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The HISTORY OF NEPAL and surrounding Kingdoms (1000-1600 A.D.) compiled chiefly from MSS. lately discovered.—By PROFESSOR CECIL BENDALL, M.A. (University College, London). Written as an Historical Introduction to Pannit Haraprasid Sister's Cutalogue of the Nepal Durbar Library. With chronological Tables and a Plate (facsimiles of MSS.)

The Catalogue to which the present Essay forms an introduction is the result of a joint expedition to Nepal in the cold weather of 1898-99 originally suggested by me, and taken part in by myself and Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstri, accompanied under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by his assistant, Paṇḍit Binodabihāri Bhaṭṭāchāryya. While co-operating with one another throughout, we arranged to divide generally our work so that the archeological and historical part of the task should fall to myself, while the Paṇḍits dealt with the literary portion.

A great deal of our time was of course taken up by the examination of the Mahārāja's collection of MSS., which, as regards the antiquity of the documents, are surpassed by no Sauskrit Library known to exist. My own necessarily very hurried examination of this remarkable col-

¹ I hope to publish my inscriptions with my general Report.

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lection in 1884 led to the first definite account published.\ Since then Pandit Haraprasad visited the Library, and gave some notes on it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVI, Pt. I (1897), pp. 310 sqq. Some further notes were made by Prof. S. Lévi 2 of Paris in 1897, giving attention "surtout aux colophons des manuscrits, si importants pour l'histoire." As, however, Monsieur Lévi subsequently informed me that his examination of the Library was far from complete, I felt all the greater pleasure in seeing the more exhaustive examination taken in hand of which the present Catalogue is the result. My own share in it was chiefly in helping the Paudits to decipher the figures and other chronological data with which acquaintance of nearly 25 years with ancient Nepalese MSS. has given me some familiarity. When I was at work in the Library, I requested the Pandits always to show me colophons of MSS. containing kings' names and dates. A considerable portion, however, of the present Catalogue had to be compiled by the junior Pandit after my departure, and consequently I have been led to adopt another method of verification, which, thanks to the kind cooperation of the Residents in Nepal, Lieutenant-Colonel W. Loch and his successor, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Pears, has given excellent results.

This method was to send to the Resident a series of copies made on tracing-paper of all the important colophons containing points, numerals and the like, requiring verification. No clue was of course given to the words or figures expected to be filled in on the blank spaces left; and the fidelity of the tracing was vouched for in each case by the correspondence of palmographic peculiarities with the date assigned.

In my previous attempts 8 to adjust Nepalese chronology by means of MS.-colophons, I always endeavoured, as far as possible, to use and harmonise the data furnished (1) by formal histories and chronicles. and (2) by the historical notices furnished by the scribes of MSS. in their colophons (brief, but valuable as contemporary evidence), and also incidental notices given in the body of works like dramas. Of the latter class a good example is the drama Mudita-Kuvalayāśvanātaka from which copious extracts are given by Dr. Pischel in his Catalogue of the German Oriental Society's MSS., pp. 7-8. The present Catalogue furnishes several more instances of this kind.

¹ See the present writer's "Journey in Nepsl and Northern India." pp. 16-20. where the previous notices by R. Lawrence and D. Wright are referred to.

⁸ Rapport, p. 16 [84] (Acad. des Insorr. Séance du 27 Janr. 1899).

Transactions of Fifth Congress Orientalists (Berlin, 1881) Verhandlungen II. Halfte ii, pp. 189 sqq. (1882); Catalogue of the Buddhist Skt. MSS., Cambridge, 1883 (Historical Introd.); "Journey in Nepal" Ibid.,...1886 (Tables). To these lasttwo I hereinafter refer as 'Camb. Cat.' (distinguished from 'Cat.', which refers to the new Catalogue) and 'Journey,' respectively.

To the number of extant native chronicles the Mahārāja's library contains an important accession I in the shape of a small palm-leaf MS. of a Vamsāvalī discovered by me shortly before I left Nepal. Since my return to England owing to the kind negotiation of Col. Loch I have not only received an excellent copy of the MS., but also the favour from H.H. the Mahārāja of the loan for three months of the original, so that I have been able to collate and photograph all important passages.

My use of the chronicles has been adversely criticized by some scholars, though countenanced by others; but I venture to think that the discovery of the present MS. puts matters in a somewhat new light.

Though written continuously in a single handwriting corresponding with the time (reign of Jayasthiti-malla, A.D. 1380-1394) at which the chronicle ends 4 (see the Plate annexed, figs. 3-10), the new Vaméavali really contains three distinct chronicles, designated accordingly in the present essay V¹, V², V³.

Vi is in the form of brief annals of the successive reigns not unlike the other Vaméavalis, but giving a much greater number of dates, in addition to the lengths of the reigns. The leading events of each reign are also noticed in some cases with dates, at first in words and later on in numerals.

The leaf-numbering begins at f. 17 and this portion ends with 30°s. The language is no doubt intended for Sanskrit, but in obscurity and a perfectly wild absence of syntax 5 it rivals the worst colophons of Nepalese MSS, that I have seen. I thought at first of printing the whole, but after studying my transcript and taking the advice of friends I came to the conclusion that I should either have to print the whole without spaces, which would be misleading and unsatisfactory, or to publish facsimiles. For the division of words and even sentences,

- 1 As the present Catalogue gives no description of the MS, the following notes may be of interest. No. 1231. Palm-leaf; 11 by $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches, leaves 17-63, with an extra leaf not numbered, thus 48 in all.
 - 3 "Journey," p. 93.
 - * e.g., in M. S. Lévi's investigations as to the eras of Nepal.
- The latest dates are N.S. 508, occurring at fol. 63b. and 509 at 58a. It will be seen both from my Cambridge Cat. (cf. Intr. p. xxxi), and from the present Catalogue that palm-leaf MSS. become rare (owing to the general use of paper) within about a century from this time.
- ⁵ Scientific students of the vernaculars may probably find 'method in its madness.' The frequent location तेल खुना or खुन for स खुनावाज or स खुनाता or स्वाप्त (ertainly suggests the familiar Hindi खुन विद्या. Towards the end (ff. 296, 80) it drops into a form of language which is practically Newari with an unusually large allowance of words borrowed from Aryan sources.

when one had no fixed rules of grammar to help in the interpretation, seemed in many places quite doubtful. I have been consequently permitted by the Council of the Society to take the latter alternative, and have accordingly reproduced a selection of the most important leaves, of which I made legible negatives while the MS. was lent to me. It will be noted that the selected leaves begin with 8A. I only publish now a portion of this leaf, as I reserve for future treatment the kings of Nepal before 879 A.D. in connection with my recently-discovered inscriptions.

From the prominent way in which temple-donations are recorded, it may be conjectured that this part of the MS. (V^I) may be in some way connected with the records of the great shrine of Pasupati.

V³ is a document of different origin; it is a list of births of royal and other distinguished personages. The language is unfortunately old Newari; but one can make out the names and dates clearly enough. These extend, not always in strict chronological order, from N.S. 177 to 396. A specimen is given in the Plate, fig. 10. All the information given in this section of the Chronicle, so far as it relates to the kings, will be found condensed in the notes to the Table of kings below. Towards the end of the section other information beside births, deaths, and the like is introduced, but I have been able to make but little use of this owing to the difficulties of the language, for which I can get no adequate help either in Nepal or in Europe.

V³ is perhaps merely a continuation of V³. I have called it a separate document, because a slight break with double dandas occurs in the original MS. at the end of fol. 36°, and because at this point there is a marked difference of style. The string of short paragraphs, each recording little more than a birth, is abandoned, and the annals become more expanded. The previous section had ended, as I said, with N.S. 396. This, however, begins with N.S. 379 and the history would not seem to be treated on a strictly chronological basis, as the irregularity of order in the dates noticed in V³ is here more pronounced. The latest date, as already noted, is N.S. 508 (f. 63b).

The events mentioned in V¹ are sometimes described here in fuller detail.¹ On the other hand, the chronological details though full seem not to be quite so trustworthy.⁸

¹ For example, the famine in the reign of Abhayamalla in N.S. 352 (V3, 395; mentioned at p. 8, note 2, below.)

² Thus at 40° we get the birth of Jayatungamalla, son of Jayarudramalla, Samvat 416 märgasira sukla trayedasi Anurādha ghati 17 Sūla 37 angāravare (Tuesday). But Prof. Jacobi, who has kindly worked out the date, reports that the day in question was a Monday and points out that "Mārgasira can never be

Nevertheless I feel sure that this section must contain much valuable information, and it is in the hope of drawing the attention of the few scholars skilled in the Himalayan languages to the matter that I reproduce a specimen-leaf (Plate, fig. 10). The passage refers to the invasion of Harisimha of Simraon about which I have more to say below.

Having thus indicated the materials of the present investigation, the divisions of the subject may be stated.

I.—The History of the Nepal Valley, A.D. 1000-1600 (i.e., Kāthmāndu, Patan, and Bhatgāon):

Chronological notes on the dynasties of the surrounding states:

II.—Western Nepal. III.—Tirbut (Eastern and Western).

To these notes I have added (as Table IV) a list of a dynasty, which I have not been able to recognize.

The main results of the enquiry are summarized in the Tables at the end of this article, which constitute of course its most important feature, and will probably provide most students with all that they require. The present notes are chiefly intended to elucidate the Tables and especially to bring out the relations between the dated series of kings obtained from MSS. and the dynasties detailed in the new Vaméavali.

I. The present collection of MSS. affords an example [See Plate; fig. 2, l. 2] of a date! earlier than any hitherto found referable to the Nepal era, but unfortunately no dated MS. with a king's name occurs earlier than those previously known.

It is interesting to note that the king Rāghavadeva mentioned by Cunningham³ as the traditional founder of the Nepal era of 879-80, but passed over in the Vamsāvalī of D. Wright³ and by Kirkpatrick,⁴ is duly recorded in the new chronicle. Not only so, but the years of reign assigned to him and his immediate successors quite accord with

Anuradha." I have, moreover, noted quite a number of cases where months in certain years are called dvi (tiya) where no such intercalation, according to Sewell and Diksit's Tables, occurred; compare Table of Kings, note 10, below.

1 See Catalogue, pp. 85 (1) and 140 (Lankāvatāra). The reading 28 must be altered to 29; nor can I concur in the description 'guptākṣara-likhitam.' The form of k is distinctly post-Gupta; and the general appearance of the writing with its closely placed akṣaras seems to preclude the Srī-Harşa era. The forms of n (guttural) and the form of the akṣara-numeral 30 are archaisms that one would expect to find in a document written early in the tenth century.

- 8 Indian Bras, p. 74.
- 8 'History of Nepal,' Cambridge, 1877.
- 'An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul,' London, 1811.

the tradition of his having founded the era. Thus, if we add together the duration of his reign and his five successors down to Lakemikāmadeva we get about 135 years. This, again, added to 879-80 brings us to the second decade of the eleventh century, when we know from a colophon that Lakemikāma had commenced to rule at all events as joint-sovereign, becoming sole king later on.

The earliest king of Nepal mentioned with a date in the Catalogue is Bhāskaradeva; and it is very satisfactory to find that this date already noticed by Paṇḍit Haraprasād (J.A.S.B. for 1897, Pt. I, p. 312) is verifiable. Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated it for me and it corresponds to 24th September, 1046. The new chronicle duly records this king with a rather obscure note ¹ as to his 'repairing his paternal crown.' The other chronicles make him the founder of a new dynasty. Of the next king, Baladeva ² (called in V¹ Balavantadeva), we have a dated MS.²

Of Harsadeva's reign we have now two MSS. A third date has been added from the Chronicle, which says of this reign merely: राजा नीयपेंद वर्ष १३ जनविंगति पत्त्वच्य परिवर्गमानं॥ Interpreted in the light of the two other dates this rather crudely expressed notice gives good sense, if we take it to mean that Harsa died in N.S. 219 current. This fits also quite well with the duration of the next reigns as given in our Chronicle. The credibility of the dates in this part of the chronicle is further enhanced by its mention of the completion in 239 (date in words) of a tank by Sivadeva, the next sovereign.

- l See Plate, fig. 3B, line 4, medio वेब पिद्धसीखित (? व) विचतः "his father's diadem was broken up and he destroyed the golden image (to make a crown);" or कोचिनेचितः "the crown was renewed." Kirkpatrick (p. 263) records a similar tradition for a king reigning some twenty years later.
- ² Name wrongly restored in my previous lists as Baladeva. VI records him as the founder of Haripur. Plate, fig. 8 B, last line.
- - See the Table.
- 5 The supposition would not fit with the allowance of 21 years to [Sadā.] Sivadeva, made by "G" in Tab. I, Col. 4, of my 'Journey.'

This was called after the Yuvarāj () Indra or Mahendra-deva, Mahendra-saras. It was otherwise known as Madanasaras. It will be seen that this date falls in the year before the writing of a MS. in the same reign.

I have lingered over these somewhat minute details for two reasons: (1) Because it forms a new feature of the present chronicle to find so early as this? dates expressed both in words and figures that accord with the contemporary evidence of the scribes; (2) because doubts has been expressed whether the Nepal Samvat (of 879-80) was actually in use in the eleventh century A.D. It is satisfactory to note that our chronicle, following the tradition already known from Kirkpatrick, does mention the aforesaid Indradeva both as uvvarāja and roja. as we have now a MS. of his reign. It will be seen, however, that the number of years (12) assigned to his reign is probably excessive. The dates of the next two reigns overlap one anther. If this is not a case of subdivision of the kingdom of which there are so many instances, it may be quite well explained by the tradition preserved in the records of Wright and Bhagvanlal, that Mahadeva retired early in his reign from active sovereignty and Narendra (or Narasimha)⁵ became his regent. Of the reign of the next king, Ananda, MSS. are now numerous. It is curious that the other chronicles either give his name wrongly (Wright, Bh) or omit his reign altogether (Kirkpatrick). It is found, however, correctly spelt at f. 31b, of our MS.6 chronicle. Of Rudra's reign no MSS. are extant. The years assigned by our MS. to his reign (8) seem to show the origin of the curious error in the length of the reign (80 years) assigned by Kirkpatrick. Equally correctly given is the form Amrta, which is now verified by a MS.7 The 'great dearth' re-

- 1 The event is again chronicled, with the same date in V^3 . See Plate, fig. 9, 1. 4.
- ⁶ Kirkpatrick's dates begin later (thirteenth century). Those in Wright only become correct somewhat later (invasion of Harisimha).
 - 8 A. Foucher, Iconographie Bouddhique, p. 28, n. 1
- The records preserved by Wright and Bhagavanlal (Ind. A. XIV. 413) pass this king over.
- 5 The actually discrepant date is that supplied by the colophon in the Cat., p. 62. Here there can be no doubt as to the interpretation of the chronogram, through some of the terminations of the other words must be corrected for the scansion. But the date seems not to work out. The obscure phrase rājārājasādrīye may quite possibly refer to regency.
- 6 The common mistake 'Nanda-'deva is found at f. 25a (plate, fig. 5, 1.1.). Rājendralāl Mitra makes the same blunder in his text of Aştas. Pr. pref., p. XXIV. note.
- 1 Cat. p. 65 (ψ). I find from a tracing sent from Nepal by Col. Loch that the Pandit's reading of the year (296) is quite correct, and in that in the next line Sri Amrtadevasya is quite clear.

corded by Kirkpatrick is duly chronicled in V! (Mahamari-durbhiksambhavati) 25.b.1 The next date from MSS. is obtained from a MS. in the Mahārāja's library noted by myself, but omitted by the Pandit in his Catalogue. It is from No. 1648, a MS. of Caraka, I have since supplemented my note by a tracing kindly sent by Colonel Pears. The full date is given in the Table. But as the king Ratnadeva is mentioned in none of the chronicles, I am inclined to think that he must have been a local raja, or a king of Western Nepal. 1

After Amptadeva my previous lists left one of those gaps which it is now most satisfactory to find filled in. The tradition reproduced by Wright and Bhagavanlal quite fails here. Kirkpatrick aloue gives correct, though inadequate, details, which are now supplemented by the new chronicle and, what is more important, verified by MSS.

As to Somesvara-deva, see the Table and note there (p. 25). Kirkpatrick's 'Buz Caum Deo' of course represents Vijayakāmadeva; his 'Any Mull' is a less recognizable equivalent of Arimalla; but in Nepalese documents wand ware easily confused. After the reign of Abhayadeva, which, though called by Kirkpatrick 'inauspicious,' was anyhow fairly long as a goodly array of MSS. now shows, the chronicles bitherto available quite break down.

Even if Jayadeva and Anantadeva were brothers, s as Wright (p. 162) and Bh. state, the latter certainly did not reign at the same time. Two kings whose names, Javabhima and Javasāhadeva, I have taken from the chronicle, intervened; and it is extremely satisfactory

- 1 Supposing the era to be that of Nepal, which I think probable from the writing.
- * 'The great dearth' recorded by Kirkpatrick for this and the previous reign are duly registered in our chronicle (25b; plate, fig. 6. l. 8), where famine-prices for grain are also mentioned. The prices are given in greater detail in V8 (Newari portion of chronicle) at fol. 39b for Samvat 352.
- ³ The birth-list of the chronicle (V³) makes Ananta not the son of Abhaya, but of a certain Sri-Rajadeva and of Rudramadevi.
- Fol. 26a. The whole passage, following on that reproduced in 25b; plate, fig. 6, runs thus: सम्बन्धर हस्त्रपद चावाड श्रविदितीया पुनर्वत सोधवासरेत्यादि चासन चतुर्मीसा ॥ प्रचाभिनेक राजा जीजवभीसदैन वर्ष १३ सा ३. I formerly thought this date, which, as Dr Kielhorn kindly informs me, corresponds to 7th June 1255, referred to the coronation of Jayabhima, in spite of the punctuation, which seems not always trustworthy in this MS. On re-reading the passage, however, I now consider that it must refer to the first shock of the earthquake, which is accordingly stated to have lasted at intervals over four months. This accords better with the subsequent date, 377, of a MS., once the property of the late Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji. I may here mention that I have made enquiries by letter for this MS. in the Bhagvan. lal collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society, but without success. From V8 (fol. 86b) we learn that in 378 Caitra Jayabhīmadeva had become rāja, with Jayasimha (sihamalladeva) as yuvarāja.

to find that one of them (Jayabhima) is fully attested by a dated MS.; so that again the new chronicle and newly-discovered MS. 1 confirm one another.

Of the next king, Anantamalla we have now a goodly array of dates s from MSS. Besides these there is an interesting note in Kirkpatrick (p. 264) stating that "in this prince's reign and in the Newar year 408, or Sumbuth 1344,8 many Khassias (a western tribe) emigrated to Nepal, and settled there; and three years after in the Newar year 411 a considerable number of Tirhoot families also planted themselves there." What this really amounted to may be told in the words of the chronicle (f. 26b; Pl. fig. 7): "12 years 3 months after [i.e., after the beginning of Ananta's reign, or after the last event mentioned, a quarrel between his sons the Khasiya king Jayatari first entered. Samvat four hundred and eight in the month Pausa. After a slaughter of (eight?) hundred Khasiyas the rest retired [to the jungles?] and the country resumed its ordinary state. On the 13th of Phalguna sudi of the same year Jayatāri again entered [the country, as if] for a friendly purpose, [but] he burned with fire villages and other places. He visited (?) the Syengu-chait[ya], saw the image of Lokesvara at Bug[a]ma and visited (?) the Pasupati [shrine]. He got safe back to his kingdom. [This happened in] Samvat four hundred and nine. Again the [king] of Tirhut entered [Nepal]. This happened [in] Samvat four hundred and eleven in the month Magha." 5

Kirkpatrick's "emigrations" were thus more or less predatory incursions, which as we shall see, became increasingly common later on.

After the death of Ananta a troublous time ensued, and one that has been hitherto extremely obscure. In my previous lists I had to note at this time: "Kings uncertain 6 for 60 years." Though much

- 1 See MS. of the Mahālakṣmīvrata numbered 1320 and noticed at pp 47-8, 123-4 of the Catalogue. Mr. R. Sewell has kindly verified the date, which works out to 2nd April, A.D. 1260.
- 3 One of these is that given at p. 44 () of the Cat., and there referred to Anandamalla. In my tracing however the name Ananta is quite clear. Wright (pp. 162-65) makes a similar confusion. I have no verification of the date at p. 63 fin. of the Cat., which makes Abhayamalla still reigning in N.S. 385.
- ⁸ The double date is interesting, though the Vikrama Samvat is not known to have been in use in Nepal at this early time,
- On this celebrated image see Foucher 'Iconographie' p. 100 and his pl. 1V. 1 from a miniature in the Library of the As. Soc. of Bengal, where also the village-name is spelt Bugama, not 'Bungmati' as now.
 - For the text see Plate, fig. 7, lines 1.5.
- ⁶ The main reason of this uncertainty, vis., the varying accounts of Jayasthiti malla's ancestors, who never ruled in Nepal proper at all, is suggested below.

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still remains uncertain, it is satisfactory to find that this long interval is shortened on both sides by dated reigns that may be regarded as fixed.

The first of these is the reign of Jayānandadeva which followed that of Ananta and is certified by a date (N.S. 438) in the Catalogue (p. 78) which I had previously noted in the MS. The next king, according to the chronicle, was Jayarudramalla. His accession, the coronation of his co-regent, and his own death (svargastha) and "suttee" of his four wives are recorded. It is probably significant that the date given in two sections of the chronicle for the last event is only a few months after the invasion of Harisiphadeva of Simraon.

The history of the next twenty years cannot at present be satisfactorily told, until the Newari of V & has been interpreted. Besides the well-attested invasion of Harisimhadeva, several other foreign powers made themselves felt at this time. One of these was an invasion by Adit[y]amalla. After narrating the death of Jayarudra, V adds merely named with a few states and well with the same event more fully. The Newari sentence begins in a sec unant with wall with the learn the exact date (418 Phålguna sudi 7) and the interesting fact that Aditya was a king of Western Nepal, thus foreshadowing the Gorkha conquest of more recent times.

Returning to the semi-Sanskrit account of V¹, which curiously makes no mention of the invasion of Harisimha, we find (27b) that an infant son of Jayarudra died a few days after his father's death. His daughter Sati-nāyakadevī was placed under the guardianship of her grandmother Padumalladevī. The young princess (after being crowned Rānī, according to Kirkpatrick), was married to Haricandradeva belonging to the royal family of Benares. He appears to have

¹ तवाकार राजा बीजधानव्द्देव प्रवतंति तद्गकार। बीजधबद्गमा says the chronicle (27 a fin.) after narrating the events of Ananta's reign. This probably implies an interval between the two latter reigns. Fleet, Gupta Inserr. Introd. p. 186 contrasts the meanings of antare and anantaram, especially in the records of Nepal.

² A co-regent of this king was Jayārimalla. The mention of this prince in V. ff. 27a fin. 27b) is very obscure, but V² distinctly describes him (45a.) as Samrāja (with Jayarudra) between N.S. 440 at 443. He died in 464 (ib. 50b).

⁸ N.S. 446 (in figures and chronogram) Aşādha pūrņamī f. 27b, Prathama Aṣādha pūrņimā 46b (but Aṣā. was not intercalated this year). Muhammadan authorities cited in Miss Duff's Chronology of India.

⁶ पुनी सती नायक देनी नासः पितामची त्रीपडुमक्कदेनी प्रतिपास्ति (276). The sentence forms a choice example of the grammar of VI referred to above.

⁵ and (sic) 27b. 'Rajah of Benares,' Kirkpatrick,

lived in Nepal some time, but was poisoned 'after some years' 1 (katipayavarsantare). After this his brother Gopaladeva accompanied by: Jagatsimhadeva (called in V1 Karnatava m) saja and in V3 (49b): "Tirhuti-yā Jagatsimhakumāra") seized the person of Nayakadevi %. The allies then appear to have taken Bhatgaon and Patan. Gopaladeva was subsequently beheaded by Jagatsimha's followers. After this the prince Jagatsimha enjoyed the sovereignty for a few days; but he was afterwards put into confinement, 3; by whom we are not told. His daughter was Rajal[1]adevi ; and her mother Nayakadevi died 10 days after her birth; so that (like her mother) she was brought up by her paternal grandmother, whose name was Devaladevi. I do not understand the reference to Pasupatimal[1]adeva 5 that immediately follows (Plate: fig. 8, 1, 1). Possibly he was the representative of some rival line of kings, as we read directly after, that "by the consent of both royal families Jayarājadeva was made king on 467 Sravana badi 4" which was subsequently 6 ratified by general consent.

About the reign of Jayarāja's son and successor Jayārjuna some uncertainty remains, though this could probably be removed by the full interpretation of the present chronicle. Passed over by all the histories, his existence and reign were first pointed out by the present writer from the colophons of Cambridge MSS. Even in the present chronicle his reign and its duration are not formally recorded, though he is several times referred to as 'Srī Jayārjuna rājā' and 'Jayārjuna-nīpa.'

The reason of all this is not far to seek.

In 4747, that is while Jayarājadeva was still reigning, took place

- 1 VS (47a) gives the exact date of his 'violent death' awa (sic) with N.S.-455 Jyestha sudi 5.
 - ³ ज• समास्ति संस्था हतं नायकदेवी
- ³ त्रीजनतिषं कुञ्चरसा परिजने[न] शिरच्छेता त्रीनोपाणदेवसत्य। तदनकर कतिवयदिवसे त्रीजनतिषं कुमरेच राज भृजितं। पचानु कुञ्चर वंधनं भवेत्। तसा पुची त्रीराजणदेवी नामः। जातेन दम दिवसाने मातुस सत्यु। दिनासची त्रीदेवस • etc., (see Plate, fig. 8).
- We are told in V³ (51b) that this princess's mother was Nāyakadevi; so that Jagatsimha carried off the bride of his ally's brother. Rājalla was born N.S. 467 Pausa badi 10.
- More is said of him and (possibly the same) 'bandhana' in V³ (52 a) under date 469 Margas, su. 12.
- ⁶ The punctuation of fig. 8 1.2 would lead one to suppose at first sight that the general ratification preceded the particular one (Vaisakha being 3 months earlier); but the second date doubtless refers to the birth. In all birth entries the date comes first.
 - ¹ I transcribe the Newari of V³ (53b): सं **३०३ चाबिन ग्राहि € त्रीजपांचा**तिराजस**ब**हेर

the marriage of the prince Javasthiti, a descendant of Harisimha of Simraon, with Rajalladevi. Jayasthiti was reigning when the chronicle was concluded and the chronicler naturally magnifies 'the powers that be' and says little of the title of the lawful king whom Jayasthiti had managed to defeat and depose. But we see from the colophons of MSS. the real state of things. In 484 Karttika, October 1363 (a verified date: see the Table) Jayarjuna was on the throne and the colophon of the next MS. is fortunately very explicit. The MS. (see Cat. p. 88) was written in a well-known vihār in Lalit-Patan and the colophon adds in 491 (A.D. 371) that Jayarjuna was victoriously reigning (not only there but) 'Nepāla-mandale' which we may construe to mean the whole of the valley. The scribes call Jayarjuna king down to February 1376. 1 His name is also mentioned in connexion with the initiation-ceremony of Dharmamalla son of Jayasthiti and Rājalla in 497 Jyestha 2 (summer of 1377). On the other hand about 503 (date of latest event in V1) we find a reference to Jayarjuna as भग्न देवः बहात्ववार्ज्न वपी 8 which can only mean his defeat, followed as it is by an acknowledgment of Jayasthiti as king of Nepal. That Jayarjuna, however, did not submit without a struggle may be seen from the interesting colophon at Cat. p. 39, l. 6 (unfortunately not dated) from which we learn that the MS. was copied "in the victorious reign of Jayasthiti," and that "at that time the king named Jayārjuna was entering, with his ally, the Tripuraraja in great commotion."

Jayasthiti was evidently a patron of literature; not only are MSS. of his reign more numerous than in any preceding, but we find from the chronicle that even before his accession he celebrated the birth-ceremony of his son Dharmamalla by a performance of a 'four-act Rāmā-

सकीवनिकास स्(?) पोन्दु विवास साचीनं सासिव विवास कृत ॥ The princess's name is not mentioned; but another marriage hardly would have been mentioned in the chronicle.

- 1 Verified, see note to Table. I have re-examined the date in Cambridge Add., 1488, which I formerly published as equivalent to 504 or 1384. The writing is very faint. See now note 3 to table below, p. 27.
- * The passage is evidently an interesting one, though unfortunately the end is not clear to me: पुत्रः बढ्यूचे (कर्बे) सम्बत् ३८० चेष्ठ ग्रुटि पचनी वृथवार तत सर्जराव क्ष्य वासरामायन सच्छाकार नी जयार्कन राजा सुपष्टियासनुद्ध भारोस ॥
- 8 The words following आयो are चार्या(?) जिज्ञानात्रथं नसा द्वार वराराष्य-द्वनीनावस्,। भक्तापुरः॥ कोकेग्रेत्व (sic) जुवान्वितो विजयते रामावतारोपरः सत्रीमान् जयक्तिराज सम्भ न्यतिः नेपास्य भूपास्यः॥
 - A Tripura-rāja is several times referred to in the chronicle.

yana,' which was repeated son the initiation-ceremony. A revival of letters, too, is vouched for by the fact that lengthy Sanskrit inscriptions in prose and verse, which had disappeared for some five centuries or more, now re-appear s and are continued in the reign of Jayasthiti's son.

Unlike most Indian princes, Jayasthiti had, according to my conjecture, some appreciation of the value of history. When he enters on the scene there is a slight change in the style of the present chronicle. Newari words become much more frequent. It seems to me as though the chronicle V¹ had been finished off by a partisan of the king. In the case of the Vamśāvalī preserved by Wright, traces of manipulation seem to me still clearer. After a rather jejune account of his (alleged) predecessors this chronicle bursts into sudden eloquence of detail on the doings of Jayasthiti. There seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of these particulars, though as Dr. Wright points out in his note (p. 183) there is a medley of inaccurate and accurate 5 dates (p. 187). The king's literary proclivities are even exemplified by a specimen of his composition (ibid.)

So far so good. Where one seems to see the traces of deliberate falsification is in the total omission of the real kings of Nepal immediately preceding and following the invasion of Harisimhadeva, and the insertion of a string of ancestors for Jayasthiti with impossible reigns and dates. These are tabulated in the Historical Introduction to my Cambridge Catalogue, p. xv. There is no agreement in the lists of ancestors, except that all seem to show a tradition current at least in the XVIIth century? A.D. that the family of Jayasthiti was descended from Harisimha by the male line, though it should be observed that the inscription there cited ignores Jayasthiti and his immediate ancestors and goes, by a considerable mandakapluti from Jayasthiti's grandson Yaksamalla back to 'Earayat'-simha. Even more suggestive of what I regard as the correct facts is the form of Inscription No. 16 of

- 1 A dramatized Rāmāyana appears in the present collection, p. 246.
- ³ See note 2 to preceding page.
- 8 'Journey in Nepal' pp. 12, 83. Bhagvanlal and Wright mention an inscription of the king himself 'on a stone near Lalitapattan.'
 - Ind. Ant. IX, 183.
- ⁵ This (N.S. 515), it should be observed, is the first date in that Vamsavali that is reconcileable with the testimony of MS.-colophons and inscriptions save only the memorable date of Harisimha's invasion (p. 175).
- Wright's 'Anandamalla' (pp. 262-299) seems to be a mixture of Anantamalla and Jayanandadeva. He totally omits Jayabhīma, Jayarāja and Jayārjuna, all mentioned in the present chronicle and confirmed by MSS.
 - 7 The inscription and the play cited fall within this century.

Bhagvanlal's series which was issued by the son of Jayasthiti, Jyotarmalla in N.S. 533. Here there is a short genealogy (tabulated by Bhagvanlal), but no 'fancy' ancestry on his father's side. On the contrary, he mentions his father merely as 'belonging to the Survavaméa ' and then most significantly adds that he (Jayasthiti) was the 'husband of Raialladevi. 1 The reason is now clear. It was through his mother and not through his father that Jyotirmalla had any hereditary claim to the throne.

We may now turn back to a very important point in this part of the history of Nepal, around which a good deal of misapprehension; has gathered, namely the invasion of Harisimha.

In spite of the boast of Candesvara, Harisimha's minister that he was: "victorious over all the kings of Nepal", there seems to be at present no evidencé beyond that of the Vamsavali-tradition preserved by Wright, and Bhagvanlal to show that Harisimha established himself in the. valley of Nepal. Against this we may place the testimony of the new Vamśavali which was composed within about half a century of the event in question and (what is far more convincing) is confirmed by then colophons of several MSS. The precise nature of Hatisimha's expedition may be further explained by the Newari extract forming fig. 10 of the Plate; but meanwhile one can see that the effect of his expedition could hardly have been permanent, as not many years after we find a representative of the old royal family (Jayadeva)3 on the throne. Untilmore evidence is forthcoming, it seems safer to regard Harisimha and his ancestors who reigned in Tirhut, 5 Simraon and also possibly other parts of the Nepal-Tarai as at most titular kings of Nepal, even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all.

For Javasthiti's reign MSS, are, as I have said, numerous. The earliest date (NS. 500) is taken from the Cat. p. 43, where, beside the

³ Dānaratnākara, stanza 3 ap. Eggeling, Cat. I.O. p. 412.

⁵ Candesvara in the Kriyaratnakara, st. 4 merely says that his master 'ruled ' over all Mithila' (Cat. Skt. MSS. I.O. p. 410).

¹ Jayasthiti has the very same epithet (Rajalladevi-pati) during his lifetime in N.S. 500. See Cat. p. 43 l. 23.

⁸ As to Jayadeva, Pandit Haraprasad has very kindly furnished me with a tracing of the colophon of the Society's MS. first described by him in J. A. S. B., LXII. i., p. 250. From this it is now clear that Jayadeva (the reading °vijayadeva cannot stand) reigned on till N.S. 476, Phälguna.

⁴ It should be noted that the Wright-Bhagvanlal tradition brings in a long fine of ancestors for Harisimha and has to stretch out the true chronology of the kingdom to work them in. Once regard them as merely kings of the Nepal-Tarni and all becomes simple. As to Nanya-deva the reputed founder of the Simraon dynasty, see Duff, Chronology, p. 184 and add a reference to Ep. Indica, I, 313.

epithet 'Rajalladevi-pati' already referred to, several additional details of interest are supplied. Among them is the name of the minister Jayata who figures also in the chronicle (V^3) at f. 54 b, as $Sr\bar{\iota}up\bar{u}dhy\bar{u}$ [ya] in connection with the names of the king and queen.

The next king was Jayasimharāma who may well have been a regent, as in the year mentioned (516) the eldest son was only 19 years of age.

I have elsewhere called attention to the curious triple regency of the three sons of Jayasthiti, confirmed as it is by two contemporary MSS. It is worth noting that the three princes did not divide the kingdom, but all ruled together in the little town of Bhatgāon which then was the capital. Three years later Jayadharmamalla is said in an inscription at Patan to be reigning as yuvarāj, an expression which would imply that Jayasthiti was still alive, in retirement. I give the text of the documents below.³

Of Jayadharma as actual king we have no trace. The second son Jyotirmalla is recorded in the inscription (Bhagvanlāl No. 16) already quoted to have been reigning in N.S. 538 apparently as sole king, though his brothers are mentioned. As he restored the Hindu shrine of Pasupati and the Buddhist shrines on the Svayambhū hill we may perhaps conclude that he reigned over the whole valley. In the three MSS. given in the Table Jyotirmalla is mentioned as reigning alone

l Born 487, Prathamāṣāḍha, Vô 54 b. Jayasimbar is mentioned with Jayārjuna (as being at Kāthmāndu;) 54 b: सं अद्ध्य कार्तिका ग्राह्म १० व्य कोळ श्रीक्षणके,
नदेव स वो जयसिंदरास सदाय स वो प्यमाद वा ए ए वो चाल कंतिपुर [sic]
दुश्चिशद्दिश In N.S. 507 he joined Jayasthiti and his family at the yātrā at
Bugama (63, b.). With mahāth Dr. Grierson compares the forms mahathā, mahantha
'grent person.'

2 Compare Cambridge Cat., p. ix., "Journey" pp., 15, 16, and Table. The verse written in Camb. MSS. Add. 1664, 2197 runs thus:—

भक्तापुरी नजर्था च नयो राजा [sic] विराजते। भक्ते योतिय (जो॰ 2197) कोर्तिय जेलं [:sic] समाकंतिशके॥

The opening of the inscription found by me in 1884, as described, but not published,—(for it is chiefly in Newari and much damaged in the lower part), runs thus (I print it with all its characteristic errors of spelling, etc.):—

संबत् ५१६ वैशाच कव्य दशस्यायां तिथी। रेवतिवयते वायुमानयोगे वृद्यस्य इंदर्शिय वर्षे स्वितिर साम्रक्तिते चन्त्रे॥ खुदराक्षराज गीशी जयभग्रेमस्ट्रेक्स विजयराच्ये॥ The inscription records the repair of a well connected with Manigaladhipa-Sridaksipavibāra' and setting up of images. (N. S. 540-547). Early in the next year Yakamalla, the eldest son of Jayajyotih, as we find from the above-cited inscription, has succeeded to the throne; and dated MSS. are fairly plentiful for the long reign (43 years) assigned to him by the Vamsavali of Wright,

16

As to the history of this time some information is given by the interesting MS. described at pp. 107-9 of the present Catalogue. The author is king Jagajjyotimalla of Bhatgāon, sixth in succession after Yakṣa. According to this work Yakṣa 'went as far as Magadha, conquering Mithilā and set in order all Nepal, subduing the rājas of the mountains.' The triple division of the kingdom, already known to us, is then mentioned, including the assignment to the eldest son Rāyamalla of the country east of the Vānmatī (Bāgmati) river with Bhatgāon as capital.

In Table II. I summarize the chronology of the reigns then ensuing.

Dated MSS. are not at first numerous; but for the Bhatgāon line the MS. at Cat., p. 107, just referred to, is valuable, especially as royal authorship is attributed to it. The joint-regency of Jita and Prāṇa given in the Table is stated in the Catalogue at p. 102 and confirmed by an inscription copied by me at Thäiba (olim Thasiba). That the later king Trailokya should have been also known by the synonymous name Tribhurana seems at first sight improbable; but the inscription on which I base the statement was found by me at Thimi, which is east of the Bāgmatī and not far from Bhatgāon. After the beginning of the XVII century dates from coins become fairly plentiful, see the Table II in my "Journey."

For the line of Kāthmāndu, dated documents are at first still more scarce; but later on dates are quite numerous.

I have added in Table II appended to the present article a third column for the Banepa dynasty, because the first king at least was a real person and from the Cat. p. 115 seems to have been a literary man. In any case the separate dynasty of Banepa did not last much more than a century, as I find from copies of inscriptions recently received by me ³ from Panauti a place in the Banepa valley somewhat east of

1 Cam. Add. 1649 a work on astrology attributed to the king himself and copied N.S. 532 makes a fourth if the retouched colophon (see my Cat. p. 155) be correct, as there seems little reason to doubt.

3 In a part of the village called Antal tol and near a caitya. The village lies E. from Patan towards Harsiddhi and Bañregaon. The date runs thus: भी नी जिल्ला प्रभु ठाकुरसा ती ती प्रायमण्डेयडाकुरस [य] इसी [र्] विजयाराजे [अंट] वर्त (४४ वर भाइपर.

8 Through the kindness of Colonel Pears, the present Resident.



Banepa, that the kings of Bhatgāon, Jagatprakāśa and his success of Jitāmitra (1642–1689) were acknowledged there.

II.-WESTERN NEPAL.

The town of Noakot or Nayakot (which I visited in my recent tour) seems to have been a kind of frontier between the valley of Nepal or Nepal proper and the Western districts. Wright's History (pp-223-5) mentions the seizure of the place by a Gorkha sovereign previous to the general Gorkha Conquest.

The MS. in the Wright-collection numbered 1103 seems to have been written here. For wards is doubtless (though the identification escaped me when I wrote my Cambridge Catalogue, p. 30) a Sanskritized form of the town's name. The date of the king (Ratnajyotih) has been verified by Dr. Kielhorn and corresponds to January 14th, 1392.

During the following century no chronological data are forthcoming. I may note in passing that an educated Nepalese told me that inscribed stones, which he thought resembled those published by Pandit Bhagvanlal and myself, existed in the valleys of Western Nepal.

Dr. Wright published (History, Chapter XII) an account of the reigning (Gorkha) dynasty from Dravya Sāh (A. D. 1559) to the present time.

It is interesting to find in the present collection (pp. 242-4) a MS. giving confirmation of this record. It was composed by Rājendravikrama Sāh, who reigned 1816-1847. It might be worthwhile to publish extracts from this MS., when further confirmatory material (from old MSS. or inscriptions) comes to light. Meanwhile, it is worth noting that Wright's date, 1559, founded on a Vikrama-date, is curiously corroborated by a chronogram (vidhu-vasu-nigama-glau³), which gives the corresponding Saka year (1481). At p. 213 of the Catalogue we find a MS. written during the reign of Varavira Sāhī, in 1614, at Jaṭāpattana. This looks like Saka 1614 (A.D. 1692), when Vīrabhadra Sāhī was alive, though, according to Wright, he was only yuvarāj and never mahārāja.³

¹ For the latter date see Cat. p. 150. N.S. 810, Pausa. One of the new inscriptions is dated some six years later: 816, Jyestha.

^{*} Read thus p. 242 l. 25. I was much troubled by the reading $\frac{1}{11}$ gnau. But on referring to the MS., through the kind intermediary of the Resident, I found that the tracing read glau. This rare word has hitherto been found, in lexicons only, in the sense of 'moon' or 'earth' (-1).

⁸ Bhagvanläl's Inscr. No. 18 fixes the date of another Gorkha sovereign in recording the defeat of Pambarasah by Pratapamalla, N.S. 769 (A.D. 1649).

III.—TIRHUT.

There are few regions of India possessing an ancient civilization about which we have less definite historic information than the region north of the Ganges variously known as Videha, Tîrabhukti, or (from its capital) Mithilā.

Neither the work of Prinsep, nor its excellent successor, that of Miss C. M. Duff, attempts a 'Dynastic list' for this country. Chronological indications are thus peculiarly valuable. There would seem to have been a certain degree of literary intercourse between Nepal and Tirhut, the frontier state on the direct route to the plains. Accordingly a large number of the MSS. in the present Catalogue are written by Tirhuti scribes in their characteristic (Maithili) script and dated mostly in the common era of the country, that of Laksmana Sena.

On pp. 131-2 we find a case where a MS is by a Tirhuti scribe domiciled in Nepal. For it will be observed that not only are the writing and the era those of Mithilā, but the scribe goes out of his way to describe Lalita-pattan ('Patan'), where the MS was copied, as 'situated in the kingdom of Nepal.'

A notice of far greater interest and importance is preserved through a case of intercourse in the opposite direction, where a Nepalese scribe was living in Tirhut. This is the case of the MS. of part of the Rāmāyaņa, No. 1079, briefly noticed at p. 34 of the Catalogue. The colophon in question occurs at the end of the Kiskindyakanda at As it is not given in the Catalogue, I here transcribe it from my own notes: Samvat 1076 () asādha badi 4 mahārājādhipunyāvaloka-somavamsodbhava-gaudadhvaja-śrīmad-Găngeyadevabhuivamāna-Tirabhaktau kalyānavijarājye Nepāladešīya-šrī bhāñcu šālikaśrī Anandasya pāţakāvasthita (kāyastha)! pandita śrī śrī Kurasyātmajaśri. Gopatinālekhīdam. Interpreting this according to the somewhat 'free-and-easy' Sanskrit used by scribes, I understand it to mean that in Samvat 1076 Gopati, son of Srīkura, (Kāyastha) paņģit belonging to the country of Nepal and living in Ananda's pājaka? belonging to Bhāncu śāli (?), copied this during a victorious reign in Tirhut, when it was ruled by Gangeyadeva, the great king, beholder of holiness, sprung from the lunar race and banner of Gauda. The writing of the MS, is the archaic 'Lantsa' of Nepal, so that we may quite well

¹ Added in a different hand.

² Of. Ind. Ant. XVIII. 135, where pātaka is interpreted to mean the subdivision of a village; hence bhāncu fālika may well contain the name of the larger village or district.

refer the Samvat to the Vikrama era. If this be granted, it must surely follow that we may identify the king with Gāngeya-deva, Kalacuri of Cedi, likewise of lunar lineage, who was thus reigning in A.D. 1019, or some 11 years before Alberuni mentions him as ruling in Dahāla, in 1030. Gāngeyadeva's influence has not been hitherto traced so far east as Tirhut; but it is noteworthy that his son also, Karnadeva, claimed influence in Gauda, still further east.

Nothing appears to be known of the rulers of Tirhut from this time to the 14th century, when the Thakur dynasty appeared. A full genealogical table of this family was given by Dr. Grierson in Ind. Antiquary XIV, p. 196, and this was supplemented by him with further notes in the same journal in March 1899 (XXVIII, p. 57). Our Catalogue gives (p. 63) a date, L.S. 392,4 for one of the later kings, Kamsanārāyana, also called Laksminātha, which is the more acceptable as I have elsewhere shown,5 that the native chronology for this dynasty is incorrect. In the same year, Laksmana Samvat 392, was copied the MS. described at Cat., p. 122, which gives a further confirmation of the succession of this dynasty, calling it the Srotriya (brahmanical) vamśa. At p. 65 we meet with an interesting confirmation of the correctness of the details given in Dr. Grierson's table, as we there find a MS. by order of a non-reigning prince, viz., Gadādharadeva6 (mahārajādhirājavara kumāra) in L.S. 372 (A.D. 1490), a date which fits very well with that last mentioned.

If Rāmasimha, the king of Mithila mentioned at p. 23 med., be the same as Rāmabhadra, then the composition of S'rīkara's commentary on the Amarakośa there described falls at the end of the 15th century.

The prince Indusena, or Indrasena, the author of the work described at p. 265, would seem from his biruda Rupanārāyaņa to have belonged to this family.

I subjoin a short table of this dynasty (Table III).

GORAKHPUR-C(H)AMPÄRAN. In this region, that is, in the country south of Nepal on both sides of the Gandak, there reigned during the 15th century a dynasty, hitherto not noticed by European writers, but

¹ Ep. Ind. II. 9,11.

² India (tr.) I. 202; Găngeya is also known from coins, some of them found as far north as Gorakhpur: Rapson, Indian Coins (*Grundriss*, II 3B), p. 33; V. A. Smith, J. A. S. B., LXVI. i. 306.

⁸ Ind. Ant. XVIII. 217, moreover Karna's son made one expedition to Campāranya. Ep. Ind. loc.cit.

^{4 392} current. The date works out, as Dr. Kielhorn kindly informs me, to Wednesday 18th December. 1510.

⁵ J. R.A. S. 1898, p. 233. Dr. Eggeling, Cat. I.O., p 875, seems to accept it somewhat too readily.

⁶ Kumāra Gadādhara Simha in that table.

apparently connected with that last mentioned. Several of the rulers are mentioned in colophons of the present catalogue, and one of these must be in all probability identified with the issue of a series of coins, unpublished as yet and also undated, but apparently belonging to this century.

The first sovereign mentioned is Prthvisimhadeva in whose reign in [Vikrama] Samvat 1492 (A.D. 1434-5) at Campakāranyanagara was copied MS. No. 1508 (*) at p. 61.

His successor was probably, as we shall presently see, Saktisimha. Of the next king, Madana or Madanasimhadeva, we have three mentions in these MSS. At p. 51.1-8 we find him mentioned as reigning in Vikrama-Samvat 1511 (A.D. 1453-4) at Campakāranyanagara. epithets are interesting. The first, vipraraja, seems to point to his belonging to the same śrotriya vamśa which reigned in (Eastern) Tirhut and so does the biruda ending in nardyana which all the members of that dynasty assumed. The pandit is uncertain about the reading daityanarayana, but I find from my own notes on the same MS. that I read the compound thus. I should propose to interpret it like dailyanisūdana and daityāri (both epithets of Vignu) by reference to the Vaisnava faith of This would accord well with the legend of a set of coins first identified by Dr. Hoey with this same region and at present in the British Museum. This legend is बोबिन्द चर्च प्रवय महत्त and on the reverse 3 चन्यकारच 1. The lettering of the coins may well belong to the 15th century and I am glad to have the authority of my friend Mr. Rapson, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of the coins, that their general style and workmanship is referable to the same period.

At p. 29 (MS. 1001 a) we find another MS. of the same reign written at Gorakeapura in L.S. 339 (1457 A.D.) It is interesting to note that the era used is that of Lakamana Sena, as it confirms the accuracy of the Vikrama date, and also forms the first instance hitherto noted of the employment of the era west of the Gandak, i.e., beyond the limits of Bengal. Lastly, Madana appears as a royal author giving his name to the Madana-ratnapradipa (p. 223). This work is said in the colophon to have been composed (viracita) by the 'king Madanasimhadeva, who was the son of king Saktisimha [see above], adorned with many birudas.' At the beginning of the text, however, the work is only said to be 'promulgated (prakāsyate) by Madana' and at the end we are told that he got the work done (kārita:—doubtless a common case with Indian royal authors!) by one Viśvanātha living at 'Kāśi-tīrtha,¹ probably Benares.

¹ Does the prefix Srī imply the abovementioned town of Campakāranya, rather-than the mere region so-called?

TABLE I.

KINGS OF NEPAL PROPER PROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE ERA OF NEPAL TO THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM (A.D. 879—1474) Abbreviations: 'V, VI, V\$, V\$, represent the newly-discovered Vamétvali and its three divisions; 'Cat.' the ostalogue of the Durbar Library by Pandit Haraprasad Sastri; 'Camb. Cat.' my own catalogue of Buddhist Skt. MSS. at Cambridge. 'K' and 'H. J., after dates represent respectively the kind assistance of my friends, Proff. Kielhorn and Jacobi, in verification. MSS. marked 'Camb. Or, are those recently acquired by me in Nepal; expd.-expired (gata) year expressed in the Ms., [expd.] the same not expressed

Dates in italic figures are derived from the chronicle (V.) only.

		Traditional founder of Nepal era (20th	October, 879).						When Camb. Add. 2191 was copied	(date gone), buoja was ruing alone. These joint regencies not referred to	in v. 'Friday, 80th March 1039' (Kielhorn) l.
	Reign acc. to V.	46, 6 то.	10.	8, 9 mo.	1, 6 mo.	65, 5 mo.	6, 5 mo.	Not named.	•	:	18
	MSS., etc. to V.			:		:		Camb. Add. 866 Not named.	:	, , 1643	., 1683
ONTHS.	Equivalent A.D.	:	:	***	:	:	:	1008	:	1015	1039
DATES WITH MONTHS.	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	1			:			128, Philguna	:	185, Caitra	159, [expd.] Vais
		Raghavadeva	Jayadeva	Vikramadeva	Narendradeva	Guņakāmadeva I.	Udayadeva	Nirbhaya	Bhoja	Budra	Lakamikamadeva I. (sole 159, [expd.] Vais

¹ Communicated by letter. Dr. Kielhorn's previous working (I. Ant. XVII. 252) of the date as a current year rested on a misprint in the Nagari Text (not, however, in the Arabic numerals) of my Cambridge Cat., p. 172. 1 Communicated by letter.

DATES WITH MONTHS.

C. Benda	ll— <i>E</i>	tistory	of Ne	pal a	nd s	urroui	iding .	King	doms.	[N	o. Í ,
·	Reigned over half the kingdom at Lali-	- 0	Probably (1) Wed., 25 Jan. 1066 (K.).	This date is confirmed by my own note made from the MS.	Of. Raj. Witte, Astas. Pref. p. xxi.,	J.A.S.B. Ixii. i. 249. Vallée-Poussin, Bouddhisme p. 888. The date does	י יע	so mitted in the Cat., p. 80; but was	Wording of date quoted above.	;	See above, pp. 0-7.
Reign aco. to V.	81	8 12	Name faded in V.	i	 12			(about	COANT-EONT) 27, 5 mo.	(apout) 1098-1125)
References to MSB., etc.	:	Cat., p. 30 ,, 11	Camb. Add, 1684	 Cat., p. 92	A.S.B. A 15	A.S.B. (coll. of 1898)	Minaev-coll. St.	Kathmandu No.	Camb. Add. 2197 V ¹ fol. 24 a	VI; seeplatefig. 4.	son, 73 A. Camb. Or 142
Equivalent A.D.	:	1046, Sept. 1059-60	1064-5 1065-6	1068-9	1070-71	101	1080-81	1090, May	1093 1098	1118	
Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	:	167 [current], Asv. 1046, Sept. 180 Mägha 1059-60	186 Wais. 186 Magha	 189, Aşāḍha	191, Phalg exp.	198 current, Srāv.	200, Māgha	210 [expd.] Jyestha 1090, May	213 expd. Caitra 219 current	239 Vaisākha 240. prathama-	
	Jaya ('Vijaya' V)	Bhāskaradeva) Baladeva	Pradyumna-kāmadeva.		Sankaradeva		Vāmadeva		Harşadeva		Sivadeva (*)

7. Jan Josep (8)	249, Phalguna	1128-9	Ind. Off. 2928	81	Omitted by Wright and Bhagvanlal,	19
Transpar (2)	259, expd., Kartt. 1138, Oct. Camb., Add. 1643.	1138, Oot.	Camb., Add. 1643.	~	though mentioned by Airkpatrick. 'Monday, 10th October, 1188' (Jacobi).	va. j
Manadeva (259, Bhadrap	1139	Ä	{ 4,7 mo.		•
Narendradeva	254 expd., Phalg.	1134	ney,' p. 81. Cat. p. 62	:	As to this date, see the foregoing article,	U. DE
	261 Pausa 267 Māgha	1141	Paris, Burn. 104 V ¹ . foll. 24-25a	·	page 1, note 5. $(\sqrt{1}$ f. 24b. Plate fig. 4. 5. I have supposed	naai
					this date to refer to the accession of Ananda though the nassage is obscure.	1
	275 Caitra	1154-5	Camb. Or. 130		Nas I R & S. for 1889 v. K51	1181
	284 Magha	1163-4	MS. seen at Bhat-	20	Not purchased; full date transcribed:	ory
Anandadeva (*)	285 expd Phalguna. 1165, Feb. Camb. Add. 2190	1165, Feb.	gaon Camb. Add. 2190	about 1147-67).	Colophon copied (with mistakes) in Bāj	of I
	285 [expd.] Sra- 1165, July Oamb. Add. 1693	1165, July	Camb. Add. 1693		Sunday, 8th July, 1165, Kielhorn, Ind.	epa
	286 Phalguna	1166	London, R.A.S. Hodgsons		Full date (not given in R.A.S. Cat.): 286, Phalguna sudi ekadasyām ādityav.	i ana
Rudradeva Amrtadeva (5)	296 Caitra	1176,	Cat., p. 65	8, 1 mo 3, 11 mo	8, 1 mo Imperfect reading in Cat. supplemented by 11 mo	SUTT
					of a tracing from one are. See one are.	ounu

as meaning "on the tenth day," we have to take the rare solution (I. Ant. XVII. 252) of a current year, with the result (as Dr. Kielstands for deadasamyam tithau which gives 186 as an espired year (the usual solution for this era.) If however we interpret 1 The date reads 186 münhakryya divz dagamyz buddha [sic] dine. I saggested to Dr. Kielhorn (and he agrees), that divzdang horn informs me) Wednesday, 2nd February, 1065. 8 Son of Sankaradeva, born Sanvat 177, Aşadha.

V foll, 30b-31a.

8 No doubt identical with Mahendradeva the yuunin (जीएज) in Sivadeva's reign after whom the tank Mahendrasaras was named. Vifol. 245, See plate, fig. 4. The same Mahendra's birth is recorded in V² as happening is sum, 199 (fol. 31c, where Sibadevaparametraraya putra is apparently an error for Sivad') See Plate, fig. 9. 1. 3.

4 Son of a 'Sibadeva's (possibly here Narasimha or Narendra) born in 219 Vaisikha., V² f. 315.

According to V⁸ (f. 31b), born in 233, Aśvina and likewise a son of "Sihadeva."

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	DATES WITH MONTHS.	ONTES.	_	• .	
	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.	References to MSS., etc.	Reign acc.	•
[Ratnadeva]	308 Caitra.	[1188 P] if Nepal era	Tracing from MS. in Kathm. Library.	Not men- tioned in any His- tory.	Full date, from tracing (colophon being omitted at p. 86 of Cat.) of MS. 1648G. at Kāthm Library: Sanw. 308 [words and figures] catra and paficamyin somadine. As to the
Somešvaradeva (1) Guņakāmadeva II.	807 Phalguna	181	Cat., p. 76	4, 8 mo.	king see the article. Reading of Cat. verified by tracing from
Lakşmikāmadeva II.	313 dvir-Asadha	1198 .	50.	Not men- tioned.	MS. Date retouched. 'It does not work out' (H. J.)
Vijayakāmadeva	816 ,,	1196, July		17	Probably Thursday, 11th July 1196. See note in B.M. Cat. Sk. MSS. p. 230.
Arimalladeva (3)	817 Vais 822 [expd.] Aşâdlın 1201 May 826 exid. Srāv. 1206, Jul Aug.	1187 1201 May 1206, July- Aug.	Cat. p., 113 Cat. p., 83 Cat. p. 96 Camb. Add.		Reading confirmed by my notes in the Library. Sanday, 27th May, 1201 (H.J.) Thursday, 14th Jan., 1216, Kielhorn in
[Baņasūra]	342 Marga 342 Marga		B.M. Or. 2208 (No. 512 in my	Not named	Perhaps a raja of another part of Nepel.
		1228	Cat.) Kāṭhm. No. 214]		Date (without month) noted by me in 1884. The Pandit apparently did not accept the Bhirstine.
	358, Jyestha	1238	Cat. p. 69		natyassatra. Compare Sylvain Lévi "Ranbort." p. 16.
	867, current, Magha. 1246 Jan. Feb.	1246 Jan. Feb.	B.M. Or. 2203 (myCat.No. 586)		Date somewhat indistinctly written.

Abhayamalla	867. Phálenna	1847. Feb.	Kithm	49 A mo	MS. (Pañoa-rakşā) not described by Pandit. Full date from my notes:
			ost. No. 11		Sunday, 17th Feb., 1247. (H.J.)
J. 1.	[373 Marga]	[1262]	St. Pet. Minser Colln.		and doubtless copied wrong; for Dr. Jacobi reportsthat the week-day works
4	375 Asadha	<i>1255</i> , Jane	VI, fol. 26a)	;	out wrong and nakşatra impossible. Monday, June 7th, 1255' (K), when
	377, Bhádrap.	1257	Coll. of Bhag-	2, 8 mo	article, p. 8, note 4.
Jayabhīmadeva	380, expd. Caitra 1260 April Tracing from WS.1320D. at	1260 April	Tracing from MS.1320D. at	13, 3 mo	' See the same note. ' Wednesday, April 2nd, 1260' (Sewell); see p. 9, note 1.
Jayasaha (siha) malladeva	· •	:		2, 7 mo	The second form is taken from V ² fol. 35, where the birth of Jayasiham. is recorded (349, Vais.; fasher: Jagatanekamalla) just before that of
	399, Phalguna	1279	Cat. p. 46 (wg)		Anantamalla. Tracing from MS confirms reading of Cat., but no week-day is decipher-
Auantamalla (8)	"	1280	Tracing correcting Cat., p. 44.	:	In the Cat. we must read, as my tracing shows, Ananta for Ananda; but Dr. Kielhorn reports that the date does not work out correctly.
			`		

l Though no MSS. of this reign are extant, Someśvara is duly recorded by Kirkpatrick (reign 6 years 3 months) and in Vs (fol. 322), where we learn that he was the son of Mahendra and born in 240 Phalguna sudi 18, Maghanaksatra. If the following phrase According to Vs, fol. 32b, Arimalla, son of Jayzái [sic], Maliadeva, was born 274, reigned 15 years (according to V¹ 25 years 10 months; but this does not suit with the other dates) and lived 62 years 10 months. This puts his death towards the end of 336, which राजा जस जम स्टे means that he reigned and died in (240 + 53) 293, it will not fit well with the ascertained date of Amrtadeva.

Born 366, son of Rajadeva. He was apparently childless. For at 26b (Plate: fig. 7. 1. 1) we read that in his reign the Yuvaraj (witted the usual form in the Chronicle) Jayadityadeva imprisoned his nterine brother, Jayanndadeva. Now a Jayaditya, according to V8 (85b), was the son of Jayabhima, and was born 358. Probably there is something wrong in this last our last date from MSS. will just allow.

•	DATES WITH MONTHS.	KONTHS.			
	Nepal era, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.	References to MSS., etc.	Reign acc. to V.	•
	408, Аşāḍha	1283	Cat. p. 46	32, 10 mo. V1	
	405, Vaisākha	1286		85,11 mo. V ⁸	405 or possibly 401; week-day not given.
	406, Caitra	1286	<u> </u>		
smalla	408, or Sambat 1344 1287	1287	(Cat. No 440.) Kirkp. p. 264.		The first recorded double date (in two
?	417, [expd]. } 1297 June	1297 June	{ V ₁ fol. 27a { V ₃ , 40b		eras). Wednesday, 26th June, 1297 (K). Date of a donation to Pasupati-shrine of a
	422 Vaisākha	1302	0		banner, etc., by Ananta.
	437 Srávana 438 Phálguna badi 15, śukre	1307 1818, March	1306. V8 fol. 42 Cat., p. 73 and my notes	Duration not stated	Date of a donation (?) to Pasupati. From my notes I see that the MS. was oppied at Mangala-vihara (in Patan,
Jayarudramalla!	440 Caitra 🙃.	ა. 1320	V\$ 44a (cf. 27b.)	:	Friday, 18th Mar. 1818 (H.J). Date of coronation of Jayarimalla (pusya-
and Jayárimalla (co-regent)	446 Aşādha	1326 ·	V1 276	: :	Outpokus). Sea note 1, below.
•			i . ,	•	

	467 Stavana 1847	:		VI 286 Plate fig. 8	Plate	:	"Accession with assent of both royal families and with general consent" (VI	1908
Jayarājadeva 8	474	:	1358-4 Cat. p. 71	Cat. p. 7	 :	:	Ze 0.; Flate ng. 5, line I). Year (no month) verified by tracing from	3. j
	476	:	1355-6	Coll. of 1893)	Beng. 1893)	:	See J.A.S.B., LXII. i., 250. MS. omitted in Kufijavibāri's Cat. Correct king's name	C. B
	484 Kärttika	:	1863, Oct Cat, p. 31	Cat, p. 3	:	:	(Vijayarājadeva) to Jayar" (tracing). (Date verified in my notes. 'Monday, 2281 October, 1363; nakatra etc. cor-	endall
	491 Bhadrap.	::	1871 1872	Cat. p. 88	8		Peterson, Hitopadesa, Pref., p. ii.	—H18
Jayarjunamulia (°)	494 Bhadrap.	:	1374	Camb.	Add.			tory
	Saka 1297, Phälg. 1376 Febr. Cat., p. 121	<u>%</u>	1376 Febr.	Cat., p. 1	21	:	Earliest MS. dated by a non-Nepalese era. Date: Friday. 22nd Feb. 1376	of N
			N.	NEW DYNASTY FOLLOWS.	Y FOLLOW	zů.	(H. J.)	epat a

to live on as heir-apparent to himself. Moreover, in V8 (36b) we find mention of Jayabhima as raja in 378 and Jayasiphamalladeva (who seems to have actually succeeded him, according to V1 26a) as yuvuraj. This seems very strange if Jayaditya was alive all the time. The statement of Wright may be correct in so far as it implies a divided kingdom in Ananta's time.

1 Jayarudra was the son of Jayathigamalla. Jayari is called svakutumba, a vague phrase for 'kinsman' perhaps. The full date of his death (or of the suttee of his wives—the punctuation would allow of either interpretation) is 446, Asadha purnami, V8 at 46b tatement. For it seems unlikely that Anantamalla should not only have superseded an older heir-apparent, but also have allowed him

gives the same date, for the death ("We perhaps 'time up to which he remained in the world,' a common expression in the chronicle), not mentioning the suttee; but it makes two suspicious additions: (1) The addition of 'prathama' to the month, though Asadha was not intercalated; (2), the impossible allowance of 30 years 8 months to the king's reign. 9 Born 437, Phálguna kryna dasami dhanesta [sic], drhaspati vára ; son of Jayanandadeva by a sangrahani bhárya (VB, 456). The

Son of Jayarājadeva and Rudramadevī, apparently (see p. 11, note) born in 467, Vais andi 7. (Vl, f. 286; Plate fig. 8.) According to Ve (606) he died in 502, Māgha badi 5. This may well be correct; for the date 504 given doubtfully in my Cambridge Cat., p. 119, is much too uncertain to form a contrary argument. On re-examination I find the middle word looks more like eithm (not known as a On the other hand, wings - 5 is certain; so that Jayarjuna was alive in 500 or A.D. 1379-80. numeral word) than bindu.

tracing referred to in the last column was kindly sent me by Maham. Haraprasad Sastri.

	DATES WITH MONTHS.	MONTES.			
	Nepslers, when not otherwise specified.	Equivalent A.D.	Reference to MSS., etc.	Reign aco. to V.	
NEW DYMASTY	600 Phalguna	1880	Cat., p. 48 🚥	Vends here.	Chronogram and figures; MS. written at Bhaggaon, Jayata was the mention.
Jeyasthitimalla	Six other dates		:	į	Cat. and "Journey" also inscription in "Journey" (date verified I. A.
	and 514, dvir-Aşā (P) 1894	1894	Cat. p. 87	:	STAIR, if meant for Kaidha intercalated, is incorrect by the Tables of Bewell.
Jayasimbarāma	516	1395-6	Tracing, revising	:	
Joint regency of Jaya.	519 Kārttika 520 Aśvina	1898 1400	Ö		shows. No month is legible. J. R. A. S. for 1888, p. 551.
Regency of Jayadharma- malla (alone), as 'yu-	523 Vaisākba	1408	Inscription	:	See the article, p. 15, and note.
	532 Mārgas	1411	Camb. Add.	:	A retouched colophon: see Camb. Cat.,
	538 expd., Magha	1413, Jan.	Inscr	:	15th Jan., 1413. Verified I. A. XVII, 247.
Jayajyotirmalla (1)	540 Bhādrap 541 Bhādrap	1420	Camb. Or. 148 Cat. p. 86	::	Verified by my own notes both in 1884
	547 (no month) 1426-7		St Petersb.	:	See J. R. A. S., 1891, p. 688.

	Saka .1850. k	largná	1428-9	Saka 1860 Magna 1428-9 Oat., p. 28	:	Month supplied from my notes on the MS.	1300
	Four other dates (549-590)	dates		:	:	See Cambr. Cat, p. 197 (correcting & 8 to water, p. 187) and Table; also the present Cat. n. 86.	٠., ٥.
ksa-malla	591 Caitra	:	1471	India Office Hodgson 2748	:		Dell
	594 Jyestha		1474	Cat., p. 75, and my notes.	:	The full date (from my notes) completes the sloke thue (though badly):—	u 011
		,	(For the divi	 For the divided kingdom see next Table.)	ort Table.)		-44 60601

1 Born N. S. 493 V8 (55b).

ë y

TABLE II.

Jayaraņa-malla Bh.lāl I. Ant. XIII. 414 fin. of. Supra, p. 16 fm.) Wife: Nathalladevi. Line of Banepa Cat. pp. 115, 19. Son: Vijayamalla. Yakşamalla (reigning in 594 Jyeştha = A.D. 1474.) 1575.6 Sadāsiva. N.S. 696. (See Table II in 'Journey.') 1551. Narendra, (Camb. Or. 185. N.S. 671, Sravaņa.) Sivadeva. (Insor. cited in 'Journey' Table II.) 1566 Jaya-Mahendra (same MS.) 686, Sravaņa. Divided Kingdom of Nepal (1496 to beginning of XVIITH cent.) (Subdivision of this kingdom followed). Line of Kathmandu. Haribara. Amara Surya Ratna 1600 A.D. Trailokya° or Tribhuvanamalla, (see p. 16.) 1624-33 Jita-malla and Prana-malla (joint regency) N.S. 644, Bhadrapada N.S. 654 Karttika, Cat. p. 103. 1617—1638 Jagajjyotirmalla { See Cat., pp. 109, 1617—1638 Jagajjyotirmalla { 16 (Saka 1650.) 1495-6 (Jaya.) Bāya-malla N.S. 616 Chrono-gram in Cat. p. 16. Pranalla (sole king). Line of Bhatgeon (cf. Cat., pp. 107-9.) Bhuvana-malla. Viśvamalla. 1572-1585-6 (Inser.) A.D.

For the remaining Kings of Nepal (with dates from coins), see 'Journey in Nepal,' Table II, and Cambridge Cat., p. 16.

TABLE III.

REIGNING KINGS OF TIRHUT, EASTERN AND WESTERN.

EASTERN TIRHUT.

Compiled from Vardhamāna's Gaāgākrtyaviveka (Br. Mus.; Or. 3567a), called 'G' below, and Vācaspati's Mahādāna-nirṇaya ('M.'; Cat., p 122.)

- 1. Kāmeśa G.
- [2. Bhogesvara elder son of 1. Mentioned in vernacular records only.]
- 3. Bhaveśa M, [younger] son of 1. G.
- 4. (1) Harasimhadeva, son of 3, M.G.
- Narasimha (M), Nṛsimha (G) called Darpanārāyaṇa, son of 4 (M.G).
- (2) Bhairavendra M. Bhairavasimha called Harinārāyaņa G.
 This reign commenced not later than A.D. 1496, when the MS. G. was copied.
- 7. Râmabhadra G called Rūpanārāyana G.
- 8. Lakemīnātha called Kamsanārāyaņa, reigning in December 1510. (Cat., p. 63, date verified by Dr. Kielhorn.)

DYNASTY OF GORAKHPUR-CAMPARAN (WESTERN TIRHUT).

- 1. Prthvi-simhadeva, A.D. 1434-35.
- 2. Saktisimha.
- 3. Madana (Simhadeva) ${1453-54.1457-58.}$

3 Vidyāpati (Eggeling l. c.) and the Chronicle admit the previous reign of an elder brother, Dhīrasimha, called Hṛdayanārāyana.

¹ According to several works of Vidyāpati, cited by Eggeling, Cat. I. O., p. 875-6 (see also Grierson, Ind. Ant., Mar. 1899, p. 57.) Bhaveśa was succeeded by his elder son, Devasimha, and he by his son, Sivasimha. It is significant that not only Vardhamāna and Vācaspati pass over these kings in silence, but Vidyāpati himself does so in Narasimha's reign (Raj. Mitra Notices vi. 68). They were perhaps not generally acknowledged.

TABLE IV.

An unknown dynasty (Cat., pp. 153-54).

(From the Acāradīpaka of Ganyāvisāu.)

Mukunda.

|
Bhringi.
|
Hambīra. King of Trisringadesa.
|
Pratāpa.
|
Dāmodara called Digvijaya.
|
Kāmarājadatta.
|
Trivikrama (patron of the book).