed on the throne to exercise the power in their name.

"Narendra deva had an exalted sentiment of honour (*mana*): all the kings prostrated themselves before him and the garland of their jewels appeared like dust on the stool for his feet." This is all that Jaya deva knows or recalls from his grandfather. The Brahmanic Vamsavalis, as well as the Buddhistic Vamsavali, associate Narendra deva to the introduction of the god Matsyendra Natha and both of them are in agreement regarding the date of this event, consigned in a mnemonical verse; the year 3623 of the Kali Yuga or 522 J.C. This date is inadmissible, but a correction offers itself. The annalists in order to build their chronology operated on date expressed sometimes in the Vikrama era, sometimes in the Caka era, since one and other were simultaneously in usage in Nepal. With the screen indifference of the Hindu historians, they have jumbled the two computations. The introduction of Matsyendra Nath had perhaps been carried by a first reduction to the year 579 Caka which corresponds to 657 J.C. and 3758 of the Kali Yuga. This figure of 579 transferred by substitution to the Vikrama Samvat, would give 3623 of the Kali Yuga (522 J.C.). The original date at the foot of these calculations would be the year 62 of the Thakuri era. The year 657 J.C. falls in the reign of Narendra deva.

I have already related in length (1,348) the history of Narendra deva of Bandhu-

datta of Gorakha Natha and of Matsyendra Natha such as it is given in the Buddhistic Vamsavali. The Brahmanic Vamsavali is less generous in details; it ranks in the foreground that was quite to be expected, Gorakha Natha and then leaves in the shade Bandhudatta. It places the introduction of the new god under king Narendra deva, who occupies the throne for 98 years. The Buddhistic Vamsavali carries the whole episode under the reign of Vara deva, son and successor of or Narendra deva. According to his account, Narendra deva holds the royal power for seven years only, just long enough to build a few viharas, then having renounced the things of this world, he abdicates and enters a monastery. His eldest son Padma deva and his younger brother Ratna deva had preceded him thither. It is there that Vara deva comes and begs of him to save Nepal which the drought was ruining. Narendra deva in dying bequeaths his crown to his two daughters, with a copy of the Prajna-paramita and after his death his soul enters into the left foot of Matsyendra Natha.

It is under the reign of Narendra deva that a Chinese mission visited Nepal for the first time, in 643. The king received with difference Li I-piao and his retinue who were proceeding to India the Emperor Harsa. In 647/648 a new embassy led by Wang Hiuen-ts'e, crosses the country; it soon returns almost annihilated; assailed by the usurper who had taken possession of the throne of Harsa. Wang Hiuen-ts'e and his assistant lost their escort, they asked for help to the allies of China. Nepal gave 7000 cavalymen; Tibet where Srong-btsan sgam-po still reigned, supplied 1200 soldiers. With these mountain contingents, Wang Hiuen-ts'e inflicted a sangui-

nary defeat on the Hindus and captured the king who had outraged him. Nepal proved already as she did in 1857, her loyalism at India's expense. In 657, Wang Hiuen-ts'e once more travels through Nepal. And during the whole of the reign of Narendra deva, the Chinese pilgrims attracted undoubtedly by his reputation for piety, visit the country. I have already mentioned their names (l, 156-166) Narendra deva on his side, had in 651 sent a mission to the son of Heaven, to convey to him his homage and his gifts.

The Nepal of Narendra deva, such as she is represented by Chinese documents, is a prosperous country of an advanced civilization. Hiouen-tsang, who had not visited the country and who described it on the faith of his Hindu informers, had made himself the echo of the malignant pretensions of the plain against the mountain; "an icy climate, customs stamped with falsehood and perfidy; the inhabitants naturally hard and foreocious in their nature who absolutely neglect to notice good faith and justice, lacking in all literary knowledges with an ugly body and a repulsive face". A pandit of Benares would not speak otherwise today of the Paharis (the people of the mountain). On the other hand Hiouen-tsang knows nothing of the real state of Buddhism, or on the great number of the viharas which the epigraphy however testifies to us. At the very moment when Hiouen-tsang traces from far, on hearsays so grievous a tableau of Nepal, Wang Hiuen-ts'e visits the country in person and notes his observations. Aided with his documents which the testimony of the Nepalese ambassadors at the court of China (651) has permitted to complete and control

the historians of the Tang compile at a late date (Xth century) an official note on Nepal which in reality is connected with the epoch of Narendra deva. The description in its whole, is so correct, that it is still verified in the Nepal of to-day; houses of wood with sculptured and painted walls; liking for baths; for dramatic representations, for astrology; for the calendar; practice of bloody sacrifice. Narendra deva such as he is represented by this note, has the prestige and pomp of an oriental sovereign; the whole of his person is adorned with jewels; he sits on a throne among the flowers and the perfumes surrounded by nobles and soldiers. His devotion is marked to the image of the Buddha which he wears as a pendant. The pavilions of his palace are wrought with as much delicacy as with luxury; in the centre there rises a tower seven stories high the boldness, grandeur and wealth of which have amazed the Chinese.

The data of the inscriptions do not contradict this tableau; the great number of villages named in the charts proves the density of the population of the valley, the irrigation, largely practised, and scrupulously regulated, improves the whole of the land; kings officials private individuals vie with one another in zeal to multiply the canals and fountains. Buddhism and Brahmanism possess important temples enriched with landed properties; councils of brotherhood, laical and religious, administer their revenues. Numerous convents shelter the Buddhist clergy. Commerce is flourishing; the traders are organized in corporations governed by syndicates. The revenue is not an arbitrary levying but a tax in proportion clearly defined. Sanscrit is in the foreground; the scribes of the royal

chancery handle it with ease and even know how to make use of the most complicated metres; orthography reflects in its fluctuations the accademical discussions of the court. Nepal of the year 650 maintains a comparison with the most civilized states of India. After Narendra deva the chronicles lose touch with the epigraphy. It is useless to attempt a semblance of agreement between too diverging data. The genealogy of Narendra deva at (Pashupati) places after Narendra deva, his son Shiva deva and consecrates to this king a lengthy panegyric. "To Narendra deva was born Shivadeva; he distributed an honest silver, his riches were abundant; he triumphed over enemy coalitions; he pleased his parents; loke Yama, he protected the creatures; he knew how to assuage from all miseries good men who have sheltered under his care; his word was credible (veracious); loved by the people he was the support of the earth. He had a princess of that noble race of the Maukharis which has for good fortune the strength of his arm his father, famous as the crown of the Varmans, humbled the crowd of enemy kings with his glory. He was called Bhoga Varman; the princess was, beside, the granddaughter of Aditya Sena, emperor of Magadha; his name was Varsa devi; king Shivadeva took respectfully for spouse, as another shree". I have already mentioned, in connection with the name of Bhoga Varman, the eminent rank occupied by the family of the Maukharis in Hindu nobility; as to the emperor Aditya Sena of Magadha, his name and his reign are known by several inscriptions of which one is dated Samvat 66, this date, expressed in the Harsa era, corresponds to 672-73 of J.C. The Chinese I-tsing who visits India from 673 to 685, mentions a pious foundation of this prince. Shivadeva, mar-

ries the grand-daughter of Aditya Sena dates one of his inscriptions in the year 119. The year 119 in Amsuvarman's era answers to 714 of J.C. The chronological data are then here in perfect harmony. The alliance of Nepalese Licchavis of with a princess of so high a nobility testify that India had recognized and admitted the high land dynasty in the group of the authentic Ksatriyas.

The inscription of 119 (at Kathmandu, Bh. 12), separated by about sixty years from the inscriptions of Jisnu Gupta, shows the Nepalese epigraphy in course of transformation. The frame-work remains unchangeable; the wordings are consecrated by usage; the subject is uniform; and yet, in the whole, the tone has changed. Literature is invaded; a pretensions rhetoric tends to replace the simplicity of the ancient charts. The appeal to future kings is bombastic as also are the threats in case of infringement, and the stanzas mentioned in the name of Vyasa are lengthened like the peroration of a rhetorician. In fact Shivadeva simply informs the villagers of Vaidyaka that he has conceded their village as a gift to the Acaryas of Pashupati in order to defray the cost of upkeep of the Shivadevara he had founded. The village must however supply bearers every year for the labour of Tibet (Bhottavisti). The royal delegates is prince (rajaputra) Jaya deva.

The same final formulary with the designation of the same delegate is still read on the fragment of an inscription which I found at Timi. The numerical symbols of the date have disappeared but it is not to be doubted that this fragment also belongs to Shivdeva. Bhagvanlal also recalls two doubtful inscriptions of this king; the one (at Pashupati, Bh. 13) is

very mutilated; the name of the king is illegible and in the date, the symbol of the tens is almost undecipherable. Bhagvanlal declares that one can read at will 123, 134, or 143.

The royal delegate is bhattarakashree-Shivadeva. It is little probable that the king had designated himself as his own delegate, and yet the title of bhattaraka seems well to be in those inscription reserved to the king. One can surmise that Shivadeva has willingly abdicated in favour of his son Jaya deva and that Jaya deva once king has entrusted his father with one of his orders. The donation recorded has precisely for beneficiary a monastery which bears the name of Shivadeva (Shivadeva-vihara-caturdig-aryabhiksu-sanghaya); it is perhaps a monastery founded by Shivadeva and where this Nepalese Charles quint had retired after his abdication. The other inscription (at Patan, bh. 14) is dated 145; but the introductions with the name of the king are missing. The royal delegate is the heir-apparent Vijaya deva. The text which is very mutilated allows one to guess that is once again a question of water, harnessed and distributed.

The identity of the characters and of the formulary, closely bring together to these two inscriptions an inscription which I discovered at Naksal (E. of Kathmandu); the last lines and the date are illegible; the rest is in a fairly good state of preservation. Unfortunately the name of the king is obscure, I think I can read Puspa deva or Puspa deva in either case it is a Licchavi (Licchavi-Kula-Ketu). The community of Shivadeva-vihara gathers a new donation with the same clauses as in the other chart; the particular interest of

this document lies especially in the number of monasteries which it mentions in connection with the fixing of boundaries to conceded lands; the Manadeva-vihara, the Kharjurika-vihara, the...yapa vihara, the Abkaya (Kavi?) vihara, the Gupta-vihara, the Raja-vihara, the Saciva-vihara. Evidently the monasteries ended up by covering the greater portion of the valley.

The inscription of Yayadeva to Pashupati (Bh. 15) secludes for a long time the epigraphical history. I have already frequently had the occasion of mentioning the so-important genealogy which serves him as a preliminary. The inscription is dated 153 Samvat, or 748 of J.C. It is entirely in verse. Proud of his work, the poet was careful to sign it; he was called Buddha-Kirti; this is to say that he was a Buddhist. But the poem does not reveal the mind of a sectarian; Buddha-Kirti celebrates as an orthodox Brahman the god Pashupati "who has the three vedas for imperishable substance". The king Yayadeva has offered a lotus of gilded silver to his mother Vatsa devi, widow of Shivadeva and Vatsa devi in return had made homage of it to Pashupati; the poet of the court strives to the offer and the pious work. Besides he must have made it a point of honour; the king himself had entered the lists; he celebrated the master piece of metal; he had composed five verses which Buddha-Kirti has inserted in his panegyric; an express indication safeguard the (rights-copyright-of authorship) of the crowned poet.

It is just to recognize that these five stanzas denote a real skill of workmanship and as a rarer quality, a fairly lucid style.

Besides if Buddha-Kirti who is a Buddhist sings to or praises Pashupati king Jaya deva who is a Sivait salutes with respect Avalokitecvara Sivaism and Buddhism mingle with each other to the point of blending.

The panegyric gives on king on king Jaya deva himself a few precise informations; son of Shivadeva and of Vatsa devi the Maukhari, he had liked his father, contracted an alliance of the higher nobility; he had espoused Rajyamati, daughter of Shree Harsa deva, king of Ganda, Odra Kalinga, Kosala and other places, issued from the race of Bhagadatta- The ancestor of the race Bhagadatta figures with honour in the epic rhapsodies of the Maha Bharata; his descendants continued to reign over Kamarupa. An inscription found at Tejpur which relates the vicissitudes of the kingdom of Assam seems to designate a king shree Harisa as the last prince of a dynasty which had ascended the throne after the fall of the descendants of Bhagadatta; one has thought to identify this shree Harisa with the brother-in-law of Jaya deva, in spite of the evident contradiction of the texts. Jaya deva had received or taken the title (biruda) of 'Para-cakra-kama' desirous of his enemies domain which he owed to his heroism and his victories if one has to believe the poet Buddha-Kirti. He thus inaugurates in the royal onomasticon of Nepal the usage of the word Kama which appears later in the personal name of several sovereign: Gunakama deva, Laskhmi kama deva.

After Jaya deva the epigraphy and at the same time the positive history suddenly cease. The Vamsavalis it is true really present a continuous statement, but their

dynastic tableau for that epoch hamper the 'ctiyique' more than they serve or guide it, among the princes they enumerate after Amsuvarman one really rediscovers the names of Narendra deva, Shiva deva, Jaya deva. But Narendra deva is separated from Amsuvarman by four (K) or five reigns which cover 86 years (K) or 300 years (W) or 370 years (B). Shiva deva only appears on the list of K. (Seo Deo 5), but he precedes in it Narendra deva, instead of following him. Jaya deva is only the fifth successor of Narendra deva, he ascends the throne 45 years (V) or 61 years (K.W.B.) after the close of the reign of Narendra deva. The memories associated to all these princes are of a legendary of religious order. Krtavarman (2) is only a name; Bhimarjuna (3) also Nanda deva (4) has introduced in the local usage one of the eras of India; either that of Calivahana (W. Bh) or that of Vikrama (V). Vira deva (5) who is missing in K., seems a doublet of a Vara deva (8) he ascends the throne in 3400 K.Y. (W.B.;-299 J.C. or in 3600 K.Y.;- 499 J.C.) and founds Patan. Candraketu deva (6) who is also missing in K., reigns during an epoch of troubles; enemies attack the country from all sides and pillages the people. Overwhelmed with sorrow, the king shuts himself up with his two spouses and spends twelve years in lamentations over his adversity. A supernatural help due to the year intervention of the vajracarya Bhududatta restores the country's prosperity; the kings who had ransacked Nepal handed back their booty. Having reached an old age Candraketu hands over the crown to his son Narendra deva and dies (ascends to heaven). After Narendra deva (7) Vara deva (8) changes his residence from Madhyalakhu to Patan. The name of Cankaradeva (9) is the cause

through a fatal link of Cankara acarya appearing on the scene. The terrible adversary of the heresies visits Nepal under the reign of Vara deva and to commemorate so great an event, Vara deva gives his son the name of Cankara. It is undoubtedly a connection of the same sort which credits Cankara deva with being the founder of the town of Sanju; besides his successor Vardhamana deva (10) contests this honour, it is also Cankara deva who founded so they say the village of Changu Narayan near the famous sanctuary; under Bali deva (11) the velly of Banepa is annexed to the kingdom of Nepal (Kirkpatrick, p. 167). After Jaya deva (12), K enumerates three kings who are missing in the other lists. Coudur Deo (1); Jye Deo II (13); Bul Deo III (14). The general agreement is resumed with Balarjuna (13) who, besides has no history.

The history of the neighbouring states, reflects any light on this obscure period of the Nepalese history. The Empire of the Harsa, disemnered and partitioned, seems to reconstitute itself during the VIIth century around the sovereigns of 'Canoge' but the very rare documents allow the most varied intervals. Not one, besides, places Hindusthan in contact with Nepal. Tibet on the contrary certainly intervenes in Napalese affairs; in default of indigenous informations, the notes of the Chinese Annals allows to perceive Nepal in the background of Tibet as a distant factor of palpable perturbations.

After the death of Srong-btsan sgampo (650), his grand-son, K'i-li-pa-pou (650-697) had led an army of 200,000 men in the province of the Sse-tch'oan subdued at the other extremity of the cen-

tral plateau Khotan, Kachgar, the borderers of Issayk-koul, the T'ou-Kou-houn of the Kouokunor, invaded and pillaged Kan-sou and dragged in his alliance the western T'ou-Kiue. In the South his domains spread as far as Central India (po-lo-men). His empire covered more than 10,000 li; since the days of the Huns and the Weis, no people (or tribe) among the nations of the West had been so powerful. The Chinese benefitted by the minority of the K'i-nou-chi-loung and by the troubles which followed the regency of K'in-ling, to reconquer the "four governments"—Koutcha, Kachgar, Khotan and the Issayk-koul (692); but Ki-nou-chi-loung took the offensive in his turn, he appeared before Liang-tcheon in 696 and in 702 and demanded the hand of an imperial princess which they dared not refuse him. But "at that moment the subdued states on the frontier south of Nepal (Ni-pa-lo) and Central India (po-lo-men) revolted at the same time; the tsan-pou proceeded in person to punish them, but he died during the war". The revolt however failed and the new Tibet, K'i-li-so-tsan knew how to maintain his sovereignty. In fact, Shiva deva's chart, dated 714 J.C., which concedes a village exempt from duties, stimulates nevertheless the obligation of supplying five bearers for the "Tibetan statue labour" (bhotta-visiti). It is on this occasion that the name given in Sanscrit to the Tibetan appears for the first time. The "Tibetan statue labour" probably consisted in carrying across the mountains, either the merchandises paid in tribute to Tibet, or the eminent Tibetan personages sent to Nepal. It is a labour of the same nature that the other inscription of Shiva deva indicates by a discreet allusion in stipulating the obligation of going in the countries beyond the frontiers (bahir desa gamana).

Central India herself, if she did not pay regular tribute to Tibet, did not remain immune from depredations; during the period of K'ai-yuen (713-741) an embassy of Central India came to request from the son of Heaven an army of reinforcements to punish both the Tibetans and another enemy still more dreadful, who had just made its appearance; the Arabs (ta-chi). The emperor Hinentsong who had great pains in defending his own territory, contented himself with conceding by virtue of a decree, a title of honour to the Indian army; he named it "the army which loves virtue (hoai-te-kiun)".

The embassy sent to China by the king of Kashmere, Muktapida between 736 and 747 had no better results and yet Muktapida was injuring himself in maintaining an auxiliary army of 200,000 men; he represented that in agreement with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five roads to Tibet and won several victories over the Tibetans. "The Tibetans would have shown pallor but for their sallow complexion which concealed their trouble. When monkeys are in rage can the redness of their face be distinguished."

Towards 760 the last of the country of Ko-long finally separates the Chinese from India. The Tibetan power continues to wax. In 763, So-si-loung-lie-tsan even succeeded in capturing Teh'ang-an the capital of the Empire but he is immediately compelled to retire. The appearance of the "Hoei-ho" (Ouigours) on the frontier of the North delays for a while the rush of the indefatigable invaders and does not succeed in stopping it. In 786, the Tibetans are the masters of Chen-si as far as the Great Wall; in 790, they capture Pei-t'ing (Ouroumtsi) and An-si (Kontcha).

Kashmere who sided with India against Tibet, and which an arduous anxiety for expansion pushed since the beginning of the VIIIth century, sometimes towards the Ganges and sometimes towards Central Asia, attempts at this moment to snatch Nepal from the Tibetans. Jayapida who reigns thither is a wit friends of the poets whom he assembles in his court and takes for ministers; glorified by their flatteries, he believes himself destined for the conquest of the world and blindly throws himself often in the most reckless of adventures. The legend accessory to the poets of the court, has forgiven everything to this Richard Coeur-de-lion; it has even endowed it with another Blondel. Jayapida, who has already pushed as far as Bengal and reduced Kanyakubja on his way and who has already known captivity with Bhimsena, king of the East, suddenly invades at the head of a strong army. Aramudi, king of Nepal, rushed to bar his progress; the battle begins; the army of Jayapida is hewn into fragments, Jayapida himself falls in the hands of his rival, who imprisons him "in a gloomy tower" on the banks of the Kaligandaki. The strict orders of Aramudi assure the inviolate secrets of the prison which holds the royal captive. But poetry and the song, triumph over brutal force; a minister of Jayapida wandering in the search of his king lends an ear to the lamentations uttered by the prisoner, recognizes his voice, penetrates by a ruse inside his prison and gladly sacrifices himself to enable Jayapida to escape.

Mr. Stein considers, undoubtedly rightly, this episode as a popular tale but the gist may be true. Aramudi does not figure, it is true among the kings of Nepal, and the barbarous twist of his name, is out of tune among the Sanscrit names of

authentic kings, but the very singularity of this name recommends it to one's attention; a story teller in the humour for an invention would have forged the name of the Nepalese king on the prevailing type. Thus proceeds for instance, the poet of the Brhat Katha. The strange consonance of the word Arumadi can conceal a Tibetan name. The Tibetan protectors of Nepal and keen on protecting their Southern frontiers against the renewed enterprises of Kashmere, would have perhaps taken upon themselves the defense of the vassal territory and opposed to Jayapida one of their own generals. In any case, it is impossible not to recognize in the river Kali Gandaki of the account, the name of the kala (or kali) Gandaki, the black Gandaki, the most western of the seven Gandakis; it is, in fact, the first barrier, where a Nepalese army must attempt to stop an invader come from the west and the mountains.

Nepal then remains under the yoke of Tibet. Khri lde srong btsan (816-838), also calls Ral pa ean (The Chinese name him K'o li K'o tsou and I-tal), was the suzerain to the North of Mangolia; to the west of the territories which border on Persia; to the south "of the countries of India bLo Mon Li and Zahora (namely, of Nepal and Hindusthan) as far as the majestic bed of the Ganga"³². But a religious crisis was soon about to bring and precipitate the decadence.

Whereas the political might of Tibet was developing, Buddhism had made immense progress. Introduced by the simultaneous influence of India and China under the auspices of two gracious princesses, it had soon received powerful stimulus due to the mishap

of the times. Islam was born (hegira: 622 of J.C.) an irresistible expansion had borne it triumphantly as far as the Pameer and the passes of India, in less than a century. The monks of the yellow robed order were fleeing, terror-stricken, in the face of these singular apostles, who ransacked the temples and burnt the convents. Distracted India gathered round the Brahmans who represented this ancient order of things which they too long thought immutable; it detached itself from Buddhism, suspected of indulgence and tenderness to the barbarians. The successors of Srong-btsan sgam-po saw that they could benefit by the situation; they welcomed with open arms the exiled, those who were expelled and who brought into Tibet the human sciences and supernatural knowledges and who further placed at the disposal of Tibetan ambitions their ancient believers apostates by fright or by impulse but entirely disposed to enter in the pale of the church on the day of his triumph. The monasteries increase, under the guidance of the learned men from India and Nepal; holy books were translated. In 824, a Tibetan embassy came to request at the court of China an image of the mountain, On-t'ai (Panch cirsa) where Manjucris dwells.

A formidable reaction followed these too rapid progresses. In 838, I-t'ai died; the throne passed to his brother who bore, by the irony of fate, the name of D(h)arma (Glan Darma; in Chinese Ta-mo). The buddhistic scribes have treated Darma as the Christians have Nero; he is in ecclesiastical history, the complete monster, the abomination and the dissolution. The very Annals of the T'ang, retraced under Buddhist influence represent him as a drunkard, amateur of violent exercises, given over to wo-

men, cruel tyrannical. He walked up (rendered immature) the monasteries, dispersed the monks, burnt the sacred texts, heaped up impieties on horrors until the day when a Jacques Clement laid him low with an arrow (842). Darma did not leave any heirs; they substituted posthumous children to him, who served as a valley to each one of the parties. Civil war broke out; the foreigner was called into assist. China who had waited for a long time profited by the opportunity to recover a portion of the lost territories (849); Chang K'ong, who had taken the title of Tsan-pou went and got killed in a battle against the Ouigours (866). The divided kingdom had two capitals, Lhasa and Chigatze; it soon had a third; it was the doom of the empire of Srong-btsan sgam-po.

This political upheaval which suddenly changes the face of internal Asia corresponds to a real revolution in the records of Nepal. Thursday the 20th October 879 (1st Kartika cudi of Vik. 936 current) is the starting point of a new era which bears the name of "Nepalese samvat". The foundation of an era is even to the Hindu eyes, who have abused of it, an important event; the prince who has a claim in that era must have killed the Cakas (Scythian invaders) by the million or at least must have paid the debts of the kingdom without exception. The Nepalese chronicles know nothing of the real fact which erected the Nepala-samvat; they mention (W.V.B.) a popular tale wherein nothing is authentic. A clever astrologer reveals to the king of Bhatgaon, Ananda Malla, a marvellous secret, under the wonderful influence of heaven, the sand collected at the confluence of the Bhadravati and of the Bishnumati.

must spontaneously transmute itself into gold. The king despatches coolies to gather on the said at the appointed time the sand in bags full. Their task accomplished, the coolies return with their load to Bhatgaon. But a merchant of Kathmandu named Sakhiva,³³ meets them, he asked them to deliver him the sacks at his house; they would only need to take another load for the king on the way back. The coolies, without distrust, accepted the arrangement. They finally return to Bhatgaon; Ananda Malla who was getting impatient quickly opens the sacks; they were only filled with sand. The disappointed king hastens to the astrologers home, loads him with abuses, turns his science to derision and the astrologer seized with vexation throws into the fire his magic conjuring book. Ananda Malla having returned to his palace, discovers at the bottom of the bags a few grains of pure gold; he makes enquiries and understands the joke played at his expense. Possessor of an immense fortune, Sakhiva asks the king of Kathmandu Jaya deva Malla, the authorisation of paying off all the debts; he obtains it and inaugurates a new era. In testimony of gratefulness, he erects his own statue in stone at the gate of Pashupati where it is still shown.

The legend is undoubtedly a malice of the people of Kathmandu at the expense of those of Bhatgaon. The kings mixed up in the account date in reality from the IVth century of the Nepal-Samvat; the tale therefore leaves no residue to history. But the Vamsavali of Kirkpatrick, introduces after Balajurna deva (13), Ballunjoon Deo (15) a prince called Raghava deva, Ragheeb Deo (16) absent from the other lists and K. adds: "This prince introduced

the Tambul era (corr. Sambut-Samvat) or era of Bickermajeet, in Nepal, where the computation the most employed to-day is, however, among the parbutties, the Caka era. The Newars, on the other hand, have chronology proper on the origin of which I have been instituted about none centuries ago, the year 914 of their computation beginning on the 15th Kartick or 28th of October 1793. Perhaps the beginning of this computation may be connected with the period of the first establishment of the Semroun dynasty in Nepal." The dynasty of Semroun is that of Hari simha deva who invaded Nepal in 1324; the "first establishment" at "Semroun" (Simangarh) is attributed by Kirkpatrick himself to "Nan Deo" (Nanya deva) in the year of "Bickermajeet" 901 (844 J.C.). Kirkpatrick separates formally Raghava deva and the era of Nepal.

Prinsep,³⁴ in "adjusting" the Nepalese chronology, substitutes the Nepala-Samvat to the samvat of Vikramaditya and carries the accession of Raghava deva to the year 880 J.C.; he thereby makes of this, the point of departure of the new era. Cunningham takes again to his account the ascertain of Prinsep as an accomplished fact, and M. Bendall who wrongly accuses Kirkpatrick of having omitted Raghava deva authorizes himself from Cunningham³⁵ to represent Raghava deva as "the traditional founder of Nepal's era"³⁶. He further observes that the duration of the accession of Laxmi Kama deva, gives about a total of 135 years. The first date known of the reign of Laxmi Kama deva is precisely the year 135. The combination of Cunningham or more exactly of Prinsep has then a chance of being correct.

(To be continued)

FOOT NOTES

1. See my article: The date of Candragomin Exole française Extreme-Orient; 1903, specially p. 15 sq.
2. Taranath, p. 151
3. Ib p. 193
4. Ib p. 64 sq.
5. Ib p. 268 sq.
6. Geiger. 'Literature and sprache der Singhaleson' p. 4
7. Kielhorn Ind, Antiq., IV. 181
8. Hamilton: p. 107
W. Vamsavali (Buddhistic) of Wright, B. Vamsavali of Bhagvanlal, C. Brahmanic Vamsavali (my manuscript, K. Kirkpatrick, Bd. Vamsavalis of Bendall (Journ. As Soc. Beng., 1903).
9. The parbatiya text of the Vamsavali of Bhagvanlal, such as it is mentioned in his article (p. 44, n. 35) is exactly identical to the text of my Brahmanic Vamsavali (V) on Amsuvarman.
10. Memoirs, 1,408—The mention of the Cabda-vidya-sutra of Amsuvarman in life and voyage of Hiouen Tshang, p. 50 is an addition purely arbitrary of St. Julien, the text simply designates the Cabda-vidya castra in general; castra and not: sutra, which is an oversight; Julien transcribes himself the Chinese expression 'Ching ming-lun.
11. Kirkpatrick, p. 220.—The graphy Ung-hoo Burmah of Kirkpatrick proves that his informers based themselves on a written tradition and of ancient date. The confusion of letters 'cu' and 'gu', impossible in modern Nepalese writing, is on the contrary difficult to avoid in the ancient writing. (key the exactly parallel error which I have pointed out gomin and svamin by M. Bendall).
12. M. Rapson (Indian Coins, pl. V) reads 'Kamadehi' which could be a feminine (irregular) of 'Kama-deha' a compound liable to several meaning among others: 'which is the body of the desire', 'which has in its body all the desires realized', a very slight modification would give the reading 'Kamadohi', parallel formation to Kamdugh dohi being an irregular feminine 'doha' in composition.
13. Ind. Antiq., XIX, p. 40. The passage is found in the edition of the Nirnaya-Sagar, p. 101; key, trad; Thomas. p. 76.
14. I-Tsing, 'The Eminent Religious Men', p. 80
15. 'The Missions of Wang Hiuén-ts'e in the Journ. Asiat', 1900, 1. p. 406
16. Ma Toan-lin, chap 334 annals of the T'ang ch. 256 and 257. This section of the Annals has been translated and annotated excellently by M. Bushell

- in the Journ. Roy, As Soc., New ser., XII, 435 sqq.—Description of Tibet; translated by Klaproth in the *Asiat Journal*, 1829, 2,81-158; 241-324.
17. Klaproth in the article mentioned gives by error as a date 'towards 630'.
 18. Emil Schlagintweit, *Die Könige von Tibet* (Translation of Rgyalrabs) in *Abahndl. d.k. bayer. Aka. d. wiss.*, 1866. Koppen, *Buddhismus*, II, 47 sqq. Key also *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 298 sqq.
 19. 'Geschichte.... Ordus' translated by J.J.-Schmidt, Petersbourg, 1829, p. 328; 'His ministers entered in relations in the east with the Chinese and the Minak (Tangoutes), in the south with Hindusthan in the west with Balbo (Nepal) and in the North with the Hor and tge Gugi'.
 20. Note on the Chronology of Nepal p. 12 'Ssanang-ssetsen gives this name by Gerelun Chujak (gerel—light)
 21. J.J. Schmidt, p. 335. The word gLu regulary translates the Sanscrit Naga key sup. l. 54.
 22. Such is the translation which Hiouentsang gives.
 23. She was born in 624 according to the Tibetan tradition, which places her marriage in 639.
 24. I give here the translation of Ssanang-ssetsen according to a Chinese version of this author which the late M. Deveria had had the complaisance to communicate to me.
 25. Georgi (p. 293) calls her 'Lha-ci-thrit-zuns, filiam Sama briscio regis Jangbu tibetice, Kathmandu indostanice'.
 26. According to a document mentioned by Bogle and published by M. Cl. Markham (*Tibet*, p. 343) the Rani of the Raja Niwar of Nepal was called 'Dewalhaha-Maho-ye-ser' (perhaps Moho-ye-ses-Mahaprajna-Tara) and the princess, 'Palmosathi-Chun'.
 27. Koppen, II, 47.
 28. Key, Godefroy de Blonay, *Materials to serve in the study of the goddess Tara*, Paris, 1895.
 29. *History of the Huns* book III, Chronological tableaux of the Tibetan nations.
 30. Kirkpatrick, Appendix No. 11, B.
 31. Csoma, *Journ, As. Soc. Bengal* III, p. 6; reproduced in Princep, *Useful Tables*, 11, 162.
 32. Rgyal races, translated by Emil Schlagintweit.
 33. The Sanscrit form is Cankhadhara. The Nepalese almanac of 1902 (*Nepala deciya Pancanga* 1959 Vik.) calls the Nepalese era: Shree Cankhadhara Krta Nepala Samvat.
 34. *Useful Tables*, ed., Ed. Thomas, London 1858, p. 269.
 35. *Indian Eras*, p. 74-
 36. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1903, p. 5.