

A CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER KINGS OF PATAN

Peter Burleigh

Bahrain

INTRODUCTION

The primary goal of this essay is to establish as concretely as possible a chronology of the later Malla kings of Patan. It deals with the history of Patan during its last period of artistic, especially architectural, glory. The years covered in this essay date from the Nepali samvat (N. S.) 718 (1598 A. D.) to 888 (1768 A. D.) Before Kartik 718 King Shiva Simha had incorporated Patan into his Kathmandu administration only to redivide it between his two grandsons about twenty-one years later. This essay includes the regnal careers of Shiva Simha's grandson, Siddhi Nara Simha Malla, his son, Sri Niwasa Malla, and his son, Yoga Narendra Malla. The reigns of these three Mallas in particular (N. S. 739-826) marked the establishment and construction of most of the architectural monuments for which Patan is justly famous. During this period similar creativity in the arts was found in the two other independent kingdoms of the Kathmandu valley, Bhaktapur and Kathmandu.

After Yoga Narendra Malla's reign the chronology of the kings is considerably less clear. He was followed by none except Vishnu Malla, who had the political and administrative talents to maintain the independence of the kingdom and the ascendancy of the royal family over its ministers, and the financial resources to maintain the flourishing arts of the earlier period, (architecture, woodcarving, metallurgy, calligraphy, manuscript and banner painting, to mention the more important).

As the powers of the kings declined the selfish machinations of the *Pradhans mahapatras* (leading families and ministers) of the kingdom became increasingly overt. One result of the decline of royal power and the resultant factionalism with its rapidly changing alliances and lack of coordination was the ease with which the Gorkha armies, under Prithwi Narayana Shaha, were able to capture Patan. This, it should be pointed out, was not true of Kathmandu or Bhaktapur, for the seige of the valley lasted many years and the Gorkhas were more than once defeated by the Malla armies before meeting with final success with the fall of Kathmandu in N. S. 888 (1757-1768 A. D.).

Before proceeding further it would be appropriate to define some of the basic terminology of this essay as usage has changed through the years. The term Nepal, for example, referred only to the Valley of Nepal or, as it is now called, the Kathmandu

Valley. It was only after the victory of Prithwi Narayana Shaha and his immediate successors that the boundaries of Nepal approximately reached their present limits. ¹ Unification of the country was not a Malla accomplishment. Included in the Nepal of this period were three kingdoms: Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur which were, as will be seen, at various times independent and dependent kingdoms, and between which there was almost constant friction, intrigue, jealousy and, often, open warfare.

These three cities, of which Patan is the oldest, have various names which were then, and still are, in use. Kathmandu is known as Ya in Newari and as Kantipur and Kathmandu in Sanskritized Nepali. Patan is called Yalla in Newari, Ye-rang (Eternity Itself) in Tibetan, and known variously as Lalitpur, Lalitpattan (The City of Beauty) and Patan in Sanskrit and Nepali. Bhaktapur is Khopa in Newari and Bhatgaon or Bhaktapur in Nepali and Sanskrit.

The Kingdom of Patan, at this time, was the largest of the three in the valley. During the time of its independence it is said to have had twenty four thousand houses.² Surely this figure included its many dependencies, some of which were areas of major importance in the valley.³ Today there are inscriptions of the Patan kings in, among others, the following villages and towns of the valley: Sunaguthi, Har Siddhi, Chapagaon, Kirtipur, Chobhar, Bungmati, Pharping, Balambu and Thankot. Outside the valley proper, too, Patan had dependencies in "Chitlong, Tambekhan, Cheespany and some other places in the same direction" (i. e., south, in the nearby mountainous valley rim).⁴

The language of the documents of the period were Newari and Sanskrit. However, there are a few examples of the use of the current national language, Nepali (Gorkhali, Khas-kura, Khe-bhay) even at this time. ⁵ The language which is currently called

1 For a new and adequate review of this expansionist period of Nepali history by a Nepali scholar, see Acharya, *Nepalko samkshipta Vrittanta* (A short Account of Nepal), 2020 (1963 A. D.).

2 Colonel Kirkpatrick, *An Account Of The Kingdom Of Nepal*, London, 1811, pp. 161-162.

3 The 1961 population of Lalitpur district according to the *Rastriya Jan-Ganana* 2018 (National Census of 1961) was 145, 301.

4 Kirkpatrick, p. 162. I have not gone to these southernmost villages to collect inscriptions, if there are any. Nor have any been published in the various journals.

5 Kathmandu Kings Lakshmi Nara Simha Malla (c. 739-671) and his son Pratapa Malla (c. 761-794) and Bhaktapur kings Jagata Prakasha (c. 767-794) and Bhupatindra Malla (c.816-842) are cited as examples in "Malla Kalma Nepal-Upatyakama Nepali Bhasha" (Nepali Language during the Malla Period in the Valley of Nepal), *Itihasa Samshodanko*, pp. 80-89; for an English translation of Pratapa Malla's inscription see T. W. Clark, "The Rani Pokhari Inscription, Kathmandu" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1957, No. XX, pp. 166-187.

Newari was at the that time, and still is by Newars, called Nepal Bhasha (or Nepa Bhay). It was the language of the people of the Valley and was the language, along with Sanskrit, in which the texts and inscriptions were recorded. It is still the mother language of the Newars of the Valley ⁶ and has recently emerged from a period of persecution and suppression by the Ranas. ⁷

Most of the documents of the period which are important for this study are written in Sanskrit and then repeated in Newari. Some, however, are written only in Sanskrit or Newari. ⁸ The script is old Newari. While I have drawn extensively upon all published information available to me the emphasis of my research has been the collection of new materials previously unnoticed or unknown. I have copied stone and copper inscriptions in public places, consulted copper inscriptions in private family collections manuscripts in public and family possession. Particularly I have made use of what seems to be a heretofore almost unmined source of historical material, the palm-leaf land grants (*talpatra*). There are literally thousands of these to be found today in family possession where they have been preserved apparently as important family documents. On these, accompanying transferral and grants of land, one sometimes finds king's

6 According to the *Rastriya Jan-Ganana* 2018 (National Census 1961) *Dwitiya Bhag* (Second Part), there are 377, 727 Nepalis who speak Newari as a mother tongue. Of these 239, 791 live in the Kathmandu valley. One wonders about current governmental attitudes toward Newari as one notices that, despite a sizeable general population increase, the number of Nepalis who speak Newari as a mother tongue decreased between 1954 and 1961. In 1954, according to the *Nepalko Janganana* 2014 (Nepali Census) published in 1957 there were 383, 184 Nepalis who spoke Newari as a mother tongue. For the 1961 Census the approximate percentages of residents of the three districts of the valley who spoke Newari as a mother tongue are as follows: 46% Kathmandu, 54 % Lalitpur and 64% Bhaktapur. If there were a census limited to the city population these percentages would be much higher.

7 For an interesting and brief account of Newari persecution at the hands of the Rana Prime Ministers see Upendra Man Malla's, "Foreward" to his and others' translations of the poems of Chittadhar Hridaya in *Degaho* (Pagoda), Calcutta, 1958.

8 For an introductory primer see Pandit Hema Raja Shanya, *Varna-Parichay Prachalit Newari Lipi* (Introduction to Old Newari Script), Shri Pancko Sarkar, Purattwa Ra Sanskriti Bibhag, 2017 (1960); also for an introduction to various scripts used in Nepal, see Hem Raja Shakyavamsha, *Nepal Lipi Sangraha* (Collection of Nepali Scripts), Kathmandu, 2013 (1956); Hosking and M.G. Meredith-Owens, *The British Museum*, 1966, pp. 29-30.

names and regnal dates and other information which shed much light on some of the vexing problems in Patan chronology. This source material should not be neglected by students of other periods and other areas of the Valley. ⁹

It was the practice to include on stone (and sometimes on copper) inscriptions, along with a prayer to God or the gods, the name of the donor, those witnessing the donation, a description of that which was donated, the establishment of a *guthi* ¹⁰ and its *guthiyars* who were henceforth responsible for its maintenance and the exact date of the donation. Elaborated details were also inscribed according to the necessities of Hindu astrology, which includes year, month, *paksha* (bright or dark half of lunar month), day of month (fullmoon, etc.) day of week, *yoga* and *nakshatra* (position of the moon), *rashi* the signs of the zodiac), the ruling king's name and, sometimes, those of his family and ministers. Most important for this essay are the dates and names of the kings. The inscriptions also contain a wealth of information for scholars who are interested in a history of Patan, especially of its temples and *viharas*, their growth and evolution. Manuscripts and coins of the period often include the name of the ruling monarch and the date of completion (for the manuscripts) and year of issuance (for the coins).

During the period considered in this study there were three systems for recording years. They are the Kaligat, Shakya and Nepali samvat systems. In 1969 A. D. they are in their 5069th, 1890th and 1089th years respectively. A fourth system came into common use in Nepal after the establishment of the Shaha dynasty. That is the Bikrama samvat; it is currently 2026 according to the Bikrama calendar. Contemporary Nepali sources use the Bikrama samvat. For inscriptions and notations of that period the Nepali samvat is most often used. I shall follow the Nepali samvat and western

⁹ I have collected 113 stone inscriptions, 19 copper plate inscriptions and have used 65 inscriptions published by others. There are 30 coins of the period. I have used 9 manuscript colophons and 8 *talpatras* although there are many extant in private homes which would also be of great historical value. It is necessary to point out that my collection is anything but complete. For examples, there are many inscriptions of the period which do not contain the ruling king's name. These I did not try to collect.

¹⁰ *Guthi* has several meanings in Newar society. One is a land arrangement wherein an individual could donate land to a temple. The revenues from the land would flow into the temple treasury. A *guthiyar* is a member of a committee which is charged with responsibility for the performance of certain acts. In this case general maintenance of the temple, *bahal* or *chaitya* and the arrangements for certain, usually specified, pujas to be performed during the year.

systems for this essay.¹¹ Adding 880 years to the Nepali samvat for months from mid-Pousha through Aswina and 879 years from Kartika to mid-Pousha results in the current date of the western Gregorian calendar.

It should be noted that while each of these calendars uses the traditional Sanskrit names for the months,¹² they have different New Year's days. For the Nepali samvat the first month of the year is Kartika while for the Shakya, Kaligat and Bikrama samvats it is Baisakha.

Unlike the history of earlier periods of the Nepal Valley, materials for this period are abundant, especially for the regions of Sri Niwasa Malla and his son Yoga Narendra Malla. According to Petech, "For the 17th and 18th centuries the abundance of the epigraphic materials is simply bewildering. The three great cities of Nepal teem with inscriptions on stone or copper".¹³

Despite the vast amounts of materials available remarkably little historical work of note has been published on this period. The best work is being done in the Nepali language journals and is therefore often not available to western scholars. Among Nepali scholars the group known as the Itihasa Samshodhan Mandala¹⁴ is doing the best documented work. Their published work is largely contained in a book, *Itihasa-Samshodhako Pramana-Prameya*, Pahilo Bhag (Sources for Correct History, Part One), Lalitpur, 2019 B. S. (1962 A. D.) and the journals *Purnima* (Full Moon),¹⁵ *Adhilekha Sangrapha* (Collection of Archives)¹⁶ and *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* (Collection of Historical Papers).

Another research group, headed by Yogi Nara Hari Natha of Pasupathinatha temple has published many works. Those especially useful for this study have been magazine *Sanskrit-Sandesh* (Cultural Message),¹⁷ the journal *Itihasa Prakasha* (Published History)¹⁸ and the volume *Itihasa Prakashama Sandhi-Patra Sangraha*

11 There are problems involved in translation of dates. See, for example, the essay of Naya Raja Pant in *Purnima* IX, pp. 80-92, regarding the errors in Babu Rama Acharya's translations of Bikram samvats into Christian dates.

12 Kartika, Mangsir, Pousha, Magha, Phalgun, Chaitra, Baisakha, Jyestha, Ashadha, Srawana, Bhadra and Aswina.

13 Petech, p. 11.

14 The group includes: Dhana Vajra Vajracharya, Ramji Tewari, Shankar Mana Rajyamshi, Devi Prasada Bhandari, Gautama Vajra Vajracharya, Bhola Natha Poudel, Mahesha Raja Pant, Naya Natha Poudel and Naya Raja Pant.

15 Up to the present (May 1969) nineteen issues have appeared from 2021 (1963).

16 Twelve issues were published from 2018 (1960) to 2020 (1962).

17 Eighteen issues have appeared from 2010 (1953) to the present.

18 Four issues have appeared, from 2012 (1955) to the present.

(Collection of Papers in *Itihasa Prakasha*).¹⁹ One must comment, however, that this group's use of poor quality paper for printing its publications and its omission of indices severely limits its readability and usefulness for the researcher.

His Majesty's Government, Department of Archaeology has also published some collections which are important. of special note is *Purattwa-Patra Sangraha* (Collections of Old Papers)²⁰.

The importance of numismatics in establishing the chronology of the kings, especially the later ones, of this period will be amply demonstrated below. Until five years ago scholars were dependent upon E. H. Walsh's work of 1908, "The Coinage of Nepal."²¹ Fortunately, a competent Nepali scholar, Satya Mohan Joshi, has produced a volume, *Nepal Rastriya Mudra* (Coins of the Nepali Nation),²² which helps to correct Walsh²³ and supply much additional material. His Majesty's Government's catalogue for the Numismatics Museum, *Nepali Mudrako Suchi* (Catalogue of Nepali Coins)²⁴ is also of use.

Specific works in Nepali on the period under discussion are limited and poor. Lila Bhakta Munamkarmi has written *Patanko Mallakalin Itihasa* (History of the Malla Period of Patan).²⁵ It is very brief and completely without documentation, although still not without value. Royal Academy member Surya Bikrama Gyawali's *Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihasa* (Medieval History of the Nepal Valley)²⁶ is merely a summary of western sources, mostly of the nineteenth century.

Royal Academy Chairman Bal Chandra Sharma's revised edition of *Nepalko Itihasik Rup-Rekha* (Historical Outline of Nepal)²⁷ corrects some earlier errors, but

19 Kathmandu, 2022 (1965), 784 pages.

20 Shri Pancko Sarkar (His Majesty's Government), *Purattwa Ra Sanskriti Bibhag* (Archaeological and Cultural Department's, 2016 (1959).

21 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1908, pp. 683:708, 732-739.

22 Lalitpur, 2019 (1962), 182 pages.

23 Walsh's unfamiliarity with the numbering system of old Newari led him to commit a considerable number of errors in reading the dates of the coins, His collection however is impressive. His errors were copied by Sharma, Regmi and Gyawali among others.

24 His Majesty's Government, 2017 (1960), 36 pages.

25 Bhaktapur, 2022 (1965), 42 pages.

26 Kathmandu, 2019 (1962), 338 pages; for examples of inconsistency see pp. 176 and 187 in regard to dates of *mohars* of Indra Malla Loka Prakasha Malla.

27 Varnasi, 2022 (1965), 453 pages; for Patan history see pp. 153-161.

is still rather general.²⁸ In his chapter on Patan history, as a result of his reliance on the earlier western sources and *vamshavalis* (chronologies), there are many mistakes.

The western sources are familiar and need not be discussed here. References will be made to Bendall, Levi, Walsh, Wright, Landon, Kirkpatrick and others during the course of the essay. It must be pointed out, however, that they all contain errors of varying degrees and are in no sense adequate guides to a study of the history of the times.

Special attention must be paid to the newly published four volume work by the Nepali scholar, Dilli Ramana Regmi. The work is entitled *Medieval Nepal*.²⁹ Regmi's earlier work³⁰ in the period, according to Petech, was "a disappointing work in spite of the magnificent opportunities open to its author".³¹ The newer work, at least the extended chapter dealing with the kingdom of Patan,³² is much better, although still disappointing. Regmi has used many of the available sources, and he has done future researchers a great service by printing, in the third and fourth volumes, the texts of stone and copper inscriptions and those of four important *thiyasaphus* (Newari generic term for folded book). In all candor, however, two major criticisms must be levelled against Dr. Regmi. First, his organization of the material leaves much to be desired. For example, in studies of regnal chronologies, the data should be presented in chronological order; he often fails to do so.³³ Second, his command of written English is not adequate. It is therefore often difficult to understand what point is being made.

I have made very little use of the various *Vamshavalis* which are available for the period since they were written during the Shaha period, are biased in their favour and are therefore not reliable. As a result of my decision not to use the *vamshavalis* there is very little mention below of the warfare and intrigue which plagued the kingdoms as accounts of these are found primarily in the *vamshavalis*. Wright's *vamshavali* is a good example of the various fallacious statements and especially faulty dating which are involved in the use of these sources. They do contain, however, interesting mythology and some correct history, but particularly for the period under discussion, they are generally unreliable.

28 For an excellent and brief criticism of both Gyawali and Sharma, see Shankara Mana Rajvamshi, "Yoga Narendra Mallaka Uttaradhikari" *Purnima* VI, pp. 37-44.

29 Calcutta, 1965 and 1966; Volume I, 761, pages; Volume II, 1076 pages; Volume III, 156 pages and Volume IV, 359 pages; the latter two are the source volumes.

30 *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, Kathmandu, 1952, 178 pages.

31 Petech, p. 2.

32 Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, II, pp. 258-379.

33 See, *Ibid.*, p. 269 for a disorganized discussion of the early years of the reign of Siddhi Nara Simha Malla.

Recently several private diaries (*thyasaphus*) of Newars have been published and some of them shed considerable light on the history of the period.³⁴ It was the custom of literate Newars to keep a daily diary of events both petty (in terms of historical research) and important. Some of the most troublesome chronological problems have been apparently solved by reference to these *thyasaphus*.³⁵ There are, most probably, many more *thyasaphus* extant, as is also the case with copper plates (*tamrapatra*) and palm-leaf land grants (*talpatra*). The task remains of gathering them from private owners. The documentation which follows is direct. It is an attempt to establish, with as little conjecture and as much documentation as possible, a chronology of the Malla kings of Patan from Shiva Simha 718-c. 739; (1598-1619 A.D.) through Teja Nara Simha Malla (885-888 (:1765-1768-9 A. D.), the last Malla ruler.

BACKGROUND

The division of an already small kingdom into still smaller parts gave scope to local families and ministers to exert their force in each small locality. Particularly was this true of Patan which “throughout the history of Nepal . . . remains the fortress of a restless and disobedient aristocracy.”³⁶ There is little doubt that the ministerial (*mahapatra*) families of Patan exercised great power within that kingdom. And as the descendants of Ratna Malla progressively lost control of these families, the latter’s powers expanded considerably. Moreover, although the ministers were in theory subordinate to the king and ruled according to his orders, in fact they enjoyed a large amount of power and of actual independence.³⁷ For example, by NS 656 (1536 A. D. under) the leadership of Prime Minister (*mahapatra*) Vishnu Simha,³⁸ Patan had declared itself independent of its ties with Kathmandu.³⁹ The lawful king was apparently powerless

34 For examples of published *thyasaphus*, see Regmi, III, Appendix III; IV, pp. 328-359 and Gautama Vajracharya, “Aprakashit Thyasaphu” (Unpublished Thyasaphu) *Purnima* XII, pp. 22-39.

35 See, for example, the problems below in relation to the reigns of Loka Prakasha Malla and Indra Malla.

36 Sylain Levi, *Le Nepal*, Volume I, Paris, 1905, p. 62. English translation by Sally Tomlinson.

37 Bhola Natha Paudel, Dhana Vajra Vajracharya and Gyana Mani Nepali, “Siddhi Nara Simhabhanda Aghika Patanka Shasak”, *Itihas Samshodhanko Prameya*, Pahilo Bhag (Sources for Correct History, Part One). Lalitpur, 2019 (1962), pp. 2-3.

38 Transliteration of this and other Nepali-Newari-Sanskrit words creates problems: the exact spelling in Devanagari is Simha, but pronunciation is Singh.

39 By NS 674 (1554 A. D.) for example, Vishnu Simha is called *Raja* in the Sunaguthi village (Bhringareshwara) temple inscription, *Sanskrit Sandesha* II: 1,2, 3, pp. 14-18.

to stop this secession. Futhermore, by time of Shiva Simha, King of Kathmandu c. NS 698-738 (1578-1618 A. D.) the prime ministers of Patan had so increased their powers as to adopt outright the title of king (*maharaja*).⁴⁰ Thus the independent existence of Patan was first successfully established. This initial success, however, was short-lived for by 718 the Kathmandu ruler, Shiva Simha, was able to defeat Vishnu Simha's son Purandar Simha, and reincorporate Patan into the Kathmandu Kingdom.⁴¹ This is proved by the stone inscription at Swayambhunatha of Magh 725 (1605 A. D.) which specifically mentions that Shiva Simha of Kathmandu is also king of Patan: *Tasya Prasadawalita: Shiva Simha Raja Rajye Lalitapattannamadhaye*.⁴² Shiva Simha administered the two kingdoms until the time of his death (c. 738) when he redivided the kingdoms, giving Kathmandu to Lakshmi Nara Simha and Patan to Siddhi Nara Simha both of whom were his grandsons.

* * *

⁴⁰ Acharya, p. 6; see for examples, *Itihasa-Samshodhanko*, p. 14.

⁴¹ A *talpatra* in my possession mentions Shiva Simha as *Sri Manigladhipati* and is dated 718 Kartik. See note 1 Shiva Simha chapter.

⁴² *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha* I, pp. 207-208; *Sanskrit Sandesha II*: 4,5,6, p. 46; Regmi, IV, PP. 46-51.

1. SHIVA SIMHA AND HARI HARA SIMHA

As has been mentioned earlier, Shiva Simha, the King of Kathmandu, was able to defeat the usurping ruler of Patan, Purandara Simha, and reincorporate the city into his kingdom. There is some question as to when this confrontation took place. At any rate it must have taken place several years before the Swayambhunatha inscription of Magha of 725 since there are other documents which demonstrate that the conquest took place before Kartika of 718. For example, there is a palm leaf (*talpatra*) and grant dated Kartika 718 which shows *shri manigaladhipati* ¹ *shri shri jaya shiva simha deva prabhu thakura* giving land as gift to a resident of Bamku *tol*.² Also there is a copper plate land grant (*tamrapatra*) for land near Bugmati village, which is about three miles south of Patan city and had been a part of the Patan Kingdom for some time. This plate is dated Bharda of 719 and mentions Shiva Simha as *Shri Manigaladhipati*. As witness to the grant, Shiva Simha's son, Hari Hara Simha, is noted.³ There is also another copper plate land grant of Mangsir of 722 in which Shiva Simha is referred to as *Shri Manigaladhipati* and his son, Hari Hara Simha, is again witness.⁴ In Asadha of 722, too, *Shri manigaladhipati shri shiva simha* issued a land grant *talpatra*: Hari Hara Simha is witness.⁵

It is commonly accepted that Shiva Simha again divided the two Kingdoms and sent his son Hari Hara Simha to rule over Patan.⁶ There seems, however, to be no basis in fact for this statement. As far as inscriptional evidence is concerned, the closest we come to the above view is that recorded in a *stela* at Jalabinayaka temple dated Mangsira of 723 which describes a joint rule (*ubhaya thakurasa bijaya rajas*) of Shiva Simha and Hari Hara Simha.⁷ But after this date we have the well-known Swayambhunatha inscription of Magha of 725. It definitely describes Shiva Simha as the ruler of Patan. There is yet another copper plate land grant of Magha of 727 which describes Shiva Simha as *Shri lalitabrumaya shri shri manigaladhipati*. Hari Hara Simha is again

1 This is a form of address used only for Patan rulers as it denotes their rule in the Mangriha (Mangal bazar), that is, the Patan palace.

2 Previously in my possession, donated to the Bir Library Kathmandu, in 1969.

3 Shankara Man Rajvamshi, "Siddhi Nara Simha Mallabhanda Agadika Patanka shasakharuka Kehi Tadapatra" (Some Palm leaf Manuscripts from Patan Rulers Prior to Siddhi Nara Simha), *Purnima* XII, p. 20.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

5 Previously in my possession donated to the Bir Library in 1969.

6 Landon, p. 55; Walsh, pp. 696-697; Bendall, Table II; Wright, p. 159; Munamkarmi pp. 1-3; Gyawali, pp. 174; 179-180; Sharma, p. 153.

7 Previously unnoticed; from the private collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

witness.⁸ The large bell in the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara (Kwa bahal) has the following inscription: *shri manigaradhipati shri shri jaya shiva simha deva prabhu thakursa, putra shri shri hari hara simha.*⁹ The date is Aswina of 728.

All these inscriptions would lead one to believe that Shiva Simha was the ruler of both Kathmandu and Patan and that his son as crown prince was merely accorded mention in the inscriptions, as was the Malla custom. This mention, however, does not connote his rule as king, despite the later chronicle's descriptions to the contrary. As Regmi points out,¹⁰ Hari Hara Simha's name does not appear in any inscription after 729: he apparently died in that year.

The inscriptions of Shiva Simha, however, continue until his death in 738 or early 739. There is a palm leaf and grant of Baisakha 730 which gives land rights to one Jaya Simha of Nakbahil. In this Shiva Simha, as king, grants the land.¹¹ The large *chaitya* in Khway bahil was built by one Bhikshu, Shri Jita Deva, in Jyestha of 734 during the reign of Shiva Simha.¹² In the Bhringareshwara temple of Sunaguthi village there is a *stele* of Bhadra 734 which mentions Shiva Simha as ruler.¹³ In Chapagaon, a village south of Patan, there is a *stele* in Durukhyo bahal of 734 Phalguna in which Shiva Simha is described as king (*shri shri rajadhiraja*).¹⁴ At the northern *stupa* one Krishna Rama Bharo (Shrestha) built a *chaitya* in Jyestha of 735. His inscription also mentions Shiva Simha as ruler of Patan, *shri manigaladhipati*.¹⁵ He is again mentioned as king (*rajadhiraj*) in a Kathmandu inscription in Chekanamugal tol.¹⁶ The last known inscription for him is in a manuscript, *Madhawa Nidanama*, at the National Library. Its colophon is Pousha 737.¹⁷

8 Rajvamshi, p. 21.

9 Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 287; Regmi, II, p. 48; No. XV in my copper inscription collection.

10 Regmi, II, p. 271.

11. Previously unpublished; in my possession.

12 Previously unpublished; No. 71 in my stone inscription collection. Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 287; Regmi, II, p. 48.

13 Regmi, IV, No. 30, pp. 52-53.

14 Ibid., No. 41, pp. 67-69. There are two other dates in the inscription: Pousha of 757 and Aswina of 759.

15 Previously unpublished; No. 50 in my stone inscription collection; mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 287; Regmi, II, p. 48.

16 Regmi, IV, No. 31, pp. 53-54.

17 The date is written in words, as was often the case during this period. They are: *parbbtigitulagande*. *Parbbti* means seven; *gri* means three and *tulagande* means seven. Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 6938; Regmi, II, p. 49.

After this date, Pousha of 737, there is a gap of two years and one month, until Magha of 739 when we have the first known inscription of Hari Hara Simha's son, Siddhi Nara Simha, who became king of Patan upon Shiva Simha's death. Shiva Simha's other grandson, Lakshmi Nara Simha, became king of Kathmandu at the same time.

The sources, except for Regmi's creditable work, have little but confusion to offer to our description of the period. Walsh, for example, thought that Hari Hara Simha succeeded his father when, in fact, he appears to have died about nine years earlier than his father. He also thought that Lakshmi Nara Simha was a brother of Hari Hara's instead of his son.¹⁸ Wright's chronicle states similar views about Hari Hara's ascension.¹⁹ Munamakarmi has Hari Hara ruling Patan for twenty seven years before dying in 742.²⁰ Gyawali makes similar errors.²¹ Sharma, too, is confused about the relation of Hari and Lakshmi Nara Simha not to mention their periods of rule.²² It is regrettable that these scholars did not pay more attention to inscriptional evidence and less to the chronological stories.

* * *

18 Walsh, pp. 696-697.

19 Wright, p. 159: Harihara-simha Malla went to rule over Patan in the lifetime of his father Shiva-simha.

20 Munamakarmi, pp. 1-3.

21 Gyawali, pp. 174, 179-180.

22 Sharma, p. 153.

2. SIDDHI NARA SIMHA (738—788?)

The first known inscription for Siddhi Nara Simha is to be found in Sunaguthi village at the Bhringareshwara temple. The inscription records the gift, by a brahman named Krishna Deva, of a new gilt roof to the temple. The king, who was Siddhi Nara Simha, also gave a gilt umbrella to the temple in Magha 739. ¹ There is an inscription on the *chaitya* of Yalamu tol which declares that the king (Siddhi Nara Simha) himself built the *chaitya* and established a large *guthi* of Shresthas to maintain it. The *chaitya* was dedicated in Baisakha 739. ² There is also a *talpatra* of Jyestha 739 in which *shri shri jaya siddhi nara simha malla deva prabhu thakula* sells land to a Yekho tol resident. ³

In the Taleju temple of Kathmandu there is a copper plate inscription which records an agreement between the two king brothers, Lakshmi Simha and Siddhi Nara Simha. The two swear loyalty to each other and promise to keep the peace between their kingdoms and to observe a mutual defense treaty. The date of the copper plate is Magha 741. ⁴

On the northeast outskirts of Patan is the Bale Kumari temple. According to an inscription affixed there the temple was built in Baisakha 742 by one Dayara Bharo who dedicated it to his *ishtadevata* (lineage god), Bala Kumari. A gilt *gajuri* and land is donated to the temple and Siddhi Nara Simha is noted as the king of Patan. The inscription includes a second date, Magha 752, which will be mentioned below. ⁵

The colophon for the manuscript, *Syamarahasya*, in the Nepal National Library, is 745 Phalgun. Siddhi Nara Simha is described as ruling Patan. ⁶ In Mangal bazar Siddhi Nara Simha built the Bisweshwara temple in Magha 747. In the inscription attached to the temple he traces his ancestry: from Hari Simha, a king of Maithila to Mahendra Malla to Shiva Simha to Hari Hara Simha and Lalmati (his wife). He is a son of Hari Hara Simha. ⁷

In Magha of 752, two *gajuri* are donated to the Bala Kumari temple by Dayara Bharo. Siddhi Nara Simha and his son, Shri Niwasa Malla, are described as ruling

1 Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 288; Regmi, II, p. 280; IV, No. 32, p. 54.

2 Mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 288; Regmi, II, p. 280; IV, No. 33, pp. 55-56.

3 In my possession.

4 *Itihasa Patra Sangraha*, II, pp. 1-7 with Nepali translation and brief historical background by Naya Raja Pant; Regmi, IV, No. 34, pp. 56-57.

5. Previously unpublished; No. 66 in my collection; Regmi, II, pp. 269, 280.

6 *Shri Shri Jaya Siddhinarasimha Malla Deveno Prabhu Jyamane Lalitapattane*; Regmi, II, pp. 269-270.

7 Completely published in *Abhelikha Sangraha* VI, p. 9 and Regmi, IV, No. 36, pp. 58-59; mentioned in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 289 and Regmi, II, p. 281.

jointly (*ubhaya rajaya*).⁸ There is a copper plate inscription at the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara (Kwa bahal) which describes the organization of a large *guthi* of bahal members to oversee general repairs and to donate new gilt roofs to the central shrine. Siddhi Nara Simha is mentioned as reigning and the date is Magha of 757.⁹ In the same month and year at the same bahal there is a stone inscription which describes a large *guthi* of Bhawos (Jyapus) which organized to donate new *gajuris* to the vihara. The king is mentioned at Nara Simha. A second date is also inscribed: Phalguna 762.¹⁰

Perhaps the best known act of Siddhi Nara Simha's life was his decision to have the Krishna temple built in front of the palace in Mangala bazar. He was blessed by a vision of Radha and Krishna in 750 and gave the orders for the construction of the temple. It was dedicated during Phalguna 757. In the inscription there he traces his ancestry as he had then years earlier in the Bishweswara temple. First was Hari Simha Deva, then Mahendra Malla, then Shiva Simha and then his father, Hari Hara Simha. This chronology is followed by many lines of outrageous self-praise.¹¹

Also in 757, a group of Vajracharyas and Shakyas of Hiranya Varna Mahavihara placed a copper plate in the bahal to mark their donation of a new gilt *gajuri*.¹² There is also a silver double *mohar* of 759 with Siddhi Nara Simha's name inscribed on it.¹³

In the Nasal chowk of the Patan palace there is a stone inscription dated Phalguna 761. It describes the king's efforts to please his *ishta-devata* with the erection of a temple there. He donated gilt *kalasha* and *dhwaja* (the topmost segment of the temple) to it.¹⁴

In Jyestha of 761 we find the second mention of the joint rule *ubhaya rajya* of Siddhi Nara Simha and his son, Shri Niwasa Malla. This is found in an inscription at the Adinatha temple at Chobhar.¹⁵ From this date onward we find much inscripational

8 Same as note 5 above.

9 Previously unnoticed; No. 3 in my copper plate collection.

10 Previously unpublished; No. 73 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 279.

11 Inscription published in *Sanskrit Sandesha* II: 1,2,3, pp. 19-24 by B. S. Parajuli, Y. N. Vajracharya and R. N. Vajracharya; Nepali translation by B. D. Acharya Danga; also published in *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha*, pp. 208-212 with Nepali translation; Sharma, pp. 153-154; Munamkarmi, p. 5 (with date misread as 767); Regmi, II, pp. 268, 272-273, 281-282; Gyawali, pp. 175, 181; *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 289.

12 Regmi, IV, No. 42, pp. 69-70.

13 From the private collection of Hema Raja Shakya; Joshi, Appendix, p. 13 (photo).

14 Inscription published in *Abhilekha Sangraha*, VI, p. 10 and Regmi, IV, No. 42 a, pp. 71-72 (but its location is incorrectly described).

15 From the private collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

evidence which supports the statements of the chronicles that Siddhi Nara Simha gave his son long and careful grooming in the political and administrative arts before abdicating in his favour and beginning a life of seclusion and worldly renunciation.

There is also a silver *mohar* of Siddhi Nara Simha's of 761.¹⁶ Imbedded in the base of the large *chaitya* in Dhalachhenani tol is an inscription of 763 Ashadha which mentions Siddhi Nara Simha as sovereign.¹⁷ And in Baisakha 767 the king built the Bhandarkhala in the Patan palace compound. The Bhandarkhala is a large pond with several water conduits and a surrounding garden. It is dedicated to his *ishta-devata*.¹⁸

In an inscription in Kirtipur's Simha deva tol there is a 769 Magha description of Siddhi Nara Simha and Shri Niwasa sa ulingr jointly (*nemha ubhaya vijyachakan*).¹⁹ In a manuscript called *Shatasahaspra Pragyaparamita* Siddhi Nara Simha is recorded as the ruler of Patan in Ashadha of 769.²⁰ On a Ganesha temple in Patan there is a stone inscription marking the end of construction of the temple. In it Siddhi Nara Simha and Shri Niwasa are mentioned as joint rulers. The date is Chairtra 773.²¹

In 774 there is a silver quarter *mohar* (*suki*) of Siddhi Nara Simha.²² And in Chairtra 776 the king donated more land for the upkeep of the Patan palace Bhandarkhala and rededicates himself to his *ishta-devata* (Parameswari).²³ A statue of Maitreya was placed in Guita bahal in Baisakha 778 during the joint rule of Siddhi Nara Simha and Shri Niwasa.²⁴

It is during this time that Siddhi Nara Simha abdicated in favour of his son and retires from political life. He, however, does not die for at least three more years. In Baisakha 778 the two rule together (see above). Three months later in Srawana of the same year, there is a copper plate at Pasupatinatha temple which details a defense agreement between Jaya Prakash Malla, King of Kathmandu, and Shri Niwasa, King

16 Joshi, p. 97; Appendix, p. 13 (photo); *Nepali Mudrako Suchi*, p. X; Walsh, p. 732, No. 51 (date misread as 751).

17 Previously unnoticed; No. 40 in my collection.

18 Inscription published in Sanskrit Sandesha II: 1,2,3, pp. 18-19 with a summary Nepali translation by Iswaryadhav Sharma *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Partisangraha* p. 208 and Regmi, IV, No. 49 a, p. 85; mentioned in Regmi, II, p. 272.

19 Regmi II p. 274.

20 Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 193.

21 Regmi, II, p. 275.

22 Joshi, p. 97; Walsh, p. 732, No. 52.

23 Previously unnoticed; No. 57 in my collection.

24 Regmi, II, p. 275.

of Patan. Shri Niwasa made the agreement with the advice of Siddhi Nara Simha : *Shri Shri Jaya Siddhi Nara Simha Malla Deva Sahitam*.²⁵ This clearly marks the peaceful transference of administrative power from father to son. As will be seen below, a similar transference took place about twenty five years later between Shri Niwasa and his son, Yoga Narendra Malla.

* * *

²⁵ Regmi, IV, No. 59, pp. 113-114; II, pp. 277-278, 282.

3. SHRI NIWASA MALLA (778-805)

Because of his personal qualities and perhaps because of his long training period, Shri Niwasa Malla displayed the characteristics of a good leader. During his approximately twenty six year rule there was more peace and, apparently, more prosperity than before or after. He appears to have been a strong leader capable of administering his small kingdom well while showing a great interest in the development of the arts. There are many impressive monuments in the kingdom which date from his era. There are many more extant stone inscriptions for the period of his rule than for any other, although his son, Yoga Narendra, also has many. Some of the most famous festivals of Nepal, while not originating in his reign, were ritually elaborated and financially supported by land grants set up in *guthi* trust.¹ The Red Macchindranatha cart festival is a living example of Shri Niwasa's influence on Nepali customs and festivals.

In Bhaktapur's Mahakali tol there is a stele dated Phalgun of 781 describing the donation of some lands in *guthi* trust by the then king of Kathmandu, Pratapa Malla. Shri Niwasa Malla is mentioned as witness to the grant.² There is a manuscript in the National Library, called *Baraha Narada Paranam*, which mentions Shri Niwasa as ruler and records the date as Chaitra of 781.³ Also in 781 there is a silver *mohar* of Shri Niwasa.⁴

In Ashadha of 783 a *guthi* of Bharos formed to donate gilded roofs to the Maha Bhairava temple in Khampichhe tol. They also dedicated land to and were responsible for the administration of the temple.⁵ In Bhadra of the same year (783) a *guthi* of Bharos donated gilded doors to the Sarasvati temple in Hara Siddhi village.⁶ In both of these inscriptions Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruler.

He is also mentioned in the Kartika inscription at the Tri Ratna temple in the town of Kirtipur.⁷ The large Pim bahal *chaitya* was restored and repaired by a *guthi* of Shakyas and Vajracharyas during the reign of Shri Niwasa in Pousha of 786.⁸ The well-known mulchowk of the Patan palace, with its small gilded temple in the center,

1 M. C. Regmi, *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*, Vol. IV, Berkeley, 1965.

2 *Abhilekha Sangraha* III, pp. 20-21.

3 The date is in letters: kshtiwasugale; Regmi II, p. II, p. 283.

4 Joshi, p. 98; Walsh, p. 733, No. 53.

5 Previously unnoticed; No. 87 in my stone inscription collection.

6 Regmi, IV, No. 63, pp. 127-129.

7 Previously unnoticed.

8 Previously unnoticed; No. 89 in my stone inscription collection.

was built by Shri Niwasa in Aswina of 786 to the honor of his *ishta-devata*.⁹ A silver *mohar* was also released by Shri Niwasa in 786.¹⁰

The Maha Lakshmi temple in Balambu village was built in honor of both the goddess and the king, Shri Niwasa, by a Shrestha named Guna Simha Bharo in Chaitra of 787.¹¹ In the same month and year a manuscript in the National Library, *Baraha Puranam*, was finished. It mentions Shri Niwasa as ruler of Patan.¹² Also in 787, in Ashadha, the king, Shri Niwasa, is recorded in a palm leaf (*talpatra*) land grant as selling land to a Shakyavamsha of Patan. The witness is Shri Niwasa's brother-in-law, Rudra Malla.¹³ The lion pillar of the Mangala bazaar Krishna temple was also dedicated in Srawana of 787. A resident of Baku bahal had them built to the greater glory of Krishna and thng.e ki¹⁴

The Nepal National Library contains a manuscript, *Baisakha Mahalapam*, which mentions Shri Niwasa as ruler of Patan. It is dated Jyestha of 788.¹⁵ In Aswina of the same year a *guthi* was formed in the town of Kirtipur to donate a new gilded top of thirteen levels to the Chilanchhe *chaitya*. Shri Niwasa was ruling on that date according to the stone inscription affixed to the *chaitya*.¹⁶

Two residents of Kwapachhenani, Manohara Simha and Bhagi Simha, built a *chaitya* there in Kartika of 789. Shri Niwasa is described as king.¹⁷ There is also a stele in the His Majesty's Government's Department of Archaeology's garden museum in the Bhandarkhala of the Patan palace which describes Shri Niwasa as ruling in Magha of 789.¹⁸

There is a copper plate in the collection at Mrgasthali in the Pasupati temple grounds which records a land grant by Shri Niwasa for land in Dhunibesi. The date

⁹ *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 11-12; Regmi, IV, No. 65, pp. 132--133; *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 286; Regmi, II, pp. 268 (with incorrect date), 284; Munamkarmi, p. 13.

¹⁰ Joshi, p. 98, Appendix, p. 13 (photo); N. M. S., p. X, Walsh, p. 733, No. 54, Bendall, Table II (with date misread as 785); Munamkarmi, p. 12; Gyawali, p. 185.

¹¹ Regmi, IV, No. 67, p. 136.

¹² Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5348.

¹³ A *talpatra* in my possession.

¹⁴ *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, p. 12.

¹⁵ Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5553.

¹⁶ Previously unnoticed; No. 68 in my stone inscription collection.

¹⁷ Previously unnoticed; No. 42 in my stone inscription collection.

¹⁸ Previously unnoticed; no rubbings are allowed by the Department of Archaeology; the *stela* is labelled No. 117.

is Kartika of 790.¹⁹ A new flag ornament was donated by Shri Niwasa himself to the temple of Changu Narayana in Jyestha of 790.²⁰ Also in 790, in Aswina, during the reign of Shri Niwasa a *guthi* of Vajracharyas and Bharos built a small *chaitya* at the Shri Padma Kastha Giri Mahavihara in Kirtipur²¹.

In Sulimha tol there is a stone inscription of Shri Niwasa and his minister (*amatya*) Narayana Dasa. It is dated 701 Kartika.²² In Binchhe bahal there is a largely illegible stele which declares that the general repair of the bahal was ordered on 791 Baisakha and that Shri Niwasa was the ruler at that time.²³

There is a manuscript called, *Brahmottar, Khandaho*, in the National Library which has three colophons: 792 Jyestha, 793 Magha and 795 Mangsir. Shri Niwasa is the ruler during each of these periods according to the text.²⁴ The king himself donated new gilded roofs to the five-tiered Patan Kumbheswara temple in Mangsir 793.²⁵ In Magha of 793 a large image of the Buddha was installed in front of Chilan-chhe chaitya, Kirtipur, by a *guthi* of Kirtipuri Shakyas, during the reign of Shri Shri Jaya Shri Niwasa Malla.²⁶ Three statues of the Buddha were donated by one Dhana Deva Shakyavamsha to Yampi Mahavihara (Ibahi), Patan, in Magha of 793. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruling in Patan on that date.²⁷

In Phalguna of 793 Shri Niwasa had a large stele placed in the Red Macchindranatha temple of Ta bahal. In sixty five lines of Newari he enumerated the many new regulations for the annual cart festival and donated considerable amounts of personal land in *guthi* trust. The revenues from these lands were to be used in perpetuity for the maintenance of the temple and to meet the expenses of the month-long festival.

19 *Itihasa Prakasha* II: 3, pp. 452-453; Regmi, II, p. 291.

20 *Itihasa Prakasha* I, p. 74.

21 Previously unnoticed; No. 81 in my stone inscription collection.

22 From collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

23 Previously unnoticed; No. 104 in my stone inscription collection.

24 Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5874; ; Regmi II, p. 285.

25 Previously unnoticed; No. 34 in my stone inscription collection.

26 Previously unnoticed; No. 69 in my stone inscription collection.

27 Previously unnoticed; No. 86 in my stone inscription collection. This inscription, particularly highlights the decadence of Newari Buddhism at this date (1673 A. D.). The main donees are: Dhana Deva Shakya, his son Brahmacharya Bhikshu (meaning celibate monk), Shri Dinakara, Dinakara's wife Bijaya and their son Bhikshu Shri Dina Joti. Countless titles remain to remind one that the ancestors of these Shakyas were celebrate residents of the vihara; see, David Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, "Buddhism in Nepal", London.

Witnesses to the donation were the Crown Prince (*juvaraja*) Yoga Nara Simha and the Chief Minister Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya.²⁸

Apparently even in this era the citizens of the Nepal valley kingdoms were beginning to stray from some of their cultural traditions. At any rate the three rulers of the three kingdoms (Jita Mitra of Bhaktapur, Narendra of Kathmandu and Shri Niwasa of Patan) met and signed a tripartite agreement in regard to mourning observances and purification rites to be observed after death had occurred in any family. There was an insistence on a forty five day observance of mourning. The agreement was signed and affixed in the form of a copper plate to the wall of Mulchowk in the Patan palace. Its date is 795 Chaitra. Witnesses were Devi Dasa, Bhagi Ratha Bhaiya and Deva Rama who were the most important ministers of each of kingdom.²⁹

In Baisakha and Jyestha of 795 Shri Niwasa is recorded in a *thyasaphu* as attending the marriages of Jaya Narendra Malla and Jaya Parthivendra Malla who were the King and Crown Prince of Kathmandu respectively.³⁰

Shri Niwasa made some minor repairs in the Bhandarkahala in Kartika of 796. He also made certain rules about its use and witnessed the fact that his father, Siddhi Nara Simha, had built it for the pleasure and happiness of their *ishtadevata*.³¹ Also, in 796 Kartika Shri Niwasa made a land grant to the Red Macchindranatha temple in Bungmati village. Again he listed many rules for the use of the temple including which days the central image may be displayed. He also proscribed entrance to the temple to untouchable caste groups. The witnesses to the grant were the Crown Prince Yoga Narendra and Chief Minister Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya.³²

This same minister, Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya, built the Jankeswari water fountain in Khochhu tol of Pharping village in Chaitra of 796. He dedicated it to the glory of Shekhara Narayana and established a *guthi* of Patan Bharos to maintain it.³³

28 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 7-11; Regmi, IV, No. 72, pp. 154-161; Regmi, II, pp. 286-287. It is interesting to note that the present Government of Nepal, even after the enactment of land reform legislation, maintains these traditions. Through its Guthi Corporation (Guthi Sansthan) it met the entire expenses, which were said to be about 1112 lakhs of rupees, of the special Twelve Year Cart Festival of 1967, for example.

29 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 11-12; Regmi, IV, No. 77, pp. 167-168; Regmi, II, pp. 288-289. The Plate is now missing from the palace.

30 *Thyasaphu* published in Regmi, IV, pp. 330-331.

31 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, p. 13; Regmi, IV, No. 78 a, pp. 170-171.

32 Regmi, IV, No. 78, pp. 168-170; Regmi, II, p. 284 (with dates 795).

33 This perhaps explains its current state of extreme disrepair; Regmi, IV, No. 79, pp. 171-172 (with date as 797); Regmi, II, p. 290.

In Yechu vihara of Sundara tol, Patan, a stone temple was erected by one Bhawani Shankara Bharo. In it are placed two images, one of Bhawani Shankara and one of Lakshmi Narayana. At this time, Kartika of 797, Shri Niwasa and his son Yoga Narendra are described as ruling jointly (*nehma ubhaya thakula bijaya*). They donate a gilded *Kalasha* to the temple, dedicate land to the temple and establish a *guthi* with elaborate instructions about which *pujas* are to be performed during the year.³⁴

In the Dathu bahi inscription of Magha of 798 the two are again described as ruling jointly.³⁵ Also in Magha of 798 Shri Niwasa's minister, Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya, built a Visheswara temple in Mangala bazar. It has become known as Bhai devala since that time. He crowned the temple with gilded *kalasha* and *dhwaja* and established a *guthi* to maintain it.³⁶

Shri Niwasa and Yoga Narendra are also described as ruling together in Magha of 798 in an inscription in Yechu Datu vihara in Sundhara tol.³⁷

The Garuda image in front of the Krishna temple in the Shekhara Narayana grounds near Pharping was donated by Shri Niwasa's minister (*mantri*) Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya. Anyone who damages the images will be visited by the five major curses (*pancha mahapathaka*). The statue was placed there in Kartika of 799.³⁸ In Ashadha of the same year there is an inscription in Badgaon attached to a *chaitya* which was built by another minister (*amatya*) of Shri Niwasa's, Bisva Bharena.³⁹ The Wooden struts at present dismantled and resting in Sahapo (Narayana chowk) of the Patan palace were carved in 799 when Shri Niwasa ruled.⁴⁰

A new *torana* was donated to Hiranya Varna Mahavihara (Kwabahal) in Jyestha of 800 by a Vajrachaya. Shri Niwasa and Yoga Narendra rule together on that date (*maharajadhiraja shri 3 jaya niwasa malla prabhu, putra shri 3 jogenaladra malla prabhu thakura ubhaya vijaya rajyes*).⁴¹ The Vamshagopala temple near the Kumbheswara temple compound was built in Jyestha of 800 by a daughter of Shri Niwasa's, Kirti-

34 Previously unnoticed; No. 80 in my stone inscription collection.

35 Previously unnoticed; from collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

36 *Abhilekha Sangrahu* VI, pp. 14-15; Regmi, II, p. 289;

37 Previously unnoticed; No. 12 in my stone inscription collection.

38 Previously unnoticed; No. 67 in my stone inscription collection. The five major curses include being cursed by one's teacher (*guru*), father, mother and all *bhikshus* and to have all the vihars and temples destroyed. This warning is commonly attached to the inscriptions of this period.

39 Regmi, IV, No. 85, pp. 184-185; Regmi, II, p. 291.

40 Previously unnoticed.

41 Previously unpublished; No 75 in my stone inscription collection; Regmi, II, p. 307.

mangala. She donated land to the temple and established a *guthi* of Ko bahal Bharos to look after its maintenance. 42

In Aswina of 800 the small Ganesha temple in Thaina tol received a new stone image of Ganesha and a newly carved, wooden *torana*. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruler. 43 The *mandapa* in the Red Macchindranatha temple in Bungmati village was repaired in Mangsir of 801 by Shri Niwasa's eldest daughter, Rudramati, her husband, Rudra, and their son, Rudrendra. 44 The well-known temple of Bhima Sena in Mangala bazar was also built in Managsir of 801. Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya, minister, had it built, donated gilded *kalasha* and *dhwaja* to it, and established a *guthi* of Bharos to look after it. 45

In the National Library there is a manuscript, *Hana Ratnakara*, which was finished in Mangsir or 801 during the reign of Shri Niwasa Malla. 46 The Adinatha temple at Chobhar was dedicated in 801 Pousha. Both Shri Niwasa and his Chief Minister, Bhagi Ratha Bhaiya, are mentioned in the inscription. 47 In Magha of 801 the Adi Narayana temple in Thankot village was built. A *guthi* of Bharos and Brahmans was formed to ensure performance of special pujas during the year. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as the reigning king. 48

There is a copper plate of 801 Chaitra now in the possession of His Majesty's Government's Department of Arcaheology which records Shri Niwasa Malla granting land in west number one district. Witnesses to the land grant are Shri Shri Jaya Joga Narendra Malla Deva Varma and Ministers Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya and Bhagi Bharo. 49 Also in Chaitra of 891 the small brick Ganesha temple in front of Bhringareshwara temple in Sunaguthi was constructed by a *guthi* of nine villagers. Shri Niwasa is mentioned as ruling in that stele. 50

Minister Bhagi Ratna Bhaiya donated land to the Shekhara Narayana temple near Pharping in Magha of 803. The revenues of the land were to be used for special

42 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 16-18; Regmi, II, pp. 277, 301; Munamkarmi, p. 14.

43 Previously unnoticed; No. 1 in my collection.

44. Regmi, IV, No. 87, p. 187; Regmi, II, pp. 301, 349; The son of Rudrendra, Riddhi Nara Simha, became king in 835.

45 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 18-19; Regmi, IV, No. 86, pp. 185-187; Regmi, II, pp. 287; Munamkarmi, p. 13; Sharma, p. 157.

46 Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 1136.

47 Previously unnoticed; from the collection of Hema Raja Shakya.

48 Previously unnoticed; No. 41 in my collection.

49 *Purtaattwa-Patra Sangraha* I, pp. 37-38.

50 Previously unnoticed; No. 32 in my collection.

pujas during the year.⁵¹ In 803 Phalguna new roofs and *gajuri* were donated to the Lokakirti Mahavihara (Nakabahil) by one Vishnu Dasa Bharo. At the same time three new statues, of Padmapani, Lokeswara and Maha Bhairava were installed. Also in this inscription it is written that "the road to Mackwanpur is open." This refers to the successful pursuance of war with the kingdom of Mackwanpur; this time Patan was victorious.⁵²

In Bhadra of 803 the king and his minister, Bhagi Ratha Bhaiya, jointly donated some land and an image of Garuda to the temple at Shekkhara Narayana near Pharping.⁵³

In the Simha devala tol of the town of Kirtipur there is a stele of 804 Srawana which refers both to Shri Niwasa and Yoga Narendra. The latter is referred to as *Chhatadhari* and it may be that this marks a new status for the Crown Prince. It is Regmi's opinion, at least, that this new appellation connotes administrative responsibility.⁵⁴ To support this conclusion there is a silver *suki* of Yoga Narendra's of 804.⁵⁵ As it was the custom to print coins at the beginning of a new reign (see below) this may in fact mark the beginning of Yoga Narendra's rule.

In the evidence left by the *thyasaphu* diarists, however, Pousha of 805 is the date given for Shri Niwasa's abdication in favor of his son.⁵⁶ Even after this date there are at least two more stone inscriptions which describe a joint rule. At Walakhu tol attached to the Ganesha temple an inscription reads: *shri manigladhipati shri shri jaya shri niwasa malla deva tahakula shri jaya shri joga narendra malla deva thakula ubhaya prajyayas*. . This is dated Chaitra of 805.⁵⁷ At the Yati libi *chaitya* located behind Omkuli Shri Rudra Varna Mahavihara (Ukhu bahal) both rulers are again mentioned. This *chaitya* was rebuilt, *gajuri* donated and a guthi formed in Baisakh of 805.⁵⁸ After this date there are no known references to the rule of Shri Niwasa.

The transfer of power was a peaceful one. As had been the case about twenty six years earlier when Siddhi Nara Simha handed his kingdom over to his son, Shri Niwasa, in 804 or 805 it was Shri Niwasa's turn to give his son, Yoga Narendra, administrative power.

51 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 12-13; Regmi, IV, No. 89, pp. 193-195; Regmi, II, p. 290.

52 Previously unpublished; No. 83 in my collection; Regmi, II.

53 Regmi, II, p. 290.

54 *Ibid.*, pp. 307-308.

55 Joshi, pp. 100-101; Walsh, p. 735, No. 60 (with date misread as 807).

56 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 198; Regmi, II, pp. 310-311.

57 Regmi, IV, No. 93 p.. 202-204;; Regmi, II, p. 313; II Appendix III, *Thyasaphu* B. P. 24, folio 55; *Thyasaphu* E. p. 97, folio 26.

58 Previously unpublished; No. 38 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 313.

About the date of Shri Niwasa's death there is controversy. In Magha of 806 Queen Lakshmi Devi, a wife of Shri Niwasa, built a small temple at Bagunani (Buddhyasthana) in Haugal tol, Patan. She donated a gilded *Kalash* and *dhwaja* to it in the name of her deceased husband, Shri Niwasa Malla.⁵⁹ Again in Ashadha of 806 another queen of Shri Niwasa, Siddhi Mantala Devi, built a fountain (*hiti*) in Sunaguthi village in memory of her deceased husband who is described as having attained release from worldly cares (*moksha*) and gone to heaven.⁶⁰ According to several *thyasaphu* sources, however, Shri Niwasa did not die until Magha of 807.⁶¹

* * *

⁵⁹ Previously unnoticed; No. 52 in my collection.

⁶⁰ Regmi, IV, No. 97, pp. 207-210; Regmi, II, p. 315.

⁶¹ *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 198; Regmi, II, pp. 312:312; Regmi, III, Appendix III, III, *Thyasaphu A*, p. 27, folio 60; *Thyasaphu D, A (2)*, p. 64. To follow Regmi in saying that the carver of this inscription must have written the wrong year when there is no other known example of such an error is unwarranted. Especially because of the existence of the Haugal tol inscription, of which Regmi was not aware, this is an unsafe conclusion. To admit rather that there is contradictory evidence and that no definite decision can be yet made is, I think, the wiser course.

4. YOGA NARENDRA MALLA(805-Kartika 826)

In Srawana of 805 there was an inscription attached to the small Lakshmi-Narayana temple in Ko bahal which mentions only Yoga Narendra as ruling in Patan. The temple was built by Queen Yoga Lakshmi, one of Yoga Narendra's several wives. She assigned to Rama Bharo and Siddhi Shankara the task of maintaining the temple and prescribed certain pujas to be performed during the year.¹ Also in 805 there were three silver *moharas* and one *suki* minted with the name of Yoga Narendra Malla. Each of the *mohars* includes a different queen's name. They include: Yoga Lakshmi Devi, Pratapa Lakshmi Devi and Narendra Lakshmi Devi.²

In Kartika of 806 there was a stele placed on the *chaitya* in Chhusika tol which reads: *shri shri joga narendra mallasya vijaya rajye*.³ In Magha of 808 a group Shakyas organized to repair the Jestha Varna Mahavihara (Jya bahil). Yoga Narendra is noted in their inscription as ruling.⁴ In Baisakha of the same year the Yangra bahal *pati* (an elevated resting place) was built by a minister of Yoga Narendra's, Vamshi Dasa Bharo, and his wife, Majuni Lakshmi, The *pati* is dedicated to the god Bhairava and several pujas are prescribed for the year.⁵

A new *gajuri* was donated to the Jestha Varna Mahavihara in Jyestha of 808. Yoga Narendra is described as ruler of Patan.⁶ In Dolamaju tol there is an unattached stele dated 808 Bhadra which is dedicated to Macchindranatha (Bunga) and donates land to ensure *pujas* during the year. The donor was a Bharo and Yoga Narendra was ruling.⁷ In 808, too, there was silver *mohar* minted which contains the names of Yoga Narendra and two of his queens, Narendra Lakshmi and Yoga Lakshmi.⁸

A large group of Vajracharyas had the *mandala* in front of the Pim bahal *chaitya* built in Mangsir of 810. *Maharajadhiraja shri shri yoga narendra malla deva prabhu thakurasa vijaya raje berasa* is inscribed on the base of the *mandala*.⁹ There is a largely

1 Regmi, IV, No. 95, p. 205; II pp. 313-314.

2 Joshi, pp. 99-101; Appendix, p. 14 (photo); N. M. S.; p. X; Walsh, p. 734, Nos. 56 (date misread as 806), 57, 58 (date misread as 806); Sharma, p. 157; Munamkarmi, p. 15, Gyawali, p. 186; Regmi, II, p. 310.

3 Regmi, II, p. 314.

4 Previously unnoticed; No. 45 in my collection.

5 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 14; Regmi, II, p. 315.

6 Previously unnoticed; No. 43 in my collection.

7 Regmi, IV, No. 99, p. 216.

8 Joshi, p. 100, Appendix, p. 14 (Photo); N. M. S. P. X.; Walsh, p. 733, No. 55; Gyawali, p. 186.

9 Previously unnoticed; No. 29 in my collection.

illegible stele at the Maha Lakshmi temple in Thankot village. In it Yoga Narendra is described as ruling in Magha of 810.¹⁰ In Jyestha of the same year a Bharo of Thankot village donated a *tulsi* plant stand (*tulsi phalasa devara*) to the Adi Narenyana temple there. He prescribed very elaborate instructions for certain pujas to be performed during the year, donated land for this purpose and noted the rule of Yoga Narendra Malla.¹¹

A *guthi* of Yamoi Mahavihara (I bahil) built the small temple for the four Buddhas of the northern *stupa* of Patan and at the same time, Jyestha of 810, decided to rebuild the Macchindranatha cart as it had collapsed the day the temples were dedicated. Yoga Narendra is described as king on that date.¹²

In Talacche tol there is a stele of 812 Magha which mentions Yoga Narendra as king.¹³ In Baisakha of 813 a group of Shakyavamshas organized to repair the Shri Vatsa Mahavihara (She bahal) and to donate new wooden windows. Yoga Narendra is mentioned as ruler at that time.¹⁴ Two members of Yampi Mahavihara built one of the small temples (*devals*) in the courtyard of the northern *stupa* during the reign of Yoga Narendra in Jyestha of 815.¹⁵ There is a stone stele in the Archaeological Garden in the Bhandarkhala of the Patan palace which is dated Magha of 815 and shows Yoga Narendra as ruling.¹⁵ Another stele of Saubahal records his rule in Baisakha, 815.¹⁷

In the Taleju chowk of the Bhaktapur palace there is a copper plate which records an agreement between Jita Mitra Malla, King of Bhaktapur, and Yoga Narendra Malla, King of Patan, to avoid warfare and other trouble during the performance of festivals, like the Hara Siddhi dance, which the two cities observe together. Its date is Phalguna of 816.¹⁸

One Bhawani Shankara Bharo donated a canal, erected a temple to Chamandi Devi and donated land to ensure the temples upkeep in 816 Jyestha, 821 Chairtra and 823 Ashadha. The temple is located in the Ganeshasthana near Shankamula.¹⁹ Iswara

10 Previously unnoticed; No. 99 in my collection.

11 Previously unnoticed; No. 90 in my collection. The leaves of the *tulsi* plant are an essential part of the worship of Vishnu.

12 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, p. 20.

13 Previously unnoticed; no rubbing.

14 Previously unnoticed; No. 76 in my collection.

15 Previously unnoticed; No. 48 in my collection.

16 Governmental regulations prevent rubbings.

17 Regmi, IV, No. 101, pp. 218-219.

18 *Abhilekha Sangraha* XI, p. 10; *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* II, pp. 17-22; *Itihasa Prakasha Sandhi Patra Sangraha* p. 212; Regmi, IV, No. 102, pp. 219-220; II, pp. 231 (with English translation). 321; Munamkarmi, p. 16.

19 Previously unnoticed; No. 79 in my collection.

Dasa Bharo had the Bala Kumari temple repaired in Phalguna of 817 and donated new gilded *gajuri* in Jyestha of the same year.²⁰ Yoga Narendra is noted as ruling in both of these inscriptions.

In the Saptapura Mahavihara (Chikam bahi) a new *agama* (resting place for the lineage deity) was donated by two bhikshus and several Bhawos in Chaitra of 817. Yoga Narendra is named as king.²¹ The large bell attached to the Bhim Sena temple in Mangala bazar is inscribed with the name of Yoga Narendra Malla and the date of 817 Srawana.²² In Vta bahal there is an inscription of Phalguna of 818 which records the establishment of a large *guthi* of Bharos who organized to ensure the performance of special pujas during the year. Yoga Narendra is noted as ruling at that date (*thva berasa raja shri 3 yoga narendra mallaju juro*).²³

Until a few years ago there was a copper plate in the Mulchowk of the Patan palace which recorded an agreement, made in 818, between the three kings of the valley never to make war against each other again. Yoga Narendra Malla signed for Patan, Bhupalendra Malla for Kathmandu and Bhupatindra Malla for Bhaktapur.²⁴

The chaitya with its five images of the Buddha in Philechhe tol was built in 919 Kartika by a group of Vajracharyas and Bhawos.²⁵ There was another copper plate in the Mulchowk of the Patan palace which announced an edict by King Yoga Narendra in regard to mourning rules. All were instructed to observe mourning for forty five days unless there was some urgent government business in which case twelve days would suffice. The plate was witnessed by minister (*chautara*) Gwalabha Drista and is dated Magha 819.²⁶

An extraordinary stone inscription was placed in Shri Vatsa Mahavihara in 820 Baisakha. It concerns a controversy as to whether an adult woman who was brought to the bahal as a young bride could be included in the special religious functions of this bahal or whether she should return to her original bahal. This inscription records the decision of the *thakalis* (elders) to allow her participation in the function of the adaptive

20 Previously unnoticed; No. 63 in my collection.

21 Previously unnoticed; No. 85 in my collection.

22 Previously unnoticed. No. 111 in my collection.

23 Previously unnoticed; No. 56 in my collection.

24 *Sanskrita Sandesha* I: 11, p. 59-69 with Sanskrit and Nepali translations by D. B. Vajracharya and G. M. Nepal; *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* II, pp. 22-40 with analysis of political conditions; *Itihas Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha*, pp. 246-248; Regmi, IV, No. 104, pp. 226-228; II, pp. 321-326, 332; *Itihaska Samshodhanko*, p. 307. This plate is now missing from the palace.

25 Previously unnoticed: No. 105 in my collection.

26 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 15; *Itihasa Samshodhanko* p. 305; Regmi, II, pp. 326-327.

mahavihara; it notes that *thou manigladhipati shri shri jaya yoga (na) rendra malla deva prabhu thakurasa*.²⁷

There is a long inscription at the *Pati* in Sundhara tol across the road from the fountain. In it Yoga Narendra himself donates a gilded *gajuri* to the nearby Lakshmi Narayana temple; a land is also donated to ensure the the performance of especially important pujas during the year and a *guthi* of Amatyas is established to maintain the temple. Included too is a chronology of the sons of Bhima Lakshmi, who was a daughter of Siddhi Nara Simha's, and who financed the temple and *pati*. This is dated Ashadha of 820. ²⁸ Also, in 820 a silver *mohar* was minted for Yoga Narendra.²⁹

In Kartika of 821 King Yoga Narendra donated some land to the Kumbheswara temple. Its revenues were to be used to meet the expenses incurred for special pujas to be performed during the year. ³⁰ One of the water conduits at the Sundahara was built, in Magha of 821, by a grandson of Siddhi Nara Simha's, named Chakra Simha, his wife (Phikuni Lakshmi), their sons (Pratapa Simha, Vira Simha, Bhadra Simha and Ananda Simha) and a daughter. Yoga Narendra is mentioned as ruling on that date.³¹

The King of Kathmandu, Bhupalendra Malla, died suddenly in Magha of 821 while on a pilgrimage to Benares. Yoga Narendra called together a group of Brahmana scholars to decide what should be done. They decided that the late king's horoscope along with his wives's who would become *satis* should be burned and mourning should be observed as usual. This is all expressed in a copper plate in Mulchowk of the Patan palace.³²

The King had the open elevated wooden structure in Mangala bazar called Mani-mandapa repaired and donated land to its use. Image of Bhairava and Sakti were donated in Chairtra of 821. ³³

In Mangsir of 822 there was a gilded plate (*subranapatra*) placed in the Taleju chowk of the Bhaktapur palace. It is an agreement between several kingdoms (Mackwanpur, Gorkha, Upadhyia, Bhaktapur and Patan) to maintain unity against Kathmandu. They further agree to a mutual defense treaty and Patan, apparently bargaining from

27 Previously unnoticed; No. 49 in my collection.

28 Previously unnoticed; No.108 in my collection.

29 Joshi, p. 98, Appendix, p. 14 (photo); N. M. S., P. X; Walsh, p. 735, No. 59; Bendall. Table II; Sharma, p. 157; Regmi, 11 p. 326.

30 Previously unpublished; No. 54 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 331.

31 Regmi, IV, No. 109, p. 237; II, pp. 278-279.

32 *Ibid.*, No. 107, pp. 233-234.

33 *Abhilekha Sangraha* VI, pp. 21-22; Regmi, IV, No. 108, pp. 234-237 (2 with one line omitted); II, p. 327.

a weak position militarily, agreed to pay a fine of forty thousand rupees if it worked in collusion with Kathmandu. The two major signatories are Yoga Narendra for Patan and Bhupatindra Malla for Bhaktapur.³⁴

A group of Vajracharyas donated new windows and *toranas* to the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara in 822 Mangsir during the reign of Yoga Narendra.³⁵ The large bell at the Red Macchindranatha temple in Ta bahal is inscribed with Yoga Narendra's name in Srawana of 824.³⁶ Finally, there is an inscription in the Krishna temple at Saugal tol which mentions Yoga Narendra's rule in Jyestha of 825. The temple was built by Rudramati, a sister of Yoga Narendra's whose grandson, Riddhi Nara Simha, became king in 835. She donated land to the temple and established a guthi of Bharos to maintain it.³⁷

According to various sources, chronicles and *thyasaphus*, Yoga Narendra was poisoned by a Bhaktapuri agent while he was living at the Changu Narayana temple personally directing an attack on Bhaktapur. The date of his death, according to these sources, is Kartika of 826.³⁸

* * *

34 *Abhilekha Sangraha* XI, p. 11; *Itihasik Patra Sangraha* II, pp. 40-44 with Nepali translation and brief historical background *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha* pp. 212-213; Regmi, IV, No. 110, p. 238; II, p. 337.

35 Previously unnoticed; No. 74 in my collection.

36 Previously unnoticed.

37 Regmi, IV, No. 112, pp. 240-243; II, p. 349; *Itihasa Samshodan*, p. 310.

38 *Itihas Samshodnako*, pp. 129, 151-152; Regmi, II, p. 338; Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thyasaphu* A, p. 46, folio 104; *Thyasaphu* B, p. 53, folio 19; *Thyasaphu* A, p. 211.

5. LOKA PRAKASHA MALLA
(Kartika 826-Aswina 826)

As mentioned, Yoga Narendra died during Kartika 826. He was succeeded by his daughter, Yogamanti's infant son, Loka Prakasha Malla in the same month. ¹ Their relationship is specifically mentioned in Yogamati's inscription in the Cyasingdeval temple in Mangala bazar of Magha 843. ² In it she has written: "His (Shri Niwasa Malla's) Son was Yoga Narendra Malla. His (Yoga Narendra's) daughter was Yogamati. From Yogamati came the patient King Loka Prakasha."³

Loka Prakasha printed two silver *mohars*, both with the date 826. ⁴ One of them includes the name of his mother, Yogamati Devi, and the other the name of his grandfather, Shri Jaya Vira Yoganarendra Malla Deva.

As far as is presently known, there are no stone inscriptions or copper plates extant which record the reign of Loka Prakasha. He is, however, mentioned in one other document besides the *mohar* coins. He is included in the audience marking the occasion of the installation of a new gilded *gajur* on the Taleju temple in the Bhaktapur palace grounds. On the same occasion a large black rock had been brought from Patan to make a dancing area. Present were both the Bhaktapur king, Bhupatindra Malla, and the Patan king, Loka Pakasha. The date is recorded as Jyestha of 826. ⁵

Loka Prakasha died of smallpox at the age of eight in Aswina of 826.⁶ This date is recorded in a *thyasphu* of the period and appears to agree with the known evidence for the rule of the succeeding king, Indra Malla. In sum, then, Loka Prakash's reign extended from the first to the last month of 826, a period of only about eleven months.

The reign of this relatively obscure king provides a good opportunity to point out some of more obvious errors and omissions of the sources. Wright's chronicle completely omits mention of Loka Prakasha and his successor Indra Malla. Walsh misreads the date on his coins (reading them as 827) and, therefore, places him after

1 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, pp. 129, 151-152; Regmi, II, p. 338; Regmi, III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu B, p. 53, folio 19; Thyasaphu B, p. 112.

2 The inscription is published in Regmi, IV, No. 128, pp. 271-274.

3 "*tsyatmajo yoganarendra mallo . . tsyatmajo yogamati babhuwa . . tasya prasudtaiwa shakti dharombikaya loka prakasha narpatirwiraja dhir.*" See this segment with Nepali translation in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 163.

4 Joshi, pp. 101-102; Appendix, p. 15 (photo); *Nepali Mudrako Suchi*, p. XII, No. 70; Walsh, p. 736; No. 62 (date misread as 827).

5 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 130; Regmi, II, p. 342; III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu H. P. 112.

6 S. M. Rajvamshi, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

Indra Malla in his chronology. ⁷ He also opines, without basis, that Loka Prakasha “was no doubt a minor son of Yoga Narendra”. ⁸ Gyawali makes similar errors, misreading both Loka Prakasha’s and Indra Malla’s coins and therefore imagines conflict between the two and a longer reign for Loka Prakasha than for Indra. ⁹ Sharma’s short summary of the period is another example of confusion and guess-work. ¹⁰ Bendall, too, misreads the dates of Loka Prakash’s coins (reading them as 825) and completely omits Indra Malla from his revised chronology. ¹¹ In comparison, one must note that Regmi’s work is an example of careful and thoughtful research. ¹²

* * *

7 Walsh, pp. 735-736.

8 Ibid., p. 697

9 Gyawali, p. 187.

10 Sharma, p. 158.

11 Bendall, Table II, “Revised Table of the Kings of Nepal from the Division of the Kingdom to the Gorkha Conquest”.

12 Regmi, II, pp. 340-342.

6. INDRA MALLA (Aswina 826-Chaitra 829)

Indra Malla succeeded Loka Prakasha Malla immediately in Aswina of 826.¹ His silver *mohar* of 826 is also available.² His name appears on one side while that of his wife, Bhagyawati Devi, appears on the other.

Aside from these two dates there are several others for the reign of Indra Malla. He is mentioned as witnessing a drama of Bhupatindra Malla's, called *Gaurivivahavya-nanirdesa*, in Pousha of 827.³ There is a stone pillar in front of Bhima Sena's temple in Mangala bazar, Patan upon which there is a copper ornamentation which mentions that a *guthi*, had donated the pillar on Bahadra of 827 during the reign of Shri 3 Indra Malla.⁴ In a *thyasphu* he is mentioned as ruling in 827 Aswina.⁵

In front of the Vajra Yogini vihara in Pulchowk, Patan, there is a stone inscription of Phalguna 828. According to the inscription, a *guthi* of Bharos had dedicated a golden image of God (Shakyamuni) to the Vihara. They also donated land, the revenues of which were to be used for the performance of certain pujas during the year. Indra Malla is noted as ruling (*thva kunhu lalitpuri manigladhipati shri 3 jaya indra malla devasya vijaya rajye*).

There are also, on the Red Macchindranatha temple of Ta bahal, gilded roof decorations which were donated by King Indra Malla on Chaitra of 828.⁷ A play by Bala Deva was presented on Aswina of 828 and King Indra Malla and his Queen were in attendance.⁸

There is agreement among the *thyasaphus* that Indra Malla died in the month of Chaitra in 829.⁹ In remarkable agreement, too, the *Bhashavamshavali* states that Loka Prakasha died in Aswina of 826, that Indra Malla, the son of Baudha Malla, immediately became king and that he died in Chaitra of 829.¹⁰

1 Rajvamshi, pp. 39-40; Regmi, III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu H, p. 112.

2 Joshi p. 102; Appendix, p. 15 (photo); N. M. S., p. XII, no. 71; Walsh, p. 735.

3 Regmi, II, p. 343.

4 Previously unnoticed; no 10 in my collection.

5 Regmi, III, Appendix III, Thyasaphu C, p. 53.

6 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, pp. 100, 295; Regmi, II, p. 343; completely printed in Regmi, IV, No. 113, p. 246; No. 61 in my collection.

7 Previously unnoticed.

8 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 99; Regmi, II, p. 344.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101; Regmi II, Appendix III, Thyasaphu C, p. 53.

10 Quoted in *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 130.

Indra Malla was a nephew of Yoga Narendra Malla. He was the son of Yoga Narendra's elder sister (*bhanija*), Manimati and her husband, Baudha Malla. This relationship is clearly set forth in Vishnu Malla's Shankamula inscription dated Jyestha of 852.¹¹ In it he states that "Shri Niwasa's daughter, Yoga Narendra's elder sister, was Shri Manimati. Her son was the virtuous King Indra Malla".¹²

* * *

¹¹ This is completely printed in *Abhilekha Sangraha X*, pp. 16-19.

¹² *Jyestha yogararendrakasya bhagini shri niwasatmja, patyou bhaktimati sati manimatnamni hyabhucchhimati, yasya bhumipati suto gunanidhiryyashchendramalla-bhidha*; see *Itihasa Samshodnahko*, p. 98.

7. VIRA NARA SIMHA (829)

Indra Malla died, according to the *thyasaphu* sources, in Chaitra of 829. His succession is an historical problem. There are two silver *mohars* for one Vira Nara Simha of 829. One of them reads *Shri 2 Lokanatha Shri Shri Vira Simha Malla* on one side and *Shri Shri Yogamati Devi 829* on the other. The other mohar reads *Shri Shri Vira Nara Simha Malla Deva 829 and Shri Shri Lokhanath Saha*.¹ There are, therefore, two reasons to assume that he was a ruler of Patan even though he is omitted from mention in all *vamshavalis*. Coins both show Lokanatha who is the patron deity only of Patan and was never used by Kathmandu or Bhaktapur rulers, unless they ruled in Patan also. Secondly, one of his coins mentions Yogamati Devi who, as we have seen, had played a prominent role in Patan politics since the death of her father, Yoga Narendra Malla.

As Regmi says, "it is much difficult to say in what relationship Yogamati and Viranarasimha stood to each other."² There are two theories or guesses, neither of which is verifiable, as to Vira Nara Simha's identity. One, the weaker, is that he was " . . . also, no doubt, another minor son of Yoga Narendra, who succeeded on Loka Prakasha's death and for whom his mother ruled as regent."³ This argument ignores the fact that Yogamati Devi was not Yoga Narendra's wife but rather his eldest daughter, that there is no mention of Vira Nara Simha in Yogamati's Chyasingdeval inscription of 843 in which she mentions her other King-son, Loka Prakasha, and that one of his *mohars* is without mention of her.

The other argument, put forth by Babu Rama Acharya, suggests that Vira Nara Simha was Yogamati's husband whom she put on the throne because there was no one else in the royal line to assume rule.⁴ This may be correct but there is no corroborating evidence.

To add to the confusion Vira Nara Simha is completely ignored in a usually reliable contemporary *thyasaphu* which elaborately describes the immediate accession of Vira Mahindra Mall to the throne after the death of Loka Prakasha.⁵

1 Joshi, pp. 102-103; Appendix, p. 15 (photos): N. M. S., p. XII, Nos. 72, 73; Walsh, p. 736, No. 64; Bendall, Table II; Sharma, p. 158; Gyawali, pp. 176, 188; Regmi, II, p. 344.

2 Regmi, II, p. 346.

3 Walsh, p. 697.

4 Babu Rama Acharya, "Lalitpurki Maiya Yogamati," *Sharada*, Nari anka, 2007: "Rajasinghasanma rakhnalai rajvamshaka natadar aru kohi napauda Yogmatile aphna logne vira nara simhalai 'malla' garaera rajasinghasanma rakhin". (roughly: not finding any other relative of her lineage to put on the throne, Yogamati, making him a "Malla", put her own husband on the throne).

5 Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thyasaphu C*, p. 53.

The other sources throw little light on the problem. Sharma feels that Vira Nara Simha was Yogamati's son, following Walsh.⁶ Vira Nara Simha is ignored by Munamakarimi. Gyawali admits his inability to solve the problem as does Regmi.⁷ At any rate he ruled for only a few months at most as Vira Mahindra Malla also rules in the year 829.

* * *

⁶ Sharma, p. 158.

⁷ Gyawali, p. 188; Regmi, II, p. 346.

8. VIRA MAHINDRA MALLA (829-835 Pousha)

Vira Mahindra Malla¹ ascended to the throne of Patan in 829. He is supposed to have been an illegitimate son of Yoga Narendra Malla who was born and lived in Tanhou before being called to the throne.² It is again supposed that this child-king was placed on the throne by Yogamati Devi.

As evidence for his reign there are several sources. He had two silver mohars minted in 829.³ Interestingly, neither has Yogamati Devi's name. In a manuscript, *Jyotisara-tnamalatika*, colophon of Jyestha of 830 he is mentioned as ruling in Patan (830 *Jyestha samaya shri lalitapuri mahanagare shri shri. mahendramalladevena.*).⁴ Another Manuscript, *Karandavyuha*, in the Red Macchindranatha temple records his rule in Marga of 831.⁵

In accordance with special ritual procedures the wooden frame inside the small central temple in the Hiranya Varna Mahavihara was replaced and four Buddha images were donated by a group of bahal members in Chaitra of 831. Vira Mahindra is mentioned as ruling on that date.⁶ He is also mentioned in a *stele* of 831 Baisakha of the same mahavihara.⁷

In Baisakha of 832 Vira Mahindra is described as the Patan ruler in an inscription on the Red Macchindranatha temple Ta bahal *chaitya*. It marks the establishment of a *guthi* of Bharos to oversee the general repair of the bahal.⁸ The *dharmasala* and *chaitya* at Patan Gate were erected in Ashadha of 832 during the reign of Vira Mahindra by a Jyapu named Shiva Rama Bhawo. He donated land in *guthi* form to provide funds for the performance of certain pujas during the year.⁹ There are also *steles* showing Vira Mahindra's reign for 833 Baisakha in Balambu village and 834 Baisakha in Kutalachhe tol, Patan.¹⁰

Vira Mahindra is mentioned in several *thyasphu* sources. It is written, for example, that he immediately assumed the throne in 829 Chaitra after the death of Loka Prakasha because of the necessity of performing the proper rituals for the Macchindra-

1 The name is variously spelled Mahindra and Mahendra.

2 Babu Rama Acharya, "Lalitpurki Maiya Yogamati" *op. cit.*; Regmi, II, pp. 344-345.

3 Joshi, p. 104; Appendix, p. 15 (photo).

4 Regmi, II, pp. 346-347; Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 3344.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 347.

6 Regmi, IV, No. 116, pp. 250-252; II, p. 347.

7 *Ibid.*, II, p. 347.

8 Previously unnoticed; No. 47 in my collection.

9 Regmi, IV, No. 117, pp. 254-256; but it is mislocated; this stele is not in Kwa bahal.

10 Regmi, II, p. 348.

natha cart festival.¹¹ According to another *thyasaphu* diarist, Vira Mahindra, referred to merely as *alya juju*, did not come to Patan in Chaitra of 832 to perform the Macchindranatha rituals as he should have, but came rather only in Srawana.¹² According to this same source, Vira Mahindra died on Pousha of 835 (*yaraya raja abhoga juodina*).¹³

Vira Mahindra's rule also has proved difficult for historical researchers. Bendall ignores his rule.¹⁴ Walsh concludes that "it is very doubtful whether Vira Mahindra ever reigned over Patan at all. If he did it was between Vira Naren Narasimha and Hrdi Narasimha".¹⁵ The problem, I think, is that these scholars and others have mis-identified Vira Mahindra with either of two kings, Bhaskara Malla (821-835) or Mahindra Simha (835-842), both of Kathmandu. They therefore thought that Patan had come under the control of Kathmandu after 829, Mahindra Simha did become the ruler of Patan but not until 837 (see below).

Vira Mahindra's rule is also omitted in Sharma's account of the period.¹⁶ Munamkarmi follows the Acharya analysis that Vira Mahindra was an illegitimate son of Yoga Narendra Malla who was from Tanhou.¹⁷ Gyawali relates that the Gorkhalis also helped to put Vira Mahindra onto the throne with a threat that unless he were enthroned they would take over. But because of his misinterpretation of the date of the coin of Yoga Prakasha Malla, reading it as 832 instead of 842, he imagines that Vira Mahindra's reign ended at that point (832).¹⁸

* * *

11 Regmi, III, Appendix IIII, *Thyasaphu C*, p. 53.

12 Regmi, IV, *Thyasaphu I*, pp. 348-349, folio 54.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 353, folio 63.

14 Bendall, Table II.

15 Walsh, , p. 698.

16 Sharma, pp. 158-159.

17 Munamkarmi, p. 21.

18 Gyawali, pp. 188-189.

9. RIDDHI NARA SIMHA MALLA
(835 Pousha-837 Jyestha)

Upon the death of Vira Mahindra Malla, Riddhi Nara Simha Malla was immediately enthroned. Although his reign, too, was short there is adequate information about his ancestry and his period of rule to make an understandable episode.

Riddhi Nara Simha's ancestry is specifically mentioned in two inscriptions. One is the Krishna temple in Saugala tol of Jyestha 825. It was built by a sister of King Yoga Narendra Malla, Rudramati. In the inscription she mentions her own son Rudrendra Malla and his newly born son Riddhi Nara Simha Malla. ¹ Again, in an inscription of Magha 835, on a *chaitya* in front of the pulchowk Vajra Yogini Mahavihara, it is written that he is the son of Yoga Narendra's nephew (*tadabhawat maharaja riddhinarasimhabhupati. shri shri yoga narendra bhagineyatmajo babhou*). ²

The first evidence of Riddhi Nara Simha's rule is a palm leaf (*talpatara*) land grant dated Pousha of 835. It is stamped as the first such grant of his reign and is therefore a very important document. ³ There is also the inscription mentioned above of Magha 835 in which Riddhi Nara Simha is mentioned as *maharaja*. ⁴ In 835 there were two silver *mohars* minted for Riddhi Nara Simha. ⁵

In the Mulchowk of the Patan palace there is a gilded *torana* which was donated by the king to his *ishta-devata* (Taleju). It is dated Aswina 835 and declares that anyone who damages it will be visited by the five great curses. ⁶

Riddhi Nara Simha Malla is mentioned in several of the published *thyasaphus*. In one he is described as ruling in Aswina of 835. ⁷ In another chronicle he is mentioned in Magha and Baisakha of 835 and Chaitra, Baisakha and Srawana of 836. ⁸ The date of his death is 837 Jyestha according to the same source. ⁹

* * *

1 Regmi, IV, No. 112, pp. 240-243.

2 Dhana Vajra Vajracharya, "Yoga Narendra Malla Ra Riddhi Nara Simha Mallako Nata", *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, pp. 269-271.

3 In the possession of Yagyanda Vajracharya published in *Itihasa Prakasha*, I, p. 131.

4 *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 310; Regmi, IV, No. 120, pp. 258-259; II, p. 349.

5 Joshi, pp. 104-105, Appendix, p. 15 (photo); N. M. S., p. XII, Nos. 74, 75; Walsh, 736-737, Nos. 64,65 (with date misread as 836); Sharma, p. 158 (with date misread as 836); Gyawali, pp. 176, 189 (with date of one misread as 836); Regmi, II, p. 349.

6 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 16; *Itihasa Samdhodhanko*, pp. 271, 310; Regmi, IV, No. 122, p. 263.

7 Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thyasaphu H*, p. 114.

8 *Ibid.*, "A Fragment of a Chronicle in Newari". pp. 127-139, folios 44 (ka)-45(kha).

9 *Ibid.*, p. 127, folio 44 (kha); Regmi, II, p. 350.

10. MAHINDRA SIMHA

(837 Ashadha-843)

According to a chronicle, upon the receipt of the news of the death of Riddhi Nara Simha Malla, the Pradhans of Patan called upon the Kathmandu King, Mahindra Simha, to rule in Patan also. He consented and was enthroned in Ashadha of 837. ¹ In the same year he had minted a *mohar* to mark the beginning of his rule in Patan. It is surely a Patan coin as it is inscribed with the name of the patron saint of the city *shri shri kalunamaya*. ² It is interesting to note that neither his coins nor, usually, his inscriptions, carry the name "Malla." He was, according to Regmi, a ruler of Dolkha who was imported to fill royal vacancies first in Kathmandu and then in Patan. ³

In 838 Chaitra both Mahindra Simha and his minister Jhagara Tahakura are mentioned as ruling in an inscription of the chaitya in Konti bahal.⁴ And in Magha of 839 a group of Vajracharyas organized and donated new gilded roofs to the temple in Binchhe bahal. They also specified certain pujas to be performed during the year. In the inscription it is written: *shri lalitpuri nagare shri shri mahendra simha deva mahendra simha deva rajyadhikare*. ⁵

A *bhikshu* of Naka bahil sent an invitation to King Mahindra Simha to attend a special feast (*samek*) at Hiranya Varna Mahavihara in Magha of 839. ⁶ And in 840 Baisakha Mahindra Simha's minister (*kaji*) Jhangala Thakula is reported as repairing a Ganesha temple in Chabahil in the Kathmandu Kingdom. In this inscription Mahindra Simha is described as king of Yala (Patan) as well as of Kathmandu. ⁷

1 Regmi, III, Appendix III, "A Fragment of a Chronicle in Newari" pp. 127-128, folio 44 (kha): according to Acharya, *op. cit.*, there was a month of internecine fighting as some of the religious leaders had invited the Crown Prince of Bhaktapur, Rana Jita Malla, to take the Patan throne. Ultimately, he says, Yogamati's forces were triumphant. Rana Jita returned to Bhaktapur after paying a ransom of two elephants and sixteen thousand rupees.

2 This is another name for Macchindranatha and is not used in Kathmandu or Bhaktapur coins unless the king is ruling in Patan also. Joshi, pp. 105-106; N. M. S., p. VIII (in the Kathmandu section): Gyawali, pp. 176, 189, Regmi, II, pp. 168, 172, 352.

3 Regmi, II, pp. 170-171.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

5 Previously unpublished; No. 106 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 172.

6 Regmi, IV, No. 124, pp. 265-266; II, p. 172.

7 Previously unpublished; from collection of Hema Raja Shakya; Regmi, II, p. 169.

In 841 Chaitra there is a copper plate (*tamrapatra*) land grant, issued by king Mahindra Simha and witnessed by Jaga Jaya Malla (who succeeded him), for land in the Ikhaldunga area.⁸ The last known inscription for his Patan reign is located at the large *chaitya* in Pim bahal. Repair work was done on the *chaitya* in Jyessha of 842 during the reign of Mahindra Simha.⁹

* * *

⁸ *Itihasa Prakasha*, II:3, p. 457; Regmi, II, pp. 170-171. This many man that he still held power in Dolkhu too.

⁹ Regmi, IV, No. 126, pp. 268-269; II, pp. 172-173.

11. YOGAPRAKASHA MALLA (842-849)

Upon the death of King Mahindra Simha, Yoga Prakasha Malla succeeded to the throne of Patan. Who Yoga Prakasha was and how he gained the throne are still unanswered questions. As was the case with Vira Mahindra, there are two schools of thought as to the origins of his power. One is that Yogamati Devi had him placed on the throne¹ and that he was essentially a puppet of hers. It is indeed remarkable that in her inscription of 843 Magha she failed to mention any ruling monarch and that she, at the same time, highly lauded Vishnu Malla who succeeded Yoga Prakasha six years later. On the other hand, Yogamati's name appears on neither of his coins. This would lead one to assume that she was not very powerful. The other theory is that he was a bonafide descendant of Yoga Narendra Malla.² At any rate he ascended to the Patan throne in late 842.

There are two coins (a silver *mohar* and a *suki*) minted in 842 which bear the name of Yoga Prakasha.³ There is a manuscript in the National Library called *Gautamiya-jantra* which has the following colophon: *shri yoga prakasha malla bijaya rajye likhitam. 843 kartika.*⁴ In Magha of 843 Yoga Prakasha is the King *juju* of Patan according to *thyasaphu* sources.⁵

In the collection of the Department of Archeology there is a copper plate on which it is written that King Yoga Prakasha had granted land to Lakshmana Upadhaya in West Number One district. The witness to the grant is Vishnu Malla Thakula and it is dated Aswina of 844.⁶ In the National Library there is a manuscript, *Dharmaputrika*, which mentions Yoga Prakasha's *bijaya rajye* in Kartika 845.⁷ A large group of Bharos organized and built a temple for Bhima Sena in Chaya bahal in 845 Baisakha. Yoga Prakasha was ruling at that time according to a *stele* attached to the temple.⁸

1 Joshi, p. 106.

2 Regmi, II, p. 354.

3 Joshi, pp. 106-107, Appendix, pp. 15-16 (photos): *N. M. S.* p. XII, Nos. 77, 78; Walsh, p. 737, No. 66 (with date misread as 832); Bendall, Table II; Sharma, p. 159; Munamkarmi, p. 22; Gyawali, pp. 176, 189 (with date mistread as 832). The error in reading committed by Walsh and Gyawali causes both authors to go to extraordinary efforts to form a sensible chronology. Regmi, II, p. 353.

4 Previously unnoticed; Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 1969.

5 Regmi, III, Appendix III, *Thyasaphu* H, p. 114.

6 *Purattwa-Patra Sangrah*, I, pp. 39-40; Regmi, II, p. 354 (with incorrect month).

7 Nepal Rastriya Pustakalaya, No. 5364; Regmi, II, p. 354 (with incorrect manuscript number 5365).

8 Regmi, IV, No. 132, pp. 278-279; II, p. 354.

Inscribed on the gilded sheeting on the Bhima Sena temple in Mangala bazaar is the fact that Yoga Prakasha's minister, Ganga Shankara Babu, had donated it. The date is Phalguna 846.⁹ The last source for his reign is another copper plate; this also is in the possession of the Department of Archeology. It marks the sale of paddy land to Chandramana Jaisi of West Number One district. Again the witness is Vishnu Malla Thakula and the date is 846 Chaitra.¹⁰

* * *

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 134, p. 281; II, p. 355.

¹⁰ *Purattwa-Patra Sangraha*, I. pp. 41-42; Regmi, II, p. 354.

12. VISHNU MALLA AND RAJYA PRAKASHA MALLA (849-Aswina 878)

Yoga Prakasha was succeeded by a king, Vishnu Malla, of clear ancestry. In his Shankamula inscription of Jyestha 852 he traces his ancestry: from Shri Niwasa Malla to his son Yoga Narendra Malla and daughter Manimati (who were brother and sister). Manimati was the mother of King Indra Malla Punyamati. Punyamati married Dara Simha and their son was Vishnu Malla. ¹ The same heritage is described in Yogamati's Chyasingdeval temple inscription of 843 mentioned above. In it she relates that Shri Niwasa's daughter, Manimati, had a daughter, Punyamati, and that her son was Vishnu Malla (*babhuba shri niwasa putri manimati tisa. tasta punyamati tatputra vishnu ma'la*). ²

The first evidence we have of the rule of Vishnu Malla are coins. In 849 a silver *mohar* and a *suki* were minted in Vishnu Malla's name. Inside the Maha Lakshmi temple at Lagan Khel there is a *stele* of Bhadra 850 which records the donation of land by King Vishnu Malla in order to ensure the performance of *homa pujas* in perpetuity. ⁴

In 851 another *mohar* is minted. This one included, on one side, *shri shri jaya vishnu malla deva* 851 and, on the other, *shri shri loknatha shri jaya vira yoga narendra malla deva*.⁵ In Jyestha of 852 there is the Shankamula inscription referred to above.⁶ There is a copper plate inscription attached to the front wall of the Byagha Bhairava temple in the town of Kirtipur. The plate prescribes the performance of a number of *pujas* during the year from revenues gained from lands donated by King Vishnu Malla. It is dated 852 Srawana. ⁷

Vishnu Malla and his wife Vishnumati Lakshmi donated land in *guthi* trust to the Bhawani temple in Mamadu alley (*galli*) of Mahapala tol. Dedicating it to the glory

1 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, pp. 16-19; Regmi, IV, No. 140, pp. 289-293.

2 Regmi, IV, No. 128, PP. 271-274.

3 Joshi, pp. 107--108, Appendix, p. 16 (photos): *N.M.S.*, P. XII, Nos. 80, 81; Walsh, p. 738, No. 68 (date misread as 859); Bendall, Table II; Sharma, p. 159 (date misread as 859); Munamkarmi, p. 23; Regmi, II, p. 356.

4 Unpublished; eye copy only could be made as foreigners not allowed passage inside temple.

5 Joshi, p. 107, Appendix, p. 16 (photo); *N.M.S.*, p. XIV, No. 83; Walsh, p. 737, No. 67 (date misread as 861); Bendall, Table II, Sharma, p. 159 (date misread as 861); Regmi, II, p. 356 (date misread as 850).

6 Same as note 1; *Itihasa Samshodhanko*, p. 295; Munamkarmi, p. 24; Regmi, II, p. 355, 357.

7 Regmi, IV, No. 140a, pp. 293-394; II, pp. 356-357.

of their *ishta-devata*, Bhawani, they prescribed many pujas to be performed from the land and established a *guthi* of Bharos to enforce the regulations. In charge of the *guthi* was Vishnumati Lakshmi's younger brother (*kija*) Bhawo Bharo. 8

The Vajravarahi temple near Chapagaon was repaired and a new gilded *gajuri* was donated by King Vishnu Malla in Jyestha of 855.⁹ The gilt sheeting on the Nandi bull in front of the main temple in the Kumbheswara compound was donated by Vishnu Malla in Jyestha of 855. 10

The large bell in front of the royal palace in Mangal bazaar was placed there by Vishnu Malla and his queen, Chandra Lakshmi. She was a daughter of Kathmandu King Jaga Jaya Malla and sister of Rajaya Prakasha Malla. The inscription on the bell reads: *maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya vishnu malla deavsa patni shri chandra lakshmi devi ubhayasana thwa dibya ghanta dunta dina juro*. 11 Attached to the wall of the Sarasvati temple in Sarasvatini is a stone inscription. One Sambara Shakyavamsha and one Muni Rayju had built the temple in memory of their dead father and dedicated its central image to their dead mother in Phalguna of 857 during the reign of Vishnu Malla.

After this date, Phalguna of 857, there is an historically embarrassing gap of several years, until Kartika of 865, for Vishnu Malla. It is clear that he had adopted his brother-in-law Rajya Prakasha Malla as his son and had planned to have him take the throne after his death. It has been the custom to assume that Vishnu Malla ruled until 865 or late 864 and that he died in Srawana 865. 13 However, there is one document which, although first published several years ago, has been ignored. It is a land grant dated Baisakha 856 in which Rajya Prakasha is clearly denoted as King of Patan: *shri manigaladhipati maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya rajya prakasha malla deva prabhu thakurasana*. The witness was Chandra Shekhara Malla who also figures as witness in later inscriptions. 14

8 Previously unpublished; No. 98 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 357 (with incorrect name of goddess and no location mentioned). Regmi sometimes has the habit of locating a *stela* as "a slab of stone in Patan" or as being at "a temple in Patan." This makes verification work most difficult.

9 Regmi, II, p. 357.

10 Previously unpublished; No. 16 in my plate collection: Regmi, II, p. 357.

11 *Itihasa Prakasha* I, pp. 63-64 (with Nepali translation by Yogi Nara Hari Natha); *Itihasa Prakashma Sandhi Patra Sangraha*, pp. 280-281; Regmi, II, p. 357; Munakarmi, p. 24; Gyawali, p. 190.

12 Previously unnoticed; No. 60 in my collection.

13 Regmi, II, p. 358.

14 *Itihasa Prakasha* I. pp. 155-156.

Regmi's two major arguments for 865 as the first year of Rajya Prakasha's rule is that his coins were first issued then. This is quite true.¹⁵ The second argument is that he witnessed his brother's, King Jaya Prakasha, Kathmandu land charters until 863 Mangsir.¹⁶ This may not be the case. A close inspection of the various land grants from 859 to 863 shows one Raja (not Rajya) Prakasha Malla as witness.¹⁷ The important question, of course, is whether Raja and Rajya Prakasha were one and the same person. There is no mention of a son or close relative named Raja Praksasha in the other sources. To proceed further than to state the possibility of Rajya Prakasha's reign as early as 858 Baisakha would be to assert more than the records warrant, but the possibility certainly remains. At any rate, the seven year gap is indeed strange.

There is an inscription of Kartika 865 attached to a wall of the Ganesha temple in Chaupati tol which states: *bhanekhe narpam rajya prakasha sahitam vishnu malla*.¹⁸ This could be interpreted to signify that Rajya Prakasha ruled with the advice of Vishnu Malla. At any rate this is the last mention of Vishnu Malla in the inscriptions. According to a *thyasaphu* source he died in Srawana 865.¹⁹

Rajya Prakasha Malla had three silver *mohars* and a *suki* minted in 865. All of the *mohars* mention the name of Yoga Narendra Malla.²⁰ In Baisakha of 866 Rajya Prakasha had gilt plating donated to the cart of the Red Macchindranatha. This is related in a copper plate which is now attached to the cart.

There is a copper plate attached to the front wall of the Byagha Bhairava temple in the town of Kirtipur. It is an edict from *shri manigladhipati maharajadhiraja rajya prakasha* forbidding trees to be felled in and around the Kirtipur fort (*garh*).

15 Joshi, pp. 108-109, Appendix, pp. 16-17 (photos).

16 Regmi, II, p. 359.

17 See, as examples, Regmi, IV, No. 142, pp. 267-268 (a copper plate dated 859 Srawan): No. 144, pp. 269-270 (a copper plate dated 862 Mangsir): a palm leaf (*talpatra*) of Kartik 861 in the possession of Joseph Weiler; *Purattwa Patra Sangraha*, I, pp. 14-17, 19-20.

18 Previously unpublished; No. 102 in my collection; Regmi, II, p. 359.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 358.

20 Joshi, pp. 108-109, Appendix, pp. 16-17 (photos); *N. M. S.* p. XIV, Nos. 85, 85, 87, 88; Walsh, pp. 738-739, Nos. 69, 70, 71, 72 (with dates misread as 856); Bendall, Table II, Sharma, p. 159 (dates misread as 866): Regmi, II, pp. 358-359; Gyawall, pp. 177, 181 (dates misread as 855 and 856), The major reading errors of Walsh and Gyawali result in a convoluted chronology.

21 Previously unnoticed; from collection of Hema Raja Shakya; No. 19 in my copper plate collection.

It includes fines for those who disobey the order and is dated Phalguna 870. 22 There is little doubt that the king's concern was less with conservation than with defense of the town. Prthvi Narayana Shaha's army had already begun the attack of the valley and the victory at Kirtipur was to prove one of the key issues in this eventual triumph.

Rajya Prakasha gave land to the Shekhara Narayana temple near Pharping for the perpetual worship of Narayana according to a stone inscription at the temple dated Srawana 871. 23 In another *talpatra* dated Aswina 871, land is given by *shri manigladhapati maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya rajya prakasha malla deva prabhu thakurasa* and witnessed (*sakhshi*) by *shri chandra sheshra malla athakurasa*. 24 In Thankot village there is a *stela* dated Poush 873 which records the decision of one Jaya Ratna Simha to repair the defense wall of the town. He also expresses the hope that the citizens of the village would henceforth take care of the wall. 25 Rajya Prakasha is noted as ruler. As a matter of fact, Thankot was one of the first Kathmandu valley towns to be taken by the Gorkhali-Shaha army a few years later.

In Kartika of 874 another *talpatra* was issued by Rajya Prakasha and witnessed by Chandra Sheshara Malla. 26 There is also a copper plate land grant of 874 Chaitra which was issued by Rajya Prakasha Malla and witnessed by Chandra Sheshara. 27 According to various chronicles and *thyasaphu* sources he died in Aswina 878 and the reign of his successor, Viswa Jita Malla, began in the same month. 28

* * *

22 Regmi, IV, No. 144 a, pp. 300-301 ; ; II, p. 359.

23 *Abhilekha Sangraha* X, p. 20; Regmi, IV, No. 145, pp. 301-303; II, p. 359; Munamkarmi, p. 26.

24 Previously unnoticed; in my collection.

25 Quoted in Dhana Vajra Vajracharya, "Mallakalma Desrakshako Wyawastha Ra Tyasapraati Prajako Kartaway" *Purnima* II, p. 29 (with Nepali translation of *stela*).

26 In my collection.

27 Regmi, IV, No. 149, pp. 306-307.

28 *Ibid.*, II, p. 360; here he quotes the Capuchin Mission records.

13. VISWA JITA MALLA
(Aswina 878-Srawana 880)

According to the Capuchin mission records, Viswa Jita Malla succeeded Rajya Prakasha Malla in Aswina of 878. Also in 878 there were one silver *mohar* and one *suki* minted in his name.¹

The ancestry of Viswa Jita is unclear. He is mentioned as being related to Vishnu Malla, being his daughter's son (*vishnu mallaki chhoripattika chhora*).² This relationship is described in one inscription and is, however, strictly the opinion of a chronicler.

In Magha of 880 King Viswa Jita Malla had a copper plate attached to the Jala-binayaka temple in the village of Chobhar. He gave the lumbering rights to two residents of Chobhar and denied rights to anyone else. This is a very important document as it is the only inscription yet discovered for Viswa Jita's short reign.³

According to Patan mythology and the later chronicles, Viswa Jita committed suicide in Srawana or Bhadra 880. He was accused of adultery with the daughter of an important Pradhan who was, in a fit of rage, coming to kill him.⁴

* * *

1 Joshi, p. 111 (*suki* date misread as 872); Appendix, p. 17 (photo); *N.M.S.*, p. XIV, No. 90? *Suki* unnoticed); Walsh, p. 739, No. 73 (*suki* date misread as 872); in the photo printed in Walsh's essay it is clear that the *suki* date is also 878; unfortunately, Joshi copied Walsh without verifying the date. Sharma, p. 160; Gyawali, p. 178; Regmi, II, p. 361.

2 Joshi, p. 111.

3 Previously unnoticed; from the collection of Hema Raja Shakya; No. 17 in my copper plate collection.

4 Regmi, II, pp. 361-362.

14. JAYA PRAKASHA MALLA

The last eight years of independent existence of Patan are years of turmoil and confusion. The Pradhans clearly show themselves as powerful, yet unstable, figures. Kings come and go in rapid succession and, finally the city, because of lack of unity and no real leader, falls to the Gorkhas.

Viswa Jita was followed by the King of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakasha Malla, who enjoyed but a short reign in Patan. For evidence of his regnal career there is only one inscription in Patan.¹ It is a copper plate affixed to a wall in the Mulchowk in the Patan palace and is dated Magha 881. It is the delineation of rules of conduct for citizens.

* * *

1 Regmi claims (II, pp. 363-364) to have "seen a coin of Jaya Prakasha Malla with date 880, which shows the emblems used generally in Patan coins. Although the coin could not now be located. . ." It would, of course, be most useful if found.

2 Regmi, IV, No. 152; pp. 319-320; II, pp. 363-365.

15. RANA JITA MALLA

Jaya Prakasha Malla was followed on the Patan throne by the King of Bhaktapur, Rana Jita Malla. There are two evidences of his reign. A silver *mohar* was issued in 882 on which was written the following: *shri jaya rana jita malla* and *shri 3 karunamaya* 882.¹

There was also a copper plate in the Mulchowk of the Patan palace which declared Rana Jita Malla's political philosophy and made rules for those entering the Mulchowk. According to Rana Jita the population was divided into three sectors: the king, the ministers and the people. In case of malfeasance of one sector and in order to ensure justice for each sector it was the duty of the two aggrieved sectors to support each other and thereby ensure political equilibrium. The wearing of shoes, chewing or smoking of tobacco and spitting were forbidden to citizens who entered the Mulchowk.

Despite his admirable political theory of checks and balances, Rana Jita's rule was short and he was rapidly succeeded by Dalmardana Shaha. He did, however, keep his throne in Bhaktapur

* * *

¹ Joshi, pp. 109-110; Regmi, II, p. 364., *N. M. S.*, No. 104; p. XVI.

² *Itihasa Patrasangraha* II, pp. 72-77 (with Nepali translation and brief historical background).

16. DALMARDANA SHAHA

According to the chronicles, Jaya Prakasha Malla ruled again in 883 after the reign of Rana Jita but there is no evidence other than that of the later chronicles to support this view.

The Pradhans of Patan called upon Prithvi Narayana Shaha to abolish the blockade of the valley and alleviate their suffering and offered the throne of Patan. He refused to take the throne of Patan but sent his younger brother, Dalmardana Shaha, to rule in his place. He was enthroned in 884 and issued a silver *mohar* in the same year. ¹

The Gorkhali blockade was, however, not lifted and so the Pradhans apparently decided that the young Gorkhali's rule would bring them no relief. Accordingly, they relieved him of office and installed in his place the last king of Patan, Teja Nara Simha Malla. ²

* * *

¹ Joshi, pp. 111-112, Appendix, p. 17 (photo); *N. M. S.*, p. XIV, No. 91; Walsh, p. 739, No. 75 (date misread as 888); Regmi, II, pp. 363, 368.

² The following is extracted from Father Guiseppes, "*An Account of Nepal*":

"After the death of their sovereign, the nobles of Lalit Patan nominated for their king Gainprejas (Jay Prakash), a man possessed of the greatest influence in Nepal; but some years afterwards they removed him from his government and conferred it upon the king of B'hatgan (Rana Jit); but he also, a short time afterwards, was deposed; and, after having put to death another king who succeeded him (?) they made an offer of the government to Prit'hwinarayan, who had already commenced war. Prit'hwinarayan, deputed one of his brothers, by name Delmerden Sah, to govern the kingdom of Lelit Pattan, and he was in the actual government of it when I arrived at Nepal; but the nobles perceiving that Prit'hwinarayan still continued to interrupt the tranquility of their kingdom, they disclaimed all subjection to him, and acknowledged for their sovereign, Delmerden Sah, who continued the war against his brother Prit'hwinarayan: but some years afterwards, they even deposed Delmerden Sah, and elected in his room a poor man of Lelit Pattan, who was of royal origin (Teja Nara Simha).

17. TEJA NARA SIMHA MALLA
(885-888 Bhadra)

Teja Nara Simha Malla assumed the throne in 885 and issued a silver *mohar* in that same year. ¹ In Srawana of 887 he issued a palm leaf (*talpatra*) land grant to a resident of Bamla bahal. He is called *shri manigladhipati maharajadhiraja shri shri jaya teja nara simha malla deva prabhu thakulasana* in the grant. ² The third source for his rule is a copper plate inscription of Phalguna 888. In it the king, Teja Nara Simha Malla, is a witness to a special grant to GyaheSwari Devi by one Vishnu Natha Dharman. ³

In Bhadra of 888 the Kathmandu palace fell to the invading Gorkhalis and King Jaya Prakasha Malla fled to neighboring Patan. In another month Patan, too, fell and both kings escaped to Bhaktapur. There they lived for fourteen months until Kartika 890 when that last Malla outpost also fell to Prithivi Narayana Shaha. Teja Nara Simha Malla was imprisoned and died an obscure figure some years later.

* * *

1 Joshi, pp. 112-113, Appendix, p. 17 (photo); *N. M. S.*, p. XIV, No. 93; Regmi, pp.) 363 (with date misread as 886) 368.

2 Previously unnoticed; in my possession.

3 Previously unnoticed; in the possession of B. N. Shrestha of Kamal Lakshmi tol. Kathmandu; from the collection of Hema Raja Shakya; No. 18 in my copper plate collection.