

NEPAL

(Continued)

—Sylvain Levi

Becoming a common place, name, the word malla did not undoubtedly awake any precise notion, hardly did it still evoke the art of the pugilist, practised as a noble exercise at the court of the kings. But the first one who employed it had to attach to it a more precise value. The Gupta imperialists, at the height of the power loved to recall their consanguinity with the Licchavis; other clans could boast of drawing their nobility from the Mallas. In any case, it is odd, that Nepal here again should have as a pendant, southern India; the first Mallas of India have precisely for capital that town of Kanci, whence the Nepalese legend makes appear one of its first kings, Dharmadatta.

Three manuscripts copied during the reign of Arimalla deva (rajadhiraja paramecvara) give the dates of 322 (1201), Sunday the 27th May, 326 and 336.¹ As if to testify the fickleness of the Malla administration at its outset, a manuscript (British Museum, or 2208; Cat, 512) of 342 is dated during the reign of one Ranacura, completely unknown to all the lists and which however receives the highest imper-

ialist titles: parama bhattacharaka maharajadhiraja paramecvara. But the power returns immediately afterwards to Abhaya Malla. The reign of Abhaya Malla (19 years, V.; 48 years, 2 months, K.; 42 years, 6 months, Bd.) is marked by all kinds of calamities; great famine, earthquakes very frequent. Already under Arimalla, the famine had devastated Nepal (K. Bd.).

The dates of the manuscripts copied during his reign are graduated over a duration of about thirty years; 344, 351 (1231),² 358 (1231), 367 (1247), 373.³

The modern chronicles (V. W. Bh) relate that Abhaya Malla had two sons Jayadeva Malla and Ananda Malla. Ananda Malla, younger brother, allowed his elder brother to reign over Kathmandu and Patan and founded for his own account, Bhatgaon and seven other towns Banepur, Panavati, Nala, Dhaukhel, Khadpu, Chaukot and Sanga. All these towns are situated to the East of Bhatgaon, outside the valley. It was also he who established Nepal's era; in short, it was during his reign that Nanya deva would have

invaded and conquered Nepal. It is difficult to understand the reason which led the legend to have connected events which took place, one of them four hundred years and another two hundred years before him. His very name has been falsified, he calls himself in reality Ananda Malla; we do not know lastly if Jayadeva was his brother. Jayadeva had a short reign (2 years and 8 months, Bd., 2 years 7 months, K.). A manuscript of his reign is dated 377 (1257). The country suffered in that epoch with earthquakes which continued during four months beginning from the 7th June 1255. Jayabhima deva is only recorded on Bd.'s list, with a reign of 13 years and 3 months; a manuscript of his reign is dated 380 (Wednesday 2nd April 1260) Jayacaha (or siha) deva, a son of Jagadaneka Malla, reigns 2 years and 7 months (Bd.). Then comes Ananta Malla, son of Rajadeva, born in 366 (Bd) his reign lasted about thirty years (33 years 10 months, K.; 32 years 10 months or 35 years 11 months, Bd.)

The dates of the manuscripts copied during his reign are: 399, 400, 405, 406,⁴ 422.⁵ Bendall records a donation to Pashupati in 417 (Wednesday the 26th June 1297), and perhaps another in 427. K. mentions that "during the reign of this prince, in the Nevar year 408 or Samvat 1344 (1287-1288 J. C.) a great number of Khassias (western tribes) immigrated into Nepal and settled thither; and three years later in Nevar 411, a considerable number of families from Tirhoot also settled thither". Bd. sharply explains the nature of this so-called immigration 'King Khasiya Jayatri invaded the country in 408, in the month of Pausa. The Khasiyas were massacred; those who survived retired (or withdrew) from the country which became

normal again. In the same year, the 13 Phalguna, clear fortnight (the second month after Pausa) Jayatri returned with apparently amicable dispositions, set fire to the village he visited the caitya of Syemgu (Shyambu? Svayambhu) saw the image of Lokevvara (Matsyendra Natha) at Bugama and Pashupati. He returned sane and sound to his kingdom-Samvat 411. Then (the king) of Tirhoot entered into Nepal in samvat 409, in the month of Magha. The modern Vamcavalis relate more or less the same story, and at about the same epoch but in changing the name of the personages. "During the reign of Hari deva, a Magar in the service of the king was expelled from his employment as a result of the machinations of the ministers. The Magar returned to his country and began to boast about Nepal as a land of gold roofs and gold water-pipes. King Mukunda sena, who was brave and powerful, excited by this account, came from the West to Nepal with a number of mounted troops and subdued Hari deva. Of the Nepalese soldiers, some were killed and others fled. The three capitals were completely upset. Through fear of the troops, the people buried their radish, cut the rice, piled and covered it with earth. The victors destroyed and disfigured the images of the gods and sent the Bhairava, placed in front of Matsyendra Natha, to their country, at Palpa and Butwal- The day when Mukunda sena arrived at Patan the Priests were busy celebrating the Snanayatra of Matsyendra Natha. At the sight of the enemies, they fled and left the god in his box. At that moment the five Nagas placed in the gilded canopy above Matsyendra Natha, spread five jets of water on the head of the god. Mukunda sena, seized with respect, threw round the image, the gold chain which adorned the neck of his horse. Matsyendra took it himself,

placed it round the neck. It has ever since remained there.

With this king, the castes Khas and Magar came to Nepal. These people who had without piety committed great sins, and the face of the south (aghora murti) of Pashupati showed its fearful teeth and it sent a divinity named Mahamari (plague) who swept the country of Mukunda sena's soldiers in a fortnight. The king escaped alone towards the east, in the garb of a Sannyasi; thence he proceeded to his country but in reaching Devi-ghat (near Nayakot) he died. It is from that time that the Khas and the Magars came into the country and is ever since then that the people prepare the sinki (fermented radish) and the hakuwa rice". (W.)

King Hari deva is, in the systems of W. and Bh., the last descendant of Nanya deva. He does not figure in any of the other genealogies of the Karnataka dynasty. V. who relates also the invasion of Mukunda sena, places him under the reign of Rama simha deva (of whom Harideva would be the son according to W. and Bh.). The name of Mukunda sena does not provide with a better mark. The chronicle of Palpa, gathered by Hamilton (Hamilton, p. 170), does not date so far back, and in the historical days, several of the kings of Palpa bear this name. But whatever be the authenticity or the solidity of the chronological 'set-up', the details of the account retain all their value; we have before unlike a stylistic image of these invasions which desolate then Nepal, with their suddenness, wildness and the dazed terror of the refined Nevars in the presence of the coarse barbarians projected by the western mountains and the supersti-

tous fright of the conquerors before the consecrated divinities, the disorders, the pillages and the eventual crushing of the enfeebled invaders. Even the date is in conformity to the known facts. The snanayatra is celebrated on the 1st caitra (March-April) badi (Vaicakha badi in the actual computation which is purnimanta); it is on that day that Mukunda sena enters Patan. Jayatri in 408, attempts his first invasion in pausa (November-December) and renews it in phalguna (February-March) in 448, Aditya Malla invades Nepal in phalguna.

The raids of the Khas and the Magars forebode still distant calamities; it is only four and a half centuries that Prithivi Narayan was to lead by the same road his Gurkhas on the conquest of Nepal. The invasion of the King of Tirhoot in 411 bespeaks of an imminent peril. Ananta Malla, however did not see it realize itself. The troubled times that followed his reign are almost impenetrable to history; alone the documents of Bd. and the signature of manuscripts give some light. In 438 (Friday 13th March 1318) the day when a scribe of Patan completes his task as a copyist in the monastery of Manigala, the king is Jayananda deva. He has for successor Jaya Rudra Malla, who has for 'associate on the throne' (Samraja) Jayari Malla. After the death of Jaya Rudra Malla, his four spouses ascend the widow's pyre, in 446, asadha, day of full Moon. Nepal had just been subdued to a new master, Harisimha deva.

The descendants of Nanya deva continued since the close of the century, to reign over Tirhoot. In control of the routes allowing access into Nepal, they claimed

to maintain a sovereignty at least nominal, over the country. Their history is unknown but their names have been preserved. The dynasty of the Mallas after the restoration of Jayasthiti (towards 1380), recognized them as its authentic ancestors, with exception of the indigenous kings. I have already mentioned in connection with Nanya deva, two documents of the XVIIth century, personal works of the two Malla kings which contain a continuous genealogy of the dynasty beginning from Nanya deva. The modern Vamcavalis, heirs to the same tendencies, have represented in the same manner the transmission of the legitimate power. To adapt this conception to the facts, it was necessary for them to upset the real chronology; this is a scruple which does not hinder a Hindu. The indigenous princes, contemporaries of the Karnatakas of Tirhoot, have been carried backwards in the indefinitely elastic past. Ananta Malla the last of the princes who had left a lasting recollection before invasion of Karnataka during the reign of Nanya deva. A fraudulent combination of the real figures has permitted to carry back Ananta (Ananda) Malla and Nanya deva, to the origin of the Nepalese era, towards 880. A tradition that I will soon have to examine fixed the invasion of Harisimha deva in the year 1245 caka or 444 Nevar (1324 J. C.). Nanya deva in this new system, had invaded Nepal in 811 caka. Between Nanya deva and Harisimha deva, there spreads in consequence an interval of 434 years. In this interval, the modern chronicles dispose the five successors of Nanya deva. During the last of them (Harideva or Ramasimha deva), the invasion of the Khas, led by Mukunda sena overthrows the legitimate dynasty. Nepal struggles in anarchy during

seven or eight years. The feudalism cut up to infinity, dominates the country. At Patan each tol (group of houses) had its king. Kathmandu was divided among twelve kings. Bhatgaon had a Thakuri prince. This regime lasts 225 years.

Dynasty of Nanya Deva

H. Hamilton.-P, Inscription of Pratapa Malla (Bh. 18).-M. Mudita Kuvalayacva.

1. Nanya deva

W. B. V. 50 years 1. Nanya deva P.M.
Nan Deo K.
Nanyop Dev H. 36 years

2. Ganga Dev

W. B. V. 41 years 2. Ganga deva P.M.
Kanuck Deo K.
Gangga dev H. 14 years

3. Nara simha

deva W.B.V. 31 years 3. Nrsimha P.
Nersingh Deo K. Narasimha deva M.
Narasingha
dev H. 52 years (missing in M. ?)

4. Cakti simha

deva V. 39 years 4. Rama simha P.M.
Cakti dev
W. Bh. 39 years

5. Rama simha

deva W.B.V. 58 years 5. Cakti simha P.
(4) Ram Singh Deo K. 5. Bhava simha deva.
(4) Ramsingha M.
dev H. 92 years

6. Hari deva

W. Bh. 6. Bhupala simha P.

- (5) Bhad Singh
Deo K.
- (5) Sakrasingha
dev H 12 years
- (6) Kurm Sing
Deo K.
6. Karma simha
deva M.

The names of the successors of Nanya deva are fairly well established; their order is less certain; in short the year of reigns which are attributed to each one of them vary at random with the documents. Their irreducible divergence does not fail to surprise. The surprise becomes of a different nature if one adds them. The numbers of V. give a total of 219 years; those of H., 226 years. The apparent difference is reduced to zero, because V. alone adds 7 years of anarchy which complete the total: 219-7 V-226 H. And this very total gives too symmetrical a counterpart to the feudal period of 225 years. We grapple here on the fact once again, the procedure of the analysts. The Karnatakas of Tirhoot had reigned for 226 years; at the same time as then the indigenous princes had reigned over Nepal. The two parallel series were divided in two and placed end to end. Motives of positive order have induced us higher up to choose among the diverging dates, the date of 1097 J. C. for the invasion of Nanya deva. Our choice finds here a new justification. From 1097, invasion of Nanya deva to 1324 invasion of Harisimha deva the interval is of 227 years.

All the genealogies are agreed upon to connect by a continuous filiation Harisimha deva to Nanya deva. Pratapa Malla (Bha-

gv. 18) calls him "the crown of the Karnata"; Candecvara who was the minister of Harisimha deva designates his master as "the offspring of the Karnata dynasty" in his two great works, the Krty-ratna-kara and the Krtya-cintamani. Kirkpatrick records a tradition which also connected to this prince an ancestor named "Bamdeb (Vama deva) of the Suryavamci princes of Ayodhya". Does it concern Vama deva, king of Nepal towards 1080, whom W. designates as "a descendant of a collateral of the Solar Race (Surya Vamca) of the ancient king Amcuvarman. One would believe in this case that Harisimha sought to pass as the legitimate heirs of the indigenous dynasties. Very well informed on the ancestors of Harisimha, the genealogists are even less so on his very father, Hamilton makes him the son of Cakrasimha; Kirkpatrick and Jagaj Jyotir Malla (prologue of Mudita Kuvalaycva), of Karmasimha; Pratapa Malla, of Bhupala simha; Micaru micra (who lived in the days of a grand-son of Harisimha), of Bhaveca (identical perhaps to Bhava simha of M).

Harisimha reigned over Tirhoot; his capital was Simraun. The great Brahmanic empires around had disappeared, submerged by the musulmane tidal wave Prithi raja, the hero of the Rajputs and the last rampart of Hindustan, had died in 1192; a year later, Deihi, Kalanjar, Benares, the holy town, fell into the sultan's sway; before 1200 Bengal was reduced as a province of Islam. Being out of the way of the great roads, Tirhoot had saved her independence leaning against the heretical mountain, she kept in a last shelter the old traditions of the

orthodox talents. The minister of Harisimha, Candecvara, presided over the drawing up of two Digests of Hindu law; he extended his devotion so far as to offer his weight of gold to the gods, in the solemn rite, on the banks of the sacred Bagmati, in caka 1236 (1314 J. C.). But in 1321, a military insurrection overthrows the Khiljis from the throne of Deihi; the new sultan, Gheyas u din Tughlak travels all over his vast domains to have the people to recognize the new dynasty. An accident of the route brings him back from Bengal by Tirhoot.⁷ Incapable of resisting, rather than to be subdued to a musulman master. Harisimha fled to Nepal. Tradition has recorded the clear memory of the event.⁸ "In caka 1245, the ninth tithi in the month of Pausa, clear fortnight, a Saturday, Harisimha deva deserting his capital penetrated in the mountain." 1245 caka if it concerns the lapsed year, answers to 1323-24 (and Kirkpatrick says in fact: "or towards the month of December 1323") if it concerns the current year, it answers to 1322-23 J. C. But these two dates are one and the other impossible; the 9 pausa clear would fall in the first case on a Wednesday (7 December 1323) in the second on a Friday (17 December 1322). Another impossibility of fact: Gheyas u din visits Bengal, to the express testimony of the musulman historians in 724-725 hegira (Mahamedan era) or 1324-25 J. C.; he dies by accident at the moment of his triumphant entry into Delhi in February 1325. His passage through Tirhoot is then placed with certainty in the winter of 1324-25. Must it then be necessary to substitute on the traditional stanza on Harisimha, the year 1246 caka lapsed to the year 1245. The verification lead to better

result; the 9 pausa cudi falls on a Tuesday (25th December 1324) one must go as far back as 1247 caka lapsed to obtain the necessary concordance; the 9 pausa cudi falls on a Saturday (14th December 1325). In this case a two years interval separates the date expressed in caka era from the real date. The name difference is observed in another date recorded by the chronicles a century later during the reign of Cyama simha deva. The order of things seem then to be established thus: Towards the close of the winter of 1324, Gheyas u din crosses the Tirhoot; Harisimha escapes; the sultan entrusts administration of the small State to Ahmed khan Harisimha benefits by the warm season to gather a band of partisans and Winter on, once again, he invades Nepal. Had he already exercised thither a real power? Had he already claimed rights over the country, as heir of Nanya deva? Candecvara, his minister, prides in having "vanquished all the kings of Nepal" but we do not know if the work is anterior to the year 1325.⁹ Nepal became subdued without resisting subjugated less by the weapons of Harisimha deva than by her divine patroness, the goddess Tulaja come with all sorts of adventures from Paradise to Lanka, from Lanka to Ayodhya, from Ayodhya to Simraun. "Such was her influence that the nobles and the people of Bhatgaon peacefully handed the palace to Harisimha" (W). And his expedition records, however the death of the local king, Jayarudra Malla and the suicide of his widows in June 1326. "The goddess Dvimaju gave as a present to Harisimha all the riches she has accumulated since the days of Nanya deva; in return to reward her, the king instituted in her honour an ann-

ual ceremony, the Devali puja" (W).

The conquest of Harisimha did not succeed in assuring Nepal with the stable and peaceful administration. As early as the winter of 448 (1328 J. C.), a king of the Khasiyas, Adit (Y)a Malla, penetrated into Nepal as an invader (Bd). Already perhaps Harisimha had returned to Tirhoot, where the local dynasties issued from him continued to reign for a long time over prosperous principalities and protected with success the literature and the law.¹⁰

The direct descendants of Harisimha are enumerated in the modern chronicles as the legitimate sovereign of Nepal; they form in them together with Harisimha himself, the Suryavamci dynasty of Bhatgaon:

1. Harisimha deva 28 years W.V.
2. Matisimha deva 15 years W.V. Bh.
3. Caktisimha deva 22 years W, 27 years. V, 33 years Bh.
4. Cyamasimha deva 15 years W. V. Bh.

The official genealogies of the Malla epigraphy ignore this lineage; they pass directly from Harisimha to Yaksa Malla, who reigns a century after him. Kirkpatrick, the lists of Bendall do no more keep an account. In short, among the manuscripts during that period there is not a single one which in the scribe's signature mentions one of these kings. And yet, the modern chronicles are not content with recording their names; they claim to associate with them the memory of events. Of Caktisimha (3) they say that "he then

settled in Palamchok (outside and to the East of the valley, beyond Banepa); thence he despatched presents to China; the Emperor felt so pleased that in return he addressed him a seal which bore engraved the name of Caktisimha, followed by the title of Rama. An official letter accompanied the despatch, in the Chinese year (cinabda) 535." During the reign of Cyamasimha, a dreadful earthquake desolated Nepal. The temple of Matsyendra Natha and other edifices crashed down; an enormous number of inhabitants perished. The disaster occurred on Monday the 12th adhika-bhadrapada cudi, nakshatra Uttara, in N.S. 528."¹¹ Cyamasimha had no male issue, but only a daughter whom he gave in marriage to a descendant of Malla kings and he left the throne to his son-in-law.

No sooner does China enter in scene than the control is easy. The Annals of the Ming, in an extract which I have already reported upon (I, 168) mention in fact the resumption of relations between the Empire of the Centre (Central Empire) and the Himalayan kingdom in the course of the XIVth century. China had taken the first steps; the emperor Hong-won had sent in 1384 a bonze into Nepal to hand-over to the king a seal which conferred on him the official investiture. In return the king of Nepal despatches an ambassador who conveys to the Court "little pagodas of gold the sacred books of the Buddha, renowned horses and the productions of the country". The ambassador reaches the capital in 1387. The king of Nepal was called 'Ma-ta-na lo-mo'. In 1390 a new embassy from Nepal and another again before

1399. The successor of Hong-wou, Young-lo imitates his example and undertakes spontaneously the resumption of relations. In 1409, an embassy from Nepal comes with the tribute. In 1413, the Emperor sends presents "to the new king of Nepal", Cha-ko-sin-ti, who reciprocates in 1414. The Emperor confers on him the title of 'king of Nepal' and orders that a diploma be handed over to him containing this investiture, also a seal in gold and another of silver. There is a new exchange of gifts in 1418. In 1427, the Emperor Hieun-te attempts to renew the tradition; but his offers remain fruitless. No ambassador approached the court again.

King Ma-ta-na lo-mo who reigns over Nepal in 1387 can only be the Matisimha of the modern Vamcavalis, Ma-ta-na implies, it is true an original Madana rather than Mati, in Sanscrit, Madana Simha is if one can say so more likely also than Matisimha; the style Mati seems to have entered the lists by the analogy and neighbourhood of Cakti. The same alternation Madana Simha deva and Cakti Simha deva is found again in another branch of the same family towards the middle of the XVth century.¹² The syllables lo-mo coupled with the name of Ma-ta-na transcribe the title which the Vamcavalis (W.Bh.) give through Rama on their notice on Caktisimha. In both the cases it is Lama that one must re-establish opposite. I have mentioned in my study on Chinese and Tibetan documents, the political reasons which induced the dynasty of the Ming to lavish this title. The emperors of China were attempting at that time to place the universal Buddhism at the disposal of their interests; they believed on the faith of informations gathered that the sovereigns of Nepal were all bonzes (seng); they hoped

to flatter their vanity in qualifying them as 'Lama'. The politeness was not in vain; the Hindus believed they heard Rama and honoured themselves with a name which recalls so many heroic and pious memories.

The first embassy of Ma-ta-na lo-mo arrives in 1387, sixty-two years after the invasion of Harisimha in Nepal. In 1414, Cha-ko-sin-ti is "the new king"; eighty nine years had lapsed since that invasion. Now then the Vamcavalis (W. V. Bh.) give to Harisimha a reigns of 15 years (1325 J.C. + 28 = 1353), thus between 1353 and 1368; Caktisimha then ascends the throne; he governs till 1390 (W), 1390 (V), or 1401 (Bh.). The disagreement is manifest; but a serious criticism would not hesitate between the Vamcavalis and the Chinese Annals.

The Vamcavalis themselves betray the artificial of their chronology; they interpret like a so-called "Chinese year" the date of 535, investiture of Caktisimha by the Chinese emperor. The Chinese calendar would be at great loss to explain this date at that period; the calendar of Nepal alone has a knowledge of the case $535 + 880 \text{ J. C.} = 1415 \text{ J. C.}$ The date thus obtained agrees completely with the Annals of Ming. It is in 1414 that Caktisimha announces his accession by a tribute; the Chinese embassy that proceeds to convey to him his royal diploma can not reach Nepal before the following year, 1415 J. C. Once more we perceive on the events the simple procedures of the Vamcavalis; the date of 535 N. S. dates too far back with their system, the reign of Caktisimha; his accession would fall after the earthquake of 528 N. S., which they place during the reign of his successor Cyama simha. The awkward date is related to a special era and everything is immediately arranged.

One fact exists, positive and certain.

Between 1387 and 1418, the Chinese do not know other kings in Nepal than those descendants of Harisimha. The epoch during which Jaya Sthiti Malla reigns is yet partly at least one of the most glorious among the indigenous princes. It can not be said that the Chinese have allowed themselves to be beguiled by the lying pretensions of the envoys of Simha. Chinese officials have visited in person Nepal and it is on their initiative that relations have been opened and maintained. However strange the combination may appear it must be admitted that the Simhas exercised over Nepal an effective authority, compared with the indigenous princes. Perhaps they reside, at Bhatgaon as is indicated by the Vamcavalis, and left to their vassals the two other capitals. In any case, these modern Vamcavalis, that are willingly excluded today as a trifling quantity, show here the serious and original value of the materials from which they were made.

After the passage of Harisimha the internal history of Nepal is a series of obscure dissensions and revalries. Jayarudra Malla died at the moment of the invasion had left a daughter Sati Nayaka devi, who was made over to the charge to her grandmother Padumalla devi. She was crowned queen and married to Haricandra deva, king of Benares (K.) or simply connected to the king of Benares (Bd.). In both cases the union was honourable. It united the Mallas and the Rajputs of India and particularly the holy sacred town above all in the eyes of the Hindu. Haricandra died poisoned after a few years of marriage. His widow led a rough life, like the fiancée of the king of Garbe. She at first fell in the sway of her husband's brother Gopala deva, who had for ally a Simha prince of Tirhoot of the Karnata clan (Karnata

vamca ja), Jagat simha kumara. Gopala and Jagat simha took together Bhatgaon and Patan; the throne fell to (devolved) Gopala; but the new king had his head cut off by a servant, undoubtedly too zealous of Jagat simha. Jagat simha gathered together the crown and the widow of his ally. He did not enjoy them long and ended his days in prison. A daughter was born to him from Nayaka devi, Rajalla devi; the mother died during her confinement and the young princess was brought up under the guardianship of her grand-mother, Devala Devi, mother of Jagat simha. In 467 (1347 J. C.) "the consent of the royal households ratified by general approval" (Bd.), called Jaya raja deva to the throne. The two royal households undoubtedly signify the simhas and the Mallas who were struggling for predominance. Jaya raja was the son of Jayananda deva, the successor of Ananda Malla, born on Thursday the 10th March 1317, he was thirty years old then. The manuscripts show that he still reigned in 474 (1353-54 J. C.) and in 476 (-56).¹³ His successor was his son Jayarajuna Malla, whom the scribes designate as the reigning prince beginning from 484 (1363) as late as 1297 caka (1376 J.C., Friday the 22nd February). Towards 503 (1383 J.C.) "the will of the gods dethroned him". Vanquished, he yielded his place to a more fortunate rival, Jaya Sthiti Malla. With this prince there opens a new phase of Nepalese history. The epoch of feudal anarchy is completed; a regular succession of legitimate princes is about to govern henceforth the three capitals.

The real genealogy of Jaya Sthiti has been systematically falsified by his descendants, with the view of connecting by a direct filiation to the household of the Simha. Jaya Sthiti thus becomes the legitimate heir to the throne and especially the authentic off-spring of a Brahmanic dynasty.

renowned as much for its purity as for its orthodoxy. The prologue of the Mudita-Kuvalayacva and Kirkpatrick cites the same genealogy:

1. Harisimha deva (Harrsingh deva K.)
2. Vallara simha deva (Bullal Singh K.)
3. Deva malla deva (Sri Deo Mull K.)
4. Naga malla deva (Nay mull K.)
5. Acoka mall deva (Assoke mull K.)

The modern chronicles (W. V. Bh.) adopt another combination. They take for starting point the last descendant of Harisimha in Nepal. Cyama Simha deva who is posterior in fact to Jaya Sthiti; and they represent the first known ancestor of Jaya Sthiti like the son-in-law of Cyama simha. They thus establish the filiation of Jaya Sthiti:

1. Harisimha deva
4. Cyama sima deva
a daughter married at
5. Jayabhadra malla 15 years
- 6 Naga malla 15 years
7. Jayajagat malla 11 years
- 8 Nagendra malla 10 years
9. Ugra malla 15 years
10. Acoka malla 19 years

These ancestors whether real or fictitious are practically unknown. The first list, more likely, turns abruptly after Vallara Simha and suddenly substitutes the Mallas to the Simhas. The name of Ballara or Vallara may be authentic; in the dialectal form of Ballala, it is very much in vogue in the royal families of the Deccan (Yadavas, Cilaharas, Hoysalas) in the course of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries; the carrying of this name into Nepal would only be another indication of the relations already alluded to, between Nepal and Southern India. Naga malla and Acoka malla appear on the two lists. Acoka Malla passes as having reigned over Patan and Bhatgaon.

In fact Jaya Sthiti was well allied with the Simha, but only by matrimony. He had married Rajalla devi, the daughter of Nayaka devi and of Jagat simha and this union recalled several times with a feeling of pride,¹⁴ designated him as the legitimate heir to the two great royal households. The chronicles give him a reign of 43 years but the positive documents, inscriptions and manuscripts, only cover a space of 14 years, from 500 N. S. (1380 J. C.) to 514 (1394); it is the very period when the court of China exchanges a series of diplomatic curtsies with Ma-ta-na lo-mo. The work accomplished by Jaya Sthiti testifies, however, to the reality and extent of his power; worthy continuator of Harisimha he definitively organised society on the Brahmanic type assisted by Hindu Pandits he fixed in lasting limits the different castes and classes (I, 229 sqq.). He also endowed Nepal with a system of weights and measures (I, 298). Torn by long civil wars, the kingdom seems to revive under the clever protectorship of this prince. He dedicated to Rama a passionate worship, and erected a statue to her, also to Kuca and Lava, the sons of the hero. On the occasion of the birth of his first son, he ordered the representation of the adventures of Rama (Bala-Ramayana). On another ceremony in honour of the heir apparent, a poet of his court composed a drama consecrated to Rama. In the prologue of this drama, Jaya Sthiti receives the title of Bala Narayana; later having reached the imperial power, he retakes on his own account the paternal title: Daitya Narayana (Bhagv. Inscr. 16). This evocation of Narayana may seem natural in Nepal, where Vishnu is especially honoured by that name (I, 366); but at the same epoch the appellations of this type abound around the valley. At Nayakot, a local raja calls himself Vira Narayan-avatamsa (Camb. Add. 1108). In the Tirhoot, the descendants

of Harisimha join nearly all of them, to their names the name of Narayana; Narasimha styles himself Darpa-Narayana; Dhira simha, Hrdaya Narayana; Bhairava simha, Hari Narayana. The small dynasty of the simhas of the Champaran follows the same practice; Madan Simha in 1433, styles himself Daitya Narayana, the same as Jaya Sthiti himself. In the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, the royal family of Bihar is a continuous succession of Narayanas : Narayana, Laksmi Narayana, Vira-

Narayana etc. (Bhagv. Insc. 18). All these dynasties radiate around Harisimha; the community of the Birudas marked the community of extraction, Jaya Sthiti did not fail on this occasion to assert a lineage which did him honour. His worship to Rama was undoubtedly inspired by the same pretensions. Besides, Jaya Sthiti is the first to give himself as the favourite of the goddess Manecvari, who remains after him the official protecters of the Mallas.

(To be Continued)

FOOT NOTES

1. Bendall, loc. laud, p. 24. In fact the last of the three dates is positively read on the manuscript (Camb. Add. 1648); 226, to the testimony of Foucher, Studies on Buddhistic Iconography, Paris, 1905, p. 6. But it concerns undoubtedly a particular form of the 3, because the verification of the calculation justifies all the features of the date, nakshatra (vaicakha) included, for the year 336-1216, Thursday 14th January.
2. The date of 351 is supplied to me by a manuscript of the Kalyana samgraha which I brought away from Nepal. Samvat 351 Vaicakha cukla 8 cukra dine Abhayamala devasya. This date corresponds exactly to Friday, 11th April 1231. For the other dates I refer to Bendall's tableau.
3. This date published by Oldenburg, Journ. Roy. As. Soc., 1891, p. 687, is very suspicious. It gives : Samvat 373 margacira cukla divitiyayam cukravasare svatinakasatre (2 margacira cudi, Friday, naks. Svati). Calculated in lapsed years according to the procedure the date of the 2 margacira cudi 373 corresponds to : Tuesday 5th November 1252, with Jyestha for naks. In the current year (against usage), the result is as incongruous; Thursday 16th November 1251, and naks, Mula. Further the nakshatra Svati is absolutely impossible for the date indicated.
4. This date, given by a ms. of the British Museum (or, 1439, Cat. 440) is in disagreement with the calculation of verification. "Samvat 406 caitra cukla trtiyayam cukravasare krttikanakasatre rajarajadhiraja-paramecvara cri 2 Anantamalladevasya vijayarajye". Then 406, caitra cudi 3 Friday, naks. Krttika. or for the lapsed year, the corresponding day is : Thursday 28th February 1286, naks. Acvini, for the current year, it is : Sunday 11th March 1285, naks. Krttika.
5. The date (Camb. Add. 1306) is completely verified. "netraksyabdhityutabdake ca samaye radhe cite paksake/acayam ca tithau divakaradine vahadvisaddaksake/rajye crimad Anantamallanrpatch". Then, 422, vaicakha cudi 10 Sunday. The corresponding day is : Sunday 8th April 1302.

6. Introd. to the Vivadacandra mentioned by Aufrecht, Catal. mss. Ox., p. 296.
7. Kirkpatrick's names by error, instead of Gheyas u din Tughlak, sikandar Lodi (1488-1516). The Buddhistic Vamcavali (W. 177) introduce here the emperor Akbar.
8. banabdhuyugmacaci samvat cakavarse
5 4 2 1
pausyasya cuknavami ravisunvare
tyaktva svapattanapurim Harisimhadevo
durgeva daivaviparitagirim praveca.
(V.)
9. The date of 1236 caka expressed in the stanza of the signature of the Vivada-ratnakara (6th section of the krtya ratnakara, Cat. Ind. Off., p. 413), is exclusively in connection of the ceremony in which Candecvara gave his weight of gold, as M. Eggeling has rightly shown it; is wrong to have applied this date to the setting up of the work itself. The comparison with the parallel stanza of the krtya cintamani (ib, p. 511) shows it almost as an evidence. In connection with Nepal, the same stanza presents in the two works a difference which is worth noting. The K ratn (2nd section, Dana see, 3, loc. laud., p. 412) writes:-

Nepalakhilabhumipalajayina dhar-
mendudugdhabdhina

"(Candecvara has vanished all the
kings of Nepal; he is an ocean of milks
who gives for the Moon the Law".
The K cint (loc. laud.) write :

Nepalakhilabhumi p alapari-
khadharmendudugdhabdhina

"He is the ocean of milk who
gives for the Moon and the Law, ditch
of protection against the king of
Nepal."

If the difference is intentional as it appears to be, the political situation would have changed from one text to another. The Kr r would indicate a purely defensive attitude; the Kr r would mark a victorious offensives.

Nepal reappears in another stanza of the introduction of the Kr cint, but this stanza is a simple literacy game of the type I have already mentioned higher up (p. 170); besides, the passage relative to Nepal seems faulty :

Vangah samjatabhangac caki-
tattavighat (it) ah Kamarupa virupac
... etc.,

One must in short observe that, in the two works, Candecvara designate his master solely as "king of Mithila" (Tirhoot).

II.-15

10. Regarding these dynasties of Tirhoot, see; Grierson, Vidyapati and his contemporaries, in Ind. Antiq. XIV, 182-196 and on "some-medieval kings of Mihi-la", ib., XXVIII, 57 sq. and Bendall, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1903, p. 18 sqq; Jolly, "Recht and Sitte, p. 36.
11. This is the date given by V. But the year 528 of the Nepala samvat either current or lapsed has no intercalation of bhadrapada, whatever be the system of intercalation, average or genuine. There is an intercalary bhadrapada in 531 N.S. lapsed-1409-10 J.C; this year the 12th tithi of the supplementary bhadrapada (adhika) clear fortnight, falls on Monday the 11th August 1410. The Moon enters in the nakshatra Uttara-Asadha 3 hours 36 minutes after the rising of the sun (Kathmandu time). The relation is then perfect.

The difference which separated the date given from the real date is then a matter of three years here. For the invasion of Harisimha, I have already mentioned a difference of two years. The difference of these two differences hold undoubtedly in the place of the months considered in the Nevar calendar. The Nevar year begins with the month of Kartika, which is the 8th month of the Hindu year caitradi; for the months included between caitra and kartika (bhadrapada is in this case), the divergence between the year caitra increases then by by one unit. Otherwise expressed we have :

kartika ..	caitra...	bhadrapada..	kartika
N. S. X.....	X.....	X.....	X+1
caka Y.....	Y+1.....	Y+1.....	(Y+1).

The wavering of the computation between the current year and the lapsed year easily ends up in a confusion of this nature if one crosses from one era to another. Kirkpatrick mentions the same wavering of two units for an anterior date of only

twenty-five years to his passage. He gives in fact for 1793, the year of his voyage in Nepal, the equivalence: N.S. 914, commencing the 28th October and on the other hand he places the conquest of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan "in the Nevar year 890 or 888, according to another computation" (p. 268), viz. according to his own account, in 1768 A. D." (p. 270).

12. Bendall, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., 1903. p.20. These princes reign at Champaran, in the Tirhoot; the order of the succession of the names inverse in it. Caktisimha deva is the father, and Madana simha deva, the son.
13. Liebich, Gotting, Nachr, 1895, p. 313. Ms. of the Candravyakarana: samvat 476 Phalgunā cukla dacamyam cukravasare ardra naksatre rajadhiraja paramecvaraparamabhattacharaka cri cri Jayaraja devasya vijaraje. The dates corresponds, naks, included, to Friday the 12th February 1356.
14. "Rajalla devi pati", Inscip. 16 of Bhagvanlal and also in a ms. dated 500 (1380), according to Bendall, 'Journ. As. Soc. Beng.', 1903. p. 14.