



NEPALESE CULTURE



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Chief Editor:
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Editorial Board:

R. N. Pandey

P. K. Khattry

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R. B. Manandhar

Bhikshu Sudarshan

J. K. Shrestha

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Editorial Note

Although Nepal is a small country from the points of its territory and population, it has contributed a lot to the world culture. Plato's ideal of "Philosopher kings" could be possible in no other country of the world except Nepal. Before 1000 B. C. it was an ideal centre of Vedic and Upanisadic learning. King Janaka and Maharsi Yajnavalkya attracted the attention of all the learned men of the time by their spiritual achievements. Several orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy had their foundation in this land of Pasupatinatha. In the sixth century B. C. the world witnessed the birth of the greatest lover of humanity, the Buddha, in the Tarai region of this country. Bhrikuti is credited for having spread Buddhism in Tibet.

Western educational system has been helping us in learning science and technology without which our economic development, the primary need of our society, can not be possible. But it has been also, to some extent, responsible for creating wrong impression on the minds of our youths. Under this educational system we have been putting too much emphasis on the theory of evolution according to which we started our career from barbarous stage and are moving towards progress and peace. In reality, we are not opposed to this theory of evolution (krama vikasa); but, then we also believe in another theory known as the theory of involution (krama-sankocha). History is nothing but the record of the unfoldment (sristi) and involvement (pralaya) of the Universe. To think of the creation out of nothing would be without any foundation.

Another serious defect of today's thinking is that we put much emphasis on the idea of competition for materialistic achievements; and it seems to be a fact that sufficient progress is made through this spirit. But we should not ignore one vital point that competition gives birth to the idea of fear and hatred, and ultimately it leads a nation to war and devastation. Our seers were always opposed to the principle of competition and laid stress on co-operation and fellow-feeling. They claimed without any fear of contradiction that only through the spirit of sacrifice (tyaga) and co-operation could the cherished ideal of life be attained

Even when we have forgotten several important basic ideals of our life as a result of which several ills are found in our society, we possess a vast store of our rich cultural heritage. In this age of fear and rivalries, if Nepal can dare to soothe the frayed brain nerves of the people of the world, it is only through its ideals of spirituality and culture. To do scientific research work in this field is, therefore, a great desideratum. With this idea in mind the teachers of the Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology Instruction Committee had been thinking for a long time to publish a journal where these researches would find a place.

We express our sincere thanks to the Dean of the Institute of Humanities and social Sciences, Tribhuvan University, for the financial help without which bringing out this issue would not have been possible. Thanks are also due to all the contributors of the articles to this journal.

Constructive criticism would always be highly appreciated.

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On The Antiquity Of Nepalese Culture

- Bhuwan Lal Pradhan

Better known to the adventurous mountaineers all over the world as the land they are attracted to visit in order to get on Mt. Sagarmatha, the highest peak in the world or to the devout Buddhist pilgrims coming from Buddhist countries to pay their homage to Lumbini Park, the birth place of Lord Buddha, who as far back as twenty five hundred years ago preached the tenets of love, peace, compassion and universal brotherhood, Nepal is a small country hidden on the lap of mighty Hímalayas, far from the sea and isolated from the outside world. Nevertheless, the rich heritage of culture which her people possess is always a source of attraction and delight for any visitor who is possessed of a keen aesthetic temperament.

As stated above, a tiny country with hills and mountains, lakes and rivers, valleys and plains, fields and forests-it presents a sublime grandeur that easily enchants any visitor from outside. Thus bounteously favoured by nature it has remained the habitat of highly developed civilisation for thousands of years. Its hard physical features have, of course, made an indelible imprint on our ways of hard life we are forced to live. Our people from the high hills up to the Tarai plains have come to possess a keen sense of what is beautiful, peaceful and worthwhile for full enjoyment of life. Naturally the different tribes living at the foot of the perpetually snow-capped mountains have a way of their life which outwardly seems to have very little in common with the inhabitants of the low valleys along the river basins in the middle or in the flat terrain lands in the south where rich paddy fields extend alongside dense forests. But the history of Nepalese culture is a story of these various tribes of people who, inspite of their climatic diversity, have jointly waged a long, long struggle for the smooth growth of a common unified culture. Their Common aspirations for peace and plenty, for progress and better prospects of life-for whose materialisation they are ready to bear any hardships run through all their creations of culture. This flux of our culture, therefore, was started not to-day or yesterday, but is as old as the human habitation in the Himalayan regions. That is why to suppose that the civilisation and culture of Nepal lying on the lap of the Himalayas may be only as old as those of the Indo-Gangetic plains

which were raised by the Indus and Ganges rivers flowing from the Himalayas will be tantamount to saying that the earth is older than the sun.

This geographical fact gives a good hint at the antiquity of our culture. Presumably, the Himalayan and Mahabharat Ranges must have been in different ages the resorts of early wild animals and the habitats of early men. Dr. Joshi who came to Nepal in the hope of finding stone weapons of early men has claimed in 1962 to have noticed remnants of Holocene rivers in this region. Again the discovery of some stone artefacts such as axe, hand-axe, chopper, clipper in 1967 along the banks of the Narayani in Nawal-Parasi region is worth considering in this context. Similarly, in 1970 two pieces of neolithic weapons were discovered by the Archaeological Department in Hangdewa, Taplejung. It is generally accepted that the neolithic age is from ten to twelve thousand years old and the preceding period belongs to the paleolithic age. The Archaeological Department also claims to have found out stone-age weapons in Tibrikot in 1975. The Tribhuvan University team that explored the south-west region in 1976 found in the south of Tulsipur a rhino jaw, the tooth of an extinct elephant, a crocodile spine, one metre long vertebral piece of fish etc. As the Shiwalik Range is regarded as 120,00,000 years old these fossils are suggested to have been hundreds of thousands years old. Further, the existence of innumerable natural caves and grottos throughout the length and breadth of the country also prove that they had been the shelters of early men. The Archaeology Department itself has opined a few years ago that some of these caves contain traces of early human habitation.

The above realistic facts indicate the appearance of early stone-age men in several parts of our country, which consequently assert the remote antiquity of Nepalese culture. On the ground of the existence of a place named Hadeppa in Rawadumri, East No. 3 and the continued use of some Kirati words such as 'kelat,' 'lahat,' 'malut', 'Mohanjodadro' [which is interpreted as 'ma' means mother, 'han' means king, 'jo' means revenue office or court, 'daro' or 'dado' means mansion thereby meaning 'the revenue office or court of king's mother] Naradamuni Thulung argues that the Mohenjodaro-Harappa civilisation of the Indus Valley accepted as older than the Aryan civilisation in the Indian plains must have been part of the Kirati civilisation which flourished along the whole Himalayan

Ranges from earlier times. The Mahabharat story of Ekalabya and Dronacharya also points out that up to the Mahabharat times the Kiratas along the Himalayan Ranges remained wide apart from the Aryans in the plains below.

Anyway, coming down to the historical times we find that about the seventh and sixth century before the Christian era the Himalayan region was developing a fine civilisation under the Kiratas while the foothills and valleys below were inhabited by their own kinsmen, who, while adopting to surroundings, dropped off some features of their primitive ethnic affinity. About this time in the Kathmandu valley a Kirat off-shoot of people who called themselves Nepars were flourishing.

The Nepars, in course of time, came into contact with Danuwars (fishermen by calling) and Kumhales (potters by callings), who had gained access into the valley after having climbed the hills along the banks of rivers. These Danuwars had gradually moved from the plains northward along the Bagmati and Kamala and eventually reached the valley of Nepars. In this regard Baburam Acharya says the following:

".....The Danuwars brought the light of Aryan civilisation into the valley. The Nepars too, in due course of time, went with Danuwars as far down as the capitals of Magadha and Briji.....The people of the then Magadha used to pronounce 'L' for 'r'. Hence 'Nepar' came to be spoken as 'Nepal.' Eventually the land of the Nepars was called Nepal..... Subsequent to their contact with the Aryan civilisation the Nepars organised themselves into a nation and succeeded in setting up a state in the valley, which extended north-south from the Shiwapuri Hills to Chandragiri Hills and east-west from the Sanga Hills to Bhimdunga Hills.....This happened earlier than the fifth century before Christ."

[The Poornima No. 32]

The above remark of Baburam Acharya is supported by the Buddhist work, 'Moolsarwastiwad vinayasutra', wherein it is stated that Bhikshu Ananda came to the valley in company with a group of traders. The reference to this incident also proves that the Kiratas of the valley (Whom Baburam Acharya calls Nepars) had grown a fine civilisation long before the Buddha.

"The culture which the Nepars developed in the valley about this time may be verily regarded as the primitive Nepalese culture," says Baburam Acharya in his articles-'Ancient Nepal and its culture,' and 'Nepal's Ancient Primitive culture'.

Balchandra Sharma, too, accepts Acharya's view and further adds, "from the times of Kiratas Nepal developed distinctive, original systems of economic, social and religious life.....In spite of the fact that the racial and national life was considerably consolidated and developed during the Lichchhavi period its foundation had been laid in the Kirati times centuries before the Christian era began.....That is why the Kirati rule, wherefrom the history of Nepal dawns, cannot be by-passed. The rule of Kiratas is definitely the beginning of Nepalese culture."

With this pristinest culture of Nepal came from time to time to be intermingled Aryan influences which entered into the valley from the south and the west. The long period of time taken by this blending processes can be divided into three different ages-ancient, medieval and modern.

Of the influences that were incorporated into the Nepalese culture during the ancient times those that the Danuwars and Kumhales brought in from their contact with the Brijis and Mallas was the first inflow of the Aryan civilisation. These events belonged to the 8th or 7th Century B.C. Later, the immigration of Shakyas in large numbers from Kapilvastu following the Widudabha massacre is also an important factor of racial blend of original inhabitants with the new-comers. It is suggested not without reason that the aborigines of the valley learnt the use of rice from the Shakyas and thereafter only the cultivation of paddy started here. The enlightened teachings of Buddhist preachers who happened to visit the valley or stayed on here after the life time (563 B.C.-483 B.C.) of Buddha, especially, of the team sent by emperor Asoka about 230-28 B.C. might have to a certain extent illumined the valley people. Then followed the influx of enlightened Lichchhavis during the first century of the Christian era. The Abhirs who came during the reign of Lichchhavi King Basanta Deva (about 540 A.D.) further added Aryan colour to the primitive culture. With the admixture of Lichchhavi influences the Nepalese culture grew into what might be called Kirato-Aryan culture.

Almost immediately after the rule of Basanta Deva the medieval age of Nepalese Culture began and continued up to the fourteenth century. In the beginning of this age there opened the route across the Himalayas and contact with the north began. The rise of Mahayani Buddhism, the installation of Pashupati under the Pashupat sect, the growth of tantrism, vajrayanism, the intermixture of Shaivism and Buddhism, the evolution of architecture, iconography, portraiture, paintings and other features of fine arts are a few illustrative achievements of this age. With the introduction of tantrism in about the 10th century both Buddhism and Hinduism came within its grip. Consequently tantrism played a dominant role in all aspects of our cultural activities. This is an outstanding feature of our culture even to-day. The unique sense of religious tolerance that has been existing among different sects from early times was strong enough to enable them to live peacefully even with the Mohammedans who later on migrated here.

In this connection Baburam Acharya says, "An exchange of views continued between Shaiva and Buddhist tantric communities. Some of the Buddhist tantric deities-Bhairav, Tara, for example were also taken into Shaiva community. Further, the Matsendranath, essentially a Shaiva deity came to be regarded and worshipped as Buddhist Awalokiteswar, which has provided an important illustration of religions co-ordination in Nepal."

In the meantime hords of Khasa Aryans, instead of going down towards the southern plains, advanced along the Himalayan offshoots and through Kashmir arrived at the western region of Nepal and set up an independent Kingdom at Kartipur. History mentions how the Lichchhavi kings of Nepal had to struggle to prevent Khasa invaders from advancing eastward.

One noticeable feature of the ancient culture was that it not only imbibed outside influences, but also, in its turn, influenced the new-comers. For example, the Lichchhavis who came here in ancient ages had ultimately to adopt the social customs, manners, language etc, of the Nepars. These Lichchhavis were so closely associated with the primitive people that they were subsequently socially boycotted by their Kinsmen in Indian Plains. To whatever extent Aryan influences came in about this time or afterwards some of the non-Aryan primitive customs of Nepars have remained quite unaffected up to the present days. Widow marriage, divorce,

remarriage of women, animal sacrifice, eating of buffalo meat and the like may be cited as good examples in this context.

During the medieval age Nepal remained a cross-road between India and Tibet (and through Tibet to China as well). Consequently, she got a chance to disseminate certain aspects of her culture in these countries. The pagoda style of temple is said to have been exported about this time. In the construction of the Potala Palace of Tibet built in 639 A. D. and the White Pagoda of Peking built in 1270 A. D. Nepalese artists had made a valuable contribution. The names of Bhurikuti and Arniko deserve mention in this regard. Of course, Nepal also might have learnt new things from her contact with neighbours. Along with other features of Nepalese culture its specific ability to take in new ideas and influences and to co exist in an atmosphere of tolerance with whatsoever sects that happened to enter into the valley, too, developed without break.

Mention has been made above of the Khasa Aryans having settled down in the beginning of the medieval age in Kartipur west of Nepal. By the end of the fourteenth century these Khasas had established their rule in the whole hilly and terrain region extending from Garhwal to Mustang. About this time the Valley of Kathmandu was ruled by Malla Kings. These Mallas, though tolerant towards Buddhists and other sects, were Aryans themselves and, therefore, Aryan influences made a great headway during their five and half centuries long rule and came to be more and more mixed with the old culture. With the rise of the Khasa power in the west and the Malla power in the valley begins the modern age of Nepalese culture.

One of the striking peculiarities of Khasa culture was its capacity of being militantly organised. According to Baburam Acharya it was by virtue of this militancy that Prithivi Narayan Shah, King of Gorkha, was, subsequently in the eighteenth century, able to conquer neighbouring states and lay the foundation of bigger Nepal. Its ability for quick dissemination was another feature of Khasa culture, by dint of which it could swiftly spread afar. During the Malla rule both the Hindus and the Mohammedans began to pour in into the Valley from India. Of them the Hindus were mostly refugees and their arrival, therefore, had not much cultural importance. But with the advent of the Mohammedans who migrated here in separate groups during the sixteenth century and

onward some Muslim influence crept in, especially in language, dress, fashion, manners, architecture etc. But these migrants had to adopt more or less the cultural traditions prevalent here. After the Gorkha conquest of the valley in 1768 the Khasas had still greater impact on the lives of people.

Thus the primitive culture has assimilated aryan influences of Lichchhavis, Khasas, Mallas etc. as well as religious beliefs of various sects of Hinduism, Buddhism etc. Regarding this Baburam Acharya says, "King Prithwinarayan Shah showed high regard not only for the Newari culture but also for the cultures of other races. He aimed at a unified national culture by integrating all of them. It was on the ground of this unification and integration that his descendants succeeded in creating bigger Nepal."

To sum up, the ancient culture has grown into the present form by absorbing all the influences that came from outside at different periods. One of its outstanding characteristics is its religious tolerance which is rarely found in other parts of the world. Under the Nepalese society even men and women who were considered untouchable up to yesterday are installed as priests in several temples. The temples of Kankeshwari, Guheshwari, Bhaktapur etc. furnish a striking example in this respect. Again, whereas to certain deities cocks, buffaloes, pigs etc. are sacrificed to certain others the sacrifice of shegoats, hens, she-buffaloes alone is permitted. Besides, the primitive non-Aryan custom of widow marriage, remarriage of women, divorce, eating of pork, buffalo meat and so on have in course of time been adopted by high caste Aryans as well. Moreover, the ancient Newari custom of getting virgin girls married to the fruit of asgle marmelos has also gradually, come to be practised by Aryans, too. In case of Nepal the Aryan custom of only Kshetriyas taking to fighting occupation also is not followed. The majority of people here who possess a warlike temperament or are reputed in fighting come from Sherpa, Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magar and the like non-Kshetriya castes or races of Nepalese population.

Evidently, the subject matter discussed here naturally needs an elaborate treatment for full elucidation. But of the present culture this much can be safely said that it is the common possession of all sections of our population observing different religious and social customs and

has inalienably unified and solidified our nation. Because of its dynamic character and assimilating quality it has never remained a dead weight of traditions nor a mere accretion of the past. Whatever be superficial changes, what has been deeply ingrained in the character of the nation will persist, imbibing the best from different sources which it has come into contact with.



Identification Of Ramagrama

-T.R. Vaidya

Kapilavastu, Rupandehi and Nawalparasi districts of Lumbini zone are rich in remnants of the ancient states of Sakyas of Kapilavastu and Koliyas of Ramagrama Dwadeha which were quite famous during the 5th century B.C. Moreover, Lord Buddha belonged to Kapilavastu and his mother Mahamaya to the Koliyas. Due to this reason also there is much importance of the two tribes of that time.

After the Mahaparinirvana of Lord Buddha the corporal remains of his body were divided by Drona into equal portions among the claimants, who were:

1. Ajatasatru, king of Magadh,
2. Lichchhavis of Vaisali,
3. Sakyas of Kapilavastu.
4. Bulis of Allakappa,
5. Koliyas of Ramagrama,
6. Brahnins of Vethadipa,
7. Mallas of Kushinagar. and,
8. Mallas of Pava.

Drona kept the urn with himself and Moriyas of Pippalivana who came last for the relics got the embers from the funeral pyre. All those recipients of the corporal relics of Lord Buddha erected one stupa each in their area in memory of Lord Buddha. Thus stupas consisting of the relics of Lord Buddha were constructed in different places.

In this article an attempt is made to identify the date of Ramagrama and the stupa constructed by the Koliyas in this country. The stupa of Ramagrama is one of the holy places visited by all the eminent Buddhist pilgrims since it was erected.

In the third century B. C. Mauryan Emperor Ashok thought of opening the eight original stupas and redistribute the relics into 84,000 parts.

He had also thought of erecting 84,000 stupas, one over each of Lord Buddha's skeleton. In continuation of opening the stupas, it is mentioned that emperor Ashok went to Ramagrama to open the stupa. But emperor Ashok could not open it because of the obstruction of Naga who was guarding the stupa as mentioned in all Buddhist texts. Hiuen Tsang has also narrated it which is as follows, "In former days, when Asoka-rajā, dividing the relics, built stupas, having opened the stupas built by the kings of the seven countries, he proceeded to travel to this country and put his hand to the work (viz., of opening this stupa), the dragon apprehending the desecration of the place, changed himself into the form of a Brahman, and going in front, he bowed down before the elephant and said, "Maharaja, your feelings are well affected to the law of Buddha, and you have largely planted (good seed) in the field of religious merit. I venture to ask you to detain your carriage awhile and condescend to visit my dwelling." The king replied, "And where is your dwelling?" Is it near at hand? "The Brahman said, "I am the Naga king of this lake. As I have heard that the great king desires to build a superior field of merit, I have ventured to ask you to visit my abode. "The king, receiving this invitation, immediately entered the dragon precinct, and sitting there for some time, the Naga advanced towards him and said "Because of my evil Karma I have received this Naga body; by religious service to these sariras of Buddha, I desire to atone for and efface my guilt. Oh, that the king would himself go and inspect (the stupa, or the relics) with a view to worship. Asokaraja having seen (the character of the place), was filled with fear, and said, "All these appliances for worship are unlike anything seen amongst men. "The Naga said, "If it be so, would that the king would not attempt to destroy the stupa. "The king, Naga, did not attempt to open the stupa (to take out the relics). At the spot where the dragon came out of the lake is an inscription to the above effect."¹

Thus stupa remained undisturbed. This stupa has more importance than other stupas because of its originality.

In the fifth century, Fabien, the Chinese pilgrim, visited that stupa with an intention of paying homage. He narrates a story that the Ramagrama

1. S. Beal (ed.)-Travel of Hiuen Tsang, Sushisla Gupta (Pvt.) Limited, Calcutta, 1958, p, 78.

stupa was covered by vegetation, once a pilgrim who happened to see the wild elephants paying homage and cleaning the stupa, decided to stay there as a monk. He constructed a monastery.²

In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang paid a visit to Ramagrama. According to him, "The kingdom of Lanmo (Ramagrama) has been waste and desolate for many years..... The towns are decayed and the inhabitants few."³ He has described about the stupa which is less than 100 feet in height. He has further mentioned about the monastery, which is as follows, "Not far from the neighbourhood of this stupa is a sangharama, with a very few priests attached to it. Their conduct is respectful and scrupulously correct; and one Sramanera manages the whole business of the society. When any priests come from distant regions, they entertain them with the greatest courtesy and liberality; during three days they keep them in their society and offer them the four necessary things."⁴

Due to lapse of time, the glory and whereabouts of many Buddhist sites like Lumbini, Kapilavastu, Sravasti, Ramagrama and its stupa etc were obscured.

In the nineteenth century many archaeologists and scholars started many exploratory works to locate and identify those famous Buddhist sites. Hoey in 1898 had found a well-preserved stupa on the bank of river-Tharahi about two miles south east of Parasi, the district headquarter of Dr. Nawalparasi district.⁵

But he was not decisive to identify the stupa which he had explored.

The location of Ramagrama as mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims is calculated to be about thirtyfive to forty miles east of Lumbini garden. It is also mentioned in the Buddhist texts that when there was a clash regarding the distribution of water between Koliyas and Sakyas

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2. M. A. Giles (ed.)-Travels of Fahien, Indological Book House, Delhi, 1972, p. p. 39-40.
 3. S. Beal (ed.)-op. cit, p. p. 277.
 4. Ibid. p. p. 279.
 - 5- Dr. Hoey-Pioneer, March 25, 1898, Allahabad.

Lord Buddha decided that the water of river Rohini should be utilised or irrigation by both.

At present we have a large remains of ancient structures most of them covered by thick forest in the east of river Rohini. To see all the remnants within the thick forest one gets fully convinced that the whole area covering a big patch of land in the east of river Rohini up to Jharahi river in Parasi district is no other than ruins of some ancient towns. The style, size and types of bricks of area almost similar to those found at Gunawaria Piparaha, (India), Tilaurakot/ Kapilavastu/ Kusinagar etc. The ruins must be no other than Ramagrama Devadaha.

About two miles south east of Parasi, there exists a big stupa besides the Jharahi. In the other side of the river there are ruins of a building, which will be washed away by the river Jhorahi if not protected immediately by the concerned authorities. The stupa stands majestic nearly fifty feet height and seventy feet in circumference.

About this stupa Mr. Rijal wrote ".....the stupa situated in the bank of the Jharahi river can not be anything but the Dhatu stupa of Lord Buddha raised by the Koliays in Ramagrama".⁶

The ruins of structure in existence on the other side of the river Jharahi is correctly seems to be the monastery constructed by the pilgrim as described by the Chinese pilgrims i. e. Fahein and Hiuen Tsang in 5th and 7th centuries A. D., as is also pointed out by Mr. Rijal.⁷

Thus the ruins found in the east of river Jharahi is the remnants of the ancient state Ramagrama Devadah/ Kolinagar/ Vyagiapur. The various names mentioned in the ancient Buddhist literatures. The stupa situated at Daurawa of Parasi district is the stupa constructed by the Koliyas and the ruins of the structure on the opposite bank of river Jharahi is the monastery as mentioned above. As no archaeological activities are launched in this area, one has to write on the basis of the Chinese

6. B. K. Rijal-Whereabout of the Ramagrama stupa, the Everest, Lumbini special issue, Oct. 1978, Kathmandu (Magazine), p. p. 56.

7. Ibid, p. p. 56.

trevllers' accounts and surfacial explorations. In the last autumn I had opportunity to explore the area along with my colleagues of T. U. and Mr. B. K. Rijal, Archaeologist of Dept. of Archaeology HMG/ Nepal. Excavetions in this site will definitely prove the postulation of Mr. Rijal and writer.



The Samantas In Ancient Nepalese Polity

-Prem Kumar Khattry

In the context of ancient Nepalese history the term **samanta** bears different meanings. Generally it means a chief, regional or state, with limited autonomy over his feudatory and showing due allegiance to a higher sovereign. It also means a neighbouring or an adjoining ruler.¹

Thirdly, **samanta** is a title given by a ruler to those aides or advisers who serve the ruler in ministerial capacities. Economically, a **samanta** is the chief of a certain area having sole right over the land and its production, extracting labour from the mass for his personal benefit. Such a social system had emerged and evolved in ancient and medieval Europe and history shows it is a very common and natural phenomenon everywhere in the history of a society in the course of its evolution. Nepal, therefore, cannot be an exception to this universal phenomenon. The writer attempts to depict the role of the **samantas** in the polity of ancient Nepal.

From the earliest written documents of our history it appears that the **samanta** was either a court-feudal or a regional or provincial ruler. In both the status he exerted considerable influence on the polity of Nepal.

Although the term **samanta** with its different implications appears only during the Lichchhavi period, it is conjectured that during the rule of the **Kiratas** also the country was divided into several petty feudal principalities and it was only with the advent of the Lichchhavis that a strong and popular monarchy was installed in the centre (i.e. Kathmandu). It is, however, only during the Lichchhavi period that the term **samanta** appears for the first time in the famous Changunarayan Inscription of king Manadeva (c. 464-505 A.D.). In this long and descriptive pillar inscription the king Manadeva is described to have subjugated the **samantas** of east and western Nepal and installed them as they promised loyalty

1. a) Apte, V. S. -The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary
Motilal Banarasidas, VARANASI, 1959 P. 598
- b) Williams, M. -A Sankrita-English Dictionary.
Motilal Banarasidas VARANASI, 1974,
P. 1205.

to him.² At another place he (the king) reprimands them as *shathah* (fools) for making attempts to be independent of their young master.³ Manadeva's eastern and western campaigns were, thus, aimed at subjugating and not conquering the *samantas* of those regions under the Lichchhavi domain.

These feats of king Manadeva, so much glorified by the scribe, have, however, raised controversies among the historians of the country. Historians like Mr. Dhanavajra Bajracharya and several others believe Manadeva himself led his army towards the east and the west regions of the kingdom to subjugate the feudals (*samantas*) who had not only declined to present themselves before the court at the call of the king but raised their banners thereby disapproving his sovereignty and evoking his wrath. Some other scholars, however opine that king Manadeva had fought sovereign *samantas*, i. e. neighbouring rulers. Dr. H. N. Jha's opinion is that Manadeva had conquered Mallapuri in the Indo-Nepalese plains in today's Gorakhpur area then part of the famous Gupta Empire.⁴ Dr. Jha further says that being thus defeated by the Lichchhavi ruler, few Guptas might have chosen to serve the Lichchhavi government of Nepal.⁵ In his opinion the Guptas later on took advantage of the worsening political condition following Manadeva's death in c. 505 A. D. and rose to power during the reign of his grandson Vasantadeva (c. 506-532 A. D.), who had succeeded the short rule of his father Mahideva at an early age. Toward the end of his rule these *samantas* figure in the Lichchhavi court as powerful aides to Vasantadeva, holding titles like *maharaja mahasamanta* (Kramalilah) *sarvadandanayaka mahapratihara* (Ravigupta), *pratihara* (Bhavagupta) etc.

From a perusal of the Lichchhavi inscriptions there appear, thus, two types of *samantas* in ancient Nepal :- (a) the *samantas* serving the king in the capacity of highest executive authorities, and (b) those ruling in the outside regions with limited power and autonomy, under the central authority, the Lichchhavi monarchs. Usually the status in both the cases was hereditarily enjoyed. Because of the lack of documents any detail account

2. Bajracharya, D. B. -Lichchhavis, kaleka Abhilekh INAS, T.U. Kathmandu, 2030, P. 13.

3. Ibid.

4. Jha, H.N.-The Lichchhavis, Chowkhama Sanskrit Series office VARANASI 1970, P. 132.

5. Ibid, P. 111.

6. Bajracharya, D. B.-op. cit, PP 145-147.

of the first type is not possible and the study has got to be based on the samantas at the centre.

Contemporary Indian history also presents more or less the same type of picture on the problem.⁷ There existed in ancient and medieval India several semi-independent feudatories and the sovereign in the centre allowed their far off vassals remain autonomous under their sovereignty. In course of time their feudatory used to become hereditary and titles like samanta, mahasamanta, maharaja, etc. were conferred on them. They possessed sizable army of their own and had full control over the sources of income and expenditure of the feudatory. From Indian sources it is also learnt that some of them were even entitled to possess a feudal throne, a palanquin or elephants. The feudal lord could ask for military help if and when he needed it, but a militarily strong samanta would prove a danger for the centre itself. Even in medieval Europe such a practice of sharing the difficulties of the feud lord were common. The feudal chiefs were expected to expedite whatever aids they could in response to the summon of their sovereign.

To come to the history of Nepal again. It is evident that king Vasanta-deva's tender age provided opportunity to his Gupta aides and advisers to rise to power. Of prominent personalities in his court were maharaja mahasamanta Kramalilah and sarvadandanayaka mahapratihara Ravigupta. The situation that led these persons to obtain such influential positions is not clear though it is evident that these posts were already in existence in the then polity. In the Thankot Adinarayan Inscription (dated sambat 428) Virochana Gupta has been mentioned as dutaka, a royal messenger, indicating that the Gupta had begun to figure in the Lichchhavi court immediately after the death of king Manadeva. In the years that followed they went on increasing their hold and begin to figure more prominently later on in the epigraphic records of the period.

It appears from the situation revealed by rather limited number of epigraphic records that the Gupta samantas continued to strengthen their position in and around the palace at the cost of the Lichchhavi sovereigns. King Jayadeva II has apparently omitted the names of those who instead of controlling them fell prey to the unfair moves of the nefarious Guptas.

7. Altekar, A.S.—State and government in Ancient India, Delhi, 1977, P. 383.

Thus the period after king Vasantadeva to king Sivadeva (I) presents a scene where the house of the Guptas ran nearly parallel to that of the Lichchhavi rulers and the latter are often found ignored by the former. The first phase of the Lichchhavi-Gupta joint administration was in its climax during Ganadeva-Bhauma Gupta's time. The latter, a scion of Ravigupta exerted considerably much influence on the then polity for thirty-three long years (479-512 Sambat) till he was dethroned and stripped of all administrative powers by Sivadeva I sometime after Sambat 512.

Historians think this phase of Lichchhavi-Gupta rule can be called a dual government.⁸ They argue that dual rule, which was in the making during the last phase of Vasantadeva's rule flourished gradually later and continued till the restoration of the Lichchhavi power by king Narendradeva, who wiped away for good the hold of the Gupta samantas in the palace and the country.⁹ This theory, however, is controversial. It has been already mentioned that feudalism was in its heyday in ancient Nepal and that some of the feudals (samantas) ruled in the feudatories as representatives of the feudal lord and some served him as aides in the centre. The whole network around the king was that of the feudals. But so far the dual-government is concerned it cannot be said that they had enjoyed full regal power or status. In the inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period they are found to have demonstrated due respect to the ruling kings and worked as their advisers, hence the phrase-Vignapitenamaya which is very frequently used by the kings. No legal arrangement was ever made to divide the state-power between the rulers and the samantas. The latter are found to have held inferior status and people never accepted them as co-rulers, though as told above some of them tried to take undue advantage of the weak kings. The best example of it can be the rule of Dhruvadeva-Jishnu Gupta or Bhimarjunadeva-Vishnugupta.

The first phase of samanta influence in the Lichchhavi court came to an end with the fall of Bhaumagupta in sambat 512. But it did not end the influence of samantas in the Lichchhavi court. The phase to follow was much more rigorous on the part of the king Sivadeva I who although did away with the influence of the Gupta samantas, could not help

8. Nepal, Gyanmani-Prachin Nepalka Itihasama Naya Praksh, Bhojpur, 2019. PP. 9-21

9. Bajracharya, D.B.-Op cit. P. 204.

flourish yet another samanta family, the Verma; led by Amsuverma. That he was the nephew of King Sivadeva I has been clearly mentioned in the Gopalarajavamsawali.¹⁰ His father's being the son-in-law of Sivadeva's father indicates the existing relation between the two families. It is thus evident that Amsuverma rose to the status of mahasamanta and maharajadhiraja not only by virtue of his personal but also through his relation with the Lichchhavi royal family. The possibility of his father's (whose name is not known) being in a respected position in the court of Sivadeva and his father can't be ruled out when Amsuverma describes himself as one who rose to power following his father's feet (bappapadanudhyat). Thus he could exert influence on the King and enjoyed the status and power hereditarily. Moreover, K. P. Jayaswal thinks that Amsu was not only a court samanta of Sivadeva I. He infact, ruled in the western part of Kathmandu.¹¹ This fact can't be ruled out. Because of his timely help and knack to handle the situation Amsuverma won over the faith of king Sivadeva right from the beginning of his career. Eventually, this promising samanta began to exercise gradually what can be termed the regal power of the state. Through his achievements and loyalty he had won also the heart of the people. So, instead of keeping a vigilant watch over his activities and intentions king Sivadeva indirectly encouraged him every day and night to rise to supreme power and he himself moved slowly out of the scene. Finally, he seems to have retired in favour of Amsu some time in sambat 526.

Till long after the abdication of Sivadeva I Amsuverma hesitated to be called maharajadhiraja and designated himself mahasamanta as is clear from several inscriptions. Towards the end of his rule he seems to have assumed the title of Md. and issued coins in that capacity.¹²

That the post of mahasamanta was raised high above the petty kings (chiefs) of the country has been mentioned in several inscriptions of the Lichchhavi pd. In the famous Pasupati Inscription. of Jayadeva II

10. Regmi, D.R.-Medieval Nepal, vol III, Firma K.L.M, Calcutta, 1961, P. 118.

11. Jayaswal, K. P.-Chronology and History of Nepal, (rept.) VARANASI, 1976, P. 62.

12. Joshi, S.M.-Nepali Rastriya Mudra, Madan Puraskar Guthi, Lalitpur, Kath. P. 55

king Vasantadeva is described as a ruler revered by the samantas under his control (*dantasamantavanditah*).¹³ As mentioned elsewhere there were court samantas serving king Vasantadeva in his palace and naturally these samantas in the proximity of the kings sat high than the samantas of the regions, sometimes even than the kings. Thus king Sivadeva in his Dharmathali Inscription dated 517 eulogies his mahasamanta (Amsuverma) with a long title—"aneka kshitipati shiro vibhusana manirucha (*vabhasita*) charanayugalena (literally....." whose feet were dazzled by the light of the diadems of several kings' crowns) proclaiming that even kings (*kahitipatis*) bowed down to the feet of Amsuverman, who was only a mahasamanta.¹⁴ Yet at another place he is eulogised as "pranata samanta shiromani mayukha vikshurita charanavindadyutina Shri samantamus varmana." Here *kshitipatis* should be taken, therefore, only as the regional feudal chiefs or the samantas, and not independent rulers.¹⁵ From the study of Hindu polity also it is clear that the term "rajah" mentioned in the context of ancient republican states 'chief' or a samanta—and there used to be many rajahas within a state.

After Amsuverman the Ahirguptas again raised their heads. Nay, they soon rose to the status of powerful samantas and began to play even unfair games as an avenger to the suppression they had gone through by the joint action of Sivadeva-Amsuverman. Bhaumagupta's grandson Jishnugupta removed king Udayadeva and placed Dhruvadeva on the Lichchhavi throne in sambat 55 or so. After ten years Dhruvadeva was also pushed aside and replaced by his brother Bhimarjuna deva. During all this Jishnugupta placed himself as the defacto ruler and issued coins in his name. He also titled his son Vishnugupta as 'Yuvaraja' which no samanta dared do in the past and infact Vishnugupta succeeded him to the high post of mahasamanta in c. sambat 65.

Narendradeva's restoration of Lichchhavi monarchical power curtailed the role of the samantas in the Lichchhavi court, especially when he uprooted the Gupta samantaship for good. Courtiers like rajputra Janardana Verma, dutaka Rudrachandragomi etc. appear in his inscriptions but they do not seem to have exercised any special power intermittently lost by

13. Bajracharya, D. B.—OPP. cit, P. 549.

14. Ibid. P. 258.

15. Samsodhan mandal-Poornima, No. 18, P. 104.

the Lichchhavi sovereigns to the court samantas in the past. For some time afterwards we do not frequently read the term samanta in the Lichchhavi inscriptions indicating that Narendradeva's successors, Sivadeva II and Jayadeva II had also dominated the samantas.

We, however, fall short of conducive historical documents immediately after king Jayadeva II. This means that the Lichchhavi power, strong and consolidated started to stumble in the second half of the eighth century A. D. After that there appeared small feudatories in and around the Kathmandu Valley. The reason for the fall of the Lichchhavis can, therefore, be attributed to the rise of once suppressed samantas of ancient Nepal. Till the beginning of 13th century Nepal did not have a unified and strong kingdom as large and extensive as the Lichchhavis had created and maintained.



Introduction To Tilaurakot As Kapilavastu

-Babu Krishna Rijal

Kapilvastu, being the capital town of Lumbini, where Gautama Buddha was born, is considered as the first among the "Four Great Holy Places of Pilgrimage" *Chattari-Samvattiyani thana-i-* by the Buddhists through all the ages. Kapilavastu, in pre-historic time, was the dwelling place of a saint named Kapilamuni. The Sakya kingdom here was organized by the exiled sons of the king Okkaka, who was the ruler of Kosala, and belonged to the solar race of Ikshanku lineage. Gautama Siddhartha in Pali text is referred as "Apachao-Okkakarajassa-Sakya-putto".

The location of Kapilavastu, as mentioned in *Ambatha-sutta* is "where there was a great grove of saka-tree, on the bank of lake, on the lower slopes of the Himalaya.¹ According to *Dulva*, the city of Kapilvastu lies on the bank of the Bhagirathi River.²

The Pali commentaries on Buddhism³ say that, the king Okkaka, after the death of his first wife married to a second wife. She after giving birth to a son persuaded the king to banish nine children from the first wife and give the throne of Saketa to her own son Jayantu. The king had to yield the demand of his second queen and ordered his nine issues Ulkamukh, Karanda, Hastinika, and Sinisura (four sons) and Priya, Supriya, Ananda, Vijita and Vijitasena (five daughters) to go to the forest. The royal children of Kosala, left Saketa by the order of their father, and proceeded towards north till they arrived to the hermitage of the Saint Kapila. Here, the hermit Kapila gave them shelter and showed the place where to build the town. As the Saint Kapilamuni has given the soil for the establishment of the town, the city founded by the royal children of Okkaka, was named as Kapilavastu.

The princes and princesses, in course of time, when reached the marriageable age, they consorted with their own younger sisters (because

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- 1) *Diggha-Nikaya* 1/3/14. Nalanda Series 1974.
 - 2) W.W. Rockhill ... *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of His Order*, *Orientalia Indica* 1972. (Reprint). P. II
 - 3) *Sumangala vilasini* Vol I. Nalanda Series 1974, PP. 284-86.

they were an endogamous tribe proud of their pure blood) and generated the Sakya race. Priya, being the eldest sister, was appointed as Queen Mother and Ulkamukha became the first king of Kapilavastu.

One day Okkaka asked the whereabouts of his banished children and when the courtiers told him about their adventures, the king exclaimed as Sakka vata-bho-kumara, daring young men have done very well.

Priya, the Queen Mother of Kapilavastu, was attacked by the contagious disease of white leprosy after some time thus, was banished to the forest for retirement. But Priya's disease was cured by the efforts of the King Rama of Varanasi. Being free of disease Rama and Priya were married together and founded the city of Devadaha, towards the east of Kapilavastu. The marriage of Rama and Priya resulted the creation of Koliya race.⁵

The Sakyas of Kapilavastu and the Koliyas of Devadaha continued the matrimonial relation in future too. The Sakya king Suddhodana was married to the Koliya princess Maya Devi and gave birth to Gautam Buddha in sixth century B.C.

Gautama Buddha was born in Lumbini which was within the Janapada of Kapilavastu, while his mother Maya Devi was going to Devadaha. After the birth, Gautama was brought back to Kapilavastu and he spent his childhood and youth as the Crown Prince of Suddhodana. The royal luxuries and opulence of Sakya Kingdom, could not attract Gautam towards worldly life. Since the prime of his youth, he thought the vanity of worldly pleasure and cultivated a thirst for the realization of the causes of the miseries in human life. The famous "Four Visionary Appearance" inspired Gautama to renounce the palace with the determination that "Unless he is enlightened, he will not turn his face towards Kapilavastu."⁶ At the age of thirty five, Gautama realised the ultimate truth that "when fire of lust is extinguished, the heart finds happy repose."

Kapilavastu, during the reign of the king Suddhodan, was however, a small aristocratic Government, on the outskirts of the greater Indian

4) Ibid p. 286.

5) Suttanipata.....Atthakatha Vol II. Nalanda Series 1975. p.p. 171-73,

6) Lalitavistara...Ed. P.L. Vaidya Mithila Institute Darbhanga, 1958. P. 162.

monarchies, the people were blessed with ample prosperity, and great opulence. The chief source of the Sakyas' wealth was rice cultivation. The agrarian economy and the simple village life of Kapilavastu is painted by Dr. Oldenberg with the words that "between the rice fields we may here and there place villages in the days of Sakyas such as exist to-day, hidden among the rich, dark-green foliage of mangoes and tamarinds which surrounds the village site. In the background of the picture, over the back masses of the mountains of Nepal, rise the towering snow-capped summits of the Himalayas."⁷

Commercially, Kapilavastu must have formed a medium of communication between the mountain range and the Gangetic plains. The business transactions of Sravasti to Rajgriha used to run via Kapilavastu. Kapilavastu, being situated at the crucial point of the famous High-way (joining Magadha and Kosala) its wealth and opulences could be compared to the adjoining cities of India like Rajgriha, Vaisali, Sravasti etc.

In the realm of Kapilavastu, the Sakya Janapadas like Ulumpa, Khomadussa, Chatuma, Devadaha, Medalumpa, Vedhanna, Sakkar, Samagama and Silavati etc were incorporated. The Government in Kapilavastu was people-oriented. All necessary schemes and popular welfare of the country could be expressed in Sansthaagara, - which is equivalent to parliament of the Sakyas. While Gautama Buddha was in Kapilavastu, the Sakyas built a new Sansthaagara and requested Buddha to inaugurate it. Buddha in Kapilavastu, used to stay in Nyagrodha grove. Buddha also is said to have sojourned in Mahavana, - which was near Kapilavastu, and was extended up to Vaisali.⁸ Kapilavastu had seven walls and the city walls were eighteen cubits high as mentioned in jataka.

The Sanskrit Buddhist texts speak the town of Kapilavastu as densely populated. Its town planning according to Ashwaghosh is comparable to Giribaja. It is encircled by a wide moat, high wall, demarcated streets. The Sakyas in Kapilavastu were rich, honest, capable and straight forward in dealings.

Sakyan houses in the street were decorated with balconies and

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- 7) H. Oldenberg ... *Buddha, His Life, His Doctrine, His Order*: Indological Book House (Reprint) PP. 95-97.
- 8) T.W. Rhys-Davids ... *Buddhist India*, Indological Book House, 1970 (Reprint) PP. 10-11.

belvederes. Beautiful gardens, groves orchards, tanks and luxurious resorts, were abundant in Kapilavastu.

Gautam Buddha paid several visits to his native country after his enlightenment. In the realm of Kapilavastu he gave many important discourses. Kaundinya, Assaji, Vashpa, Mahanama, Bhadraka, in the history of the Buddhist order, were the citizens of Kapilavastu. They were the first nucleus of the Buddhist order. Beside the above "first five disciples, Buddha converted Sakyas were Anuruddha, Ananda, Bhaddya-kaligodhaputra, Upali, Rahula, Kala-udai, Nanda, Mahanama etc. The first nunnary in Buddhist order was organised by Mahaprajapati Gautami of Kapilavastu. Beside Gautami, Yosodhara Tissa, Bhitta, A irupa Nanda etc were the famous Vikshuis of Buddha's time.

During last days of Gautam, Kapilavastu is said to have been attacked by the brutal force of the king Virudava. Buddha saved Kapilavastu three times from the attack of Virudava could not tolerate the insult of the Sakyas to his father. So in the fourth attack, he brutally massacred the Sakyas and caused severe head-ache to Gautam Buddha to see the death of his native people. The attack of Virudava in Kapilavastu however, might have taken many lives of the Sakyas, it could not subdue the patriotic zeal and their boast of being the race of Gautam Buddha. The Sakyas, when heard the Great Demise of Gautam Buddha in Kushinara, they rushed to the site with a great force and asked the share of relics. They were prepared to get the share of the relics even at the cost of the war with the Mallas. But the situation was tackled by Drona and the Sakyas got their due share of the relics which they brought to Kapilavastu and enshrined in a stupa at the city. In Kapilavastu, the rug used by Gautama Buddha was also deposited in a stupa.

The architectural features and the past glory of Kapilavastu has been dilapidated while the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien came to Kapilavastu during the fourth century A.D. According to him, one could hardly meet any person on the roads for fear of the white elephants and lions. The city was in ruins with neither King nor people. He saw simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of laity. Within the royal precinct, he saw the palace of King Suddhodhana and the portrait of Queen Mayadevi with a scene of conception.⁹

9) Samuel Beal ... **Buddhist Records of the Western World**, Introduction Chap. Orinal Books Corporation, 1969. (Reprint) P. 49.

In circa A.D. 639, another Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang visited Kapilavastu. Like Fa-hien, he also saw the city of Kapilavastu in complete ruins. He counted ten deserted cities within Kapilavastu which is 400 li in circuit. The extension of the royal precinct is 14 or 15 li round which is made exceedingly strong by fortification within the city. Hiuen Tsang saw ruined walls and old foundations belonging to the palace of the King Suddhodhana.¹⁰

Both Fahien and Hiuen-Tsang have described many spots and edifices hallowed by the incidents of the life of Gautama within and around the city of Kapilavastu.

After Hiuen-Tsang, the city of Kapilavastu was frequented by several Tibetan and other pilgrims including Malla Kings of western Nepal. But the successive foreign invasions and the decline of Buddhism, in India, particularly after twelve or thirteen century A.D. caused the recollections of Kapilavastu to remain obscure.

In A.D. 1858, Prof. Lassen calculated the site of Kapilavastu situating on the bank of the river Rohani in the district of Gorakhpur, India.

In A.D. 1863 Sir A. Cunningham thought Nagarkhash in Pargana Aurangabad of Basti District U.P. to be the site of Ancient Kapilavastu.

In A.D. 1875/76 A.C.L. Carlyle tried to identify the locality of Kapilavastu at Bhuila-Diha of the Mansurnagar of Basti District, India.

The hypothetical bearings and the wrong location of Kipalavastu with some sites in Gorakhpur and Basti District in India by the eminent historians and the pioneer archaeologists like Prof. Lassen, Sir A. Cunningham, A.C.L. Carlyle etc. were held untenable since A.D. 1895/96, when Dr. A. Fuhrer discovered three Asokan Pillars in Niglihawa, Lumbini and Gotihawa in the Terai region of Western Nepal. The monolithic pillars founded by Dr. A. Fuhrer in Niglihawa, Lumbini and Gotihawa of Western Nepal were erected by the Maurayan Emperor Asoka to commemorate his pilgrimage to the natal towns of three mortal Buddhas-Kanakmuni, Gautama and Krakuchanda during third century B.C.¹¹

10) Samuel Beal...ibid Vol. II PP. 13-14.

11) A.A. Fuhrer...Antiquities of Buddha Sakya muni's Birth Place in the Nepalese Tarai, Indological Book House, 1972 (Reprint).

In A.D. 1898, P.C. Mukarjee was commissioned by the Oudh Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India to fix the exact location of Kapilavastu. P.C. Mukarjee, after exploring the entire zone of Western Terai came to the final conclusion that only Tilaurakot can claim to be the exact site of ancient Kapilavastu because of its general consonance of local bearings and the geographical conditions as described in the classical Buddhist texts and the travelogue of the Chinese pilgrims.¹²

The shape of Tilaurakot site is roughly pentagon on plan. Its length measures 1700 feet north to south and the breadth from east to west is 1300 feet. It is encircled by a moat of twenty-one feet width. The size of the fortification wall varies from nine to twelve feet in breadth and three to six feet in height.

P.C. Mukarjee during the course of his archaeological activities in Tilaurakot exposed many edifices and tried to identify them as per the description of the classical Buddhist texts and the Chinese travel accounts. With the full references, he published his monumental report in 1901 with a forward note by Vincient A. Smith, who clearly writes that the identification of Tilaurakot with Kapilavastu by P.C. Mukarjee can hardly be doubted.¹³

This is how, the problems of the identification of the neither to lost site of ancient Kapilavastu was finally solved by the unbiased attempts and the dedicated efforts of the scholars on the basis of the necessary concomitants and the archaeological evidences during the last decade of the nineteenth century A.D.

In A. D. 1961-62, when the Department of Archaeology, HMG/Nepal was still in its infancy and having no qualified archaeologists, Mrs. Debala Mitra, of the Archaeological Survey of India, was invited to carry out the scientific excavation in Tilaurakot to develop the site as Buddhist pilgrimage centre. But unfortunately the excavator being observed by the ruins of Piprahawa tried to twist the already established facts and the necessary concomitants for the identification of Tilaurakot with Kapila-

12) P.C. Mukarjee.. *Antiquities of Kapilavastu Tarai of Nepal*. Indological Book House 1960 (Reprint).

13) P.C. Mukarjee . *ibid* Prefatory Note.

vastu. In the name of the scientific excavation of only one trench at the north-western fringe of the fort, she put forward her puerile hypothesis that "on the evidence of the earlier excavation by P.C. Mukarjee it may be presumed that the humps (p.11) inside the fortification contain structures contemporaneous with the temple of Kodan (which she excavated and dated not earlier than seventh century A.D. in her report). She also came to the sweeping conclusion in her report that" the author has hardly anything to say except that "the pillar fragments lying at Niglisagar might have hailed from Gotihawa." She exposed herself in her dissimulate attempts and polemical theory that "At Sagrahawa are the ruins of a Saivite Temple, now in the last stage of decay."¹⁴

Mr. K.M. Srivastava, since 1972 is trying vainly to fabricate another false claim that "the lost city of Kapilavastu is found in Piprahawa, of Baste District, India and not in Tilaurakot, Western Nepal. His quixotic conclusion of Piprahawa being the so called" lost city of Kapilavastu "is based on the fanatic attempts of proving some accessiastical buildings and monastic structures with the palace complex of King Suddhodhana in Ganwaoria. His obstinate refusal to take due notice of the up-to-archaeological datas of Tilaurakot was already pointed by the writer in his excavation reports and various articles. Dr. N.R. Banerjee, one of the renowned archaeologist and the present Director National Museum, New Delhi timely published an assessment article in "Indian and Foreign Review" Vol. 13. No. 25, date 15 September 1976 with the remarks that "this single phenomenon sealings and houses may not prove the identity of Kapilavastu (with Piprahawa). He still supports Tilaurakot to be the real site of Kapilavastu.

Since 1965, the Department of Archaeology HMG/Nepal, took initiative of carrying out the excavation in Tilaurakot by its own technicians. The Nepalese team, along with the writer as one of its member carried out many excavatory works in Tilaurakot. In 1966, T.N. Mishra exposed various structures along with the western gateway complex. In 1967/68 a twin stupas were discovered at Dhamnihawa, situating at the distance of about 500 yards north of fortified city of Tilaurakot.

14) Mrs. Debala Mitra...Excavation of Tilaurakot and Kodan and Exploration in the Nepalese Tarai; Department of Archaeology H.M.G./ Nepal Pnblication, 1972. P. 249

The archaeological team of Rissho University of Japan started an extensive operation in Mound VII of Tilaurakot which encountered many edifices and rare varieties of antiquities datable from pre-Maurayan period to the time of the Kushanas. A hoard of copper coins numbering more than twenty-two hundred were also discovered in the same mound.¹⁵

Several interest structures, terracotta figurines and the classification of coin hoards were published by the Department of Archaeology HMG/Nepal in its departmental Journal "Ancient Nepal" Nos 22 and 26.

Since the year 1972/73 the writer was assigned to conduct the excavation and archaeological activities in Tilaurakot. The results of the excavation, exploration and conservation of each season are published by the writer in the Departmental Journal "Ancient Nepal" Nos 22 and 26 with photographic illustrations and achievements. In the seasonal work of 1974/75, the writer was successful in making an illustrative contour map of Tilaurakot showing all the excavated pits, peripheral sites and other antiquities. The most remarkable achievements of the work of that season was to get a clear cut-sequence of human habitation beginning from Painted Grey Ware phase to the period of Kushanas. The chronology found in T.L.K. Md V. in Tilaurakot can be divided into five periods and thirteen layers of human depositions.¹⁶

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- 15) Tilourakot II ... Tokyo: The Rissho University Nepal Archaeological Research Report. Vol II 1978.
- 16) Sequence of Culture in Ancient Kapilavastu T.L.K. M.D.V. Section East. First Published in Nechidekhi-Makhali Vol 3. of Information H.M.G./ Nepal, 1975. PP. 14-16.

The Development of Solarcult and Shivabhaskara in Nepal

- Mukunda Raj Aryal

The Sun (Surya), the source of light, the maker of the day, was an object of veneration and gratefulness to the very primitive people of the world. Inspired with the above feeling the people on earth started engraving and painting the solar disc on rocks, hand axes and caves. These representations of the Surya were sometimes symbolic and crude.¹ The paleolithic caves of Spain and France witness the first representations of solar paintings.² Surya was popular deity to the Egyptians, Asirians and Babylonians. In ancient Egyptian Civilisation Surya was addressed by various names as Ra, Re, Aton, Horus, Hather, Tum etc. The Babylonians used the name Shamsha for Surya. Some ancient tribes of England worshipped Surya around 1500 B.C.³ The Iranians worshipped Surya with great devotion and was addressed as Mithra which is similar to the Vedic name Surya for Sun.⁴ The seals and potteries discovered from the Indus valley Civilisation can prove that the people of the period has Surya worship ever since. In addition to this the other archaeological sites of contemporary Civilisation like Lothal, Rugar, Rangapur and Kalibangan support the above fact.⁵

The popularity of Surya worship in India in Vedic and Pauranic age is witnessed in the contemporary literatures. Rigveda lists various names of Surya as Savitri, Pusan, Maga, Mitra, Varuna, Vishnu, Aryaman, Vivaswat etc. The fourteen hymns of Rigveda deals with Surya. This authority further says "Surya is the soul of the world."⁶ In all the vedic literature Surya is described as the destroyer of darkness, the protector against trouble and disease and the upholder of the Universe. The Arandyaka Parva of Mahabharata lists one hundred eight names of Surya. Here one remarkable change we find that Surya is not worshipped only

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1. Pandey, Lalita Prasad, Sun worship in Ancient India, p. 1,
 2. Herdge walter, The sun in Art, p. 4,
 3. Havell. E. B., A Handbook of Indian Art, p. 89,
 4. Gupta, Shakti M, Surya, the sun God, p. 2,
 5. Pandey Ibid, p. 4,
 6. Danieilou, A, Hindu polytheism p. 94

by prayers but with various offerings like flower, rice, sandal wood paste, milk and fasting.⁷ Moreover, other texts as the Astadhyayi of Panini, Arthasastra of Kautilya, Jain and Buddhist works speak of the Surya worship and are followed by many other Gupta and post Gupta literature.⁸



Shivabhaskara, Chobhar

7. Pandey, Ibid, p. 68

8. Banerjea, J, N, The Development of Hindu Iconography p. 430

Thus the present tradition of Surya worship has its origin in the remote past up to the palcolithic age.

Many Sculptures of Surya were carved in India during the Sunga rule. Among them the Suryas of Chandraketugadha, Bodhgaya temple, Khandagiri and Bhaja are the best examples.⁹ The Sungas were followed by kushanas who not only worshipped Surya but engraved Mitra (Surya) on their coins. Similarly, the Guptas of India were the devotee of Surya and built many temples for him. Many Surya images of this period are found in Bengal even now.¹⁰ The Vardhanas used the epithet as Paramadityabkakta- The great devotee of Aditya, the Surya. On the lack of proper scientific exploration and excavations it is difficult to ascribe any date to the start of Surya worship in Nepal. Even then we have an image of third fourth centuries A.D. which speaks a lot of it. The socalled Royal personage of Nepal National Museum is no other than Surya which can be proved by the round nimbus, behind its head, a representation of solar disc. Dr. Pratapaditya Pal and Dipaka Bhattacharya accept it as the image of Surya.¹¹ This proves the fact that Surya image was popular in Nepal during third fourth centuries A.D. Up to the present state of our knowledge the first authentic reference of Surya image dates only from fifth century A.D. The image is lost but the pedestal preserved has an inscription dated Asad Sukla 15 of the year 480 A.D. which speaks of a certain trade Guhamitra by name had installed an image of Surya named Indra.¹² Thus this inscription appears as an authentic source for the study of the solarcult in ancient Nepal. The image installed in the month of Asad is Indra, the name of Surya for the month of Srawana. There might be some astrological reason of the day behind it. After this Inscription we come across the other three Surya images dated eleventh century from Thapahiti, Saugal and Nepal Museum. All three of them are the best sources for the study of solar cult as well as the sculptural art of Nepal. As the Surya image of 480 A.D. is lost we are not in a position to discribe it. But the three images mentioned above are on the semi square stones. The main deity Surya stands in between his attendants. The main figures dominate the small attendants flanked on both sides. These figures lack Aruna, the chariot drive and horses. The Surya of Museum

9. Pandey, Ibid, P. 69

10. Pandey, Shree Netra, Bharat ka Brihat Itihasa p. 268.

11. Pal, pratapaditya & Bhattacharya, D, The Astral Divinities of Nepal p. 9

12. Vajracharya, Dhanavajra. Lichhavikalka Abhilekha, p. 59

has a long boot covering the leg up to the knee and a jacket with big lapels. From the above images certain characteristics can be noted. The standing Surya is in the middle flanked by his attendants, wives while the devotees are on the lower panel. After fourteen fifteen centuries the Surya images are carved on a round stone representing the solar disc. The main deity is placed on a chariot drawn by seven horses under the control of Aruna. No Surya images of Nepal are found after fourteen fifteen Centuries in the style of Thapahiti, Saugal and Nepal Museum.

The Pharping inscription of the year 1261 A.D. has the expression Shivabhaskara. Shiva is one of the Hindu trinity and Bhaskara stands for Surya. No scholars so far have offered any explanation of the word Shivabhaskara. Dr. Pal and Bhattacharya have mentioned of the inscription without any explanation of the word Shivabhaskara.¹³ The compound word "Shivabhaskara" can be explained as the well-doer Surya or Bhaskara, the Surya along with Shiva. No scholars have paid any attention on this line. Why Bhaskara, the Surya is addressed as Shivabhaskara is explained here for general readers. Suryopanisad identifies Surya with Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. This tradition is found even in Mahabharata where among hundred and eight names of Surya Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are mentioned.¹⁴ In another place of the same authority Surya is addressed as Indra, Rudra, Vishnu, Prajapati and Veda.¹⁵ Many other texts have followed the same.¹⁶ It can easily be known from the above facts that Shivabhaskara

13. Pal and Bhattacharya, Ibid, p. 8

14. Mahabharat Arandiyaka Parva, III, 18-28

15. Mahabharata Arandiyaka Parva Yudhisthira stotra

a) एष ब्रम्हा व विष्णुश्च रुद्र एव हि भास्करः ।

त्रिभुव्यात्मा त्रिवेदात्मा सर्वदेव मयो हरिः ॥ Suryo panisad P. 5

b) उदये ब्रम्हणोरुपं मध्यान्हे तु महेश्वरः ।

अस्तमाने स्वयं विष्णुस्त्रिमूर्तिश्च दिवाकरः ॥ Adityahridaya Strotra. 118

c) ब्रम्हाविष्णु रुद्र शक्ति नाम मात्रेण भिन्नतः । Lauhita Smriti

d) अहं विष्णुश्च सूर्यश्च देवी विष्णेश्वर स्तथा ॥ Skanda Purana

e) रुद्राय विष्णुावे तुम्यं ब्रम्हण सूर्यं मूर्तये ।।

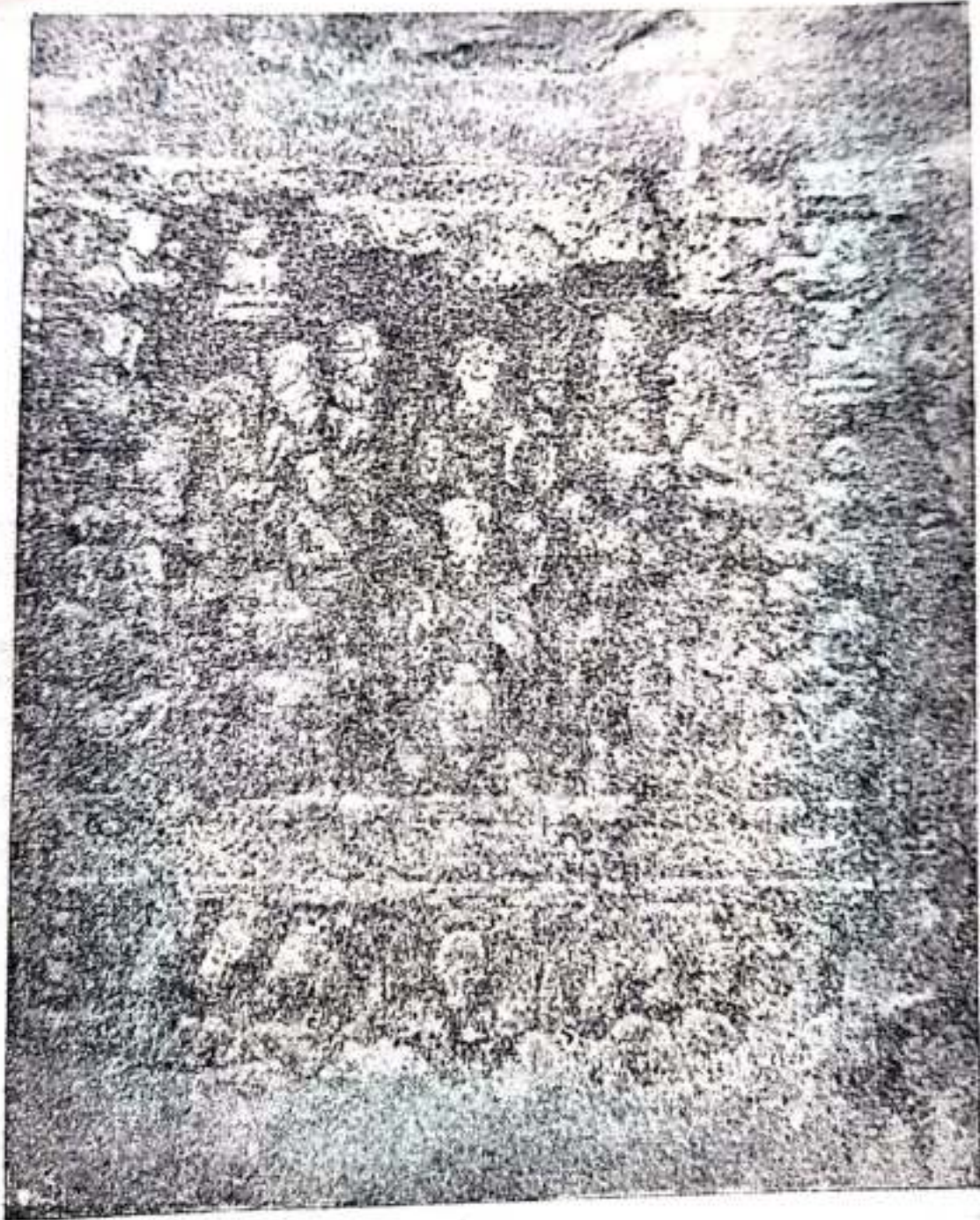
f) आदित्य च शिवं विष्वाच्छिव मादित्य रूपिणे । Uttarakhanda

उभयोरन्तरं नास्ति ध्यादित्यस्य शिवस्य च ॥ Sauropasana

16. ध्येयः सदा सवितृमण्डल मध्यवर्ति, नारायणः सरसिजसम सन्नविष्टः Kallyan No. 627

p. 1

is to represent Surya as Shiva and Surya along with Shiva. One image of Surya of Panautighat represents the best example of Surya as Brahma. In it Surya as Brahma stands in the middle flanked by Shiva and Vishnu on the right and left side respectively. Thus we find the tradition of representing Surya as Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva in Nepal. Surya is traditionally accepted along with Narayan as Surya Narayan. The



Shivabhaskara, Patan Kumbheswara

religious literature bears the above view.¹⁷ The two images found in the fountain of Kumbheswar and Chobhar and illustrated here have solved the problem of Shivabhaskara for ever. On both these images Aruna, Surya and Shiva are in Human form: Surya as Shiva, Surya and Shiva, Shivabhaskaras are standing on a chariot drawn by seven horses. Aruna is engaged on driving the chariot in front of Surya covering the lower half of the body of Surya, the Shivabhaskara. Surya carries on both his hands two lotuses. On both these images Shiva is placed behind surya. Shiva has four arms and carries in his two left arms the trident and Matulunga and in one right hand the rosary beads and the other is in Abhaya posture. The central figure of Shivabhaskara is flanked by many other deities. Among them are Brahma and Vishnu on the right and left respectively and the others of the figure can not be properly identified as they are worn away. But the twelfth Skandha of Srimadha-gavat describes of the Ganas of Surya, the seers pray him with various hymns and the apsaras dance in front of him. The cobras tie the chariot. The Yakshas decorate it and the mighty Rakshases push it from behind. The sixty thousands seers Balakhilyas pray facing Surya. It is most likely that the Nepalese artists have tried to depict the above scene on both the images. There is no doubt left that these images are of Shivabhaskaras. From a detail study of the artistic features of these images they can be dated twelfth thirteen Centuries. No images like these are found in India. Thus these images are of indigenous origin of the Nepalese devotees and artists based on religious texts. These images show the developed form of solar cult of the period on one hand and the religious toleration on the other. Regarding these Shivabhaskara images it can be argued they are the imagination and creation of those devotees or tribes who had Shiva as their Istadevata and Surya, the Kulapurusa. With the findings of these two figures the writer holds the view that the problem of Shivabhaskara is solved for ever.

7. सामग्र्यंनुभिस्तल्लिङ्गे ऋषयः संस्तुवन्त्यमुम्
 गन्धर्वस्तं प्रणयन्ति नृत्यन्त्वमरसोऽग्रतः॥
 उन्नह्यन्ति रथं नागा ग्रामण्यो रथवोजकाः ।
 कोदयन्ति रथं पृष्ठे नैऋता वसणालिनः ॥
 बालखिल्याः सहस्राणि पृष्ठिर्बम्हर्षयो मल ।
 पुरतो ऽ भिमुखं यान्ति स्तुवन्ति स्तुतिभिर्मुम् ॥ Srimadbhagavatam.

अंशुवर्माहरूले प्रयोग गरेको संवत्को विषयमा

— दिनेशराज पन्त

हाम्रो देश नेपालमा प्राचीन अभिलेखहरूको आधारमा इतिहास लेख्ने परम्पराको उद्घाटन गर्ने श्रेय भगवान्लाल इन्द्राजीलाई छ। त्यसभन्दा अघि नेपालको इतिहासमा चाख राख्ने विदेशी विद्वान्हरू वंशावलीको आधारमा नेपालको प्राचीनकालको विषयमा कलम चलाउँथे। यसको स्पष्ट प्रमाणको रूपमा हामी डानियल राइटद्वारा सम्पादित वंशावली (नेपालको इतिहास)-लाई लिन सक्छौं। वि. सं. १९३३ मा डानियल राइटको पुस्तक प्रकाशित भएको हो। त्यसको ४ वर्षपछि वि. सं. १९३७ मा नेपालका २३ वटा अभिलेख प्रकाश गराएर भगवान्लाल इन्द्राजीले प्राचीन अभिलेखको आधारमा नेपालको इतिहास तयार पार्ने क्रम बसाइविएका हुन्।

भगवान्लाल इन्द्राजीले छपाएका नेपालका २३ वटा अभिलेखमध्ये १५ वटा लिच्छविकालका छन्। लिच्छविकालका ती अभिलेखमा संवत्को उल्लेख छ, तर संवत्को विशेषण चाहिँ छैन। लिच्छविकालका ती अभिलेखमा दुइथरी संवत् पाइएका छन्। भगवान्लालले पहिलो संवत्को प्रथम अभिलेख चाँगुको मानदेवको संवत् ३८६ को भेट्टाए तथा दोस्रो संवत्को प्रथम अभिलेख बुगमतीको अंशुवर्माको संवत् ३४ को भेट्टाए। यस वेलादेखि लिच्छवि अभिलेखमा उल्लेख भएका संवत् के हुन् भनी चर्चा चलन थाल्यो र यस विषयमा धरिँ नै मतमतान्तर निस्के। प्रस्तुत लेखको उद्देश्य मुख्यतया दोस्रो संवत्को विषयमा मात्र विचार गर्न हुनाले त्यस विषयमा ध्व केही लेखिन्छ।

यस संवत्को विषयमा अहिलेसम्म थाहा नभएअनुसार जम्मा ८ वटा मत देखिएका छन्—

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| १) भगवान्लाल इन्द्राजी— | वि. सं. ६६३ देखि चलेको हर्षसंवत् ^१ |
| २) सिल्मा लेभी — | वि. सं. ६५२ देखि चलेको भोट्टेसंवत् ^२ |
| ३) के. जी. गङ्गुर — | मालवाका यज्ञोधमलि वि. सं. ५९५ देखि चलाएको संवत् ^३ |
| ४) हेमराज शर्मा — | वि. सं. ६३३ देखि चलेको मानदेवसंवत् ^४ |
| ५) बालचन्द्र शर्मा — | वि. सं. ६२८ देखि चलेको ठकुरीसंवत् ^५ |

- ६) रमेजवग्ग मज्जपदार - कातस्थानी अङ्क तष्ट गरिण्को वि. सं. ६३५ देखि चलेको शकसंवत्^७
- ७) हितनारायण भा - वि. सं. ६३१ देखि चलेको अंशुवर्मसंवत्^{१०}
- ८) शङ्करमान राजवंशी - वि. सं. ६०६ देखि चलेको अंशुवर्मसंवत्^{१०}

यो ८ मतमध्ये^{१०} चारो" मत वि. सं. ६३३ देखि चलेको संघनृत्तिययक मूल बाण्य पाइएकोले त्यसको विषयमा अब विचार गरिन्छ ।

साङ्ख्यमा लेखिएको सुमतित्रनामक पुस्तक नेपाल राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालय (बीर-पुस्तकालय चौधो ५७ सङ्ख्या) मा छ ।^{११} अनुसन्धानद्वारा लिच्छविकालमा नेपालखाल्डोमा बनेको भनी सिद्ध भएको^{१२} सो ग्रन्थमा संघत्हरूको बारेमा यस्तो लेखिएको छ-

जातो दुर्योधनो राजा कलि - - प्रवर्तते ।
युधिष्ठिरो महाराजो दुर्योधनस्तयोःपि वा ।
उभौ राजौ सहस्रं द्वे वर्षन्तु सम्प्रवर्तति ।
नन्दराज्यं शताष्टञ्च श्रन्द्रगुप्तस्ततोपरे
राज्यङ्करोति तेनापि द्वान्निशञ्चाधिकं शतम् ।
राजा शूद्रकदेवश्च वर्षं सप्ताब्धि चाश्विनो
शकराजा ततो पश्चाद्दसुरन्ध्रकृतन्तथा ।
इत्येते - पितृमह्यं ज्ञेया राजा क्रमेण तु ।
... कृतअम्बरान्नि - - -ीमानदेवाब्द प्रयुज्यमाना
एतानि पिण्ड ...

(सुमतित्र २ ख पत्र)

युधिष्ठिर दुर्योधन उभो राज्याब्द २००० नन्दराज्याब्द ८०० चन्द्रगुप्तराज्याब्द १३२
शूद्रकदेवराज्याब्द २४७ शकरराज्याब्द ४६८ मानदेवस्य राज्याब्द ३०४

(सुमतित्र । यहाँ पत्रसङ्ख्या देखिबेना)

[दुर्योधन राजा भएपछि कलियुग लाग्नेछ । राजा युधिष्ठिर र दुर्योधनको संवत् २००० वर्षसम्म चल्नेछ । त्यसपछि ८०० वर्षसम्म राजा नन्दको संवत् चल्नेछ । त्यसपछि १३२ वर्षसम्म राजा चन्द्रगुप्तको संवत् चल्नेछ । त्यसपछि २४७ वर्षसम्म राजा शूद्रकदेवको संवत् चल्नेछ । त्यसपछि ४६८ वर्षसम्म शक राजाको संवत् चल्नेछ । राजाहरूका यी संवत् बताइए । त्यसपछि ३०४ वर्षसम्म राजा मानदेवको संवत् चल्नेछ ।]^{१३}

यस वर्षनबाट २००० + ८०० + १३२ + २४७ + ४६८ = ३६३७ कलिगतवर्ष बितेपछि

मानदेवसांवत् चलेको देखिन्छ । कलिगतथर्ष २०४४ बितेपछि विक्रमसांवत्को प्रारम्भ हुन्छ । यस कारण २६७७-२०४४ = ६३३ वि. सं. बितेपछि मानदेवसांवत्को प्रारम्भ भएको देखिन्छ ।

भोटका स-सवय-पान-चेन (वि. सं. १२३६-१३०८) को वर्णनअनुसार वि. सं. ६३३ देखि नेपालमा नयाँ सांवत् चलेको थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।¹⁴

अच्युतानन्द राजोपाध्यायको सङ्ग्रहमा रहेको वि. सं. १७१२ मा सारिएको हरिवंशमा विक्रमसांवत्को सङ्ख्या १७१२ तथा मानदेवसांवत्को सङ्ख्या १०७६ दिइएको छ ।¹⁵ १७१२-१०७६ = ६३६ । यताबाट वि. सं. ६३३ देखि मानदेवसांवत् चल्यो भन्ने परम्परा वि. सं. १७१२ सम्म पनि रहेको देखिन्छ ।

माथिका यी प्रमाणका आधारमा वि. सं. ६३३ देखि नेपालमा नयाँ सांवत् चलेको थियो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा सांवत्, महीना, पक्ष र तिथिको मात्र उल्लेख ज्यादा पाइन्छ । सांवत् ३८६ को मानदेवको चांगुको अभिलेखमा तिथिसँगै नक्षत्र तथा मूर्हतको उल्लेख छ ।¹⁶ तर वार नभएकोले गणना गर्न मिल्दैन । पहिलो सांवत्मा तिथिबाहेकको अरु अङ्गको चर्चा यहाँ मात्र आएको छ । दोस्रो सांवत्मा भने वारसमेतका सामग्री दुइवटा भेट्टाइएका छन् । यिनको बारेमा अब विचार गरिन्छ ।

चांगुमा अंशुवमलि नारायणलाई कवच चढाई अभिलेख राखेका छन् । त्यहाँ यस्तो लेखिएको छ-

ॐ

एकात्रिशतमे वर्षे वर्तमाने स्वसंस्थया

माघशुक्लत्रयोदश्याम्पुष्येण सवितुदिने

कालेन शीर्णमवलोक्य समस्तमाद्यं

हैमं हरेर्भगवतः कवचं सताक्षर्यम्

तस्मान्निर्दशनमवाप्य जगद्धितार्थं

सञ्चस्कृवान्नरपतिः पुनरंशुवर्मा

२

[भगवान् नारायणको पहिलेको सुनको कवच र गरुड कालक्रमले जीर्ण भएको देखेर राजा अंशुवमलि सांवत् ३१ माघशुक्ल त्रयोदशी आदित्यवार पुष्यनक्षत्रको दिन संसारको हित होस् भनी पुरानै नमूनाअमोजिम सम्पूर्ण जीर्णोद्धार गर्नुभयो ।]¹⁷

यहाँ सांवत्, महीना, पक्ष, तिथिको साथै वार, नक्षत्रको पनि उल्लेख आएकोले यसबाट गणना गर्न सजिलो पऱ्यो ।

भक्तपुर इनाबोमा सांवत् ३१ को अभिलेख छ । त्यहाँ यस्तो लेखिएको छ-

“यस्त्वेतामाज्ञां विसृष्ट्याग्न्यथा प्रवर्तिष्यते” मर्यादाज्ञाव्यतिक्रमकारिणो रवि भूपतिभिर्धर्मगुरुतया गुरुकृतप्रसादानु(ष)स्तिभिरेव भवितव्यमिति स्वयमाज्ञा वृतकोत्र राजपुत्रस्थितिवर्मा

संवत् ३१ द्वितीयपौषशुक्लअष्टम्याम्

[जसले आज्ञा नाघेर अन्यथा गर्ला । मर्यादा र आज्ञा नाघने (त्यसलाई सहनेछैनौं) । पछि हुने राजाहरूले पनि नियम कानूनलाई ठूलो सम्झी मान्यजनले गरेको निगाहको रूपाले राख्नुपर्छ । यो मेरो आफ्नै आज्ञा हो । यस यातका वृतक (मार्फत) राजपुत्र स्थितिवर्मा छन् ।

संवत् ३१ द्वितीय पौषशुक्ल अष्टमी¹⁸]

यस अभिलेखबाट संवत् ३१ को पौषमा अधिमास परेको देखिएकोले माघको गणना गर्दा पौषको अधिमास पनि लिनुपर्‍यो । ३१ + ६३३ = ६६४ । अधिमास लिई गणना गर्दा वि. सं. ६६४ माघशुक्ल त्रयोदशीमा आदित्यवार, पुष्यनक्षत्र पर्न आयो¹⁹ र गणना मिल्न आयो ।

संवत् ३०१ मा (अर्क) मानदेवको पालामा सारिएको केसरपुस्तकालय ६६६ सङ्ख्याको सौभुती संहिता सहोत्तरामा²⁰ यस्तो लेखिएको छ-

राज्ञि श्रीमानदेवे पृथुसितयज्ञसि प्रोद्यविन्दुप्रकाशे
काले पुष्यावर्जनस्य सकलजनमनोह्लादिरभ्ये वसन्ते ।
वर्षे चंकोत्तरस्मिस्त्रितयशतगते माघवे मासि शुक्ले
सप्तम्यां पुष्यशुक्ले दश(श,तकिरणे वासरे सिद्धयोगे²¹ ॥

[ठूलो सफा कीर्ति भएका, उदाएका चन्द्रमाको जस्तो प्रकाश भएका राजा मानदेवको विजयराज्यमा संवत् ३०१ मा सबै जनाको मनलाई आनन्द दिने र पुष्य दिने वसन्तऋतुमा, वैशाखशुक्ल सप्तमी तिथ्यनक्षत्र आदित्यवार सिद्धयोगमा]

यहाँ संवत्, महीना, पक्ष, तिथिको साथै वार, नक्षत्र, योगको पनि उल्लेख आएकोले गणन गर्न सजिलो भयो ।

श्रंशुवर्माहरूले प्रयोग गरेको संवत् कार्तिकादि हो भन्ने कुरा सिद्ध भएकोले²² वैशाखमा १ बडाउनुपर्छ । ३०२ + ६३३ = ९३५। गणना गर्दा वि.सं. ९३५ वैशाखशुक्ल सप्तमीमा आदित्यवार, तिथ्यनक्षत्र, सिद्धयोग पर्न आयो²³ र गणना मिल्न गयो ।

यसरी माथिका प्रमाण र गणनाका आधारमा वि. सं. ६३३ देखि उठेको मानदेवसंवत् नै श्रंशुवर्माहरूले प्रयोग गरेको संवत् हो भन्ने सिद्ध हुन्छ ।

वि. सं. २०३० मा शङ्करमानजीले आफ्नो ढङ्गको गणना गरी वि. सं. ६०९ देखि नेपालमा नयाँ संवत् चल्थो भन्ने कल्पना गर्नुभयो । यसभन्दा अगाडि कुनै ठाउँमा यस संवत्को

चर्चा आएको छैन । यस कारण यस बेला संवत् चलेको थियो भन्ने प्रमाण नपाइएकोले शङ्कर-मानजीले निकाल्नुभएको निष्कर्ष आधारहीन छ भन्ने देखिन्छ । शङ्करमानजीले त्यहाँ निकाल्नुभएका तर्कहरूको पूर्णमाहकमा विस्तारपूर्वक खण्डन भइसकेको छ । लेख ठूलो हुने डरले गर्दा ती तर्कको चर्चा यहाँ गर्नु संभव छैन ।

प्रमाण नभए तापनि वि. सं. ६०६ देखि संवत् चलेको थियो भन्ने शङ्करमानजीको मत स्वीकार गरे तापनि इतिहास तथा गणितको दृष्टिबाट त्यो तर्क निर्मूल छ भन्ने कुरा दुइटा उदाहरण दिई देखाइन्छ ।

शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको संयुक्त शासनको अन्तिम अभिलेख लेलेको हो । त्यसमा संवत् ५२६ आश्विनशुक्ल लेखिएको छ ।²⁴

अंशुवर्माले एकल शासन गरेको पहिलो अभिलेख बुधमतीको हो । त्यसमा संवत् २९ ज्येष्ठशुक्ल दशमी लेखिएको छ ।²⁵

शङ्करमानजीको मतअनुसार पहिलो संवत् वि. सं. ११३ देखि चलेको²⁶ र दोस्रो संवत् वि. सं. ६०६ देखि चलेको हो ।

अंशुवर्मा र शिवदेवको संयुक्त शासनको अन्तिम अभिलेख संवत् ५२६ आश्विनशुक्लको हो भनी भरखर माथि लेखियो । $५२६ + ११३ = ६३९$ । यताबाट शङ्करमानजीको मतअनुसार वि. सं. ६३९ आश्विनसम्म शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको संयुक्त शासन देखिन्छ ।

अंशुवर्मा एकलको संवत् २९ ज्येष्ठशुक्ल दशमीको अभिलेख पाइएको छ भनी भरखर माथि लेखियो । ज्येष्ठमा १ बढाउनुपर्ने हुनाले $३० + ६०६ = ६३६$ । यताबाट शङ्करमानजीको मतअनुसार वि. सं. ६३६ ज्येष्ठमा अंशुवर्माले एकल शासन गरिरहेको देखिन्छ ।

यसरी वि. सं. ६३६ ज्येष्ठमा एकल शासकको रूपमा देखिइसकेका अंशुवर्मा फेरि वि. सं. ६३९ आश्विनमा संयुक्त शासकको रूपमा देखिनु तात्कालिक घटनाक्रमको दृष्टिले मिल्ने कुरा नभएकोले शङ्करमानजीको कल्पना निःसार देखिन्छ ।

सुमतितन्त्रको माथि उद्धृत वाक्यअनुसार पहिलो संवत् वि. सं. १३५ देखि चलेको शकसंवत् र दोस्रो संवत् वि. सं. ६३३ देखि चलेको मानदेवसंवत् हो भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

अब सुमतितन्त्रअनुसार अंशुवर्माको समयको सङ्गति हुन्छ वा हुँदैन भनी विचार गरिन्छ ।

$५२६ + १३५ = ६६१$ । यताबाट वि. सं. ६६१ आश्विनसम्म शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको संयुक्त शासन देखिन्छ ।

$३० + ६३३ = ६६३$ । यताबाट वि. सं. ६६३ ज्येष्ठमा अंशुवर्माले एकल शासन गरेको देखिन्छ ।

यसरी सुमतितन्त्रअनुसार अंशुवर्माको समयको सङ्गति भयो ।

आजभोलिको हाम्रो पञ्चाङ्गगणनापद्धतिअनुसार फाल्गुन, चैत्र, वैशाख, जेठ, आषाढ,

श्रावण, भाद्र, आश्विन, कार्तिक महीनामा अधिमास पर्छन्. अथमास परेको वर्षमा मार्ग महीनामा पनि कहिलेकही अधिमास पर्न आएको देखिन्छ, पौष र माघ महीनामा चाहिँ कहिले पनि अधिमास पर्दैनन् ।²⁷ यस कारण पौष महीनामा वर्तमान गणनापद्धतिअनुसार अधिमास पर्ने सक्छ ।

लिच्छविकालमा आषाढ र पौषमा मात्र अधिमास परेका उदाहरण भेटिएका छन् ।²⁸ यताबाट लिच्छविकालको अधिमास मान्ने परिपाटी अहिलेको भन्दा फरक थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

लिच्छविकालको दोस्रो संवत्मा अधिमासका उल्लेख दुई ठाउँमा आएका छन् । मत्स्यपुराणको संवत् ३१ को अभिलेखमा पौषमा अधिमासको उल्लेख छ भनी माथि नै भनियो । त्यसै गरी पाटन सुनधाराको प्रशुचर्माको संवत् ३४ को अभिलेखमा पनि पौषमा नै अधिमासको उल्लेख छ ।²⁹

लिच्छविकालमा चलेको अधिमासपद्धतिको गणना मिलाउने सूत्र वीरपुरतकालय पहिलो १६३४ सङ्ख्याको धर्मनिर्णयतिथिसारसङ्ग्रहनामक पुरतकमा छ । त्यहाँ यस्तो लेखिएको छ—

चैत्रादिभाद्रपदान्तानि यदा सङ्क्रमं त्युत्पद्यते ।

आषाढमासवृद्धिः स्यान्नारदस्य वचो यथा ॥

अश्विन्यादिकालगुणान्तानि यदा सङ्क्रमं त्रुट्यते ।

पौषमासा निवर्द्धन्ते मासवृद्धि विधीयते ।

ननु इति कथमयमेव मासवृद्धिः ॥

कवर्कटे सिंहकन्यायां तुलाकीटघनवृद्धिरे ।

मानो संक्रमणे नष्टे द्विराषाढो विधीयते ॥

मृगकुम्भधरे मीने क्रियगोन्युगे तथा ।

अर्कसङ्क्रमणे नष्टे द्विपौषं कुरुते बुधः ॥

अधिमासा यदा नष्टा रयणे द्वे सुचिन्तयेत् ।

द्विराषाढो द्विपौषश्च भारद्वाजस्य वचनं यथा ॥

यताबाट

नारदको मतअनुसार

चैत्र, वैशाख, ज्येष्ठ, आषाढ, श्रावण, भाद्रमा अधिमास परे सो अधिमास आषाढमा मानिने

आश्विन, कार्तिक, मार्ग, पौष, माघ, फाल्गुनमा अधिमास परे सो अधिमास पौषमा मानिने

भारद्वाजको मतअनुसार

श्रावण, भाद्र, आश्विन, कार्तिक, मार्ग, पौषमा अधिमास परे सो अधिमास आषाढमा मानिने

माघ, फाल्गुन, चैत्र, वैशाख ज्येष्ठ, आषाढमा अधिमास परे सो अधिमास पोषमा मानिने

देखिन्छ ।³⁰

शङ्करमानजीको मतअनुसार संवत् ३१ र संवत् ३४ शकसंवत् ५०५-५०६ तथा ५०८-५०९ मा पर्छन् ।³¹

केरो लक्ष्मण छत्रेले गनेको अधिमासअध्यायमाससारणीमा शकसंवत् ५०५ मा भाद्रमा अधिमास छ तथा शकसंवत् ५०८ मा श्रावणमा अधिमास छ ।³²

श्रावण तथा भाद्रमा परेको अधिमास भारद्वाज तथा नारद दुबैको मतअनुसार आषाढमा मानिन्छ । परन्तु अभिलेखमा संवत् ३१ तथा संवत् ३४ मा पोषमा अधिमास छ । यसरी शङ्करमानजीको मतअनुसारको संवत्को सङ्गति यहाँ पनि भएन ।

मानदेवसंवत्अनुसार संवत् ३१ शकसंवत् ५२९-५३० मा तथा संवत् ३४ शकसंवत् ५३२-५३३ मा हुन्छ ।

छत्रेको सारणीमा शकसंवत् ५३० मा ज्येष्ठमा अधिमास छ तथा शकसंवत् ५३३ मा वैशाखमा अधिमास छ ।³³

भारद्वाजको मतअनुसार वैशाख तथा ज्येष्ठमा परेको अधिमास पोषमा मानिन्छ । अभिलेखमा पनि संवत् ३१ तथा संवत् ३४ मा पोषमा अधिमास छ । यसरी सुमतितन्त्रअनुसारको संवत्को सङ्गति यहाँ पनि भयो ।

यसरी सुमतितन्त्रअनुसार सबै कुराको सङ्गति भएकोले लिच्छविकालमा चलेको दोस्रो संवत् वि. सं. ६३३ देखि चलेको हो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

टिप्पणी

१. वास्तवमा यो अभिलेख संवत् २९ को हो (वि. सं. २०२२ मा प्रकाशित पूर्णिमा ७ अङ्कमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्तको लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखमा देखापरेका ५५ सम्मका संवत्का अङ्कको निर्णय भन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका ४-५ पृ.)
२. वि. सं. १९३७ मा प्रकाशित इन्डिअन् यान्टिक्वरि (भारतीय प्रतनतस्व) को ९ भागमा छापिएको भगवान्लाल इन्द्राजी र जर्ज बूलरको इन्स्क्रिप्शन्ज् फ्रम् नेपाल (नेपालका अभिलेख) भन्ने निबन्ध, सो भागको १६९ पृ.
३. वि. सं. १९६९ मा डेरिसबाट प्रकाशित ले नेपाल, एतुडंद् ईस्त्वरीक् द'अन् न्वायोम् एंद् (हिन्दू अधिराज्य नेपालको इतिहासको परिशीलन) को २ भागका १५२-१५४ पृ.
४. वि. सं. १९९२ मा प्रकाशित इन्डिअन् हिस्टर्इकल् क्वार्टर्लि (भारतीय इतिहास-सम्बन्धी त्रैमासिक पत्रिका) को ११ भागका ३०४-३१२ पृष्ठमा छापिएको के. जी.

शङ्करको वि अर्लि फोनल्अजि अफ् नेपाल् (नेपालको प्राचीन कालनिर्णय) भन्ने निबन्ध
५. वि. सं. १९६४ मा पटनाबाट एम्. एन्. बर्मन् याग्ज कम्पनीद्वारा प्रकाशित काशीप्रसाद जाय-
सवालको फोनल्अजि याग्ज हिस्ट्रि अफ् नेपाल् क्रम् ६०० बी. सी. टु ८८० ए. डी.
(वि. पू. ५४२ देखि वि. सं. ६३६ सम्मको नेपालको कालनिर्णय र इतिहास) का
५३-३४ पृ.

हेमराज शर्माले वि. सं. ६३३ देखि नेपालमा नयाँ संवत् चल्थो भन्ने कुराको सूचना जायस-
वाललाई दिएको, तर जायसवालले सो कुरा स्वीकार नगरेको जायसवालको पुस्तकबाट
बुझिन्छ।

बाबुराम आचार्यले वि. सं. ६३३ देखि नेपालमा चलेको नयाँ संवत् अंशुवर्माहरूले प्रयोग
गरेको संवत् हो भनी निर्णय गरेपछि तोत्रराज पांडे र पिताजी नयराज पन्तको नेपालको
संक्षिप्त इतिहासमा पनि यही कुरा लेखिएको छ। (वि. सं. २००४ मा काशीबाट
तोत्रराज पांडेद्वारा प्रकाशित नेपालको संक्षिप्त इतिहासको १४ पृ.)

यसरी हेमराजको सूचनालाई त्यस बेलाका अरू नेपाली विद्वान्हरूले पुष्ट गरेको देखि-
एकोले एक किसिमले नेपाली विद्वान्हरूको सर्वसम्मत मत यही नै मान्नुपर्छ।

६. वि. सं. २०२२ मा काशीबाट कृष्णकुमारीद्वारा प्रकाशित बालचन्द्र शर्माको नेपालको
ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखाको दोस्रो संस्करणका ८६-९३ पृ.
७. जर्नल् अफ् वि एशियाटिक् ससाइइटि (एशियासम्बन्धी संस्थाको पत्रिका) को वि. सं.
२०१६ को पहिलो भागको पहिलो अङ्कमा छापिएको रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदारको दि ईर्जन्
अफ् नेपाल् (नेपालका संवत्) भन्ने निबन्ध
८. वि. सं. २०२७ मा काशीबाट चौखम्बा संस्कृत सोरिज अफिसद्वारा प्रकाशित हितनारायण
भाको द लिच्छविज् (लिच्छविहरू) का १२०-१२५ पृ.
९. वि. सं. २०३० मा काठमाडौंबाट दिलीपमान राजवंशीद्वारा प्रकाशित शङ्करमान राजवंशी-
को लिच्छविसंवत्को निष्कर्षका ५-२४ पृ.
१०. वि. सं. २०३१ मा प्रकाशित पूणिमा ३२ अङ्कमा छापिएको महेशराज पन्तको नेपाल इन्
पर्सपेक्टिभमा देखिएका इतिहाससम्बन्धी केही अशुद्धि भन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका २५५-
२५६ पृ.
११. यो पुस्तकको अर्को प्रति ब्रिटिश म्यूजियममा छ (वि. सं. २०३४ मा प्रकाशित पूणिमा
३६ अङ्कका २६९-२७३ पृष्ठमा छापिएको दिनेशराज पन्तको मानदेव संवत् भन्ने
निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका २७२-२७३ पृ.)
१२. वि. सं. २०३३ मा प्रकाशित मर्यादा १२ अङ्कमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्त,
देवीप्रसाद मण्डारी, दिनेशराज पन्तको सुमतित्रको केही परिचय भन्ने निबन्ध, सो
अङ्कका ५४-६३ पृ

वि. सं. २०३५ मा प्रकाशित पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कका १३५-१४८ पृष्ठमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्त, देवीप्रसाद भण्डारी, विनेशराज पन्तको सुमतित्रको रचनाकाल भन्ने निबन्ध
वि. सं. २०३५ माघ ७ गते तथा २१ गतेको जनजागृति साप्ताहिकमा छापिएको विनेश-
राज पन्तको सुमतित्रको रचना कहिले भयो भन्ने निबन्ध

१३. पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कका २६६-२७२ पृ.

१४. वि. सं. २०१८ मा प्रकाशित इस्ट् यान्ड् वेस्ट् (पूर्व र पश्चिम) को १२ भागको ४ अङ्कका २२७-२३२ पृष्ठमा छापिएको लूचमानो पेतिकको द क्रोनल्जि अफ् दि अर्लि इन्स्क्रिप्-
शन्ज् अफ् नेपाल् (नेपालका प्राचीन अभिलेखहरूको कालनिर्णय) भन्ने निबन्ध
पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कका ६५-६६ पृष्ठमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्त र महेशराज
पन्तको वि. सं. ६३३ देखि नेपालमा नयाँ संवत् चलेको थियो भन्ने कुराका प्रमाण
नेपालमा र भोटमा गरी जम्मा ४ वटा पाइएका छन् भन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कको ६६ पृ.

१५. पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कका ६७-६८ पृ.

१६. वि. सं. २०३० मा त्रिभुवनविश्वविद्यालयको नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययनसंस्थानद्वारा
प्रकाशित धनवज्र वज्राचार्यको लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको १० पृ.

१७. लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको ३१७ पृ.

पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कका २७३-२७५ पृष्ठमा छापिएको विनेशराज पन्तको चांगुको अंशुवर्माको
अभिलेखको तिथिमितिको गणना भन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका २७३-२७४ पृ.

१८. वि. सं. २०३० वंशाख १ गते प्रकाशित समीक्षाको १० पृष्ठमा छापिएको मोहनप्रसाद
खनालको भक्तपुरमा प्राप्त संवत् ३१ को लिच्छविकालको अप्रकाशित अभिलेख भन्ने
निबन्ध

लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको ३१५ पृ.

पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कको २७४ पृ.

१९. मर्यादा १३ अङ्कमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्त, देवीप्रसाद भण्डारी, विनेशराज पन्तको
सुमतित्रबाट नेपालको इतिहासमा पर्न सक्ने प्रकाश भन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका ८-४१ पृ.
पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कका २७३-२७५ पृ.

पूर्णिमा ३६ अङ्कका १००-११८ पृष्ठमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्त, देवी-
प्रसाद भण्डारी, भोलानाथ पौडेल, विनेशराज पन्तको अंशुवर्माहरूले व्यवहार गरेको
संवत् वि. सं. ६३३ देखि उठेको हो भनी सकार्दा अभिलेखका सबै मिति ट्वाक्क मिल्छन्
भन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका १०४-१११ पृ.

२०. वि. सं. २०३३ मा प्रकाशित पूर्णिमा ३५ अङ्कमा छापिएको महेशराज पन्तको वेदाङ्ग-

- ज्योतिषको कालमानको अष्टाध्यायी, सुश्रुतसंहिता र कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्रमा परेको प्रभाव मन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कको १५३ पृ.
२१. वि. सं. २०२३ मा प्रकाशित हिमानी २ वर्ष ३ अङ्कमा छापिएको बुद्धिसागर पराजुलीको हाफ्रा प्राचीन हस्तलिखित पुस्तकहरू मन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कको २१ पृ.
लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको ५६६ पृ.
२२. पुणिमा ३६ अङ्कका १०१-१०२ पृ.
वि. सं. २०३५ चैत्र २२ गतेको मोरखापत्रमा छापिएको दिनेशराज पन्तको पत्र
२३. पुणिमा ३६ अङ्कका १११-११७ पृ.
२४. लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको २८३ पृ.
२५. लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको २६१ पृ.
२६. लिच्छविसंवत्को निष्कर्षको २७ पृ.
२७. वि. सं. २०२१ मा प्रकाशित पुणिमा ३ अङ्कमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्तको लिच्छविकालको पञ्चाङ्गको एक भन्क मन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका ४-६ पृ.
वि. सं. २०३३ मा प्रकाशित पुणिमा ३४ अङ्कमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्तको लिच्छविकालनिर्णय वेदाङ्गज्योतिषं स्मरणीयम् मन्ने निबन्ध
२८. लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको १२० पृ.
२९. लिच्छविकालका अभिलेखको ३४० पृ.
३०. पुणिमा ३६ अङ्कमा छापिएको पिताजी नयराज पन्तको ऋषिवचनलाई पनि काट्न सक्ने सामर्थ्य शङ्करमान राजवंशीको वचनमा छ मन्ने नसकारेसम्म उनको लिच्छविसंवत्को निष्कर्ष प्रामाणिक ठहर्ने सक्ने मन्ने निबन्ध, सो अङ्कका १२६-१३० पृ.
३१. लिच्छविसंवत्को निष्कर्षका १७-१८ पृ.
३२. पुणिमा ३६ अङ्कको १२६ पृ.
३३. पुणिमा ३६ अङ्कका १०२, १०३ पृ.

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कैलासकूटभवन : एक अध्ययन

—गोविन्द टगडन

नेपालको इतिहासमा लिच्छविकालको ज्यादै ठूलो महत्त्व छ। प्रामाणिक राजनैतिक इतिहास देखि लिएर कला, वास्तुकला, धर्म, दर्शन आदि विविध सांस्कृतिक पक्षहरूको यस कालमा समयोचित विकास भएको थियो। श्रीमानविहार, श्रीराजविहार, खजुरिकाविहार, मध्यमविहार आदि अनेकौं बौद्धविहारहरू, त्रिविक्रमका राम्रा असल मन्दिरहरू देखि लिएर मानगृह, कैलासकूट-भवन, भद्राधिवास भवनहरूको साथै जलद्रोणी पाटी-पौवा, दुर्ग आदि वास्तुकलाहरूको चरमोत्कर्ष यस कालमा भएको थियो। यस प्रकार धर्मसापेक्ष र धर्मनिरपेक्ष दुवै किसिमका वास्तुकलाहरूको विकास लिच्छविकालमा भएको स्पष्ट छ।

'मानगृह' को निर्माण राजा मानदेवले गरेका थिए, जसको स्थायीत्व लिच्छवि राजा भीमार्जुनदेव सम्म रहेको थियो। "कैलासकूट भवन" को निर्माण श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवमलि गरेका थिए। त्यस्तै गरी "भद्राधिवास भवन" को निर्माण राजा नरेन्द्रदेवले गरेका थिए। उपर्युक्त राज-प्रासादहरूबाट राजा तथा सामन्तहरूले आज्ञा आदेशहरू प्रसारित गरेबाट ती दरवारहरूको महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थितिको बोध हुन्छ। तिनीहरू मध्ये शिलालेख तथा विदेशी यात्रीले समेत मुक्तकण्ठले प्रशंसा गरेको कैलासकूटभवनको बारेमा यहाँ छोटकरी चर्चा गरिन्छ। माथिका राजप्रासादहरूको अलावा त्यसवेला अरु पनि दरवारहरू थिए।¹ त्यस्तै गरी लिच्छविकालिन अभिलेखमा "दक्षिण-राजकुल"² "सलम्बुराजवासक"³ आदि दरवारहरूको उल्लेख पाइन्छ।

नेपाली सभ्यता तथा संस्कृतिमा रुची राख्ने प्रत्येकको निम्ति कैलासकूट भवन सधैं नै एउटा कौतुहलको विषय बनेर रहेको छ। यद्यपि हामी संग यसको कुनै पनि अवशेषहरू स्पष्ट प्रमाणका निमित्त छैनन्, तर चिनियाँ विवरण र लिच्छवि अभिलेखहरू, जसमा यस सम्बन्धी विवरणहरू प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ, लाई महत्त्वपूर्ण स्रोत मान्न सकिन्छ।

अहिले सम्म प्राप्त शिलालेखहरूमा 'कैलासकूटभवन' को पहिलो उल्लेख संवत् २६ (४६८ + ७८ + २६ = ६०५ A. D.) को अंशुवर्माको बुडमती अभिलेखमा भएको छ।⁴ त्यस अभिलेखमा अंशुवमलि बुगायुमी (अहिलेको बुडमती) ग्रामका वासिन्दाहरूलाई केही आदेश दिएका छन्। जसबाट उनको उच्च स्थितिको बोध हुन्छ। त्यसभन्दा अगाडि सम्म अभिलेखहरूमा शिवदेव

प्रथमसंग देखापरिरहेका अंशुवर्मा बुद्धमतीको त्यस अभिलेखमा एकले देखा परेका छन् । यसबाट उनी नै देशको सर्वोत्तम भएको बुझिन्छ । अहं शिवदेव प्रथमको उल्लेख यस पदचान् कहीं पनि नपाइने हुनाले अंशुवर्मा संवत् २६ अर्थात् ६०५ इस्वी पछि निविकल्प शासकको रूपमा देखापरेको कुराको यही पुष्ट्यर्थी हुन्छ । मध्यम धेरै समय सम्म उनले 'श्रीमहासामन्त' उपाधि लिएको देखिन्छ । अन्तिम समय तिर मात्र उनले- 'श्री', 'महाराजाधिराज' आदि उपाधि लिएका थिए । बुद्धमतीको अभिलेखमा पहिलो पल्ट कंलासकूटभवनको उल्लेख पाइएता पनि त्यसको निर्माण नै सम्भवतः त्यस भन्दा केही समय अगाडि नै भैसकेको कुरा प्राप्त प्रमाणहरूबाट बुझ्न सकिन्छ । जहाँसम्म कंलासकूटभवनको निर्माण कहिले भयो भन्ने कुरा छ यसको लागि हामीले अंशुवर्माको राजनैतिक स्थिति बुझ्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ जसले गर्दा उनलाई विनाल र मध्य कंलासकूटभवनको निर्माणको आवश्यकता पर्न गयो । अंशुवर्मा शिवदेव प्रथमको राज्यको केही समय पछि देखा परेका छन् । कमजोर लिच्छवि राजा वसन्तदेवको समयबाट फाइदा उठाएर गुप्तहरू प्रबल भैरहेका थिए । यो स्थिति शिवदेव प्रथमको प्रारम्भिक अवस्था सम्म कायम थियो, जसले गर्दा राज्यमा उनको स्थिरता संदिग्ध थियो । यसको प्रतिनिधित्व भौमगुप्तले गरेका थिए । "महत्-प्रतिहार महासर्वदण्डनायक" जस्तो शक्तिशाली पद लिएर पनि राजोचित 'श्री' आफ्नो नाम अगाडि राखेका थिए जुन उनी भन्दा अगाडिका गुप्तहरूले गर्न सकेका थिएनन् । वसन्तदेवको समयमा रविगुप्त कम शक्तिशाली थिएनन् तर उनले 'श्री' उपाधिको आँट गर्न सकेनन् । भौमगुप्तले आफ्नो नाम अगाडि 'श्री' राखेर आफ्नो शक्तिको परिचय दिएका थिए । यसैले महत्वाकांक्षी भौमगुप्त रहे सम्म शिवदेवको स्थिति संदिग्ध थियो । तर राज्यकालको केही समय पछि नै शिवदेवले अंशुवर्मा जस्तो चतुर व्यक्तित्वको सहयोग पाए, जसले उनको राज्य स्थिरतामा निकै सहयोग पुऱ्यायो । शिवदेवको शत्रुपक्षलाई दमन गर्न यिनको निकै महत्त्वपूर्ण हात रहेको थियो भन्ने कुरा यिनको दिनप्रतिदिनको शक्तिवृद्धिले देखाउँछ । संवत् ५१६ (= ५१६ + ७८ = ५९४ इस्वी) वंशाखको पाटन भौमसेन स्थानको अभिलेखमा^५ 'श्रीसामन्त' को रूपमा देखिएका अंशुवर्मा त्यसको एकमहिना पछिको भक्तपुर गोलमादीटोलको संवत् ५१६ जेठको अभिलेखमा "श्रीमहासामन्त"^६ हुन पुगेका छन् । यसले दिन पर दिनको उनको शक्ति वृद्धिको परिचय दिन्छ । राजगद्दीमा यद्यपि शिवदेव प्रथम नै थिए तर राज्य शासनमा अंशुको महत्त्व बढिरहेको थियो । यसरी क्रमशः व्यक्तित्व वृद्धि हुनुमा अंशुवर्मासंग के शक्ति थियो ? के आकर्षण थियो ? त्यो यस परिप्रेक्षमा मननीय छ । चाँगुको शिवदेव अंशुवर्माको अभिलेखमा- विशाको छेउ छेउ सम्म कीर्ति फैलिएका ! डोग्न आएका सामन्त राजाका शिरपेचका मणिको चहकले पाउ झलमल्ल सुहाएका श्री सामन्त अंशुवर्माले-^७ भनी लेखिएकोले अंशुवर्मा श्रीसामन्त मात्र भएता पनि त्यसबेला उनको स्थिति फत्तिको समुन्नत र जल्दोवल्दो थियो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । विनया यात्रो हुएन- साङ्गले अंशुवर्मालाई 'शब्दविद्या' सम्बन्धी ग्रन्थ लेख्ने श्रेय दिनु^८ शिवदेव अंशुवर्माको बनेपा अभिलेखमा^९ " विद्याद्वारा भएको ज्ञानले " (विद्यामयपरिज्ञान) भनी उल्लेख हुनुबाट अंशुवर्माको त्यति चाँडो उन्नति हुनुका धेरै कारणहरू मध्ये विद्वता पनि एक थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।

उनीमा भएको पीरुषता, पराक्रम र साहसले पनि उनको शक्तिवृद्धिमा महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका खेलेको थियो भन्ने कुरा उनका अभिलेखहरूबाट थाहा हुन्छ । यस सम्बन्धमा ती अभिलेखहरूमा उल्लेखित कुराहरूलाई संक्षिप्त रूपमा प्रस्तुत गर्नु प्रासांगिक नै हुने देखिन्छ । अहिले सम्म प्राप्त अभिलेखहरूमा शिवदेव र अंशुवर्माको उल्लेख हुन आएको तिथि मिति सहितको पहिलो अभिलेख पाटन भीमसेनस्थानको अभिलेख हो । यसमा संवत् ५१६ बंशाख शुक्ल दशमी लेखिएको छ । यस अभिलेखमा अंशुवर्मालाई—“(सामन्त राजाहरूले) दुवै पाउ ढोगिएका सफा ठूलो कीर्ति फैलिएका” भनिएकोछ⁹ । यसमा उनको उपाधि “श्रीसामन्त” मात्र छ । त्यस्तै चाँगुको अभिलेखमा पनि उल्लेखित छ । बनेपाको शिवदेव + अंशुवर्माको संघत्विहिन अभिलेखमा अंशुवर्मालाई “विद्याद्वारा भएको ज्ञानले... विशेषवाद भएका दिशाको छेउसम्म कीर्ति फैलिएका सारा सामन्तहरूले ढोगिएका”-भनिएको छ¹⁰ । उपर्युक्त पछिल्ला दुवै अभिलेखहरूमा अंशुवर्माको उपाधि ‘श्रीसामन्त’ मात्र छ । यी दुवै अभिलेखहरूमा संवत् खण्डित भैसकेको भएता पनि यिनीहरू अंशुवर्माको आरम्भकालीन शिलालेखहरू हुन् भन्ने कुरामा कुनै शंका छैन । यस प्रकार उपर्युक्त अभिलेखहरूबाट अंशुवर्मा ‘श्रीसामन्त’ मात्र भएता पनि राज्यमा उनको स्थिति र व्यक्तित्व ज्यादै उच्च रहेको देखिन्छ । स्वयं राजा शिवदेव समेत उनलाई गौरवको दृष्टिले हेर्दै भन्ने कुरा माथि उल्लेखित पाटन भीमसेनस्थानको अभिलेखमा उत्कीर्ण शब्द “एतद् गौरवाद” र चाँगुको अभिलेखमा उल्लेख भएको शब्द “एतद्बहुमानाद्” बाट बुझ्न सकिन्छ । तिनीहरू मन्दा पनि बढी बनेपाको अभिलेखमा शिवदेवले आज्ञा प्रसारित गर्दा “तदनुमतेन” भनी अंशुवर्माको अनुमतिले आफूले आज्ञा प्रसारित गरेको कुरा शिलालेखमा समेत उत्कीर्ण गराएबाट अंशुवर्माको शक्तिलाई स्वयं राजा शिवदेवले पनि स्वीकार गरेको प्रमाणित हुन्छ । अझ संवत् ५१६ जेठ शुक्ल दशमीको गोलमाढोटोल भक्तपुरको अभिलेख देखि उनको उपाधि “श्री महासामन्त” देखिएकोले उनको शक्तिमा अझ बृद्धि भयो यसमा कुनै शंका छैन । यसप्रकार राजा शिवदेवले पनि गौरवको दृष्टिले हेर्नु पर्ने, उनको अनुमति लिई कामगर्नु पर्ने अवस्थामा अंशुवर्मा पुगिसकेको देखिन्छ । माथिका उदाहरणहरूबाट अंशुवर्माको बेग्लै अस्तित्व बनिसकेको, उनको हात माथि पर्दै गई रहेको समेत बुझ्न सघाउ पुऱ्याउछ । मानगृहमा लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेव आसीन छेदैथिए । अंशुवर्माले आफ्नो शक्तिमा जतिसुकै वृद्धि भएता पनि मानगृहमा बस्ने चेष्टा गरेनन्, बसेनन् । यसैले राज्यशासन सम्बन्धि उनको महत्वपूर्ण पक्षलाई विचार गर्दा उनको निमित्त छुट्टै दरवारको आवश्यकता हुनु स्वाभाविक देखिन्छ । संवत् ५१७ (= ५१७ + ७८ = ५९५ इस्वी) को धर्मस्थली अभिलेखमा—“ढोग्न नुहेका अनेक (सामन्त) राजाका शिरपेचका मणिका चहकले दुवै पाउ भलमल्ल सुहाएका, परिश्रमपूर्वक रात्ररी प्रजाको पालन गर्नाले दिशाको छेउ-छेउसम्म प्रभाव फैलिएका, श्रीमहासामन्त अंशुवर्माले ” भनिएकोछ¹¹ । त्यस्तै गरी संवत् ५१७ (= ५१७ + ७८ = ५९५ इस्वी) प्रथमाषाढको बुढानीलकण्ठस्थानको अभिलेखमा—“ठूलो लडाईको मैदानमा बाजी मार्दा, भएको शून्याईको प्रभावले सारा शत्रुहरूको दबद्वालाई सखाप पारेका, परिश्रमपूर्वक रात्ररी प्रजाको हेरचाह गर्नाले आज्ञाको सफा कीर्तिले दिशाको छेउछाउ ढाकेका, श्रीमहासामन्त

अंशुवर्मामे" भनिएको छ।¹⁰ । उपर्युक्त उद्धरणहरूबाट शिवदेव मट्टारक महाराजको रूपमा लिच्छवि
 यहीमा रहेता पनि अंशुवर्माको शक्तिमा बुद्धि भैरहेको देखिन्छ। अंशुवर्माको यिनै शक्ति बुद्धि
 भएको ताका कलासकूटभवनको निर्माण शुरु भएको हुनुपर्छ। यही कारण संवत् ५२० (= ५२०
 + ७८ = ५९८ इस्वी) मा कलासकूट भवनको द्वारोद्घाटन हुनसक्यो। यस कुराको पुष्टि
 खोपासीको अभिलेखबाट हुन्छ। त्यस अभिलेखमा शिवदेवले कुर्पासी (अहिलेको खोपासी)
 कामका बासिन्दाहरूलाई उनोहरूको घाममा सारा अधिकरण (अड्डा-अदालत) पस्न नपाउने पश्चि
 निगाह गरेका छन्; त्यसपछि "द्वारोद्घाटन र कलास... यात्रामा तिमीहरूले जनेपिनछे पचासवटा
 सेता जातका माटा (कमेरा) बुझाउनु" भन्ने आदेश जारी गर्नुका साथै त्यही अभिलेखमा "सर्व
 कार्यको लागि एउटै मान द्वार हुनेछ" (सर्वकार्येषु चकमेव वो द्वार) भनेर शिवदेवले अंशु-
 वर्माको दरवार कलासकूट भवनको निमित्त आदेश जारी गरेको देखिन्छ। खोपासीको उक्त
 अभिलेखमा उल्लिखित द्वार शब्द राजप्रासादलाई बुझाउन प्रयोग गरिएको हो। त्यसबखत राज-
 प्रासादलाई द्वार शब्दले बुझाउँदथ्यो। यसैको परम्परा मल्लकाल तथा शाहकाल सम्म पनि
 राजप्रासादलाई द्वार शब्दको अर्थमा प्रयोग गरेको कुरा हनुमान ढोका दरवार साक्षी छ¹¹। यस-
 भन्दा अगाडि देखि कं अंशुवर्माको दिनपरदिनको उत्कर्षलाई हेर्दा संवत् ५२० (= ५२० + ७८ =
 ५९८ इस्वी) मा कलासकूटभवनको एक वा सर्व ढोकाहरूको उद्घाटन हुनुमा कुनै आश्चर्य छैन।
 त्यस अभिलेखबाट बनेको भवन भव्य तथा विशाल भएको बुझिन्छ। किनभने सारा अधिकरणह-
 लाई पस्न निषेध गरी कुर्पासीका प्रत्येक जनालाई ५० वटा सेता जातका माटा (कमेरा) प्याउन
 भनिएको छ। त्यसिका सेता माटाहरूको प्रयोग निर्माण सम्बन्धि कार्य बाहेक अरुको लागि हुनु
 सक्तैन। यद्यपि दरवार बनाउँदा त्यसको उद्घाटनको अवसरमा यात्रा चलाएको उदाहरण त
 लिच्छवि अभिलेखहरूमा भेटिएको छैन तर संवत् १२९ को शिवदेव द्वितीयको बलम्बु अनि
 लेखना- "कारणपूजा गरी बचेको पैसाले हास्रो पुण्य बढोस मनो भगवान पशुपतिनाथलाई प्रति-
 वर्य सुन्दर छत्र चढाउनु। त्यसको उपलक्ष्यमा रास्रो यात्रा पनि गर्नु" भनिएको छ¹²। एउटा
 छाता चढाउँदा रास्रो यात्रा गरिने समयमा त्यत्रो महत्वपूर्ण दरवार बनाउँदा कुनै यात्रा (उत्सव)
 गरिएन होला नभ्र एकत्र। आफ्नो दरवारलाई भगवान शिवको वासस्थान कलासको नामकरण
 गर्नाले पनि उनी आफ्नो दरवारलाई भगवान शिवको मन्दिरको रूपमा सम्भवतः हेर्दथे। कलास-
 कूटभवनबाट आज्ञा प्रसारित चाँही संवत् २९ (= ४९८ + २९ + ७८ = ६०५ इस्वी) को बुद्धमती
 अभिलेख देखि अंशुवर्मामे गरेका छन्। यहाँ एउटा प्रश्न खडा हुन्छ यही संवत् ५२० (= ५२० +
 ७८ = ५९८ इस्वी) देखि नै कलासकूटभवनको द्वारोद्घाटन भएको भए त्यसभन्दा पश्चिका आज्ञा
 आदेशहरू किन कलासकूटभवनबाट जारी नगरी संवत् २९ (= ४९८ + ७८ + २९ = ६०५ इस्वी)
 देखि मात्र गरियो? यसको जवाफ स्पष्ट छ, संवत् २९ अर्थात् ६०५ इस्वी भन्दा अगाडि नि.शन्वेह
 अंशुवर्मा राज्यको हताफता थिएतापनि गहिमा लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेव प्रथम नै थिए। यसैले
 सनाखार महस्याकाँकी अंशुवर्मामे कलासकूटभवनबाट आज्ञा प्रसारित गरेनन्। अर्को शब्दमा
 भन्ने हो भने यहीमा राजा हुँदा-हुँदै अंशुवर्मामे कलासकूटभवनबाट आज्ञा आदेश प्रसारित गर्नु

आवश्यक पनि थिएन । स्मरणीय छ, जुनवेला देखि कैलासकूटभवनबाट अंशुवमलि आदेश प्रसारित गरे त्यसवेला देखि शिवदेव प्रथमको अवसान पनि भयो । यस कुराको पुष्टि संवत् २६ अर्थात् ६०५ इस्वीको बुङमतीको उक्त अभिलेखमा अंशुवमलि सोभै शासककोरूपमा आत्ता जाहेर गरेबाट थाहा हुन्छ । यसपछि शिवदेव प्रथमको कतै उल्लेख नपाइनुले यस मतको अझ पुष्टि हुन्छ । यद्यपि त्यहाँ केही समय सम्म उनी 'श्रीमहासामन्त' उपाधीमा नै देखिन्छन् । यही उपाधी लिएर उनले अन्तिम समय भन्दा केही अगाडि सम्म राज्य चलाएको कुरा उनको अभिलेखहरूबाट थाहा हुन्छ¹⁶ ।

अंशुवमलि आफू बस्ने दरवारको नाम "कैलासकूटभवन" किन राखे त्यो पनि यस सम्बन्धमा विचारणीय छ । समष्टिगतहरूमा अगाडिका राजाहरू भै उनी पनि धार्मिक सहिष्णुतासम्पन्न राजाको रूपमा देखा पर्छन् तर व्यक्तिगतरूपमा भन्ने हो भने उनी भगवान शिवका परम भक्त थिए । नेपालको प्राचीन इतिहासमा अहिले सम्म "भगवान पशुपतिनाथको पाउको अनुग्रह पाएको" (भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो) भनी आफ्नो नाम अगाडि लेखाउने प्रथम व्यक्ति अंशुवर्मा नै हुन् भन्ने कुरा माथि उल्लेखित संवत् २६ अर्थात् ६०५ इस्वीको अभिलेखबाट थाहा हुन्छ । त्यसभन्दा अगाडि संवत् ५२० को खोपासीको अभिलेखमा शिवदेवले अंशुवर्मालाई "पशुपतिनाथको चरणकमललाई प्रणाम गर्न तत्पर रहेका "भनी लेखाएकोले अंशुवर्माको शैवधर्म प्रतिको अनुराग थाहा हुन्छ ।¹⁷ त्यस्तै गरी संवत् ३२ को हाडिगाउँ अभिलेखमा विभिन्न देवताहरूको उल्लेख गर्दा "पशुपति" को नाम पहिले राखेबाट र त्यसै अभिलेखमा अरू देवताहरूको साथै पशुपति, रामेश्वर, भानेश्वर, धारामानेश्वर, पर्वतेश्वर, कैलाशेश्वर आदि शैव धर्म सम्बन्धि देवताहरूलाई सहयोग गरेको उल्लेख पाइनाले अंशुवर्माको व्यक्तिगत धार्मिक भावनाको झल्को पाइन्छ । उनको संवत् ३२ को साँगाको अभिलेखमा शिवको रौद्ररूपको स्तुति गरिएको छ ।¹⁸ शिलालेखहरूको शिर्ष भागमा शैवधर्मसँग सम्बन्धित विभिन्न चिन्हहरूको परम्परा पनि अंशुवमलि चलाएका थिए¹⁹ । तिनीहरूमा शिलालेखको शिर्षभागमा साँढे अंकित हुनु मुख्य छन् । यी सर्व कुराहरूले गर्दा अंशुवर्मा शैवधर्मावलम्बि थिए भन्ने कुरामा कुनै शंका छैन । वास्तवमा भन्ने हो भने उनको समय देखि शैवधर्मले राजाश्रय पाएर राजधर्मकोरूप लिदै थियो । यसैले आफू बस्ने दरवारलाई भगवान शिवको वास्तव्यन कैलाससँग सावृद्ध्य गराएर नामाकरण गरेका थिए भन्ने कुरामा दुई मत हुन सक्छन् । यस्तो परम्परा अहिले सम्म पनि हामीकहाँ देख्न पाइन्छ । यसैले आफू शैव धर्मावलम्बि भएकोले उनले आफ्नो दरवारको नाम पनि त्यसैको परितुष्टिको निमित्त राखे, यो विचारणीय छ ।

कैलासकूटभवनको ख्याति स्वदेशमा मात्र होइन विदेशमा समेत प्रशिद्ध थियो । यस कुराको पुष्टि चीनिया विवरणहरूबाट थाहा हुन्छ । लिच्छवि राजा नरेन्द्रदेवको पालामा चीनिया यात्री वाङ्युञ्चे भारत यात्रा गर्न आउँदा नेपालको बाटो भई आएका थिए । तिनले राजा नरेन्द्रदेव तथा नरेन्द्रदेवको दरवारको वर्णन गरेका छन् । उनको अनुसार "नेपालमा एक यस्तो दरवार थियो जो २०० चाउ (चीनियाँ नाप) र ८० पो (= ४०० फीट) को लम्बाइ-चौडाइमा खडा

धियो । यसको माथिल्लो तलामा १० हजार मानिस बस्ने ठाउँ धियो । यस भवनको तीन भाग सात-सात तले थिए । यसका बैठकमा अनेक आभार्योत्पादक मूर्तिहरू सजाइएका थिए । भवनको प्रत्येक अंशमा कीमती रत्नहरू र सक्ती मोती जडिएका थिए²⁰ । नरेन्द्रदेवको दरवारको सम्बन्धमा चीनिया स्रोतबाट अरु महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी हामी पाउँदौं । यस अनुसार- "दरवारको मध्यमा तामाको भिगटो हालेको सात तले बुर्जा धियो । यसका चारैली, अगेना, खम्बा, दलिन एवं त्यहाँका प्रत्येक वस्तुमा उत्तम कोटीका बहुमूल्य रत्न जडिएका थिए । बुर्जाका चार कुनामा मुनका मकाराकृति टुटो भएका तामाका धाराहरू थिए, बुर्जामाथिबाट अनेक घुमाउरो नलिकाद्वारा सोही-रिएको पानी भर्दा पहाडी पहराको बुझ्न देखिन्थ्यो"²¹ । साध्वं भन्ने हो भने उपयुक्त चीनिया विवरणहरूबाट यस सम्बन्धमा ठोस निष्कर्ष निकाल्न निकै सघाउ पुऱ्याउछन् । चीनिया यात्री बाङ्गयुञ्चेले आफ्नो विवरणमा नेपालको यस दरवारको कलाको राजीमा पुग्ने कुनै चीनिया कलाकृति नभएको विचार प्रकट गरेका थिए । यद्यपि त्यहाँ उनले नरेन्द्रदेवको दरवार मात्र नभई दरवारको कुनै नामोल्लेख गरेका छैनन् । यसैले उनले त्यत्रो मुक्तकण्ठले प्रशंसा गरेको दरवार कुन हो ? भन्ने प्रश्न हाँसो सामु उभिन्छ । नरेन्द्रदेवको अहिले सम्म प्राप्त अभिलेखहरू संवत् ६७ (= ४६८ + ७८ = ६४३ इस्वी) देखि संवत् १०३ (= ४६८ + ७८ + १०३ = ६४९ इस्वी) सम्मका छन्²² । संवत् ६५ अर्थात् ६७१ इस्वीको च्यासलटोलको अभिलेखमा पहिलोपल्ट अर्को दरवार 'भद्राधिवास भवन' बाट आदेश प्रसारित गरिएको छ; यस्तो कार्य संवत् १०३ अर्थात् ६७६ इस्वी सम्म कायम रह्यो । यसप्रकार यस दरवारको निर्माणकर्ता उनी नै देखिन्छन् । संवत् ६५ अर्थात् ६७० इस्वी भन्दा अगाडिका आदेशहरू कलासकूटभवनबाट प्रसारित गरेको देखिन्छ । जसबाट नरेन्द्रदेवले संवत् ६५ भन्दा अगाडि सम्म कलासकूटभवनमा नै बसी शासन चलाएको स्पष्ट छ । 'मानगृह' को अस्तित्व भीमार्जुनदेवको संवत् ५७ अर्थात् ६३३ इस्वीको थानकोट अभिलेख पश्चात नपाइने हुनाले यसको महत्व भीमार्जुनदेवसँगै विलिन भएको देखिन्छ । फेरि भद्राधिवासभवनको सुन्दरता, भव्यता, आदिको बारेमा कतै केही उल्लेख पाइदैन जबकि 'कलासकूटभवन' को पछेठ भव्यता सम्बन्धि विवरणहरू पाइने हुनाले चीनिया दूत बाङ्गयुञ्चेले वर्णन गरेको नरेन्द्रदेवको दरवार 'कलासकूटभवन' नै हो भन्ने कुरामा कुनै शन्देह रहन्न । स्मरण रहोस्, चीनिया दूत बाङ्गयुञ्चे ६४६ इस्वीमा नेपालको बाटो भई भारत गएका थिए त्यसवेला गङ्गा राजा नरेन्द्रदेव भएको र उनले चीनिया दूतको भव्य स्वागत गरेको विवरण दिएका छन्²³ । नरेन्द्रदेवले संवत् ६५ अर्थात् ६७१ ईस्वी भन्दा अगाडि सम्म कलासकूटभवनबाट आज्ञाआदेशहरू प्रसारित गरेकोले पनि चीनिया दूतले वर्णन गरेको दरवार कलासकूटभवन सिवाय अरु कुनै होइन भन्ने कुरालाई ओढदार समर्थन गर्दछ । चीनिया विवरणलाई नियाली हेर्दा कलासकूटभवन परम्परागत नेपाली शैलीको थियो भन्ने कुरा देखिन्छ । जुन वास्तुशैली पछि "पेगोडा शैली" नामले विश्वविख्यात भयो । यी चीनिया विवरणहरूबाट आजकल जुन वास्तुकलालाई पेगोडा शैली भन्दछन्, त्यसको उद्भव नेपालमा नै भएको हो भन्ने कुरालाई निःशन्देह समर्थन गर्दछ । यस कुरालाई के. पी. जयसवाल²⁴ फर्गुसन²⁵ आदि विद्वान्हरूले पनि समर्थन गरेका छन् । चीनिया स्रोतहरू

बाट कमसेकम सत्रौं शताब्दिसम्म यस वास्तुशैलीको प्रचलन चीनमा नभएको बुझिन्छ ।

चीनियाँ दूतले कैलासकूट भवनको जसरी प्रशंसा गरेका छन्, त्यसमा अतिशयोक्तिको भाव छैन किनभने संवत् ३२ अर्थात् ६०८ ईस्वीको सांगाको अंशुवर्माको अभिलेखमा — “पृथ्वी वहाको टोका जस्तो भएको, कुरि कुरि लागेका दुनियाँहरूले आँखा भिम्म नगरेर हेरिएको कैलासकूट भवनबाट”²⁶ भनी त्यसको सुन्दरता र भव्यताको स्पष्ट व्याख्या गरिएको छ । सांगाको अभिलेखमा उल्लेखित ती वाक्यहरूलाई लिएर त्यसवेला “कैलासकूटभवन” भर्खर बनेको थियो जसले गर्दा जनताहरूलाई हेर्न कुरि कुरि लागेको थियो भनिएको पनि पाइन्छ । तर त्यो भवन बनेको धेरै समयसम्म पनि त्यस सम्बन्धी प्रशंसा र बखानहरू पाइने भएकोले त्यसबाट भर्खर बनेको आभाष पाइँदैन । बरु त्यसबाट पछि हुँदै गए पछि त्यसको महत्व झन् बढ्दै गएको बुझिन्छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि संवत् ३२ अर्थात् ६०८ ईस्वीको उपरोक्त माथि वर्णन गरिएको सांगाको अभिलेख, चीनियाँ विवरण, नरेन्द्रदेवको अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वरको अभिलेखबाट हुन्छ । संवत् २६ अर्थात् ६०५ ईस्वीको बुद्धमती अभिलेख जसमा पहिलोपल्ट कैलासकूट भवनको उल्लेख आएको छ त्यसमा साधारणरूपले “कैलासकूटभवनबाट” (कैलासकूटभवनाद) मात्र भनिएको छ, जसले त्यसभन्दा केही अगाडि देखि नै कैलासकूटभवन बनिसकेको र अंशुवर्मा त्यस दरवारमा बसिसकेको भाव व्यक्त गर्दछ । नरेन्द्रदेवको अनन्तलिङ्गेश्वरको अभिलेखमा—“कैलासको टाउको जस्तो भएको, आँखालाई आनन्द दिने, रात्रो, संसारमा प्रशिद्ध भएको कैलासकूटभवनबाट”²⁷ भनिएको छ । संवत् ५२० अर्थात् ५६८ ईस्वीको खोपासीको अभिलेखमा द्वारोद्घाटन र कैलास . . . यात्राको सन्दर्भमा सेता जातको माटोको उल्लेख हुनु, नरेन्द्रदेवको भन्सारचोकको अभिलेखमा “जूनले टल्केको हिमालयको टाकुरो भँ भलभल गर्ने”²⁸ उल्लेख हुनुबाट यो दरवार सेतो र भकिभकाउ थियो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट हुन्छ । कैलासकूटभवन सुविधा, साधन र पाइक पर्ने ठाउँमा थियो । यही कारण हो जसले गर्दा राजा र सामन्तहरूको यस दरवारमा बस्न तछ्छाड-मछ्छाड चलेको थियो । गुप्तहरूको चकचकीलाई नरेन्द्रदेवले सदाको लागि पन्छाएपछि संवत् ६७ अर्थात् ६४३ ईस्वी देखि परम्परागत पुर्खीली दरवार ‘मानगृह’ मा नबसी नरेन्द्रदेवले कैलासकूटभवनमा बसी संवत् ६५ अर्थात् ६७१ ईस्वी भन्दा अगाडि सम्म शासन चलाए । त्यस संवत् संग-संगै एउटा नयाँ राजप्रासादको उल्लेख पाइन्छ जसको नाम थियो “भद्राधिवास भवन” यसको उल्लेख हामीले माथी धेरै ठाउँमा गरिसकेका छौं । तर यो कैलासकूटभवन जस्तो प्रशासनीक दृष्टिले, साथै सुखसुविधा र पाइकको दृष्टिकोणले पनि सम्पन्न नभएको देखिन्छ । शिलालेखहरूमा यस सम्बन्धि सुन्दरता र भव्यताको बखान गरिएको उदाहरण अहिले सम्म पाइएको छैन । संवत् १०३ अर्थात् ६७६ ईस्वी संगै “भद्राधिवासभवन” को महत्व र अस्तित्व नरेन्द्रदेवको राज्यकाल संगसंगै विलिन भएको देखिन्छ । त्यसपछि यस भवनको नामसम्म पनि पाइँदैन । नरेन्द्रदेवका उत्तराधिकारीहरू शिवदेव द्वितीय, जयदेव द्वितीय आदि तिच्छवि राजाहरू कैलासकूटभवनमा नै बसी शासन गरेको कुरा प्राप्त प्रमाणहरूबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । साथै यसबाट कैलासकूटभवनको महत्व बारे पनि धेरै कुरा बुझ्न

सघाउ पुन्याउँछ । अहिले सम्म प्राप्त लिच्छविकालीन अभिलेखहरूमा कंलासकूटभवनको उल्लेख भएको मिति सहितको अन्तिम अभिलेख संवत् १२९ अर्थात् ७०५ इस्वीको द्वितीय शिवदेवको अभिलेख हो । तर यसको स्थायित्व भने त्यस भन्दा धेरै पछि सम्म रहेको कुरा प्राप्त अभिलेखहरूबाट थाहा हुन्छ । यसरी कंलासकूटभवनले अंशुवर्माको सामन्ती जीवन र राजसी जीवनलाई एकातिर समेटेको छ भने जिष्णुगुप्त, विष्णुगुप्त आदि सामन्त अनि नरेन्द्रदेव, शिवदेव द्वितीय, जयदेव द्वितीय आदि लिच्छविराजाहरूको इतिहासलाई यसले भङ्गल्ल्याउँछ । नरेन्द्रदेवका उत्तराधिकारीहरू नयाँ बनाइएको भद्राधिवास भवनमा नबसी कंलासकूटभवनमा बसेवाट पहिलो भन्दा दोश्रो दरवार सुविधा सम्पन्न, महत्त्वपूर्ण, भव्य, पाइक पर्ने दरवारको रूपमा देखा पर्छ । यदि कंलासकूटभवनमा त्यो गुण नभएको भए भर्खर बनेको भद्राधिवास भवनको महत्त्व घट्ने थिएन ।

संवत् ३० अर्थात् ६०६ ईस्वीको हाँडिगाउँको अंशुवर्माको अभिलेखमा मर्यादा सम्बन्धी व्यवस्था बाह्य विभिन्न देवीदेवताको नाम आएको छ जस्तो श्री देवी, अग्नी, श्रीकुलदेवता, पण्डि-देवकुल इत्यादि । दरवार सम्बन्धि चर्चा गर्दा तिनीहरूको नाम आएको र श्रीदेवी र श्री कुल-देवताको नाम अगाडि राजोचित 'श्री' युक्त भएको देखा ती विभिन्न देव-देवताहरू राजदरवार भित्रका हुन् भन्ने देखिन्छ । कुन चाहिँ दरवारका देवी-देवताहरूलाई अंशुवर्माले भाग नियत गरेका हुन् स्पष्ट नभएता पनि आदेश कंलासकूटभवनबाट प्रसारित गरिएको र कंलासकूटभवनको त्यस-वेलाको स्थापति प्रशिक्षिलाई देखा त्यस शिलालेखमा उल्लेखित 'श्री' युक्त देवीदेवताहरू कंलास-कूटभवन कै हुन् भन्ने देखिन्छ । यसै अभिलेखमा मानगृहको ढोकाको लागि छुट्टै भाग नियत गरिएकोले माथिको कुराको अर्थ पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

मध्यकालीन दरवारमा इष्टदेवी सहित विभिन्न देवी-देवताहरूको उपस्थिति देखा दरवार-हरूमा देवी-देवताहरू राख्ने परम्परा नेपालमा प्राचीनकालदेखि नै चलेको कुराको पुष्टि गर्न यो शिलालेख महत्त्वपूर्ण सावित हुनसक्छ । हाँडिगाउँको यस अभिलेखबाट कंलासकूटभवनमा चार ढोकाहरू रहेको बुझिन्छ । तिनमध्ये दक्षिण ढोकाको विशेष महत्त्व थियो भन्ने कुरा पश्चिम ढोका, माझ ढोका, उत्तर ढोकालाई भन्दा यसलाई बढी भाग नियत गरिएकोबाट बुझ्न सकिन्छ । सम्भवतः दक्षिणढोका मुलढोका थियो वा दक्षिण ढोकाबाट अरु ढोकाहरूभन्दा विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण काम हुने हुनाले यसलाई महत्ता दिएको हुनुपर्छ । अंशुवर्मा तथा नरेन्द्रदेवको अभिलेखहरूमा कंलासकूट-भवनलाई हिउँ समेत भएको कंलास पर्वतसंग तुलना गरिनुका साथै कंलासकूटलाई जनताले "आँखा भिम्म नगरी लगातार हेर्दथे" र आँखालाई अत्यन्त रमाइलो लाग्ने" आदि विशेषणहरू दिएको पाइन्छ । यिनीहरूको सांकेतिक अर्थलाई स्वीकार्दा कंलासकूटभवन अत्यन्त अग्लो हुनाकी साथै त्यसको छानामा टल्कने धातु विशेष लगाइएको बुझिन्छ । साथै त्यो भवन यति आकर्षक थियो कि जनताहरू यसलाई हेरेर कहिल्यै अघाउदैनथे, यसैले उनीहरू त्यसलाई हेरिरहन्थे भन्ने कुरा अभिलेखमा समेत उल्लेख भएको छ । यही कारण हो यसको स्थापति स्वदेशमा मात्र होइन

विदेशमा समेत प्रशिद्ध भयो । चीन जस्तो समृद्ध र कलाकीशसले पूर्ण वैश्याट आएको चिनियाँ दूत कलासकूटभवनको सौन्दर्य देखेर छषक परेका थिए; जसको उनले मुक्तकण्ठले प्रशंसा गरे ।

दुर्भाग्यवश आज निविवावणमा यो अनुपम भवनको जसले लिच्छविकालको कयौँ वर्ष सम्म महत्वपूर्णस्थान ओगट्यो, देश-विदेशमा ख्याति कमायो, कही व्यवस्थित थियो निश्चित प्रमाण हरूको कमी, उत्खनन्, अनुसन्धानहरूको अभावमा यसै हो भन्न सकिदैन । यस सम्बन्धमा विभिन्न तर्कहरू प्रस्तुत गरिएको पाइन्छ । तर विभिन्न सम्भावित कारणहरूले गर्दा कलासकूट भवन हाडि-गाउँ भेक तिर नै थियो भन्ने अडकल निकै सत्यको सामु पुग्ने देखिन्छ । पहिलो त हाडि-गाउँमा लिच्छविकालीन कलाका नमुनाहरू प्रशस्त छन् - शिलालेख, मूर्तिहरूलाई उदाहरणको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ । त्यस्तै गरी सन् १९६५ मा डा. देवको नेतृत्वमा काठमाण्डौ उपत्यका भित्र सर्वप्रथम वैज्ञानिक प्रक्रियाद्वारा उत्खनन् कार्यहरू गरिएका थिए । तिनैहरू मध्ये एउटा हाडिगाउँ मानमनिश्वरी मन्दिर नजिकै थियो । हाडिगाउँमा अंशुवर्मा कालिन ईटाहरूको अलावा निककै मात्रामा सिक्काहरू जसमध्ये पशुपत कामदोही, सिंह सहितका आदि प्रमुख छन् र माटाका मोहर (छाप) हरू, माटाका भाँडाकुंडाहरू, मूर्तिहरू आदि फेला परे । प्रकाशित प्रतिवेदन अनुसार हाडिगाउँमा ईशाको तेश्रो शताब्दिदेखि लिएर एघारौँ शताब्दिसम्म घनावस्ति थियो ।²⁹ साथै १९६५-६६ मा श्री ५ को सरकार पुरातत्व विभागले भारतीय सल्लाहकार, पुरातत्वविद् डा. एन. आर. बनर्जीको नेतृत्वमा पुनः उपत्यका भित्र हाडिगाउँ नजिक धुम्रवाराही नामक स्थानमा गरे । धुम्रवाराहीमा गरेको उक्त उत्खनन्को प्रतिवेदन हाल सम्म प्रकाशित हुन नसकेको भएता पनि सो उत्खननको उपलब्धीहरू सान्हेँ चाखलाग्दा देखिन्छन् । उक्त उत्खनन्मा लिच्छविकालीन नेपालका दैनिक उपभोगमा ल्याइने माटाका भाँडावर्तनहरू, नाप-तोल गर्ने भाँडाहरू अंशुवर्माको मुद्रामा पाइने सिंह तथा पशुपत मुद्रामा पाइने साढेका साथै माटाका घोडा, हात्ती, आदि जनावरका खेलौनाहरू, माटाको नै उमा महेश्वरको मूर्ति, नाचिरहेकी नागी र पुरुषका मुर्तिहरू, सुरापान गराइरहेकी नारी मुर्ति, आदि फेला परे । उक्त उत्खनन्ले धुम्रवाराही लिच्छविकालीन एक वस्ति थियो भन्ने प्रमाणित गरेकोछ ।³⁰ साथै हाडिगाउँको अहिलेको भूवनावटलाई हेर्दा पनि हाडिगाउँको प्राचीनतामा शंका गर्ने बाटो छैन । धोवीखोसाको पनि किनार र बागवतीको नजिक अवस्थित हाडिगाउँको मध्यभाग अग्लो हुनाको साथै यसले मोटकोरूप लिएकोछ । प्राचीन वस्ति र दरवारहरू यस्तै नदीको किनार तिर बस्ने गरेका उदाहरणहरू इतिहासहरूमा प्रशस्त भेटिन्छन् । अर्को कुरा हाडिगाउँमा अंशुवर्माको दुईवटा अभिलेखहरू पाइएका छन् । तिनमध्ये एउटा संवत् ३० अर्थात् ६०६ ईस्वीको छ भने आर्तो संवत् ३२ अर्थात् ६०८ ईस्वीको छ । स्मरणीय कुरा, अंशुवर्माको आज्ञा-आदेशहरू भएको खण्डित बाहेक अधिकांश अभिलेखहरूमा "दूतक" (राजाको आज्ञा जनतासम्म पुऱ्याउने काम गर्ने अधिकारी) को उल्लेख पाइन्छ । तर हाडिगाउँका उक्त दुई अभिलेखहरूमा 'दूतक' को उल्लेख छैन । यसबाट के बुझिन्छ भने ती आदेशहरू दरवारबाट राजाद्वारा प्रसारित गरिएको थियो; यसैले दूतकको कुनै आवश्यक-

कता भएन । यसमध्ये पहिलो, जसमा राजदरवार सम्बन्धि कुराहरूको विवेचन भएको छ, मा "यो मेरो आफ्नै आत्मा हो" (स्वयमात्ता) भनेर उल्लेख गरेकोले माथिको कुराको पुष्टि हुनुका साथै 'कलासकूट' हाँडीगाउँ भेक तिर नै भएको कुराको समर्थन गर्दछ । वृत्तकविहीन वृद्धिवादी अभिलेखहरू एकै ठाउँमा संगै रहनुले अझ यस मतलाई बलियो पार्दछ । उपरोक्त कुराहरूको साथै सबभन्दा महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रमाण सन् १९६८ मा हाँडीगाउँ डबली नजिक रहेको सरस्वती मूर्तिको लागि मन्दिर बनाउँदा केही पाको ईट भेटिएका थिए । उक्त ईटहरूमा लिच्छवि लिपिमा "श्रीमहासामन्ता-शुवर्मणः" भन्ने लेखिएका छन् । अभिलेख सहितको अंशुवर्माको उपाधी समेत उत्कीर्ण गरिएका ती ईटाहरूको प्रयोग कुनै महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थापत्य वास्तुको लागि गरिएको हुनुपर्छ । सम्भवतः यसको प्रयोग महत्त्वपूर्ण कलासकूटभवनकै निर्माण भएको हुनुपर्छ । यदि यो सत्य हो भने अंशुवर्मले कलासकूटभवन आफू महासामन्त भएपछि बनाएका थिए । उनको शक्ति र सामर्थ्यलाई विचार गर्दा यो भवन ५१६-५१७ अर्थात् ५९४-५९५ इस्वी तिर बनेको हुनुपर्छ; जसले गर्दा संवत् ५२० अर्थात् ५९८ इस्वीमा यसको द्वारोद्घाटन हुन सक्थ्यो । फेरि चोनिया विवरण, अंशुवर्मा र नरेन्द्रदेवको अभिलेखमा दिइएको मध्यता सम्बन्धि विवरणलाई हेर्दा यसको निर्माणमा त्यतिको समय लाग्नु स्वाभाविक नै देखिन्छ ।

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