

# NEPAL

(Continued)

- Sylvain Levi

It must not be lost to sight, however, that there does not exist one single text which expressly mentions Raghava deva as the founder of the Nepala-Samvat. The only published document so far (K) simply attributes to him the introduction of the Vikrama-Samvat. Other Vamsavalis which ignore Raghava deva, connect to one of his predecessors an analogous event. Nanda deva (4) introduced in Nepal either the era of Calivahna (W. B.) or the Vikrama era (V) and it is perhaps in this way that it is convenient to explain the origin of the Nepalese era. The years 879-880 which is the first current year of that era, is the first spent year of the IXth century Caka. We know exactly that the Caka era had at that epoch penetrated into the Himalayan regions of India. The pracasti of Baijnath dated from the spent year 7(26 ?) of the Caka era proves that this era was then in usage in the lofty valley of Kangra between Kashmere and Nepal. It is found associated precisely in this inscription to a date of undetermined nature, "the year 80". In it was recognized without hesitation the computation Saptarsi or Loka-Kala, which begins from 3075 B. C.; but which sidetracks in the real usage the figures of the hundreds and thousands. This kind of computation was very widely spread in Kashmere

and its accomodation must have extended its usage. The originality of the Nepala-Samvat seems to consist essentially in the application the Caka era of the appropriate proceedings of the Loka-Kala. Instead of counting 801, 802 etc. one counts 1 2 etc yet the year of the Nevar calender does not servilely copy the year Caka; this one if fact, begins in the month of Chaitra (March-April), in India at least.<sup>1</sup> The Nevar year begins in Kartika (October-November) as does the Vikrama year. The Nevar year thus combining the features of the two calenders, one can understand that the translation can thereby represent the foundation as the introduction of the one or the other computation Caka or Vikrama. If the Nevar era is only an adaptation of the Caka era, it is legitimate to ask oneself why this substitution has been operated. The pallid Raghava Deva has not the face of the founder of an era. I cannot prevent myself from believing that Nepal, delivered from the Tibetan yoke by the murder of Ghan Dharma and the anarchy which followed, hailed the new century as a new period of her history, we know what a superstitions expectation attaches itself even in Europe, on the birth of a new century. An astrological belief spread in Nepal, could have also contributed in the creation of the new

computation. The Nevars whom the Chinese travellers of the VIIth century already describe as "conversant in the calculation of the destinies and keep in the art of the calender"<sup>2</sup> believe in the dismail influence of the figure 8. In whichever year the figure 8 is met with the year is unfortunate.<sup>3</sup> The best fun lies in that fate has been pleased to decide in favour of prejudice. It is in the year 888 of the Nepala Samvat (1788 J. C.). That the Gorkhas have conquered Nepal; the fright of living for a hundred years under so dreadful a threat would have sufficed perhaps in provoking a revolution of the calender among a tribe so pre-occupied.

The first successors of Raghava deva are only mere names and names fairly badly recorded. The list of K. enumerates Seeker Deo (17) with a reign of 88 years and 6 months, then Soho Deo (18) with a reign of 33 years and 9 months. The list of Bd. substitutes to these two princes a new Jaya deva with a reign of 10 years only opposite period of 121 years in K. To explain and correct so grave a divergence between documents so closely united usually one is tempted to consider the two numbers of K., 88 and 33, worked up one and the other with a figure repeated like a ditto, attributable either to the informer of K or to K himself or again to his editor. The two regions would be reduced to a total of 12 years and 3 months. The unanimous agreement of the Vamsavalis broken after Balarjuna deva (13), is re-established with Vikrama deva (14) yet the duration of his reign was fairly fluctuating; 1 year (K), 8 years 9 months (Bd) 12 years (B. W. V.) after him K. and Bd. insert Narendra deva (20) who reigns 1 year and 6 months.

Gunakama deva (15) is seen as a fairly vigorous personality in this long series of phantom-kings. His reign is prolonged for more than half a century; 51 years (B. W. V.) 65 years 5 months (Bd) 85 years 6 months (K). The legend, in default of positive history, has been pleased to represent him as a powerful and sumptuous monarch. He passes for the founder of Kathmandu. However, the tradition which associates to this memory the name of Gunakama dates the foundation in the year 3824 spent (lapsed) or 3825 present (corrent), of the Kali-yuga or 723-724 J. C. I have not been able inspite of persevering researches, to gather a more minute date which would have been susceptible of verification by calculation. In fact the date excludes the king and reciprocally. Taken by itself the date seems acceptable; it is fairly reasonable enough to avoid suspicions. An analist in the mood for inventing would have freely taken back to the most distant past, as far back as the first among the Gunakama deva, the origin of the capital. Furthermore, it is towards the same epoch that the chronicles arrange the foundation of Patan and Sanku. The birth of these three great towns logically corresponds to the transformation of the economical life in Nepal. The inscription of the anterior period never mention but ordinary rural communities (grama); the population scattered in the fields lived especially on the cultivation. Deo Patan, leanin on the temple of Pashupati, was still the only town (pattana). The king dwelt thither near the divinity which protected him; the court and the pilgrims assured the bazars with sufficient business. But gradually the regular relations with India develop the commerce of exchange; the constitution of the Tibetan kingdom opens a new market which spreads continuously. Guardian of the passes which link

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at distant points the India of the rajahs with the China of the emperors, Nepal suddenly finds herself raised to an agent to two worlds. The not much lucrative soil is deserted and the people are keen on negotiation. "The merchants, whether wandering or established are numerous thither, the cultivators rare" says the notice of the T'ang. The manual arts in which triumph the ingenuity and skill of the Nevars promise an easy earning. Goldsmiths, melters, painters, coulerers increase in number without crowding the market. The exigencies of the new professions favour social life, naturally dear to the Nevars. The growing might of the kings tends also to group around them a more numerous population. Towns spring up. It is not a question of a thorough creation, the ancient inscriptions still preserved in their place, how that they were formed by the assemblage of several villages, progressively enlarged and brought closer to one another until they mingle into one. It is probable, however that Gunakama deva had deserved by the works of improvement he executed thither, to be considered as another founder of Kathmandu. He had built among others, a fountain of gold of which the name only has been perpetuated; it is the Son-dhara (Suvarna-dhara) between the Darbar and the old bridge of the Bishnumati. The ancient name of Kathmandu, Kantipura, may have led, on the other hand, to a bringing together with Gunakama 'Kanti' and 'Kama' are two connected formations, drawn both one and the other from the root 'kam' to 'love'. Among the religious institutions which tradition attributes to Gunakama deva and which I have already mentioned in studying their religion, I will recall here the 'yatra' in honour of Khasarpa Lokeshvara (Key, I, 354) clearly destined to destroy, for the benefit of Kathmandu the

yatra of Matsyendra Natha of Patan. Pashupati also benefited by his fabulous munificence; he ordered to be poured for fifteen days, on the linga, gold water which flowed from two gold fountains and covered the temple with a gilded roofing. In spite of so many prodigalities he was still able to place in reserve a sum of five hundred and twenty millions which he entrusted to the Naga Vasuki in the hollow of mount Indrakala. His power spread beyond the valley toward the East; it is from there that he brought away Prayaga Bhairava.

By a disconcerting contrast, the direct documents taken up again on the very morrow of this long reign when it had not yet been mentioned about manuscripts or inscriptions of the days of Gunakama Deva. Udaya Deva (22) figures on the lists of K. (6 years) and of Bd (Bendall) (5 years 5 months). Nirbhaya Deva (23) is only named by K. (7 years); but the agreement is re-established on the names which follow. Here again, the list of K. is the most exact. Opposite Bhojadeva (16) it inserts Bha; Deo Budro (24). We are clearly concerned here with a graphical confusion of the editor, who has read or transcribed B for R. We must read Rudro which pertains to Rudra in the usual transcription. Rudra does not appear on any other list. But two signatures of the manuscripts guarantee the authenticity of his name and existence. The collection of Cambridge possesses a copy (Add, 866) of the Prajnaparamita in eight thousand stanzas written in Samvat 128 (1008 J. C.), under the dual royalty ('dvi-rajyaka') of Nirbhaya Deva and Rudra Deva sovereign of the earth. The expression 'dvi-rajyaka' seems well to designate as M. Bendall has supposed it, a government exercised by two kings. A drama of Kalidasa, Malavikagnimitra, presents, an almosts-

identical term, "dvairajya and the contestation allows to surely determine thereby the meaning. King Agnimitra, informed of a victory won by his troops, regulates the destinies of the conquered state (V Act, verse 13 and 14)". I have the intention of placing the two princes Yajna Sena and Madhava Sena on a dual throne (dvairajya). That each one apart governs the banks of the Varada, to the North and to the South, like the cool and the warm start sharing with each other the night and the day.

The king sends his council of ministers to consult on this project and the chamberlain brings him back their reply:

"The council of ministers has the same views. Let us share with them the burden of administration, like the pole between the horses of the chariot, held by the same hand; they will remain Sire, under your authority, without ever nearing the state of harming one another." The administration of the "dual royalty" is then exactly a consortium, as is meant to convey the translation of M. Bendall: 'joint regency' it is well defined government in the Hindu politics, where two princes share out in halves one state alone without destroying however the organic unit. This administration seems to imply, as in the case of Malavikagnimitra a foreign authority which adds itself as a moderator and suzerain above the two princes. The Tibetan hegemony could not be matter for contemplation at this epoch; on the other hand the history of Hindusthan is known to us. It is not impossible that the dynasty of the Palas, reaching her zenith at this moment, mistress of the Ganges between Benares and the sea had subjected Nepal under her authority more or less nominal. The presence would thus be better explained, in Nepalese collections of the manuscripts

copied under the reign of the Palas, especially of Mahipala and Naya Pala who occupy the first half of the XIth century. Religion must have linked close and frequent relations between the highland kingdom and the Empire of the plains. The Palas possessed the holy earth of Buddhism; the two holy sites among others, Budhi-Gaya and Sarnath (near Benares) have preserved inscriptions of Mahi Pala. The monastery of Vikrama Cila which had replaced Nalanda as the hearth of knowledge and Buddhist piety, rose in the centre of the kingdom of the Palas. Among the masters who shone thither in the beginning of the XIth century, Tara-natha names three Nepalese: Ratna Kirti, Vairocana Pandita and Kanaka Shree. The Chinese mission surnamed 'the three hundred Samians' (Key I, 166 note) after having visited the Maghada subdued to the Palas return through of Nepal. The Tibetan mission sent to Vikrama Cila towards 1040 J. C., with the purpose of bringing away the erudit Atisa, encounters of the frontier of India the company of a Nepalese prince, who also proceeding to the same monastery and continued the journey together. On the other hand, the learned men of India willingly ascend into Nepal; in the days of Deva Pala (Xth century) it is Vajra Deva reaching Nepal, he sees thither a kind of bad fairy (tirthyā-yogini) who was committing irregular acts; he composes against her a poem of blame. In return, she curses him and he becomes a leper, but a hymn which he writes in honour of Avalokitesvara, the Lokeshvara Sataka, delivers him from this awful diseases<sup>5</sup>. A contemporary of Atisa, Vagisvara kirti, magician and sorcerer, spends in Nepal the second half of his life, especially busy with magical rites (siddhi).<sup>6</sup> Under the immediate successors of Naya Pala, Phamnthin with his brother

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and Jana Vajra greets the people in Nepal.<sup>7</sup> In short when the Musulmans overthrew Govinda Pala and occupied the country of Magadha in 1197, Buddha shree of Nepal who had been the president (sthavira) of the Maha-samghikas in the monastery of Vikrama Cila and who had published in Nepal many Paramitas and Mantras, resumes the journey to his native land, escorted by his disciples, and Ratna raksita the ancient, soon comes to rejoin him thither.<sup>8</sup>

Rudra Deva, associated in a dual royalty with Nirbhaya Deva in Samvat 128 reappears seven years later in the signature of another exemplary of the Prajnaparamita (Cambridge, Add, 1643),<sup>9</sup> written in Samvat 135 (1015 J. C.).

The two manuscripts of 128 and 135, issue from the same monastery: the (shree) Hlam Vihara the most recent pompously glorifies this monastery. "The dynasties of old have founded it with pleasure for the adornment of the country of Nepal; it is the passion of all creatures the word of Buddha perpetually shines thither." Hlam is not a Sanscrit word it is evidently an indigenous designation, actually yet the viharas are known under two names: one Sanscrit, is only employed in literature, the other, Nevar is alone in usage in current life. But it soon happened that the reputation of real name caused harm to the clever name an inscription of Amsuvarman, mentions, in a list of temples and convents of Sanskrit name the Gum-vihara, under its indigenous appellation. The miniatures which adorn the manuscript of the year 135 have been closely studied by M. Faucher; they testify the degree of skill in which the painters of Nepal had attained at the epoch.

In 135 as in 128, Rudra Deva is not alone in power; but he has changed his company. He is associated this time with

Bhoja Deva (16) and with Laksmikama Deva (17) or rather he is mentioned with them, without it being possible to determine with precision the relations of these three personages. It seems that Bhoja Deva, designated as the king (rajni) has won over Rudra Deva by the multitude of his numerous merits, whilst Laksmikama Deva enjoys a half-royalty (Ardharajya). M. Rendall concludes that Rudra Deva preserve the half of the kingdom, whereas Bhoja Deva and Laksmikama Deva shared between them the other half. I have a tendency to believe with M. Foucher (Footnote "Studies of Buddhist Iconography", p. 17) that Bhoja Deva is in reality the successor of Rudra Deva. The scribe seems to have taken pains to contrive a pun on "gana" which means "multitude" and "the talented men in the service of Rudra (Shiva)", at the same time. The word "alabdha" which characterizes the relations of Bhoja Deva with Rudra Deva is interpreted by Cridhara svamin, in his commentary on the Bhagvata-Purana (X, 57, 40) like "called upon" or "vitaly interested", and it is this last sense which Hauvette-Besnault adopts in the translation of the passage. ("Seduced by his conciliating words ... etc) Bhoja Deva would not have succeeded Rudra Deva as his natural heir, but by virtue of a merited choice. Laksmikama Deva "thunderbolt of the world of his enemies" enjoys a "half-royalty". The same expression reappears precisely in the scene of Malavikagmitra which I have already mentioned. A maid-servant hears the decision of the king and immediately congratulates Malavika, sister of one or the princes to whom the power is about to be handed. "Princess, what luck" - The prince is about to be installed in half-royalty (in Pra-crit: "addharajje"). "The term has then a consecrated value: It is exactly applicable to the power of one of the two members of the "dvirajyaka" or of the "dvairajya".

Bhojadeva who occupies the throne towards 1015 is exactly the contemporary of another Bhoja Deva who reigned at Dhara and at Ujayini and who has left in the literary history of India an incomparable reputation as a writer, erudite and as a protector of learned men, at the same time. The Nepalese king has not been able to acquire by an aptitude for imitation, the name of the king of Dhara; the dates of the two princes expressly exclude this hypothesis. The vogue which had spread this name in India since the XIIIth century had reached as far as Nepal. The signature of a manuscript which bears no date (Camb. Add. 2191) designates Bhoja Deva as the sole king.

In 159, Laksmikama Deva appears in his turn as the sole king (Camb. Add. 1683); the date shown (Vaicakha cudi, 3, Cukradine) exactly answers to Friday the 30th March 1039. The interval lapsed since the year 135, in which Laksmikama is mentioned for the first time, slightly exceeds the duration of the reign which the chronicles attribute to him (22 years B. W. V.; 21 years, K. Bd). He passes for the grandson of Gunakama Deva, the analogy of names seems to reveal some kind of relationship. Convinced that his grand-father owed his victories and treasures to the favour of the Kumaris, he dedicated a keen and passionate religion to these divinities. He built so they say, the Laksmivarma Vihara, called in Nevar 'Hatko' which Siddhinara Simha destroyed in the middle of the XVIIth century to rebuild it on another site.

The successor of Laksmikama Deva is called Jaya Vihaya (Bd), Jayakama Deva (W. B. V.) Jaya Deva (K); his reign lasts 20 years. (Bd alone carries it to 31 years). He restored the religion of Naga Vasuki and made over to him as a homage, musical

instruments, with the purpose of safeguarding the protection of the treasures and the respect of the laws; if one has to believe the chronicle (W) the means had a complete success. The state of the country justified however, the king's preoccupations. Jaya Deva only reigned on half the kingdom at Patan (Bd); a powerful vassal, Bhaskara Deva dared to refuse the homage and claim the crown. Jaya Deva died childless, the clan of the Thakuris of Nayakot elected Bhaskara Deva to succeed him (W). Manifestly, it is feudalism which disposes then of the royal power. If the account of the Vamcavalis is exact, the valley of Nepal has lost her independence; the Burgraves lodged in the neighbouring mountains impose on her a master. It is the epoch during which the Manjucri-mula-tantra shows "in the kingdom of Nepal, the small kings of within and without who invade, pillage and kill one another". It is at the same time that Atisa while crossing Nepal to proceed from India into Tibet (toward 1040), goes and pays respect at first to the chaitya of Swayambhu, where the local raja welcomes him in his palace, and then he undertakes a long voyage towards the west, as far as Palpa, to meet thither the king sovereign of Nepal, Anantakirti (in Tibetan, "Grags-pamtha-yas" "infinite glory").<sup>10</sup> Patan and Kathmandu having weakened by the rivalries which accompany their growth, cease to exercise the hegemony.

The chronicles (W. Bh. V.) consider Bhaskara Deva as the founder of a dynasty; a text unfortunately obscure, (Bd) however, mentions "the crown of his father". Tradition attributes to him the foundation of the gold monastery (Hiranyavarma Maha Vihara or Hema-Varna) at Patan, he would have built it to shelter therein the divinity of the Pingala-Vihara, which had just crumbled down. A manuscript dated

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samvat 167 (1046 J. C.) gives Bhaskara Deva the imperial titles "sovereign lord, king above great kings, supreme master" (parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja, paramesvara). After Bhaskara Deva K, alone names Udaya Deva (2) who would have reigned 7 years and 1 month. The rest of the list presents no divergence. Bala Deva founds the town of Haripur, two manuscripts dated in the year 180 (1059-60 J. C.) name him as the reigning king.<sup>12</sup> Padma Deva (3) also called Pradyumna Kama Deva, receives one of the sovereign titles (parama bhattaraka) in the signature of a manuscript (Camb. Add. 1684) of the Saddharma pundarika dated in the year 185 (1064 J. C.).<sup>13</sup>

This prince re-establishes the usage of wearing crowns, which had been discontinued since the days of Balarjuna Deva (K). Nagarjuna Deva recalls a great number of memories by his name; but we know nothing of his reign but its duration: 3 years (2 years, Bd). Cankara Deva is better known to us, there exists three manuscripts dated during his name; one of them (Dharma-putrika) of the year 189 (1068 J. C.); another (Asta Sakarika) of the year 191, and the third (commentary of Prajnakara on the Bhodhicaryavatara) of the year 198.<sup>14</sup> The second of these manuscripts is adorned with interesting miniatures concerning the art and history of Buddhism;<sup>15</sup> The scribe resided at Patan "the charming" (Lalita-pure ramye) in the monastery of Yacodhara. The chronicles give a precise account as to how this monastery acquired its name during the very reign of Cankara Deva, up till then, it was designated as the monastery of Vidhyadhara-Varman, and it still by this name that it is designated in the signature of Adikarma pradipa dated in the year 318 (1197-98 J. C.); but the widow of a Brahman, Yacodhara, took

shelter with her son Yecodhara, in the monastery and had him ordained a bonze by irregular rites. As the bonzes of the monastery had been ready to proceed in this violation of rites, the vihara was ever since then called "the vihara of Yecodhara".

Cankara Deva established an annual yatra in honour of Nava Sagara Bhagavati, built the Catecvara in order to appease the turbulent souls of five hundred Brahmanic widows who had burnt themselves on the pyre to throw a curse on the murderers of their husbands. He instituted Tanadevata, in the character of family (household) goddess at Kathmandu (Kula Devata) and forbade the erection of any roofs higher than the pinnacle of her temple.

After Cankara Deva, the chronicles (W. V. Bh.) indicate a new change of dynasty. A descendant of Amcuvarman in a collateral line Vama Deva, helped by the Thakuris of Patan and Kathmandu, expels from the power the Thakuris of Nayakot and proclaims himself king. He reigns for three years only. Yet there exists a manuscript (Sekanir-decapanjika)<sup>16</sup> written during his reign. It is dated in the year 200 (1080-81). Vama Deva received in it the very modest title of "raja". An inscription of Patan,<sup>17</sup> dated in the year 203,<sup>18</sup> commemorates the erection of an image of the Sun, due to Vana Deva son of the "Bhunatha" (prince of Ksatriya) Yaconatha. Seduced by the close analogy of the names and the proximity of the dates, M. Bendall had at first proposed to identify Vana Deva and Vama Deva but in fact Vana Deva and Vama Deva are entirely different names; furthermore, Vana Deva is simply gratified with the title "shree", the most modest and the most ordinary of titles. It is probably a question of some local monarch.

Harsa Deva successor of Vama Deva,

reigns about 15 years (14, Bd., 16, K.). A signature of the manuscript (Viṣṇunu dharma),<sup>19</sup> dated in the year 210 (1090 J. C.), names him with the simple title of "nrpa" "king"; he also appears in the signature of another manuscript (Saddharma pundarika)<sup>20</sup> dated in 213 (1093 J. C.). The new vamcavali of the Bendall records him with the date 219 current (1098 J. C.), without specifying any particular event. It is undoubtedly the close of the reign.

Between the last known date of Harsa Deva and the first of his successor (sada) Shiva Deva, there spreads an interval of twenty years (219-239); besides Shiva Deva is, according to Bendall's genealogy a son of Candra Deva, born in the month of Asaadha 177 (1056-57 J. C.); the power returns to the ancient dynasty. These perturbations have their origin outside Nepal, at the foot of the mountains. In 1097, on Saturday the 18th July,<sup>21</sup> the tradition boasts in being very exact. A Rajput of Deccan, Nanya Deva takes possession of the royal power. The lists of Bendall ignore this personage; Kirkpatrick (who calls him Nan Deo) and Hamilton (who calls him Nanyop Dev) confine his conquests to the Tirhout; thither he selects Simraun for capital; according to Hodgson (who calls him Nanyupa Deva) he is even the founder of that town. The modern chronicles, whether Brahmanic or Buddhistic (W. B. V.), represent him as the conqueror of the whole of Nepal. He dethrones the two Malla kings who reign one at Patan and Kathmandu (Jaya Deva Malla), the other at Bhatgaon (Ananda Malla), compels them to flee into Tirhout, establishes his court at Bhatgaon and reigns over the three capitals; he introduced the Caka era and also the two divinities named Maju and Svekhu, and installs in Nepal a colony of soldiers him from the

country of Nayera and who are the block of the Nevars.

I have already mentioned (1,219), the biased inventions which claim to have been founded on resemblances of name and usage to connect to a common origin (the Nairs and Nevars) of Nepal and the Nairs (Nayera) of Malabar, Nanya Deva, in all the accouts, is a native of the Karnataka,<sup>22</sup> in the neighbourhood of the Nairs, the legend in accepting him as the conqueror of Nepal, gives at the same time a powerful support in appearance to its claims. As early as in the XVIIth century, the Mallas (whom he would have, however, expelled) officially traced back their origin to Nanya Deva. He figures as the ancestor of the dynasty in the prologue of a drama, the Mudita Kuvalayasva, composed in 1628 by the king of Bhatgaon Jagay Jyotir Malla, and in an inscription of Pratapa Malla, king of Kathmandu, written in 1648.

The conqueror of Tirhout has scarcely left any trace in history; it was thought, however possible to recognize with a fair amount of likelihood, his name in an inscription which extols the victories of Vijaya Sena king of Bengal. Vijaya Sena was the grandfather of the famous Laksmāna Sena founder of an era (1119 J. C.) which is not yet entirely forgotten. The author of the panegyric, Umapati Dhara, is a poet of talent and wit. He knew how to praise his here by subtle dodges. "You have vanquished Nanya, Vira;- thus sang the poets, and through a misunderstanding the anger he concealed burst forth. He attacked king Gauda, overthrew the prince of Kamarupa and suddenly triumphed over the Kalinga; you take yourself to be a hero, Nanya. 'Why should you pride yourself, Raghava? Cease from being jealous, Vira' Your vanity is not yet then dead.

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The quarrels of the princes which prolonged this night and day helped the guardians of his prisons to struggle against sleep."<sup>23</sup>

The Tradition which represents Nanya Deva as a Rajput from Deccan is acceptable his very name, badly expressed in Sanscrit, seems to be a transcription of the word (canarese) "nanniya" "affectionate, veracious, good". An inscription (suspicious) of the Xth century gives to a prince Ganga of the Karnataka (Carnatic) the title of Nanniya Ganga- "The faithful Ganga". One cannot, however, imagine Nanya Deva at the head of an armed band starting from the most remote spot in Deccan to throw himself in the assault of the Himalayas. The political state of India lent itself badly to such and audacious raid. The Deccan was subjugated to a powerful prince Vikramaditya VI the Calukya, who succeeded in founding an era dated from his accession (1076 J. C.); his capital was Kalyana, to the South-West and not far of modern Bidar, in the Nizam's States Mysore, Madoure, Goa, Koukon, Coromandel were compelled to recognize his suzerainty. To the South of Ganges, two powerful sovereigns, Karan the Kalacuri of Cedi and Kirtivarman the Gandella of Kalanjar struggled for supremacy. On the lower course of the watercourse the enfeebled Palas struggled against the growing Senas. If Nanya Deva was really a native of the Carnatic, he had undoubtedly come to the North in search of a fortune; as so many adventurers who had founded dynasties he had engaged himself in the service of a local prince and helped by the soldiers whom he had led in victorious campaigns, he had overthrown his master.<sup>25</sup>

Master of Tirhout and of the roads which lead to Nepal he was able to constrain the kings of the valley to become his vassals:

Documents, even official, confirm we have ascertained it - the intervention of Nanya Deva in the history of Nepal. However the Vamcavalis the most ancient (Bd) overlook Nanya Deva and his successors; besides none of the manuscripts discovered so far in Nepal are dated from his reign or from that of the other princes of the dynasty. One can be induced by caution to provisionally revoke in question the tradition. But the submission, had it been only a nominal one, of the country to Karnatakas conquerors, towards the close of the XIth century finds its guarantee in the documents of Deccan itself. Nanya Deva is the contemporary of Vikramaditya VI the Calukya; the successor of the Vikramaditya VI, Somecvara III Bhuloka Malla "the champion of the terrestrial world" "places the lotus of his feet on the head of the kings of Andhra, of Dravida of Maghada of Nepal." The author of this posthumous panegyric, dated from 1162 J. C., does not hesitate to enumerate the distant Nepal among the vassals of the emperor Calukya.

After Somecvara the empire crumbles-down-his son Tailapa III Trailokya Malla "the champion of the three words" is dethroned in 1161 by Bijjala or Bijjana of the Kalacuri family. Bijjala dies assassinated in 1167; a posthumous panegyric dated in the thereabouts of 1200 J. C. extols him for having "crushed the Cola, lowered the Lata, deprived Nepal of stability (sthitinam Nepalam), pulverized the Andhra, taken Gujara humbled the Cedi, shaped the Vanga, killed the kings of Bangala, Kalinga, Maghadha, Patasvara and Malava."<sup>26</sup> The list is too long to inspire confidence but the mention of Nepal is only perhaps the most interesting thing in it. Nepal has decidedly entered in the official poetics; she rejoined in poetics, Kashmere, Bengal, fami-

fiar of old with the singers of royal grandeur. The renaissance of Shivaism could have increased at that period the real relations between southern India and Nepal; the minister of Bijjala and his murderer, Besava, are the founders of a numerous sect, the Lingayats, consecrated to the fanatical worship of the divine lingas. Had Bijjala erected in Nepal, on the road of the Gosainthan, a caravansary (inn) (Dharma-Gala) for the use of pilgrims from Deccan; it is enough to transform in a panegyric this pious work in an act of sovereignty.

Bijjala once dead the hegemony of the Deccan passes to the Yadavas, who were established a Devagiri (Near Ellora, E of Bombay). The second king of the new dynasty, Jaitugi Deva I (1191-1210) subdues Gurjara, Pandya, Cola, Lata, Ganda whilst his general (dandanatha) Sahadeva defeats the forces of Malava, Kalinga, Pancala, Turuska and Nepala.<sup>27</sup> And Nepal henceforth consecrated as a literary adornment reappears for the sole joy of alliteration in the panegyric of the grandson of Jaitugi, Maha Deva.

The king himself simply boasts in these inscriptions of having vanquished Telinga, Konkon, Karnata, Lata and of having inspired terror into the Andras. But his minister, the erudite Hemadri is not content with so little. At the head of one of the sections (Dhanakhanda of his Voluminous compilation the Catur varga cintamani, he signs in these terms the praises of his master. His glory teaches sage reasonings to the sovereigns of the seven Isles: Hear says the song Gurjara 'wing his good will'. Prince of Nepal (Nepala pala)<sup>28</sup> learn to endure everything observe his orders king of Malava, Andhra, remember that peril is without result' (see 8) evidently the

grave Hamadri would have smiled this time to find himself seriously believed.

Tradition has retained only the names of the successors of Nanya Deva; these successors serve to connect, by an authentic genealogy, Nanya Deva to Harisimha Deva, the first conqueror of Nepal to the second. During that long period, the signature of the Nepalese scribes reveal to us a continuous series of local princes. (Sada) Civa Deva receives in a manuscript (Sphatika vaidya) of the year 240 (1120) the imperial titles (rajadhiraja paramecvara). In 239 (Bd) he inaugurates a tank called Madana-saras or again Narendra-saras. The modern chronicles (W. B. V.) relate that Civa Deva conquered all the countries at the four corners of the otherwise said, that he subjugated to his authority, the whole land of Nepal. He gathered great booty from his wars, a portion of this booty he utilized in covering with a new roof the temple of Pashupati. W. indicates as the date of this work the year 3851 of the Kali Yuga (750 J. C.): V. gives 4015 of the Kali-Yuga (914 J. C.). The two dates which are equally unacceptable and incongruous seem the interpretation of a common datum which supplied the two figures 1 and 5 (51...15), adapted as well as possible to whimsical systems. The same sources (W.V.B.) relate that Civa Deva was the founder of Kirtipur and the first to place in circulation the 'suki which were coins composed of copper and iron, bearing the stamp of a lion, which stamping of the coins continued as long as the beginning of the XVIth century.

Indra Deva, who succeeds Civa Deva is undoubtedly his son born in the year 199 (Bd); he is also designated as rajadhiraja paramecvara in a manuscript on astrology (Jataka) copied in 249 (1128-9).

Manadeva, who bears a glorious name, appears on all the lists. He reigned for the years then abdicated in favour of his eldest son and retired to the monastery of Caka Vihara (W. V. B.), which the ancient Manadeva had founded. Bd. only gives him 4 years 7 months reign. There remains two documents dated from the reign of this prince, but one and the other are through chance, of the same year. The manuscript of Asta Sahasrika (Camb. Add. 1643) of the year 135, which has already furnished us with valuable information for the anterior epoch, shows an additional note dated the year 259 Monday, 5 Kartika (10th October 1138) during the victorious reign of king (nrpati) Manadeva in those days, a pious Buddhist named Karuna vajra congratulates himself in having acquired a few merits in saying 'undhrta' the mother of the omniscient (the Prajana Paramita) who had fallen in the hands of an infidel (craddha-hina-jana)<sup>29</sup> An inscription found at Kathmandu (Bendall No 6) drawn in macaronic (poet) Sanscrit hardly intelligible and which is related to a question of water, is also dated with 259, 7 bhadra-pada badi, during the victorious reign of Manadeva rajadhiraja paramecvara Paramabhattaraka.

Narendra Deva (Narasimha Deva W. V. Bh.) "performs the magical rites which causes snow to fall in Nepal for the first time" (K). He is the successor of Mana Deva, because we have a manuscript<sup>30</sup> (Panca raksa) dated in the year 261, Monday 13 pausa cudi (23rd December 1140), 'under the victorious reign of Narendra Deva "rajadhiraj paramecvara". But another manuscript<sup>31</sup> has been shown, recently discovered and dated in the reign of Narendra Deva in the year 254 lapsed (1134) five years before the two documents of Mana Deva. One could be tempted to believe that Mana Deva, after having abdicated as relate the Vamca-

vallis, would have retained or retaken afterwards a power more or less of a nominal nature.

Ananda Deva (Nanda Deva W. V. Bh.) "son of Siha Deva, born in 219" (Bd) reigns for twenty years. 'After consultation with Sunandecarya of Patan, he built for the Goddess Bhuvanecvari three lodgings-encased one in the other wherein only those who had been initiated could enter' (W).

Several manuscripts are dated of his reign: in 275<sup>32</sup> (Camb or 130), in 278 (Camb. Add. 2833), 284<sup>33</sup> in 285,<sup>34</sup> and in 286<sup>35</sup>

Rudra Deva entrusted the care of the government to his son, became a Buddhist, and devoted himself to the study of the elements (Tattvajnana) he practised at first the Bauddhacarya, then the Mahayana-carya, lastly the Trividhi bodhi. He repaired the old monastery of Onkuli, built by Civa Deva, received thither the tonsure and resided in the place as a bandya. Once he sent in his place as a bandya. Once he sent in his place a statue of the Dipam kara Buddha to be for his food. He preserved for the benefit of his monastery a land given in entire property in the name of his ancestors, Vama Deva, Harsa Deva, Sada Civa Deva, Mana Deva, Narasimha (Narendra) Deva, (A) nanda Deva and in his own proper name (W).

Amrta Deva (Mitra Deva) has connected his name to the memory of a disastrous famine (Bd. K.). A manuscript (Caraka) copied during his reign shows the date of 296 (1176). A manuscript of 303 (1183) is dated during the reign of Rudra Deva,<sup>36</sup> which none of the lists discovered so far mention. Somecvara Deva, "son of Mahendra (Indra Deva), born in 240" (Bd) shows an isolated name in the royal onomasticon of Nepal; he recalls, by a striking coin-

cidence the memory of Somecvara III was still reigning; he has perhaps received the name of the distant prince who claimed to spread his influence to the very heart of the Himalaya.

The three princes who succeed one another afterwards reproduce with a regularity which excludes the thought of an accident, the name borrowed from the past of their dynasty; after the abnormal Somecvara Gunakama Deva, Laksmi Kama Deva, Vijaya Kama Deva seem to betray a decision to officially enter into the local tradition. These three Kamadevas have left few memories. A manuscript of 307 is dated in the reign of Gunakama Deva.<sup>37</sup> Laksmikama Deva is not recorded on any list; a manuscript of the year 313<sup>38</sup> is the only testimony of his existence. This manuscript has a further interest; it is the first to designate Kathmandu under the name of Yambu Krāma.<sup>39</sup> Two manuscripts are dated during the reign of Vijaya Kama Deva; the one in 316,<sup>40</sup> the other in 317.<sup>41</sup>

After the resurrection of these historical names a new type of royal name appears on the Nepalese lists wherein it is destined to soon gather preponderance. The successor of Vijayakama Deva is not the son of this prince; he is the son of an unknown personage; Jayaci (?) Malla Deva and a is called Ari Malla Deva. The modern chronicles (W- Bh. V.) name him Ari Deva and reserve to his son the title of Malla. "As Ari Deva and reserve to his son the title of Malla." "As Ari Deva was busy in the pastime of pugilism a son was born to him to whom he gave the name of Malla." History reproduces itself almost uniformly save for a few irregularities, in the Hindu world each time that tradition meets a Malla.<sup>42</sup> One of the principalities of feudal Nepal, situated at the foot of the Dhaula-

giri, at the confluent of the Marsyangdi and the Narayani, portrays the name of Mall bhumi (vulg. Malebhum) 'Land of the Mallas'. It is related that the rajah of the country, Nag Namba, triumphed by his force and courage over a champion (Malla) of Delhi who had thither to beaten all his rivals; in memory of this victory, the Padishah conferred on him the title of Malla, which he afterwards bequeathed to his descendants.<sup>43</sup> Because as a matter of fact 'mala' signifies in sanscrit "boxer, athlete, champion." But the word has furthermore an ethnic function, consecrated from a long time past and connected perhaps by a direct link with its professional value. Ever since the epoch of the Buddha the Mallas form a confederation in the neighbourhood of Vaicali, the town of the Licchavis; it is on the territory of the Mallas that come and die the founders of the two great heresies, the Buddha Cakyamuni at Kuci nagara, the Jina Mahavira at Pava. The Chinese translators of the Buddhistic texts regularly give the name of the Mallas with the equivalent Li-cheu "the athletes". The Mahabharata name the Mallas with the Kosala (the country of Oudh) in the account of the conquests (digvijaya) of Bhima (II, V. 1077). A thousand years after the Buddha, the astronomer Vahara-mihira records the Mallas in his catalogue of people (nations) between the Abhiras, Cabaras, Pahlavas on the one hand and the Matsayas, Kurus and the Pancalas (Central Hindustan)<sup>44</sup> on the other; the scholiast does not fail to gloze their names with "the boxers" (bahu yuddhajnan). The Markandeya Purana also enumerates the Mallas as a people from eastern India, with the Videha (Tirhout), the Tamralipataka (Tamluk, mouths of the Ganges) and the Maghada (LVII, see, 44). The list of the local yakshas inserted in the Maha mayuri vidya rajni designates Harin-

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pingala as the patron Yaksas of Cravasti of Saketa of Vaicali of Varanasi and of Campa,<sup>45</sup> A Brahmanic work of a distant epoch, the Rasika ramana also names in the middle of the XVIth century the town of the Mallas (Malla pura) together with Kamrupa, Tirhout and Bagmati<sup>46</sup>. One tradition persists to say that they were close to the frontiers of Nepal. The code of Manu had gathered and preserved the name of the Mallas in its social organization; it classifies them side by side with the Licchavis and quite close to the Khasas, among the castes issued from the fallen Ksatriyas(X,22).<sup>47</sup>

It is again side by side with the Licchavis that the Mallas appear in the history of Nepal. The pillar of Changu-Narayan commemorates the victorious campaign led by the Licchavi Mana Deva, against the town of the Mallas (Mallapuri), to the west of the valley beyond the Gandaki. It is little probable that a useless whim had carried the ancient names of the two clans into the heart of the Himalaya.

The same inclination for adventures, the same passion for freedom had undoubtedly led the off springs whether authentic or doubtful of the old Licchavis and the old Mallas, outside their territory, bent henceforth on great empires; secluded in the independent and proud mountain, they had created thither, principalities as did the Rajputs later. Favoured by chance (fortune), the Licchavis had the central valley; but the Mallas continued to dispute with them this privileged soil; inscriptions of the VIIth century in the reigns of Civa Deva and Jisnu Gupta reckon among the permanent charges imposed on the titulary of donations "the Maellarvenue Malla kara") destined either to acquit a tribute or to prepare the defense.<sup>48</sup>

The revolution of the calender which introduced into Nepal a new era in 880

appears to interest the very history of the Mallas. After this date we find them in fact, in Nepal. The Buddhistic Vamcavali (W) mentions in connection with the year 111 N. S., the 6 phalguna cudi (Monday 23rd February 991) the foundation of the village of Chapagaon or Campapuri to the south of Patan, by Raja Malla Deva and Kathya Mall, of Patan. The chronology of this Vamcavali is generally too suspicious to deserve confidence; but an independent document comes here to confirm it. A manuscript (Devi Mahatmya) recently discovered is dated in the reign of one Dharma Malla, in the year 118.<sup>49</sup> The same Vamcavali relates that Nanya Deva master of Nepal by conquest expelled the Malla kings into Tirhout. The pillar of Acoka at Nigliva would still show the trace of the Malla domination in this region; if it is true that a king of drawing traced on this venerable monument<sup>50</sup> reads thus: Sri Tapu Malla jayastu sambar 1234. Eighty years after Nanya Deva, in 1177 J. C., a Malla prince is supposed to have then reigned on this portion of Tirhout. Unfortunately this recital is based on a testimony hopelessly inadequate.

Before belonging to the sovereigns of Nepal, the title of Malla had already been given lustre by the Kings of India. The first to adopt it seem to be Pallavas of Kancis (Conjeveram); in the course of the VIIth century Narasimha (Vishnu) (Rajasimha) bears among others, birudas (name of panegyrics), the titles of Mahamalla and of Amitra Malla;<sup>51</sup> Mahendra Varman is called Catru Malla<sup>52</sup>, Nandicarman is Pallava Malla, Ksatriya Malla<sup>53</sup>. The Calukyas of Badami, deadly rivals of the Pallavas, consecrate their victories by appropriating themselves of the titles of those vanquished. The fortunate rival of Narasimha, Vikramaditya I, thus becomes in

his turn Raja Malla,<sup>54</sup> in the VIIIth century the title had emigrated among the calukyās of Guzerate; one among them is named Yuddha Malla.<sup>55</sup> The posterior Calukyās resuscitate this title; the founder of the dynasty, Tailapa, takes the name of Ahava

Malla (973); Vikramaditya VI is Tribhuvana Malla; Somecvara III (it would be suzerain of Nepal) is Bhuloka malla. The vogue enters even Ceylan where reigned in the XIIth century Kittī Nissanka Malla and Sahāsa malla. (To be continued)

### FOOT NOTE

1. V. Sup., p. 44.
2. V. Sup., I, 154.
3. Wright, 268, n.
4. The date is fairly precise to lend itself to a calculation of verification.

Abde cate Sastakavimcatigate  
mase cubhe phalgunacuklapakse somavare  
naksatraramy ottarabhadrasamjne.

Year 128, Phalguna moonlit fortnight, Monday, naksatra Uttara-Bhadra. The day of the month of tithi is not given, but on the supplied data, one obtains the following results; in 128 N.S. (Nepala-Samvat), spent either 1007-8 J.C., two Mondays fall in Phalguna, moonlit fortnight, 7th tithi, the naksatra is Rohini (IV) 15th tithi, the nks, is Purva Phalguni (XI).

In 128 N. S. calculated as the "current" year, against usage, either 1006-7 J. C., the Monday falls in Phalguna cudi: 5th, nks Bharani (II); 12th, nks. Aclesa (IX).

None of these two results are convenient.

Calculated on the other hand in era of Amsuvarman, the date would give for 128 lapsed 724-5 J. C., the Monday 2 Phalguna cudi, nks, Uttara Bhadrāpada (XXVI) -19th February 725 J. C.

(Here like in all the dates which

I have attempted to verify my calculations are made on the elements supplied by the tables of R. Sewell and C. B. Dikshit in 'The Indian Calendar' London 1896.)

5. Taranatha, p. 214. The cataka still exists; in the signature, the author is called Vajradatta, the great archivist (Mahaksapatalika).
6. Ib. 237
7. Ib. 249
8. Ib. 253 and 255
9. The data admit of a verification. I reproduce the text of the colophon such as it was re-established by M. Foucher (Studies of Buddhistic Iconography)

Pancatrimcadhike 'bde catatama-pragate ...

Instead of 'pragate' the original shows 'pracate' but the resemblance of the two characters 'ca' and 'ga' in Nepalese ortography is so strange that the correction offers itself. M. Bendall has proposed it in his catalogue and M. Foucher had admitted it. Yet M. Bendall shows that 'Pragate' like 'pracate' which equals it in scansion errs against the verification, the 'a' final of 'catatama' placed before the group 'pr' should lengthen itself by position. The classical usage in fact, does not admit the position, of a short syllable before the group; silent liquid. But the scribe author of the stanzas of signa-

ture of this ms., leaves in such an instance the optional quantity. In the body of the following verses it successively scans rajni shree, and labdha shree.... The author of the Adikarma-pradipa, (Lavalley-Poussin, "Buddhism: Studies and Materials", p 204) in the stanza of the signature of his work, scans also cirabrahma. This practice was then tolerated in Nepal, at least in the parts the least polished of a literary work. I can even point out an epigraphical example of the glorious classical epoch. A funeral inscription of Eran (Gupta Inscrps., p. 93) dated 191 (Gupta 510-11 J. C.) scans in an indravajra: bhaktanurakta ca priya ca kanta.

But another difficulty, graver, still, presents itself. In the year 135 N. S. lapsed (like the text specifies it: pragata) the 10th tithi of Caitra cudi (himabha) falls in fact on a Thursday (3rd March 1015 J. C.), if one admits that the Nepalese calendar follows at that epoch the system of true intercalations. But then, the month of Caitra is intercalary that very year, and in that case one does not fail to specify it the month then current is the first or the second of the months doubled by intercalation. M. Keilhorn (Ind. Antiq. XVII, 248) boldly substitutes to 'pracate' the 'itare' which would designate the intercalary month. But this would be causing an injustice to the texts.

The system of the average intercalations, on the other hand causes the fall of the intercalary month in the course of the preceding year. The year 135 then begins instead of on Tuesday the 22nd February, on Wednesday the 23rd March and the 10th tithi of Caitra

does not also correspond to Thursday but to a Friday 1st April 1015.

Again in this case, by beginning from the Amsuvarman era, we have a satisfactory result. 135 lapsed - 731-2 J. C. the 10th tithi of Caitra cudi falls on Thursday the 22nd March 731.

10. V sup 1, 166 sq.
11. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri. Report on the search of 'Sanskrits Manuscripts', Calcutta, 1901, p. 5; cf. of the same "Journ. of the Roy. As. Soc. Bengal LXVI, p. 312; and Bendall, ib; LXXII, p. 6. It is a copy of the Vishnu-dharmottara.
12. Haraprasad, loc. laud. p. 5; and Bendall, loc. laud., p. 6, one of the two mss, is the Nicvasakhya Mahatantra, the other the Uparkarma vidhi.
13. Bendall; loc. laud., p. 22, mentions another ms. (Camb. Add. 2197) also dated fixing the reign of Pradyumna Kama Deva, in the year 186 (1065-66 J. C.)
14. The colophon of the first of these three manuscripts has not yet been wholly published; I ignore if it admits of a verification. The dates of the other two are shown with great exactitude, and it is a singular occurrence that the data of the one and the other are in disagreement with the result of the calculations of verification. The ms. of 191 (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, A. 15) shows: year 191 lapsed, 10 Phalguna cudi, nks. Rohini, Yoga, Cobhana, Thursday.

Well in 191 lapsed, the 10th tithi of Phalguna falls on Saturday the 12th February 1071, the nks, is Ardra, the yoga Ayusmat. Besides the nks. Rohini excludes the yoga Cobhana and reciprocally. The date expressed then certainly implicates an error.

The ms. of 198 (Lavallee-Poussin, Buddhism, p.388) gives: year 198 current, 5 Cravan badi, Tuesday. In Amanta's system which is in usage with the Nepala Samvat, the 5 Cravana of 198 falls on 'Friday', the 11th August 1077.

15. See, Foucher, "Studies on Buddhistic Iconography", p. 28.
16. S. D. Oldenbourg, Journ. Roy As. Soc., 1891, p. 687.
17. Bendall, Journey, p. 80.
18. M. Kielhorn has examined the details of this date (Ind. Antiq., XVII, 248) and has given as an equivalent Wednesday the 26th April 1083. But it must be well observed that this result does not satisfy to one of the given conditions; the inscription gives: 7 Vaisakh cudi, Wednesday and the 7th tithi falls in reality on Thursday the 27th April..
19. Harsaprasad, Report..., p. 5.
20. Bendall, "Journey", p. 46, Camb. Add., 2197.
21. In appearance, the date varies with each one of the documents. The Brahmanic Vamcavali mentions traditional verse in Sanscrit, which notes the details of the date, month, tithi, nakshatra, day of the week:

induc ca somavasusammitacakavarase  
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taccrhravanasya dhavale munitith-yadbastat  
 svatau canaiccaradine ripumardalagne  
 cri Nanyadevamrpatir vidadhita rajyan

"In the year Caka 811, in the month of Shrawan, the clear fortnight the inferior portion of the seventh tithi, the nakshatra being Svati, a Saturday at the propitions moment to crush the enemy, Nanya Deva the king disposed of the kingdom."

In 881 Caka lapsed- (889-90), the 7th tithi of Shrawan clear falls on Wednesday the 9th July 889. In 811 Caka current (888-89) the 7th tithi of Shrawan clear falls on Friday the 19th July 888. The one

or the other solution is not satisfactory.

Kirkpatrick gives to the accession of Nan Dev (Nanya Deva) the date of Samvat 901-843 J. C. It is probable that Kirkpatrick, or the authority he followed has substituted by error or by oversight the samvat of Vikrama in the computation by the Caka era, uniformly employed in all the other sources; it must undoubtedly be re-established the year 901 Caka (978 or 979 J. C.). Hamilton, on the faith of a warrantor "of whom the ancestors had been (registrars) of Tirhout" again indicates another date; Nanyap Dev (Nanyupa or Nanya Deva) of a Ksatriya family, conquered the sovereignty of Tirhout and founded a dynasty in the year 496 of the Bengali era 1089 J. C. The date given by Hodgson differs in its turn but without showing much difference with that of Hamilton: Nanyupa Deva founds in 1097 J. C. the town of Simraun, where his descendants continue to reign to the day of Harisimha Deva 1097 J. C. 1019 lapsed or 1020 current Caka. And it is this date that we discover in a Nepalese document of an official source and anterior to all the authorities I have just enumerated. The Muditakuvalayacva, drama composed by the king of Bhatgaon, Jagay jyotir Malla in 1628, draws in its prologue the genealogy of the royal author as far back as Nanya Deva, whose accession he records in Caka 1019.

navendukhacandrayukte cake

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Let us recapitulate the various dates with their warrantors: Caka 811 (888 or 889 J. C.) "Vamcavalis" (W. B. V.) Caka 901 (978 or 979 J. C.) Kirkpatrick (rectified by substitution of Caka into Vikrama)

Caka (1012 or 1011)-1089 J. C. 496 Bengali.

Hamilton

" 1019 (1097 J. C.) Muditakuvalacjaca;

Hodgson.



The peculiarities of the date as we have already ascertained do not verify themselves in 811 Caka, either current or lapsed. In the same way in 901 Caka in which the 7th tithi of Shrawan falls either on Monday the 14th July 978 J. C., in the case of the current year or on Friday the 4th July 979 J. C. in the case of the lapsed year. Also again in 1012 Caka current where in the system of genuine intercalations, Shrawan is doubled by intercalation and finds itself in consequence excluded here and in the system of the average intercalations, the 7th tithi of Shrawan clear, is a ksaya tithi, annuled and comprised in the interior of Monday the 16th July 1089. Two dates alone conform themselves to the conditions required.

901, Vikrama samvat current-Saturday 7th July 843, naks svati, 1019 Caka lapsed Saturday 18th July 1097, naks svati. Let us sidetrack henceforth the date of Hamilton which can be considered as an accidental interpretation of the date 1019 Caka. If we compare this last date with the two others, it appears that those two are composed of identical elements; 1019 and 901 are various combinations wherein figure 1, 0, 9. One of the two figures 1, which appears in the number 1019 is wanting in 901. The date of 811, compared in 101 knows an 8 substituted to a 9 in appearance but the wavering of the two dates in the current and in the spent year, always admits of an oscillation of unit in the final figure. The dates of the Brahmanic Vamcavali (W), compared to the dates of the Brahmanic Vamcavali (V) regularly present this difference. The date of 1019 implies then as a kind of fatal necessity the parallel date of 1018. Established between these two terms, the comparison shows on either side three identical elements, 1, 1, 8; it is the 0 which is missing in 811. Let us now compare the statement of these dates.

navendukhacandra  
9 1 0 1

Induc ca somvasu

1 1 8

Which are read according to the Indian method from right to left: "ankasya vama gatih." By a singularity which does not fail to surprise, the first symbolic word of the second date is isolated, softened and followed by the copulative enclitic "ca" absolutely unexpected in this place. Why this "ca"? The comparison of the first date explains this oldness: indu corresponds to indu (Moon-1); soma (moon) corresponds to its synonym candra; vasu (8) corresponds to "nava" (9); and the rest the unjustifiable "ca" has simply substituted itself to kha (the space - 0). The monosyllable being thus (misrepresented) disguised, the date should be read; 118 Caka (196-97 J.C.), it became inadmissible. There only remained as a last resource to read the number on the wrong side, from left to right, as may the exception (cf. Epigr. Ind., I, 332, n). The inscription (of Nana minister of Bhojavarman the Candella) was composed by the post Amara in Vik. 1345, number expressed in figures and in words; the words, contrary to the custom which state the units in the first rank are:

Ksanadeceksanagatacrutibhutasamanvite  
samvatsare  
1 3 4 5  
one has successively  
9101 8101 811 811

The date gathered by Kirkpatrick shows the method of alternation in work; one of the two words which designated the Moon (1) has been cancelled either through heedlessness, or a faulty repetition and the number remaining has been in the same manner established on the wrong side.

9101 901 901

22. It is the country of the Carnatique, the name of which comes back so often in

the course of our wars against the English during the XVIIIth century. The country of Karnatak has for clear boundaries; in the north, Bidar, in the centre the States of the Nizam, whence the frontier descends straight to the south towards Bangalore (Mysore) and Coimbatore (near the Malabar) it follows after this the western Ghats as far as the sources of a Kistna, towards Poona, whence it rejoins Bidar.

23. Epigr. Ind., I, 309 (Kielhorn). The misunderstanding of which there is question in the first verse consists of an erroneous analysis of the compound Nanyaviravijayi which the king separates in nanya; he then understands. "You have not vanquished other heroes", whence his anger and his new expeditions.
24. Epigr. Ind., III, 183
25. M. Bendall (Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1903, p. 18) has reported on a new manuscript dated Samvat 1076, "the Tirhout having for king Ganegya Deva Punyavaloka Somavamcodbhava Gaudadhvaja (maharadhiraja punyavaloka somavamcodbhava gaudadhvaja crimad Gangeya Deva bhujyamana Tirabhuktan). In accepting 1076 as date in Vikrama era (1019 J. C.), M. Bendall concludes with certainty that this prince is identical to the Gangeya Deva the Kalacuri of Cedi, who reigns in 1030 J. C. to the testimony of Albirouni. The Kalacuris are really from Somavamca, but Gangeya Deva is a king really forgotten; the only document which exists of him (dated of Kalacuri 789?— 1038 J. C.) is very close to Reva (Pavan Rock inscrip; in Arch. Survey XXI, 113) to the south of the Ganges, and far from Tirhout. The titles of the king are foreign to the protocol of the Kalacuris; the titles formed with avaloka seem to characterize the

Rastrakutas (Key, Fleet, Epigr. Ind. VI, 188) Gandadhvaja, if the recital is correct (cf. the expressions Hanumad-dhvaja, Pali-dhvaja, etc.) would indicate a power which would have had for centre the Gauda; Cedi was very far thence and if Karna Deva, the warlike successor of Gangeya Deva, is placed in connection with the Gauda in a posthumous panegyric (1160-1180 J. C.; insc. of Jayasimha Deva at Karambel), it is in a stanza of a literary plays without real importance of the same nature as the verses quoted sup. p. 170. The same date and the same name does not make the same person; key for instance, my observation on Bhoja Deva, sup. p. 192. Other proofs must exist to suppose that the Tirhout had been incorporated in the kingdom of Cedi under Gangeya Deva. Perhaps it is a question of a local branch of the Kalacuris, like that of Gorakhpur of which we have an inscription dated the 24th February 1079 (inscr. of Sodhadeva, Epigr; Ind. VII, 85). One of the princes of this small dynasty, Cankara gana, had just won a great victory on the king of Gauda (yene ahrta Gaudalaksmih); Another carries a title of the type Rastakuta; Mugdhatunga.

26. Insc. of Ablur (Fleet), in Epigr. Ind. V. 249 and 257.
27. Insc. of Managoli (Fleet) in Epigr. Ind. V, p. 28-31.
28. The first example of this alliteration which I know is to be met in the Yacas tilaka of Soma Deva; composed in 959 J. C. Enumerating the ambassadors sent to king Yocodhara, he mentions:  
- Kacmiraih Kiranathah Ksitipa mrgamadair esa Nepalapalah... (3rd Acvasa, p. 470 of the edition of Kavyamala).
29. cf. Foucher, 'Buddhistic Iconography', p. 19.
30. National Libr. of Paris, D. 286. All the

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37. I

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- detail of the date are verified also included in it, the maksatra, which is Mrgaciras.
31. Bendall Journ. As Soc. Beng. 1903, p. 7 (wherein Mahadeva is a slip (of the tongue) for Mahadeva).
  32. *Ib.*, p. 23.
  33. *Ib.*, The date: maghacukla 8 adityavara (Sunday) does not lend itself to verification, neither in 284 lapsed (Saturday 3rd January 1164) nor in 284 current (Monday 14th January 1163).
  34. (a) *Asta Sahasrika* ed. Raj Mitra. Preface. p. XXIV, n. (recital re-established by M. Bendall). Yate's bde madanastranagayana (285) mase site Phalguna sap-tamyam Bhrguvasare. But in 285 lapsed (yate) the 7 Phalguna cudi instead of Friday (bhrguvasare) falls on a Tuesday the 14th February 1165. If one takes, contrary to the text the year as current one will have as a connection, Friday 27th February 1194.  
(b) Camb, Add, 1693 Samvat 285 cravana cuklastamyam adityadine. The exact relation is Sunday 18th (and not 8, Bd) July 1165.
  35. Ms. of the Roy Asiatic Soc of London Samvat 286 Phalguna cudi ekadacyam adityavara. The corresponding date is in lapsed years: Sunday 12th February 1166.
  36. Bendall loc. laud p. 24. M. Bendall asks himself if the date of this ms. is expressed in Nepal's era. The verification sidetracks all uncertainties, Samvat 303 chaitra cudi pancamyam somadine in Nepal's era, corresponds exactly to Monday the 28th February 1183.
  37. *Ib.*, p. 24.
  38. British Museum or 2279- Bendall Catalogue 550. The date 313 dviracadha purnamasi cravana naksatra brhaspativasare seems absolutely erroneous, whether one takes the current year or the lapsed year, there is no intercalation of asadha in 314, as true in the system of the average as it is in the genuine intercalation.
  39. *cf. sup.* I, p. 54, n. 2.
  40. British Museum or 3345 - Bendall Catalogue 542. The date is very embarrassing; it comprises an intercalary asadha which calculation does not justify. M. Kielhorn (ad. loc. laud) proposes as an equivalent Thursday the 11th July 1196.
  41. Bendall. Journ Beng p. 24.
  42. *cf. P. ex.* Atkinson. 'Himalayan Gazetteer' vol. II, S. V. Malla.
  43. Hamilton, p. 271.
  44. *Brhat-Samhita*, V, 38.
  45. Ms. of the Bibl. National, D. 286; p. 59.
  46. Aufrecht, Catal. Codd. Oxon., 148 (b) and 149.
  47. Key sup., p. 87sq.
  48. The Mallakara recalls the enigmatic Turkish danda so often mentioned among the taxes without exemption in the inscriptions of Govinda Chandra of Kanang at the epoch of the Musulman invasions (1104-1154). V. p. ex. *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, 14; *Ep. Ind.*, IV; 104, 107, III.
  49. Haraprasad Shastri, Report, 1901, p. 5.
  50. P. C. Mukherjea, 'A Report ... on the Antiquities in Tarai, Nepal' Calcutta, 1901, p. 34 This work destined to 'execute' Dr. Fuhrer succeeded rather in having it regretted. The so called drawing of plate XVI does not reveal anything which resembles the inscription published.
  51. *Insc. of the Rajsimhecvara* (Hultzsch), *South-Ind. Inscrps.*, I, 12.
  52. *Ib.*, I, 29
  53. *Ib.*, II, 342.
  54. Plate from Haiderabad (Fleet), *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 75; XXX, 219. Their absolute authenticity is doubtful; M. Fleet considers them rather like the ancient copy of a genuine original; M. Kielhorn (*Gotting. Nachr.*, 1900, p. 345) has a tendency to consider them authentic.
  55. Balsar grant. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, 75