Nepālavamsāvali: A Complete Version of the Kaiser Vamsāvalī

Kamal P. Malla
Trihuvan University
Kirtipur

On July 18, 1985, exactly a month after the release of the facsimile edition of the Gopālārājāvamsāvalī, I found a vamsāvalī manuscript in the National Archives, Kathmandu. Working among the texts of modern chronicles I immediately recognized this manuscript as a complete version of the fragment of a vamsāvalī—popularly known among scholars as the Kaiser Vamsāvalī (VK). The VK was discovered by Petech in 1956 in the private library of the late Field-Marshall Kaiser Shamsher. A roman transilibration of this fragmentary chronicle was published by Petech (1958:213-217). The facsimile plates and a Devanāgarī transcription of the VK were published in Vajrācārya and Malla (1985:205-222). The VK is a fragmentary thānāphū manuscript, badly damaged on the left-hand top corner. Its beginning and end portions are both missing. As the surviving 8 folios are not numbered, it has not been possible to decide how much of the text at the beginning and how much at the end are missing. Petech thought that the VK stops with the year NS 469/A.D. 1349 "in which it apparently was written" (Petech, 1958:8). Since its discovery, scholars have found it a useful source material, substantively dependable particularly for the late Thakuris and the Early Mallas.

The manuscript recently discovered (VN) in the National Archives is an important find for the students of traditional historiography in Nepal. As the VN is a complete text of which the VK is only a fragment (Folio 7A–Folio 11A), the new manuscript is a documentary evidence for those sections of the VK which have not yet been located. The identity of the VK fragment and Folio 7A–Folio 11A of the VN is almost absolute—"almost" because there are orthographic variants and a remarkably few variants in regnal years for historical kings. Even the missing syllable, as in Folio 8A line 8 श्रव्य for श्रव्यāva is the same in both the manuscripts; even the wrong date, सप्तव 267, as in Folio 9A line 1 for 287 is the same in both the texts. There are only two variants in dates. The VK has 26 for (Rudra)deva; the VN has 27 (Folio 7A:1); the VK gives the impossible 546 as the year of Rudramalla's death; the VN has the correct 446 (Folio 10A:5). Where the VK uses Šudī, the VN uses Šukla (Folio 9A:6); where the VK uses anāgavāra, the VN uses bhaumavāra (Folio 9A:6); where the VK uses Kṛṣṇa, the VN uses Vādī (Folio 10B:7). There is also an inadvertent repetition of Vāmadeva and Ṣaṅkardeva (Folio 8A:2-3); the copist of the VK makes no such mistakes. The VN is in the late Nepālikāśāra, the VN is in Devanāgarī with some traces of Newari survivals. As most of the older vamsāvalīs, the VN is in hybrid Sanskrit, or what the purist would call "barbarous Sanskrit".
Vajrācārya had discovered a 6-folio folded vamśavallī manuscript in Gorkha. He published the text and its Nepali translation in 1977. The manuscript (VG) is reproduced in Vajrācārya and Malla (1985:223-228). The VG is an abridged version of the VN. The abridgement, however, is very drastic. Only names and regnal years of kings are retained while all their pious deeds, gifts, and religious activities have been pruned. The VG is, therefore, less detailed, severely edited—almost only one-third in length and contents. In the preserved portions the VG, the VK and the VN are identical. So all the three texts may have had a common origin.

The VN is a manuscript consisting of 13 folios in all, written on ordinary yellow Nepalese paper, 22.5X9 cm in size, 6 to 8 lines per page, now preserved in the National Archives, Catalogue II No. 96, Itihāsa 311, Microfilm No. A319/10. As the VK is incomplete and damaged, the VN is an important text to complement as well as to restore the VK. Even otherwise, its importance on its own cannot be overemphasized. As its critical study and edition are in progress only a few preliminary points will be stressed in the following sections. Almost all the modern chronicles wax eloquent on Mānadeva I and identify him with the legendary Vikramāditya who founded the Vikrama Era. This tradition is ignored and not recorded by the Gopālaraśavamśavallī (V.). On the other hand, the V₁ records the legend of parricide (folio 208:4-21A:2). Unlike the V₁, the VN records Mānadeva's association with Svayambū cātiya; the V₁ records his foundation of a big cātiya in Gom Viḥāra. The VN and the modern chronicles explicitly call Mānadeva "an adopted son, not born in the family". The entry on Mānadeva in the VN is closer to the modern chronicles than to the V₁. As the two traditions diverge so widely, we would like to quote the passages in our free English translation:

His son was Mānadeva; 41 years. He killed his father unwittingly. As he had committed such a monstrous crime, he wandered crying (in consternation). On reaching the hillock of Gom Viḥāra he observed penances. By the merit of these penances, a great cātiya emerged (on the hillock). He consecrated the cātiya... He consecrated the temple (of ?) Śrī Mānēśvarīdevī. He regulated the system relating to land-measurement and land rent, etc.

Thereafter, Śrī Mānadeva, who was an adopted son not born in the family, became the king, 39 years. He had a vision of Svayambū cātiya bahātaraka (in his dream?). He founded Mānāvihāra. He built the capital city and the palace Mānagriha, with seven courtyards/storeys and two oblong ponds... surrounded on all four sides with... He became the sovereign of Nepal. Inside Mānagriha he constructed a temple for the God which had been excavated...
with gold... The King's wife Bhogini emolated herself on the funeral pyre of the King. In Māna-
vihara, the copper-plate roof he had built earlier was enlarged, and the land endowments of the monas-
tery, too, were increased. He himself founded/initi-
ted the use of a new epoch era (VN folio 5A-5B).

The substantial divergence of the two extracts seems to indicate that different elaborate versions of ancient vamsāvālīs were in circulation until recently and that the modern chronicles compiled in the nineteenth century may have had access to these older texts. This hypothesis, postulated in our introduction to the facsimile edition of the Gopālaraṇāvamsāvalī, is at least fortified, if not yet fully proved, by the VN.

To give one more example of the importance of the new manuscript, the identity of Devaladevi—the pivotal figure in the politics of Nepal Maṇḍala in the second quarter of the fourteenth century—has remained an enigma. Although we know from the Vī and the VK that Devaladevi was the mother of Jagatasiṃha and paternal grandmother of Rājalladevi, we have no authentic document to show that Devaladevi was Harasimhadeva's wife, nor any to show that Jagatasiṃha was Harasimhadeva's son. The only document of a sort was "a noting in a Cāndī manuscript" Mohan Khanal claims to have found in Dolakā (Khanal 1970: 46). The veracity of this text is impossible to scrutinize as Khanal did not publish any facsimile nor any other details pertaining to the manuscript location. Purely on circumstantial evidence, scholars have by now taken it for granted that Devaladevi was Harasimhadeva's wife and that Jagatasiṃha was their son. In one entry in Vī Jagatasiṃhadeva is referred to as Karnaṭavāṃśaja (Folio 28A:1); in another entry he is referred to as Tīrathūtiya (Folio 49B:1). The VN/VK, too, refers to him as Karnaṭavāṃśaja (Folio 108:3). These references conclusively prove his Karnaṭa origin. Yet we still do not have any firm evidence to prove that his mother, Devaladevi, was Harasimhadeva's wife and that Jagata-
siṃha was Harasimhadeva's son. Note that not a single of the modern vamsāvālīs mention Jagatasiṃha as Harasimhadeva's son, nor do the Maṭhīl traditions. No Malla genealogy mentions him either, though they do mention his daughter, Rājalladevi.

We know from an entry in the Vī (folio 46A:4-46B:1) that in January 1326 Harasimhadeva and his family entered Rājagāmā as political refugees and that the Maṭhīl King died on the way, whereas his family, including his son, was brough in confinement. They asked for asylum in Nepal. Neither Devaladevi nor Jagatasiṃhadeva is mentioned by name in this entry in the chronicle. On the evidence of the VN, we are now in a position to explain why the refugee party entered Nepal in the first place. Devaladevi, the mysterious and powerful lady who was in the helm of the state affairs between A.D. 1326-1366, is mentioned in the VN (folio 10A:6-7) as Padumaladevi's daughter, (i.e., the young and energetic king-maker Rudra-
malla's sister). Together with her mother Padumaladevi, Devaladevi became a co-regent for the new-born orphan Nāyakadevi, the daughter of
Rudramalla. The throne of Nepal was occupied at that time by Rudramalla's relative and puppet, Jayārāma (1320–1344) who ruled from Devapatan as a nominal king. Thus if Devaladevi played a key political role it is because of her social status as a member of the Nepalese Royalty. Without any social connections with the local nobility, this could otherwise have been an impossibility in any society, much less in the Nepalese society—and that too for a refugee widow.

If Devaladevi was Padumaladevi's daughter, then we are compelled to raise vexing questions, which will be obvious by looking at the following family tree:

```
Jayatuṅgamalla + Padumaladevi
  ↓                          ↓
Jayarudramalla              Devaladevi + Harasimhadeva
  ↓                          ↓
Hariścandradeva + Nāyakadevi + Jagatasiṃhadeva
  ↓                          ↓
Rājalladevi + Jayasthitirājāmalla
```

Did Jagatasiṃhadeva, then, cohabit with his cross-cousin Nāyakadevi, i.e., his maternal uncle, Rudramalla's daughter? Note that Nāyakadevi's first legal marriage was with Hariścandradeva; she was a widow and an unwed wife of Jagatasiṃha. Could it be for this "incestuous" relationship that Jagatasiṃha was thrown into prison (V.28:3)? The chronicles are silent about his final end.

Whoever Devaladevi's husband was, he certainly was not Rudramalla, as suggested by some Nepali historians (Regmi, 1965: 300–303).

If Harasimhadeva was the husband of Devaladevi his flight to Nepal is understandable. Devaladevi's meteoric rise in 1326 is equally understandable because from her parents' side she was a member of Bhaktapur Royalty, sharing the co-regency with her mother Padumaladevi for the minor Nāyakadevi.

The cryptic and fumbling details of the medieval chronicles at this point in the narrative (AD 1326–1347) and the beginning of the deliberate falsification of social-political history by the later Mallas have to be sought here and at this point in time. At any rate, the VN clearly states that Devaladevi was Padumaladevi's daughter. The importance of the VN is, thus, obvious for the student of Nepal's medieval history. Petech refers to a "well-known law in historiography, the highly authoritative Vād (Gopālārjavanmāvallī) soon gave origin to abridgments or compendia" (Petech 1986:7). The VN, the VK, the VG and Kirkpatrick's king-list—all are certainly "abridgements" of one kind or another, but they are not the abridgement of the Gopālārjavāmāvallī only. There were probably similar ancient texts upon which these pruned versions were based. Besides, the VN is not only an abridgement—whatever its original—but also an updated text. Perhaps,
because the updating had to be done continuously, the older versions were edited, abridged, and pruned. At least, the VN has passed through different editing and updating phases. The first transformation of the text appears to have taken place in the late 1320s-1340s when rival parties were contending for power in the Nepal Valley. This phase appears to have ended with the rise of Śἱṭihṛjāmalla (A.D. 1382-1395). The next phase was during the later Malla period when the descendants of Ś heapq;ṭihṛjāmalla were keen to demonstrate their Karpāṭa origins. The Folios 11 and 12 certainly belong to this phase of the evolution of the text. The final phase is, of course, the Śaṅha period. Right up to the end of the Malla period the text uses Nepāla Sampṭat; then it switches over to Śaka Era, while only the last two dates of Raṇa Bhaḍdur Śaṅha are given in the Vikrama Era.

The text lists only the Malla Kings of Bhaktapur—ignoring the Kathmandu and Patan lines. Although the earlier portions of the text were certainly much older in origins, there is little doubt that the VN (as well as the VK, VG) in its modern form was written in Bhaktapur, probably during the reign of Jagatjyotirmalla (A.D. 1613-1637) or even later. It has been updated during the reign of Raṇa Bhaḍdur Śaṅha, who may have commissioned the present copy. As the critical edition of the VN is planned for the near future, we present here only a preliminary and free English translation. The folio-synopsis of the text is as follows:

Folio 1A-1B   the advent of Paśupati; the Gopālas; the Mahiṣāsāpatī; the Kirātas
Folio 2A   the Kirātas (continued)
Folio 2B-3A   the origin of the Solar Dynasty
Folio 3B-4B   the early Licchavīs
Folio 5A-6B   the Licchāvīs and the Guptas
Folio 7A-9A   the Thakurīs
Folio 9A-11A   the Early Mallas
Folio 11A-12A   the Karpāṭas and the late Mallas
Folio 12A-13A   the Śaṅhas

Acknowledgements

My grateful thanks are due to Śrī Balarāma Dās Daṅgol, Chief Research Officer, the National Archives, Kathmandu, for his unfailing technical and administrative support to study the microfilms at the disposal of the Archives and procure their photoprints. Mr Dhana-vajra Vajrāṣṭārya was kind enough to read and comment on my draft translation of the chronicle. The other colleagues on the Editorial Board of Contributions to Nepalese Studies have encouraged me to publish the paper, and as always put me to hard work to meet their deadline.
REFERENCES


Kirkpatrick, Colonel. 1811. An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul. London.


Short Title: Nepālamśāvalī

Nepal-german manuscript preservation project

National Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal

Manuscript No. 2. 36.

Catalogue (pre-files) vol. No.

Title: Nepālamśāvalī

No. of leaves: 43

Date of filming: 14.4.72

Script: Devanāgari

Remarks: paper
राजाकी सिविल वर्गमा साइन कौनसी कार्यकारी दाखिल

नन्दगेर सामर्थ्यस्थित नेतृत्व र वर्तमान राजा प्रधानमन्त्री प्रमाणपत्रको कार्यकारी कान्तिका नाम

नन्दगेर सामर्थ्यस्थित नेतृत्व र वर्तमान राजा प्रधानमन्त्री प्रमाणपत्रको कार्यकारी कान्तिका नाम

नन्दगेर सामर्थ्यस्थित नेतृत्व र वर्तमान राजा प्रधानमन्त्री प्रमाणपत्रको कार्यकारी कान्तिका नाम

नन्दगेर सामर्थ्यस्थित नेतृत्व र वर्तमान राजा प्रधानमन्त्री प्रमाणपत्रको कार्यकारी कान्तिका नाम

नन्दगेर सामर्थ्यस्थित नेतृत्व र वर्तमान राजा प्रधानमन्त्री प्रमाणपत्रको कार्यकारी कान्तिका नाम

नन्दगेर सामर्थ्यस्थित नेतृत्व र वर्तमान राजा प्रधानमन्त्री प्रमाणपत्रको कार्यकारी कान्तिका नाम
राजाभोजेवर्ष १। तेन गुरुमोहानापर्यायः। भानुमतिकार्यकर्मकरूणविभागी। राजाभोजेवर्ष २। तेन गुरुमोहानापर्यायः। भानुमतिकार्यकर्मकरूणविभागी। राजाखण्डेवर्ष ३। तेन गुरुमोहानापर्यायः। भानुमतिकार्यकर्मकरूणविभागी। राजापालेवर्ष ४। तेन गुरुमोहानापर्यायः। भानुमतिकार्यकर्मकरूणविभागी। राजाधीराजेवर्ष ५। तेन गुरुमोहानापर्यायः। भानुमतिकार्यकर्मकरूणविभागी। राजावधानेवर्ष ६। तेन गुरुमोहानापर्यायः। भानुमतिकार्यकर्मकरूणविभागी।
राजाको निःसङ्गस्य कर्मचरको राजकालकालीन हराहारकायपृथिवी। राजाको नाम राजा विहर्यः राजाको मान द्विकालको राजकालकालीन हराहारकायपृथिवी। राजाको नाम राजा विहर्यः राजाको मान द्विकालको राजकालकालीन हराहारकायपृथिवी।

राजाको निःसङ्गस्य कर्मचरको राजकालकालीन हराहारकायपृथिवी। राजाको नाम राजा विहर्यः राजाको मान द्विकालको राजकालकालीन हराहारकायपृथिवी।
(Folio 1A) Salutation to Lord Gaapati, Salutation to Lord Pașupati! In course of time, with the advent of the Kali Yuga, mighty kings, whose feet were decorated with the garland of crowns of all (lesser) kings, began to rule the earth. Situated in the middle of the Himalayan range, in the land originally covered with a dense forest, Lord Bṛhaṅgoreśvara Bhaṭṭāraka emerged. Gautama and other sages founded Bhatamāvarā and other shrines. At that time/thereafter, Lord Bṛhaṅgoreśvara Bhaṭṭāraka was roaming about the Śrīmāntaka forest. There was then a cowherd named Nepa. His brown cow visited daily the bank of the river Vāgpati to worship at a particular spot with streaming milk. Lord Pașupati emerged from the spot where the cow worshipped by shedding her milk. Lord Pașupati was erected/founded on the spot by Nepa the cowherd. Thereafter the Kings of the Gopāla dynasty ruled one after another. Among them the first was Śrī Pūnumā, 84 years; King Śrī Jayagupta, 73 years and 3 months; Kings Śrī Para(m)agupta.

(Folio 1B) 91 years; King Śrī Harṣagupta, 67 years; King Śrī Bhimagupta, 38 years; King Śrī Maṭigupta, 37 years; King Śrī Viṣṇugupta, 46 years; King Śrī Jayagupta, 71 years and 1 month. These eight kings of the Gopāla dynasty ruled (the country). Then after defeating the Gopāla Kings, the Kings of the Mahiṣa-pāla dynasty ruled the country. King Śrī Varasinha, 49 years; King Śrī Jayasinha, 21 years and 7 months; King Śrī Bhavanasinha, 41 years. These were the Gopāla and the Mahiṣa-pāla Kings. Then the Kings of the Kṛṣṇa dynasty ruled the land. King Śrī Elaṅg, 90 years; King Śrī Pampi, 79 years and 3 months; King Śrī Dhasakam, 3 years; King Śrī Vaiśṇava, 31 years and 6 months; King Śrī Hṛṣṭi, 41 years and 1 month; King Śrī Hūmattī, 50 years; King Śrī Tuskha, 41 years and 8 months; King Śrī Srupastha, 38 years.

(Folio 2A) and 6 months; King Śrī Parva, 46 years; King Śrī Jityaḍastī, 60 years; King Śrī Puṇḍram, 71 years; King Śrī Kṛṣṇāryaṁkṛṣṇārya, 56 years; King Śrī Svanata, 50 years and 8 months; King Śrī Sthūmpako, 58 years; King Śrī Gīght, 60 years and 6 months; King Śrī Janyā, 73 years and 2 months; King Śrī Luke, 60 years and 1 month; King Śrī Thora, 71 years; King Śrī Thamkvo, 83 years; King Śrī Charmma, 73 years and 6 months; King Śrī Gujaṁ, 72 years and 2 months; King Śrī Pusam, 81 years; King Śrī Tyasnu, 56 years; King Śrī Sugmap, 58 years; King Śrī Sasa, 63 years; King Śrī Guṇam, 74 years; King Śrī Khunnu, 74 years; King Śrī Galijam, 81 years. These were the Kṛṣṇa Kings. In the meantime, the origin of the Sun-kings is given: At the end of the aeon,

(Folio 2B) Brahmat emerged from the lotus which sprouted from the navel of Lord Viṣṇu. Maricī was Brahmā's son. Kaṭyāyaṇa was Maricī's son. Sūrya was Kaṭyāyaṇa's son. Manu was Sūrya's son. Manu's son was Kakuttha. Vepu was Kakuttha's son. Puyu was Vepu's son. Ananya was Puyu's son; Ananya's son was Pṛthu; Pṛthu's son was Trīśaṅkara; Dhūṃḍhīmaṇa was Trīśaṅkara's son; Pavaṇāva was Dhūṃḍhīmaṇa's son; Māṃḍhāṭa was Pavaṇāva's son; Susaṅḍhi was Māṃḍhāṭa's son; Dhūṃḍhīmaṇa was Susaṅḍhi's son; Bharata was Dhūṃḍhīmaṇa's son; Asita was Bharata's son; Sagarana was Asita's son; Asaṅgaṇa was Sagarana's son; Asāṅgaṇa was Asaṅgaṇa's son; Dīlīpa was Asāṅgaṇa's son; Bhagīratha was Dīlīpa's son; Kakuttha was Bhagīratha's son; Raghu was Kakuttha's son; Kalmāṅgāpāda.
(Folio 3A) was Raghu's son; Kalmāṣapāda's son was Samkhaśa; Samkhaśa's son was Samudrāsa; Samudrāsanā's son was Agnīvarpa; Agnīvarpa's son was Śrīgarga; Śrīgarga's son was Paśuṣruta; Paśuṣruta's son was Amārīṣa; Amārīṣa's son was Nāhuṣa; Nāhuṣa's son was Canābhūga; Canābhūga's son was Aja; Aja's son was Daśarata; Daśarata's son was Rāma; Rāma's sons were Lava and Kuśa; Lava's son came in the same line. These were the kings who ruled Ayodhyā. Then in the line of Ik婆ku, Viśāla was born. Hemacandra was Viśāla's son; Hemacandra's son was Suckenand; Dhūma (Dhamūva) was Suckenand's son; Āryāja was Dhūma's son; Dvārapakāñja was Āryāja's son; Kṛṣṇa was Dvārapakāñja's son; Somadatta was Kṛṣṇa's son; Janmejaya was (born in the line of) the son of Somadatta; Pratimtā was Janmejaya's son.

(Folio 3B) Pratimtā's son was Matīman. These kings who descended from Sūrya ruled Viśāmānagari. Then the Kīrtatā entered Nepal; they were (again) vanquished by the descendants of the line of the Son-Kings. Kīrtatā Natārātra 91 years; Kīrtatā Kākavārma, 76 years; Kīrtatā Vaṣṇupadeva, 56 years; he introduced the four varga system (the caste system) in Nepal. He put up a roof over the temple of Sūrya Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka and beautified it. (He enforced all the laws of the State, and ruled over his subjects with justice—reconstituted on the basis of Vṛṣṇi—KPM) He also initiated the use of an era or calendar. Kīrtatā Bhāskaravārma, 74 years. The King received a boon/blessing from Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. As a result, he conquered the city of Kīmpannagāra, right up to the southern sea. From there he brought rare jewels, gold and golden ornaments.

(Folio 4A) all of which were offered to Sūrya Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. Kīrtatā Bhūmiavārma, 41 years; Kīrtatā Candraavārma, 21 years; Kīrtatā Jayavārma, 62 years; Kīrtatā Varṣavārma, 57 years; Kīrtatā Sarvavārma, 40 years; Kīrtatā Prthivivārma, 56 years; Kīrtatā Jyeṣṭhavārma, 48 years; Kīrtatā Kuberavārma, 64 years; Kīrtatā Harivārma, 76 years; Kīrtatā Siddhavārma, 61 years; Kīrtatā Haridattavārma, 29 years; he completed the temples of four Viṣṇu bhāṭṭāraka-s, situated in the four hilllocks, Kīrtatā Vasudatta, 33 years; Kīrtatā Śripātavārma, 3 years; Kīrtatā Vyṛdhivārma, 77 years; Kīrtatā Vasantadeva, 61 years.

(from Folio 4A line 6 to Folio 4B line 7 the copist has repeated the king-list once again, beginning from Sūrya Puspadeva to Kīrtatā Vasantadeva; the repeated lines have been left out in the translation—KPM) Kīrtatā Śrī Śrīvadeva, 57 years;

(Folio 5A) Kīrtatā Śrī Śrīvadeva, 57 years. He founded the great Sāmpgu caitya (Śvayambhū). He also installed a trident on the northern side of the temple of Sūrya Paśupati bhāṭṭāraka. Kīrtatā Śrīkākara, 50 years; Kīrtatā Śrī Dharma, 51 years; he commissioned the big south-facing pedestal with a bull on the top at the shrine of Paśupati. He also founded the caitya bhāṭṭāraka of Dasana (Vṛṣṇi 21a:3 has dhamaṃ cetya bhāṭṭārike—KPM). Thereafter, Śrī Mānadeva, who was an adopted
son not born in the family, became the king, 39 years. He had a vision of Swayambhūcatiyā bhaṭṭāraka (in his dream?). He founded Māṇavīhāra. He built the capital city and the palace Māṇagṛīha, with seven courtyards/ storeys and two oblong lakes/ponds. ... surrounded on all four sides with ... He became the sovereign of Nepal. Inside Māṇagṛīha.

(Folio 5b) he constructed a temple for God which had been excavated with gold/ for the God ... The King’s wife Bhogīṇī enmulated herself on the funeral pyre of the King. In Māṇavīhāra, the copper-plate roof he had built earlier was enlarged, and the land endowments of the monastery, too, were increased. He himself founded/initiated the use of a new epoch era. King Śrī Mahaideva, 51 years; King Śrī Vasantadeva, 56 years; King Śrī Udayadeva, 47 years; King Śrī Māṇadeva, 4 years. During his reign there was drought for three years. In order to bring rains, he offered a gift of jewels to Śrī Paṣupatī bhaṭṭāraka. King Sunakṣmādeva, 50 years; King Śrī Śivadeva, 41 years and 6 months. He founded the Kudvāṃ Vihāra Caitya. King Śrī Narendradeva, 34 years; he offered Śrī Paṣupatī bhaṭṭāraka a gift consisting of several precious jewels. At the same shrine, he also constructed a gilded water-conduit, a royal palace (Tripura),

(Folio 6a) and a golden orb/halo (?). King Śrī Bhūmadeva, 16 years. Thereafter, defeating the Sun-Kings, the Kings of the Gopāla dynasty ruled over Nepal again. King Śrī Viṣṇugupta, 74 years. He built a temple to Śrī Tīrāmalapala Viṣṇu bhaṭṭāraka and decorated it with a gilded roof. King Śrī Viṣṇugupta, 61 years. He constructed a big stone-image of Viṣṇu bhaṭṭārakesvara by the river at Paṣupati. After this he consecrated several images of Viṣṇu. He also popularised the Gouri (Gauḍīya?) Nāgarī script in Nepal. King Śrī Bhūmigupta, 45 years. Thereafter, the Kings of the Solar Dynasty ruled again. King Śrī Śivadeva, 41 years; his sister’s son, King Aṃśuvarmā, 43 years. He popularised the Aṃśuvarmā script. He also brought into use the lump assessment of land rent on the entire village-basis (?) He also composed a treatise on the science of grammar.

(Folio 6b) His son Śrī Māṇavarmā (?) Thereafter, the King of Gaudā (Bengal) came to found Nepāla Vihāra, 10 years; King Śrī Kṛtavarmā, 18 years; King Śrī Bhūmārjunadeva, 37 years; King Śrī Nandadeva, 13 years; King Śrī Śivadeva, 16 years; he offered Śrī Paṣupatī bhaṭṭāraka an eight petalled silver lotus. He also founded Deyyā Vihāra (V172b:5 has Nandīsāla Vihāra--KP), 10 years; he also created endowments to make the monks happy and their education in the scriptures possible. King Śrī Narendradeva, 37 years. With the help of Bandhudatta’s magical powers he initiated the chariot-festival of Vṛṣṇa bhaṭṭāraka in Lalitaṭīṭāma. King Śrī Baladeva, 17 years; King Śrī Saṅkaradeva, 12 years; King Śrī Vardhamānadeva, 16 years; King Śrī Saṅkaradeva, 12 years; King Śrī Bhūmārjunadeva, 16 years; King Śrī Jayadeva 19 years; King Śrī Baladeva, 16 years; he donated a gift in his own name to Śrī Paṣupatī bhaṭṭāraka. Thereafter, he began to rule over Bhoṭa-maṇḍala (the Kingdom of Tibet).
(Folio 7A) King Śrī Kendradeva, 27 years; again, his rule extended without difficulties upto the borders of Bhoța. King Śrī Jayadeva, 49 years and 11 months; King Śrī Baladeva, 11 years; King Śrī Ballunjadeva, 36 years and 7 months. In the company of his brother and his wife, he offered his crown to Vuṣṭa bhaṭṭāraka. King Śrī Mānadeva, 36 years. He erected the big palace on the banks of the river Bālakhu(?) . King Śrī Rāghavadeva, 63 years and 8 months. He founded the epoch-era of Śrī Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka. King Śrī Śaṅkaradeva, 18 years and 6 months; King Śrī Sahadeva, 33 years and 9 months; King Śrī Vikramadeva, 1 year; King Śrī Narendradeva, 1 year and 6 months; King Śrī Guṇakāmādeva, 85 years and 6 months; he offered Śrī Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka eleven gifts. At the same shrine, at Bāneśvara, Vāsuki bhaṭṭāraka's temple was constructed with a copper-plate roof. There a long rest-house was built together with a gilded water-conduit. He performed the kōṭī homa.

(Folio 7B) King Śrī Udayadeva, 6 years; King Nīrghayadeva, 5 years; King Śrī Bhojadeva-Rudradeva, 9 years and 7 months; King Bhojadeva destroyed the mandapikā (a small public assembly-hall?). King Śrī Lakṣmikāmādeva, 21 years; he performed propitiatory rites to bring peace to the nation in the year . . . ; King Śrī Jayadeva, 20 years. He ruled the half kingdom of Lalitapura for 10 years; King Śrī Bāskaradeva-Jayadeva, joint rule, 7 years and 4 months. He (Bāskaradeva) sold the crown of his father. The golden image of Manohara (Mahārājā in the text) bhaṭṭāraka was also destroyed by him. He became blind because of these ignoble deeds. King Śrī Baladeva, 12 years. He brought affluence to the nation. He built Haripura in Vajrāratha. King Śrī Padmādeva, 6 years. He built or commissioned a new crown. King Śrī Nāgarjunadeva, 3 years; King Śrī Śaṅkaradeva, 17 years. He consecrated the Śaṅkaresvara bhaṭṭāraka at Nandīśāla and completed a temple over it.

(Folio 8A) He maintained peace in the nation. He constructed a monastery and founded the temple of Bhaṅgavatī manohara bhaṭṭāraka. King Śrī Mānadeva, 3 years; King Śrī Parasadeva, 16 years; he ruled till the year 219; King Śrī Śivadeva, 27 years and 7 months. He covered the temple of Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka with a gilded roof. He built embankments along the river Baladevi (Balkhu?) in Kṛṭṭṭibhaktagrāma (Kṛṭṭṭpur), and water-conduits and ponds for the good of his people. He built a five-storied royal palace with four courtyards. He donated a new silver lotus to Paśupati bhaṭṭāraka. In the past, (silver) dramma was not in use; gold/pieces of gold were used as raktikā or coins. Śrī Śivadeva brought into use the silver dramma minted with his name "Śrī Śīha" and the gold Śivakā inscribed with "Śrī Śīva".

(Folio 8B) The eastern Śikharaṇīrāyaṇa (Caḍgu) was repaired, including the other attendant deities in the shrine. King Śrī Indradeva, 12 years; King Śrī Mānadeva, 4 years and 7 months; King Śrī Narendradeva, 6 years and 4 months. On the auspicious day of Monday, Pratīpadā, Māgha Kṛṣṇa, N.S. 267 (King Śrī Anandadeva) was crowned. He ruled the whole Nepāla Māṇḍala, protected his subjects from ruin, removed their sufferings. King Śrī Anandadeva who was endowed with several virtues, built (?)
according to the precepts of the scriptures. He built two temples at Śivašāla ṭola (Bhaktapur). He built the capital-city together with the Tripura Palace. Close to the Palace he dug a gilded water-conduit. He allowed real estate transactions by the King, his Ministers as well as the commoners, which remained valid for generations. He ameliorated their sufferings, played the role of a great reformer by destroying all the mischief-makers in the kingdom. He wrote/commissioned the play Sudhahapaṇḍa to be played on Fridays. King Śrī (Ā)nanda-deva.

(Folio 9A) 20 years. On Friday, Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 13, Samvat 267 (scribal error for 287---KPM), King Śrī Rudra-deva was crowned. There was a heavy snowfall during the coronation. King Śrī Rudra-deva, 80 years and 1 month; King Śrī Amrta-deva, 3 years and 11 months. There was a big famine during his rule. King Śrī Śomeśvaradeva was crowned on Friday, Kṛṣṭikā Kaṅgara 6, Samvat 299. King Śomeśvaradeva ruled for 6 years and 3 months. Crown Prince Mahindradeva's pious deed, Mahendra-savarāra, was completed on Vaiśākha Śukla 15, Samvat 239. On Tuesday, Pauṣa Śukla 7, Samvat 305, King Śrī Guṇakāmadeva was crowned. King Śrī Vijaya-kāmadeva,.... years.... months (VK has 6 years and 7 months; VG has 50 years and 7 months, but there are no figures in this text---KPM). King Śrī Arimalladeva, 31 years and 9 months. During his reign an epidemic known as maraka visited the land and a drama bought two kuruwa of grains only. King Śrī Abhai-malladeva, 48 years and 2 months.

(Folio 9B) His rule witnessed famine, drought and earthquake, terminating in the death of the King. On Monday, Puravasukma nakṣatra, Āśāda Śukla 2, Samvat 375, King Śrī Jayadeva was crowned; he ruled for 2 years and 7 months; King Śrī Ananta-malladeva, 32 years and 10 months. He performed the ceremony of dhvajārohana at Paśupati bhaṭṭaraka and offered a mekhała (a chain) at the shrine. During the misrule of this king, the mischievous Kumaravana(?) destroyed Bhaktapura. Samvat 408, in the month of Pauṣa, Jayadēr entered the Valley for the first time. The Khaṭiyās entered the Valley for the second time in the month of Phālguna, Samvat 414. In the month of Māgha, Samvat 413, the Tiraḥutiyaś entered Bhaktagrāma. In Māgha, Samvat 413, the Tiraḥutiyaś entered Lalitagrāma. The country/nation was in great distress; the invaders extorted ransom; ministers and courtiers suffered in confinement. The temple of Śomeśvaranāṁ (Svanima in Patan?) was the pious deed of Princess Viramadevi; she also performed the ceremony of dhvajārohana at the temple of Cāṅgu.

(Folio 10A) and consecrated the temple of Indrakūṭa after the ceremony of dhvajārohana was performed. Viramadevi was Jayāśaktideva's mother. Thereafter, under the influence of Śrī Jayaradramalladeva, son of Jayatūgamallā, his own relative Śrī Jayāśaktideva was crowned as the King though he was given nominal powers only. The whole of Nepal, including Navakoṣṭha (Nuwākot) was actually ruled by Jayaradramallā himself. He sold much land in Bhaktagrāma. Jayaradramallā died on Samvat 446 Āśāda Pūrṇimā (VK has 546, an impossible date---KPM); four wives burnt themselves on his pyre. His son had died after some days
of birth. His daughter, Nāyakadevi, was brought up by her paternal grandmother Śrī Pāduvaladevi and her daughter Devaladevi who jointly ruled over Bhaktapur (as regents?). They constructed mandapas and water conduits at Tilmaḍhavastānā (in Bhaktapur). Thereafter, Adityamalla entered the Nepal Valley. In Samvat 448 Caitra Sukla Pūrṇimā,

(Folio 108) Uttara Phālguṇi Nakṣatra, Friday, Lalitagrāma was besieged. After this, with the arrival of Haricandradeva of the Soma Dynasty of Kāśi, Śrī Nāyakadevi was given in marriage to him. He died of poisoning by courtiers some years later. Several ministers and courtiers respected/recognized Nāyakadevi (as a legitimate claimant to the throne?) Thereafter, Śrī Jagatasiṃhadeva of Karṇa Dynasty took her as an unwed wife. A daughter, named Śrī Rājaliadevi was born of this union. However, ten days after her birth, the mother (Nāyakadevi) passed away. The paternal grandmother, Śrī Devaladevi, brought her up with a great deal of suffering. The child managed to survive and grow up (?). Thereafter, Śrī Pasupatimalla (the pretender to the throne?) was put in confinement. The whole of Nepal, both the Royal Houses and their courtiers assembled to come to an agreement on succession to the throne. In Samvat 464, (467?) Śrīvāna Kṛṣṇa 4, Śrī Jaya(rāja)deva was made the King with common consent. On Vaiśākha Sukla 7, 467, (Śrī Jayārjunadeva, the son of Śrī Jayarājadeva and his wife Śrī Rudramādevi, was born- reconstructed on the basis of Vṛṣṇi 28b 2-3—KPM). Śrī Jayarājadeva's father was Śrī Jayānanda and mother was a daughter of Rājendra-pāla, a feudatory of Uttra Vihāra (Patan). Jayarājadeva's wife was

(Folio 111) named Śrī Rudramalladeva of the Karṇa Dynasty(Vṛṣṇi 28b:2-3 has Śrī Jayarājadevavsa patnī Śrī Rudramadēvīsa tasya putra Śrī Jayārjunadeva lātā — the deliberate falsification of medieval history appears to have begun at this point where the narrative fumbles and makes a total nonsense of the Vṛṣṇi—KPM). His son Śrī... at this time the two Royal Houses were united. In Samvat 468 Śrī Devaladevi offered a gift at Pasupati. In Samvat 469 Śrī Jayarājadeva offered a gift at Śrī Pasupati. Thereafter the Sultān of the East came. Now the chronicle begins. In Śaṅkha Samvat 1019, Śrīvaṇa Sukla Dwitiya, Saturday, Śvāsta nakṣatra, Rīpumārdha lagna, King Śrī Nāyadeva founded the Kingdom (of Tirahuta or Trībhukti at Śimarāvanagadha). The founder of the Kingdom, Nāyadeva, was succeeded by Śrī Gaṅgadeva. His son Narasiṃhadeva succeeded him. Śrī Narasiṃhadeva was succeeded by Śrī Rāmaśīma. His son, Bhavasīma, succeeded him. Bhavasīma was succeeded by Śrī Karmaśīma. His son, Harasiṃhadeva, the jewel of the Karṇa Kings, succeeded him. In Śaṅkha 1245 (scribal error for 1247?) on Saturday, Paṅga Sukla Navami,

(Folio 118) due to misfortune Harasiṃhadeva left his capital and entered the mountains. As the moon is born of the sea, Vallalīśīma was born of Harasiṃhadeva. The famous and noble King Śrī Devamalla was born of Vallalīśīma. From Devamalla was born Śrī Nāgama. His son was the pious and noble Alokamalla. Śrī Jayasthitimalladeva was his son. King Jayakṣamalla was born of him. He was noble and famous. His son was Rayamalla. His son was famous Bhuvanamalla. His sons was the pious Prēpamalla. His son was Tīvramalla. As the moon rises out of the sea, the rays/light out of the sun, Śrī Jaggatjyotimalla, a king as learned and pious as Karṇa or Arjuna
(Folio 12A) He was born of Traflokysamalla. He was the best of all kings. His son was Śrī Śumatiyajayatīrthankara. His son was Śrī Bhupatiśrīndramalla. His son was Śrī Ranaśītīmalla who ruled for 48 years—upto the Seven Koṣās. In old age, he went to live and die at Kaśī. In Nepāla Sāṃvat 890, Kṛttika Śukla 11, the King of Gorkha entered Bhaktargāma—the city with 12,000 houses. The Somavāśī King Śrī 5 Pṛthvinārayaṇa. Śāhā Bahādura Samāsēra Jaṅgadeva conquered Kāṭhāmaṇḍapa, Lalitapaṭṭana, and Bhaktapaṭṭana by defeating the three kings: Śrī Ranaśītīmalla, Śrī Jayapraṅkāśamalla and Śrī Tejanarasīthamalla. Then he ruled upto the Seven Koṣās and the Seven Gaṅḍakīs.

(Folio 12B) He defeated several rulers and ruled over their territories. He lived for 52 years. He died on Śaka 1696, Māgha Kṛṣṇa 10. After him, his son Śrī Pratīpasīnha Śāhā Bahādura Samāsēra Jaṅgadeva became the king. He ruled for 4 years and 11 months. In Śaka 1699, Mārgasīrṣa Kṛṣṇa 3, his son, Śrī Ranaśītīdura Śāhā Bahādura Samāsēra Jaṅgadeva became the king. In the year Śaka 1700, Māgha Śukla 5, after defeating the feudatory Śrī Harīkumārādattāsena of Trītuṅga (Tamanhun), he ruled up to the River Kāḷī Gaṅḍakī. In Sāṃvat 1846, Amāśā Śukla 15, the principality of Jumlā was conquered. Then in Sāṃvat 1847, (AD 1790) Jājarkot, Thāpālā, Duliū, Dailekha.

(Folio 13A) Achāna, Dotti, Kumān, Gaṅghasīla Śrīnagara, Harīdvāra, Gaṅgottari in the south, Badrī, Kedrā in the north—all these territories/principalities were conquered.