THE KHAŠA KINGDOM
A Trans-Himalayan Empire of the Middle Age

SURYA MANI ADHIKARY
THE KHAŚA KINGDOM
A Trans-Himalayan Empire of the Middle Age

SURYA MANI ADHIKARY

Nirala History Series—2

Nirala Publications
Jaipur New Delhi
Acknowledgments

This book is a concised and revised form of my doctoral thesis. I conducted two explorations in Western Nepal under the auspices of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences in 1979 and the Research centre for Nepal and Asian Studies in 1985. I am much obliged to these institutions of Tribhuvan University.

I express my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Krishna Kant Adhikari, Professor of History, T.U. for his valuable guidance.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Madhav Raj Pandey, Pryag Raj Sharma and Dr. Tulsi Ram Vaidya, Professors of History, T.U., for valuable suggestions.

I am grateful to Hemanta S J B Rana, Devi Lal Shrestha and Kamal Raj Singh Rathaur for their generous help.

I am also indebted to Yuyutsu R.D. Sharma who kindly read the manuscript and offered a creative outlook.
My thanks go to my wife Chandra Prabha for her tender care.

Thanks are also due to those persons of Western Nepal who kindly helped me during my field study.
Born Nov 21, 1948 at Bahunpokhara, Tanahun, West Nepal, SURYA MANI ADHIKARY is Nepal’s eminent historian today. He was educated mainly at Tribhuvan University where he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History in 1984. He has lectured at various campuses of Tribhuvan University and at present is working as Associate Professor and Campus Chief at Birendra Campus of Tribhuvan University, Bharatpur, Chitwan.

His first book, Pațchima Nepālkō Aithāsika Anvesaṇa (A research on the history of Western Nepal) has been published by the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, T. U., Kathmandu. Dr. Adhikary is known for his speculative use of murals, inscriptions and art objects to explore the truths of his field study. He has published several articles in the reputed journals and periodicals at home and abroad. In addition to all this, he has completed several research projects organised by the nationally acclaimed institutions.
His new book on the socio-cultural heritage of the natives of Chitwan valley will appear from Kathmandu soon.
## Transliteration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Devanagari</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>भ = a</td>
<td>क = ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भा = ā</td>
<td>ख = kha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ह = i</td>
<td>ग = ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इ = ī</td>
<td>घ = gha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>उ = u</td>
<td>ङ = ṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ऊ = ū</td>
<td>च = cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>कर = ri</td>
<td>छ = chha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए = e</td>
<td>ज = ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ए = ai</td>
<td>झ = jha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घो = o</td>
<td>ङ = ṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घो = au</td>
<td>ट = ṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घ् = am</td>
<td>ठ = ṭha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>घः = aḥ</td>
<td>ड = ḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>र = ra</td>
<td>ल = la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ल = ta</td>
<td>व = va</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>य = sa</td>
<td>ष = ṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ष = sa</td>
<td>स = sā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ड = da</td>
<td>ण = ṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ध = dha</td>
<td>घ = dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>न = na</td>
<td>ह = ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>फ = pha</td>
<td>क्र = kṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ब = ba</td>
<td>ज = jña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भ = bha</td>
<td>य = ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note*—The modern geographical names are usually written without any diacritical marks.
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chapter One</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Khaśas</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chapter Two</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political History</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chapter Three</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative System</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chapter Four</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society and Culture</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chapter Five</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Conditions</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chapter Six</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art and Architecture</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECAPITULATION</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>i—xliv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A: Kings of Guge</td>
<td>ii—xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B: Inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom</td>
<td>ii—x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C: Thirty-six Taxes of the Khaśa Kingdom</td>
<td>xl—xlii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D: Origin of the Family Surnames of the Pahāḍī Caste Groups of Nepal</td>
<td>xlii—xliv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGURES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

During the early medieval period the Khaṣas were the masters of a big territory known as Khaṣadeśa, the Khaṣa Kingdom (Appendix B-4). Their kingdom comprised Western Nepal, South-western Tibet, Kumaon and Garhwal. Sinja and Dullu of Far-Western Nepal were then the twin governmental headquarters of the Khaṣa Kingdom. The history of the Khaṣa Kingdom is not only the history of a great political power, it also constitutes the background of the present Nepalese Pahāḍī socio-cultural set-up.

The history of the Khaṣa Kingdom was unknown to us before Giuseppe Tucci and Yogi Naraharinath, independently of each other, initiated explorations and published records. Tucci's Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal (Rome: 1956) bears great importance since it discloses the Khaṣa rulers' hold over South-western Tibet. Yogi Naraharinath made explorations in the whole Karnali region, collected many useful documents and published them in Itiḥāsa Prakāśa, Vol. I (Kathmandu: 1955-56) and Samdhipatra Samgraha, Vol. I (Kathmandu: 1965). Since then, some historians, Surya Bikram Gyewali, Ram Niwas Pandey, Dhanabajra Bajracharya Satya Mohan Joshi, Mohan Bahadur Malla and Luciano Petech have dealt briefly with the political history of the Khaṣa Kingdom. On the art and architecture of the Karnali Basin, the work of P. R. Sharma, though short and preliminary, can be regarded the first scholarly work of its kind. However, a detailed and comprehensive study covering the multiple aspects of the Khaṣa history is still lacking. The present work, therefore, is designed to deal with the subject accordingly.
In additions to the materials brought to light by G. Tucci and Yogi Naraharinath, some new materials have been published by Mohan Prasad Khanal, Raja Ram Subedi and Archaeology Department of His Majesty's Government of Nepal recently. In the winters of 1979 and 1985 the author of the present study travelled through the districts of the Karnali region such as Dang, Pyuthan, Rolpa, Jajarkot, Dailekh, Jumla, Mugu, Kalikot, Surkhet, Achham, Banke, Bardia, and Kailali confronting the turmoils of the snow-clad mountains, unbridged rivers and wildernesses. In the course of the field-study districts like Jumla, Dailekh and Achham were found rich for origional materials shedding light on the history of the Khaša Kingdom.

Nature of Sources

Inscriptions—There are many stone pillars commonly found all over the Karnali region, especially on the roadsides and places of pilgrimages. Almost all the pillars contain inscriptions. The pillars being of sandstone are rough. Due to rain, strom and snowfalls of many centuries letters of more than ninety percent stone pillars are illegible. The stone inscriptions, except the pillar inscription of Dullu, are small containing some lines of letters. Only the Dullu pillar inscription (Fig. 11) is the source of considerable importance which provides a genealogy of the Khaša Malla rulers and indicates some important events. (Fig. 11) Almost all the copper plate and Kanakpatra (gold plate) inscriptions are related to land grants. Their chief merit lies in solving some chronological problems. Names and dates of the kings along with some references to the administrative, social and economic conditions are to be found in them. All the inscriptions are given in Appendix B.

Chronicles—Chronicles of the Khaša rulers written in Tibetan language are available in the monasteries of Western Tibet. They are published by G. Tucci, A. H. Francke and S. C. Das. They almost completely tally with the list of the Khaša rulers provided by the pillar inscription of Dullu.
The Tibetan chronicles mention the names of the Khaśa rulers as the kings of Guge and Purang of South-Western Tibet. Another chronicle known as Gopāla Rājā Vaṃśāvalī mentions about the Khaśa invasions of the Nepal Valley. The chronicles of the Bāisi Ṭhakuri principalities also contain some references useful to this study. But the Bāisi chronicles are more fictitious and one should have to be more careful to distinguish facts from fables.

Archaeological Remains—Images, temples and ruins are the important tools to study the history of mankind. Many Buddhist and secular sculptures and structures of the period are found in the forlorn archaeological sites of the Karnāli region. Some monuments have fallen, some are in mutilated conditions and the images are fast disappearing. If the scientific excavations are made in the archaeological centres such as in the valley of Sinya, Jumla and Surkhet, and the villages of Vinayak (Achham) and Dullu and its adjoining areas, there is probability of the discovery of new materials.

Literary Evidence—The Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa and other books of Saṃskrit literature contain frequent references to the ancient Khaśas. Further references are to be found in the accounts of Pliny (79 A. D.) and Ptolemy (151 A. D.). We get some knowledge about the Khaśas and their language from the medieval inscriptions of Kumaon and the Nepal valley.

Hence, the inscriptions which are given in Appendix B, the chronicles, the archaeological remains of the Karnali region and fragmentary references to the Khaśas in the Saṃskrit literature are the main sources of this study. The present work, therefore, concentrates mainly on primary documents. But since these sources are inadequate to shed abundant light on the study, the author has taken into account even a word or a phrase which could provide some new clue to issues of argument for analysis. Above all, the works on contemporary
The Khaśā rulers had occupied a vast territory. There were many vassal states within the domain of the Khaśā Kingdom. The vassal chiefs were left to run the administration of their respective areas. Since the direct rule of the central government was confined to the Karnali region only, most of the sources of information are found from the Karnali region. Hence, in the present study the chapters on administrative system, society, culture, economic conditions, art and architecture would present the historical account mainly of the Karnali region only.

Geography of Western Nepal

The kingdom of Nepal comprises three principal river systems: the Koshi in the eastern region, the Gandaki in the central region and the Karnali in the western region. Each of these regions is named after the river system by which it is drained. Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, lies in the historic valley situated between the Koshi and the Gandaki regions. Therefore, the Gandaki and the Karnali regions, lying to the west of Kathmandu valley are known as Western Nepal. Topographically, Western Nepal can be divided into three major divisions from north to south: the Himalayan region, the hill-region and the Tarai.

The Himalayan region is largely an arctic zone. It consists of snowy mountains and glacial valleys. The districts of Manang, Mustang, Dolpa, Mugu and Humla lie wholly north of the main Himalayan range. Some human habitations exist in the high mountain valleys of these districts with an alpine climate. The Himalayan people grow dry crops and depend mainly upon animal husbandry and trade. The inhabitants are largely of Tibetan origin.

The hill region is the heart of the country. It is a complex of hills and river valleys situated to the south of the
Himalayan range with temperate climate suitable for agriculture. Exclusive settlements of Gurungs and Magars of Mongoloid strain, and Brāhmaṇas Thakuris and Chhetris of Khas-Āryan origin, and a few other miscellaneous minorities exist in this region. The Nepāl speaking Brāhmaṇas, Thakuris and Chhetris of hills are collectively termed as ‘Pahāḍī Caste Groups’ throughout this study.

The Tarai region is situated between the Indian frontier in the south and foothills in the north. It is a belt of alluvial plain. It has hot and humid climate. As the Tarai provided opportunities for land reclamation and settlement after the eradication of malaria, many people of hills have migrated in this region recently. The aboriginal Thārus, Indian immigrants and hill immigrants live in this region.

The great rivers of Western Nepal, the Gandaki and the Karnali have their origin in the Tibetan plateau and the Himalayas. They sweep down southwards cutting the deep gorges through the Himalayas and hills, and joined by hundreds of tributaries in their courses, they meet the Ganges in the Indian plain. There are some trans-Himalayan routes connecting Western Tibet with India through Western Nepal. The most important one passes along the course of the Karnali river. It leads through the Tarai, Dullu and Sinja. From Sinja it leads further north through Khojarnāth, Kailāsh and reaches the mainland of Tibet. During the heydays of the Khaṣa Kingdom, this road was made wide and got the shape of a highway. Inns and water-receptacles were made along the roadsides for the convenience of travellers. Among them, the water receptacle of Pātharnāull of Dullu (Fig. 15) made by chief-minister Devavarmā in 1334 (App. B 23) and a stone masonry (inn) of Hāudi are still in use. From the early period it was the main caravan route to conduct trade with Tibet and India. It was frequently traversed by the Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims as well. Another important route connects Doti and Kumaon with Western Tibet through
The population of Western Nepal can broadly be categorised variously. Racially, there are two great races of mankind: Āryan and Mongoloid. On linguistic ground, they can again be classified into two groups: those who speak Indo-Āryan languages such as Nepāli, Bhojpuri, Abadhī and Thāru, and the others who speak Tibeto-Burman languages like Tibetan, Magar, Gurung and Newārī. On regional basis, there are Himalayan people, hill and valley people and the Tarai people. Religiously, the Himalayan people are almost Buddhists, midland or hill and valley people are mostly Hindus, and the Tarai people too Hindus with an exception of the Muslim population in minority. The midland region is the contact zone of the Āryan and Mongoloid people. It’s here that the Hindu and Buddhist civilisations merge. Magars and Gurungs, both of Mangoloid strain, are the early settlers of this region. They ruled over the country before the Khas-Āryan infiltration from the west and the south.

The Magars were the first to receive the Khaśas in Western Nepal. As they have family surnames such as Thāpā, Rānā and Buḍhathoki, it seems that they had closest association with the Khaśas and occupied important designations in the military administration of the Khaśa Kingdom. Other surnames of Magars, Sinjālī and Sinjapati show their historic relations with Sinjā, the capital of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The Hindu people of Khas-Āryan origin, such as
Brahmanaśas, Thakurīs and Chhetris who are widely distributed throughout the hills and valleys of midlands, are regarded as the Pahāḍī caste groups. Their mother tongue, Nepāli, is largely influenced by the Sanskrit language. Some other people like Matwāli-Chhetris, Sanyāsīs and Shūdras who speak Nepāli as mother tongue are in minority. According to census report of 1971, nearly 72.25 percent of the total population of Western Nepal speak Nepāli. Therefore, the Nepāli speaking Pahāḍī caste groups form the dominating bulk of the society. The traditional name of the Nepāli was Khas-Kurā, the language of the Khaśas.

A sub-caste among Brahmanaśas is known as Jaisī. The term Jaisī appears to be the perverted form of Jyotiśi (Jyotiśi-Joist-Jaisi), the meaning of which is astrologer (App. B-26). Later on, the offsprings of irregular unions of Brahmanaśa men and women have also been included in this sub-caste. Thakurīs and Chhetris belong to the Kṣatriya caste. Thakurīs are the descendants of the Bāisi and Chaubisi chiefs of the late medieval period. The rulers and feudal lords of that period were addressed as Thākurs.7 Present Thakurīs have family surnames such as Pāla, Malla, Bam, Chand, Shāhi, Shāh, Simha and Hamāl. Chhetris can be categorised into two groups, Khas-Chhetris and Khatri-Chhetris. The Khaśas who upgraded themselves into “the lofty rank and honour” of the Kṣatriya order, took the sacred thread and abandoned the unorthodox habits are called Khas-Chhetris. But they did not abandon their former family surnames like Thāpā, Khaḍgā, Basnet and Buḍhāthokī. The children of the Brahmanaśas with their Chhetri, Khas or Mongolodi wives became Khatri-Chhetri. Brahmanaśas, Thakurīs and Chhetris are called Tāgādhārī, twice born Hindu castes. They wear Yajñopavīta, the sacred thread, and are not allowed by traditions to consume chicken and alcohol.

The Pābai-Khas who are known as Matwāli-Chhetris are very interesting people. They live in the hills of the Karnali
region. Particularly, the districts of Jumla, Bajhang and Jajarkot have large settlements of them. In Jumla, the Matwāli-Chhetrīs are called Pābai-Khas, the Khašas living in unirrigated lands. Although they adhere to adopt the title ‘Chhetri’, they wear no sacred thread and consume chicken (meat) and alcohol. They have family surnames identical with Tāgādhāri-Chhetrīs such as Thāpā, Khaḍgā, Basnet, Mahatārā, Rokāyā, Buḍhā and Boharā. Their mother tongue is Nepālī. (Fig. 8) Though their customs and traditions have been influenced by Hinduism, they do not need any Brāhmaṇa priest. The unconverted Matwāli-Chhetrīs or Pābai-Khasas of the remote hills of Far-Western Nepal are the pure remnants of the ancient Khašas.

REFERENCES


CHAPTER ONE

During the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Aśokachalla of Western Nepal was known as the kingdom of the Khaśas (App. B-4). The successors of Aśokachalla were stated as the Khaśiyā Rājās by the Gopāla Rāja Vaṃśāvīll (chronicle) of the Nepal Valley. In the late medieval period, the hill region of the Jumlā Kingdom was known as Khāśān, the area of the Khaśa settlement.¹ Thus the Khaśas seem to be the dominating bulk of the society of Western Nepal from the early period.

Khaśa Settlements in Ancient India

The consensus of opinion is that the Khaśas were a branch of the great Āryan stock and their ancestral home, as that of their Vedic-Āryan predecessors, was somewhere in central Asia. No reference to the Khaśas is found in the Vedic literature (3,000 B. C.-1,000 B. C.). But the Mahābhārata and other books of Saṃskrit literature (3,000 B.C.-1,000 A.D.) have frequently referred to them. Therefore, it appears that the Khaśas were non-Vedic Āryans who had entered the Indian subcontinent from the north-west around the beginning of the first millennium B. C.

The Mahābhārata (2:52:2,3) mentions that the Khaśas were dwelling in the banks of the river Śailodā flowing between the Meru and Mandarā mountains. Another passage from Mahābhārata (2:44:6,7) clearly locates them as the inhabitants of the region where the Sindhu (Indus) and its tributaries issue from the hills. In the same way, the Khaśas are
mentioned in the ‘Karna-parva’ of *Mahabhara*ta* (44:41) as living in Punjab, between the Āraṭṭās and Vasāti. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57:56) they were the inhabitants of the mountains. The Sanskrit literature has grouped them among the tribes dwelling in the north-western mountainous region of the Indian sub-continent. The principal tribes thus mentioned with the Khašas were the Taṅganas, Kulindas, Daradas, Kirātas, Śakas, Tukhāras and Chinas.

References to the Khašas and their country is also to be found in the writings of Roman and Greek geographers, Pliny (79 A. D.) and Ptolemy (151 A. D.). Pliny writes, “The mountain races between the Indus and the Jomanes are the Cesi, the Catriboni who dwell in the forest.” According to Atkinson, the Cesi and Catriboni correspond with the Khašas and Kṣatriyas. Ptolemy informs that the country of the Khašas (Khašā Region) was situated near the trans-Himalayan tract of North-Western India.

Kalhana’s famous chronicle of Kashmir, the Rājataṛaṅgini, composed in the middle of the twelfth century, gives many references to the Khašas. Somarāja and Sīthharāja, the rajas of Kashmir were known as Khašarājās. The notorious queen Diddā was the daughter of Sīthharāja. She was married by Kṣemagupta, a Kashmirian king of the eleventh century. After her husband’s demise she became the all powerful queen of Kashmir. A Khaša named Tuṅga from the territory of Parṇotśa rose from the position of a cowherd to that of queen Diddā’s powerful minister.

In the copper plate grants of Lalitāshur (835 A. D.), Padmaṭdev (945 A. D.) and Suviṣkarāj (cir. 980 A. D.) the Khašas are mentioned as the principal subjects of the Kumaon Kingdom. It appears that during the rule of Kātūrls, the Khašas formed the dominating bulk of the society of Kumaon. Therefore, Kedārkhaṇḍa (Kumaon and Garhwal) had been the synonymous of the Kaśamaṇḍal (*Kedāre Khašamaṇḍale*). The name of the places and mountains such as Khāsger, the
Hindukush, Kashmir (Khaśamihir), Khaśadeśa, Khaśmaṇḍal, Khaśālā and Khasān were given after them.

Thus, the Khaśas were the chief inhabitants of the north-western mountainous region of Indian sub-continent from the very early period. It appears that the first Khaśa group arrived in Western Nepal around the middle of the first millennium A. D.. During the early medieval period they had occupied a vast territory which was known as Khaśadeśa and its capitals were Sinja and Dullu of Far-Western Nepal.

Khaśa as a Warlike Tribe

The Khaśas were well known warriors. They had taken part in the war of Mahābhārata against the Pāṇḍavas. Dūryodhana, the Mahābhārata hero, was proud of his army that consisted of the Khaśa warriors. They fought the war Mahābhārata with iron balls, tridents, bows and arrows. Hariyamśa (2:85:18,19) and Bhāgavata Purāṇa (9:20:30) also speak of their bravery. Viśākhadutta (sixth century) mentions that king Malayaketu wanted the warriors of Khaśa and Magadha countries to be in the forefront at the time of his attack on Chandraketu. Kalhana in his Raṭatarāṅgini (7:979;8:887,1895) states that the Khaśas were rough, violent and turbulent people. In Western Nepal, during the thirteenth century, the Khaśa ruler Asokachalla was a well known conqueror. The soldiers of his ‘sarvagāmīnivāhini’ were recruited mainly from the Khaśa community.

Khaśas in the Hindu Caste System

In many Hindu writings, the Khaśas are looked upon as the unorthodox members of the great Āryan family. Though the Khaśas did not strictly follow the caste rules, most of them gradually adopted the Hindu caste system. In the matter of religion and castes they were not as conservative as the Āryans of Indian plains. Looking from the Brāhmanical point of view,
Karṇa in Mahābhārata despised the Khaśas of the Bāhika country (Punjab area) in the following words:

They are impure and have no religion. The Brāhmaṇas of that locality have no knowledge of the Vedas and altars for sacrifices.

A Bāhika (Khaśa) born a Brāhmaṇa becomes afterwards a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śudra and even a barbar. After being a barbar he becomes a Brāhmaṇa or a slave.\textsuperscript{13}

On the other hand, Manu, the Hindu law giver of the second century B. C., classified that the Khaśas were the offsprings of the outcaste Kṣatriyas. In another passage, he described that the Kṣatriya people like Khaśas became degraded due to their non-observance of the Brāhmanical rituals.\textsuperscript{14}

It appears that before Manu made regulations governing caste rules, the caste system was not so rigid. Many Khaśas of the priest class engaged themselves in religious activities became Brāhmaṇas during the early period. Some other became Kṣatriyas in course of time.

The Descendants of the Ancient Khaśas in Western Nepal

As noted earlier, the Khaśas had reached Western Nepal around the fifth century. The Khaśa influx into this country continued even in the subsequent centuries. It appears that the hills and valleys of the Karnali region were occupied by them even before the establishment of the Khaśa Kingdom in the twelfth century. The Khaśas dominated the society and politics of Western Nepal during the early medieval period.

It has been mentioned above that the Pahāḍi caste groups of Western Nepal are the admixture of the Khaśas and Indo-Āryan people, and the greater degree of admixture was due to the Khaśa stock. This assumption is being examined at length here on the following grounds.\textsuperscript{16}
1. As noted previously, the Khaśas of the priest class who were engaged in religious activities and studies became Brāhmaṇas during the early period. Some others became Kṣatriyas in course of time. According to Mahābhārata (8:44:45,46,47; 8:45:6,7) the Bāhikas (the Khaśas) had adopted the Hindu caste system by the time of the composition of this work (1,000 B. C.–300 B. C.).

2. The Khaśa language has been the mother tongue of the Pahāḍi caste groups for the ages.

3. The family surnames of the Pahāḍi caste groups, especially of Brāhmaṇas and Chhetris of Nepal seem to have been derived from the religious and governmental titles in the court of the Khaśa Kingdom or from the names of the villages of the Karnali region and Kumaon. Many of such titles (App. D) are not found among the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas of Indian plains.

4. Unlike the Hindus of Indian plains, the Pahāḍi castes have no Vaiśya caste. It seems that the Khaśas aspired to be the Brāhmaṇas, Thakuris or Chhetris as the Vaiśyas were not considered superior to them.

5. In the Pahāḍi Brāhmaṇa society widow and intercaste marriage is traditionally recognised. Such customs are absent in the Brāhmaṇa society of the Indian plains.

6. The Matwali-Chhetris of Far-Western Nepalese hills are considered to be the pure remnants of the ancient Khaśas. They and the people of the Pahāḍi caste groups have some remarkable similarities.

   (a) Matwali-Chhetris and the people of the Pahāḍi caste groups have similar features—narrow faces, long, prominent noses and deep, set eyes.

   (b) Both speak the Khaśa language as their mother tongue.

   (c) Both of them have the same family deity, Maṣto, which is worshipped by sacrificing animals like goat and sheep.
But the rituals of the Brāhmaṇas of Indian plains are predominantly non-sacrificial.

(d) The Matwāl-Chhetris or the Pābai-Khaśas have the family surnames identical with the Tāgadhāri-Chhetris. They are Airi, Basnet, Bhaṇḍārī, Boharā, Buḍhā, Mahatārā, Rāut, Rāul, Thāpā Budhāthāpā and Buḍhāthokī. Some of them like Boharā and Bhaṇḍārī are also identical with the Pahādi Brāhmaṇas.

7. Pahādi Brāhmaṇas and Thakurīs claim that their ancestors had fled from the Indian plains to this mountainous region during the Muslim oppression in India at the late medieval period. But no source confirms their claim. Moreover, it is a well known fact that there was the existence of Brāhmaṇas, and Thakurīs (Pālas and Mallas) even before the first Muslim invasion of India.

8. In chapter II, it will be mentioned that many of the Bāisī Thakurī chiefs were the descendants of the Khaśa-Malla rulers of Sinja. According to Dor Bahadur Bista:

Thakuris are the aristocracy among the Chhetris and as such have the highest social, political and ritual status. If the average ambitious Khas, and later on Magars aspired to be Chhetris, the most powerful ones became Thekuris during the medieval period. So at present Thakuri is a generic term describing a group that developed into the the highest social and political order out of the select people from among the Khas, Magar and probably a few Rajput immigrants from India.16.

9. Kumaon and Western Nepal have close cultural affinities. The Khaśas had entered Western Nepal from Kumaon. On the anthropological study of the Kumaon hills, Ram P. Srivastava writes:

At some points in their history, the Khasiyas themselves split into Brahmana and Rajput divisions. However, the immigrants considered themselves to be the ‘real’ Brahmanas and Rajputs, whereas the
Khasiyas pitted their own Brahmana and Rajput divisions against the former for status equivalence.\textsuperscript{17}

Atkinson recorded about 250 septs of Kha\textit{s}i\textit{y}ā \textit{Brāhmaṇa}s and about 280 septs of Kha\textit{s}i\textit{y}ā Rajputs in Kumaon.\textsuperscript{18}

10. A practice of upgrading the Kha\textit{s}ā to that of the Tāgādhārī-Chhet\textit{rī} caste is found recorded in a document of late sixteenth century issued by a Kalyāl King, Gaganirāja of Jumla.\textsuperscript{19} This practice is common in Far-Western Nepal even at present where a Brāhmaṇa priest can confer the sacred thread on the Kha\textit{s}ās who aspires to be promoted.

Therefore, it becomes clear that many of the Kha\textit{s}ās converted themselves into Brāhmaṇa, Thakurs or Chhet\textit{rīs}. The Pahādī caste groups of Western Nepal owe largely their origin to the Kha\textit{s}ā stock. The Brāhmaṇa and the Rajput immigrants from the plains of India, who preceded or followed the Kha\textit{s}ās to come to this country, have been assimilated in equal status of the Pahādī caste hierarchy. Western Nepal was largely inhabited by the Mongoloid people-Guruṅgs and Magars—before the Khasa influx. The Khasas were the people who set the stage for the eventual Pahādī caste domination of the country.

\textbf{Nāgarājā: a Kha\textit{s}a Chief}

It will be discussed in the chapter II that Nāgarāja founded the Kha\textit{s}a Kingdom in Western Nepal around the beginning of the twelfth century. Tibetan chronicles insert the name of Nāgarāja in the lineage of the lDe family descended from the kings of Lhasa. They mention Nāgarāja and his successors as the kings of Western Tibet.\textsuperscript{20} The Dullu pillar inscription also states that Nāgarāja had come from Khāripadēsh of Tibet (App. B-27). Thus it may be argued that Nāgarāja was a Tibetan by origin. But to me this proposition does not appear convincing.

Although the Tibetan chronicles insert the name of Nāgar āja in the lineage of ruling lDe family of Lhasa, however they denote a change in succession. G. Tucci writes:
After aBar lde PT says: “Then in succession bKrasislde, Lha lde, Nāgadeva (Nāgarāja) became generally (pall c’er) master of mNaris”: after aBha lde GR states: then in succession bKrasis lde, Bha re, Naga lde became master of Guge, Purang, Mar, yul etc”. as to show that there was a change.21

The Sānśkritised name Nāgadeva itself denotes the change in succession. If Nāgadeva were of the Tibetan origin, his name would not have been Sānśkritised. Nāgarāja and his successors would not have spoken the Khaśa language. The ‘illa’ suffix or ‘challa’ title which are associated with the names of Nāgarāja’s successors like Chāpilla and Krāchalla are not of the Tibetan origin. Names like Sāhilla and Chāvilla which have ‘illa’ suffix occur in the contemporary records of Kashmir.22

To state Aśokachalla, a successor of Nāgarāja, ‘sprung from the family of Gauḍa’ (App. B-2) seems to be incorrect because Asokachalla of Western Nepal could not be the descendant of family of Gauḍa (Far-Western India). Other sources too do not confirm this claim. However, it can be argued that his mother might have been the daughter of the reputed Pāla family of Gauḍa. The Kṣatriyas of Indo-Āryan origin have claimed that they are the descendants of Śūrya, Chandra, Agni or Prahlāda but Nāgarāja and his successors do not claim as such. Then, undisputably Nāgarāja must be a chief of the Khaśa tribe. On the contemporary history of Kumaon, K. P. Nautiyal writes:

The folk-lore and tradition show that the Katūrīs were a small Khaśa tribe, flourishing in the valley of Alakanandā... The Khaśas played an interesting role in the history of the entire hill region of northern India. Many independent dynasties ruling in the early medieval period in these parts of India seemed to have offshooted from the Khaśa stock. And it seems very likely that the Katūrīs also, as an extension of the Khaśa tribe, proved to be the first historical dynasty of Kumaon.23
The Katūrī rule was established in Kumaon sometime around the last quarter of the seventh century and it lasted up to the end of the tenth century. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Chand Rajputs from the plains of India came and established their rule in Kumaon. But the Chand rulers and local Khaśa chiefs were not in good terms. This also contributed to the wide diffusion of the Khaśas of Kumaon.

After the assassination of Lang Darma in 842, Tibet fell into a great disorder. It led to a schism in the royal lineage of Lhasa which caused the disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom. On the history of Tibet, Tsepon Shakabpa writes:

The dates 842 and 1247 therefore marked the period of decentralised control in central Tibet, during which time the country consisted of many small hegemonies, which were constantly warring against, or allying with each other as conditions warranted.

Probably, due to this disturbance in Tibet, the Khaśas of Kumaon and adjacent areas found themselves at ease to move towards Western Tibet. The Khaśas who reached Tibet, adopted Buddhism and their names and habits were also Tibetanised. The Khaśa chieftains emerged as the sovereigns of South-Western Tibet. Their adoption of Buddhism enabled them to have sentimental attachment with their Tibetan subjects. Tibetan chronicles notice that Nāgarāja and Devarāja were the two brothers who had been Buddhist monks.

After the establishment of their hold in South-Western Tibet, the Khaśas, under the leadership of Nāgarāja, went Jumla and established the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal.

The Dullu pillar inscription states that Pālas who were the feudatories of the Khaśa Kingdom were the members of the Ādityavaṃśa, but it does not offer any information about the dynasty of the ruling kings (App. B-27). Prithvimalla, in this inscription, does not say anything about the origin of the
Nāgarāja dynasty. Probably, he did not address his maternal predecessors as the Khašas because the Khašas were considered outcaste people since the ages.

Sahaŋpāla himself boasts of being ‘the lamp of Kṣatriya kula’ but he does not mention his master Aṣokachalla as a Kṣatriyas. In the plains of India where the Khašas were looked upon as outcastes and barbarians, Sahaŋpāla and Puruṣottamasimīha did not address their master directly as a Khaša, though an indirect reference is made to Aṣokachalla as a Khaša king that he was the great ruler of the Khašadeša.:

The Godala Rāja Vamśāvalī written during the time of Jayasthitimalla (1380–1395) apparently authenticates that Nāgarāja and his successors were the Khašas. It states that Jayatāri (Jitāri), Aṣokachalla’s son, was the king of the Khašas. Moreover, this chronicle clearly mentions that Ripumalla and Ādityamalla were the Khaša kings.

With their family name ‘malla’, some historians have tried to establish blood relationship between the Khaśiyā Mallas of the thirteenth century and the Mallas of Mallapuri conquered by the Lichchhavi king Mānadeva of Nepal of the fifth century, and with the Mallas of Mallabhūmi (Kuśinagar and Pāvā) of the sixth century B.C. But their versions cannot be accepted because the Dullu pillar inscription clearly mentions that Asokachalla’s son Jitārimalla and Jayapāla’s son Puṇyamalla took the Malla title. (App. B-27).

REFERENCES

2. Mahābhārata (1: 174: 36, 37, 38; 6: 9: 67, 68; 7: 121: 42, 43; 8: 20: 10, 11; 8: 44: 47; 8: 73: 19, 20, 21); Manusmṛiti (10: 44); Harivamsa (2: 85: 19); Bhāgavata Purāṇa (2: 4: 18; 9: 20: 30); Vrihatasamhitā (10: 12; 14: 30); Kāṣyapsamhitā (8: 7: 42).
15. All the Pahāḍī Brāhmaṇas and Thakurīs of today consider themselves to be the descendants of the Vedic-Aryans and Rajputs respectively, who migrated from the plains of India. But their claim does not wholly accord with the facts.
20. *Appendix, A.*
22. Ibid, p. 70.
24. Ibid, p. 68.
26. This Nāgarāja is not the founder of the Khaśa Kingdom. He is the forefather of that Nāgarāja who is mentioned in the Dullu pillar inscription and whom Tibetan chronicles call Nāgadeva.

27. G. Tucci, n. 21, pp. 53-59.

28. See Chapter III.


POLITICAL HISTORY

CHAPTER TWO

Foundation of the Khaśa Kingdom

The stone pillar inscription of Dullu has great importance on the political history of the early medieval Western Nepal. It gives the genealogy of the Pāla and the Khaśa rulers. The Pālas were, probably, the rulers of the Karnali region before the Khaśa Kingdom came into existence. The Khaśas founded their rule in South-Western Tibet and subsequently they came and conquered Western Nepal under the leadership of Nāgarāja. This inscription states, "Nāgarāja who lived at Khāripradeśa came to (Sinja) and became Jāveśvara. He established order in Señjāpuri." (App-27, verse 12). Khāripradeśa was an old name of Ngari sKorsum of Western Tibet and its headquarter was Tāklākhār. Yogi Naraharinath points out that Jāveśvara literally means Jumleśvara, the ruler of Jumla.1 A copper plate grant of Sudarśana Sāhi dated 1745 mentions that the kingdom of Jumla was known as Jāveśvaradeśa.2 There is also a river flowing in the valley of Jumla which is called Javānedī. Thus it becomes clear that Nāgarāja came from Khāripadeśa of South-Western Tibet to Jumla, founded the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal and made Sinja its capital. The ruins of Sinja royal palace are still to be seen on a small hillock near Hāṭsiṉjā village of Jumlā district.

No evidence states the time when Nāgarāja founded the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal. This is a matter of mere conjecture. The first evidence of the Khaśa Kingdom found so far is the copper plate grant of Bāleśvara temple granted by king Krāchalla according to which the year of enthronement
of Krāchalla was 1207 (App. B-1). Krāchalla was the fifth successor of Nāgarāja. Therefore, P.R. Sharma writes that giving an average of twenty years rule to each of the five kings before Krāchalla, the establishment of the Khaśa Kingdom by Nāgarāja would have taken place around the beginning of the twelfth century.³

**Territory and Boundary of the Khaśa Kingdom**

In the Bodh Gaya inscription, Aśokachalla is said to have been the king of the kings of the Khaśa country of Sapādalakṣa mountains (App. B-4). The term Sapādalakṣa means:

Sapādalakṣa is an old name of the Sivālik hills, and the name literally ‘one and a half quarter lakh’ must have given them from the number of hills in the range. The Saṃskrit name may have got corrupted into Prākrit Sāvalakha, and thence into Sivālik.⁴

King Puruṣottamasiṃha of Kamādeśa (Kumaon) regarded Aśokachalla as the crest jewel of the kings of the Sapādalakṣa mountains.⁵ Therefore, it can be conjectured that Sivālik mountain range from the Gaṇḍakī to Sutlej was within the jurisdiction of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The Khaśa rulers had invaded the Nepal Valley several times.⁶ They had issued orders ensuring the security of the Tāghwaṭ monastery of Aṭhāraśayakholā, north of Gorkhā (App. B-17, 18). Hence, the territory of the Khaśa Kingdom seems to have been extended up to the Trisūlī Gaṇḍakī river in the east.

King Krāchalla, the fifth successor of Nāgarāja, established the Khaśa suzerainty over Kumaon in the year of 1223. (App. B-1). His son Aśokachalla further proceeded towards west and conquered Garhwal (App. B-2, 5). As a vassal king of the Khaśa Kingdom, king Puruṣottamasiṃha of Kumaon sought consent of Aśokachalla to offer worship in Gayā.⁷ Thus in the west Kumaon and Garhwal were under the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom. However, it is uncertain
whether the Khaśa rulers after Aśokachalla continued their hold upon the territory of Kumaon and Garhwal.

The chronicles of Western Tibet state that the Khasiyā Mallas succeeded at a certain time to the ruling 1De family of Lhasa and began to rule over South-Western Tibet that is Ngari sKorsum of today.8

Ngari was subdivided into three smaller districts- Guge, Gangri and Purang. Guge was the largest of the three, and contains the well known towns of Tholing and Tsaparang. Gangri (Kailāśa) is the country around the holy lakes (Mānasarovara and Rākṣasa) and Purang is the upper valley of the Gogra or Karnali river.9

G. Tucci, after a long discussion, reaches the following conclusion:

In the end of the 12th century some tribes, certainly Khas, invaded respectively the kingdom of Purang and that of Guge (and probably also Ladakhh)........
In the 13th century Purang and Guge and western Nepal were united and thus marked the climax of the power of Mallas.10

The renowned Suvarṇabhūmi, Mount Kailāśa (the abode of Śiva) and the holy lake Mānasarovara were within the domain of the Khaśa Kingdom. In the south the Khaśa Kingdom seems to be extended up to the outer Tarai, south of the Sivālik mountain range. Two inscriptions of Ripumalla are found in Lumbini and Kapilvastu (App. B-11, 13). Thus, the Khaśa Kingdom, in its heyday, comprised Western Nepal, South-Western Tibet, and Kumaon and Garhwal. Spatially, it was situated, approximately, within the area between 78° east to 85°30' east and 27°45' north to 31° north.

The Pālas

The Pālas and the Khaśa rulers appear together in the Dullu pillar inscription. This inscription mentions the Pālas also in the capacity of kings. Eighteen names of the Pālas followed
by the names of Puṇyamalla and Śrimalla are inscribed in the
inscription. They are known as the successors of Ādityavarna.
The genealogy is as follows:

Ādityavarna, Ādipāla, Amarpāla, Jayapāla I, Vijayapāla, Virapāla, Vikramapāla, Śripāla, Dhīrapāla, Somapāla, Sūryapāla, Samundrapāle, Sukhapāla, Vig (r) ahapāla, Mahipāla (Varapāla, Gajapāla), Viśvapāla, Jīvapāla, Saralapāla, Jayapāla II, Puṇyamalla-Śakunamālā (queen of Puṇyamalla) Śrimalla (first son of Puṇyamalla and Śakunamālā)

No other evidence except the Dullu pillar inscription mentions the Pālas of the Karnali region as the ruling kings. Prithvimalla, who erected this inscription, regards the Pālas in the capacity of kings because they were his ancestors from his father’s line.

The Pālas of the Karnali region might have ruled over this area before the establishment of the Khaśa Kingdom. When the Khaśas, under the leadership of Nāgarāja, established their hold over this region, the Pālas accepted the supremacy of the Khaśa rulers and their position was reduced to that of feudatories. According to the line of succession Sūryapāla seems to be the contemporary of Nāgarāja.

The Pālas as the predecessors of the Khaśa rulers possessed skill and experience in the matter of state affairs. They used to help the Khaśa rulers to run the state administration. Sahanapāla was a Bhāndāgarika (treasurer) in the court of Aśokachalla. (App. B-4). In the same way, the Pālas might have been employed as district administrators in some important places such as Goha, Jhumkār, Gelā and Pālpā. In the Dullu pillar inscription also Goha and Jhumkār are mentioned as viṣayās (districts). (App. B-27, verses 5-7).

As stated earlier, the Khaśa Kingdom in its heyday was extended from the west of Nepal valley to the east of Kashmir
and from the south of Brahmaputra to the north of Ganges. The places such as Gela, Goha (Guthichaur) and Jhumkār (Tibrikot) which are suggested as the seats of the Pāla Kingdom\textsuperscript{11} are situated within one or two days journey from Sīnja. Tibrikot and Guthichaur are in the east of Sīnja while Gela lies to the south-west. It is quite impossible to be the separate entity of the Pāla Kingdom in the vicinity of Sīnja when the Khaśa power was an unparalleled force of the area mentioned above. Similarly, it will be unreasonable to identify Purang as the kingdom of the Pālas and Guge as the kingdom of the Khaśas.\textsuperscript{12} There was no existence of the Pāla Kingdom in this region during the days of the Khaśa rule. The Pālas were feudatories of the Khaśa Kingdom.

Nāgarāja’s Successors

On the north face of the Dullu pillar inscription, the genealogy of Nāgarāja dynasty is inscribed. Tibetan chronicles also mention the Khaśa rulers as the kings of Western Tibet. According to the Dullu pillar inscription the genealogy of Nāgarāja dynasty is as follows.

Nāgarāja (around the beginning of twelfth century)

\begin{itemize}
  \item Chāpa
  \item Chāpilla
  \item Krāśichalla
  \item Krādhichalla
  \item Krāchalla (1207–23)
  \item Aśokachalla (1255–78)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Jitārimalla (1288–99)
  \item Akṣāyamalla (1280)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ādityamalla (1321–28)
  \item Kalyāpamalla
  \item Pratāpamalla
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Änandamalla
  \item Ripumalla (1312–13)
  \item Samgrāmamalla
\end{itemize}
The Dullu pillar inscription states Ādityamalla’s son Kalyāṇamalla and grandson Pratāpamalla as the ruling kings but no other evidence is available to support this statement. Therefore, question arises in regard to the succession after Ādityamalla. If we accept the authenticity of the chronicle of Taghwai monastery, this problem can be solved with its help as described below.13

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Ādityamalla} & & \\
\text{son,} & \text{son in law} & \\
\text{Kalyāṇamalla (died before Puṇyamalla (married Šakunamālā and succeeded her father, Ādityamalla) \text{coronation})} & \text{Pratāpamalla (became a monk)} & \\
\end{array}\]

The family of Puṇyamalla, according to the Dullu pillar inscription and other sources, is as follows:

Puṇyamalla (1328-37)

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Śrīmalla Chandramālā Prithvīmalla (1338-58)} & \\
\text{(first son) (daughter) (Dharmamālā and Dīpamālā were the queens of Prithvīmalla).} & \\
\text{Sūryamalla (1367)} & \\
\text{Abhayamalla (1376-91)} & \\
\end{array}\]

The chronicles of Tibet give some important information about the Nāgarāja dynasty.14 The name of Nāgarāja mentioned by the Tibetan chronicles is Nāgadeva. They also refer to the change in succession after Pratāpamalla. The following table shows almost complete agreement between the genealogies given by the Dullu pillar inscription and Tibetan chronicles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dullu pillar inscription</th>
<th>Tibetan chronicles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nāgarāja</td>
<td>Nagadeva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāpa</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāpilla</td>
<td>bTsan p’yug lde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krāśichalla</td>
<td>bKra sis lde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the Dullu pillar inscription Nāgarājā had come from Khāripradeśa of Tibet. But some Tibetan chronicles state that bTsan p’yuṅ lde (Chāpilla) went to Yatse (Siṅjā) and became its king. Whosoever might have been the person to come to Siṅjā, all the sources are unanimous in one point that someone among the earlier Khaśa kings had come from Tibet. But the Dullu pillar inscription is more authentic than the other sources. Therefore, it has been already mentioned above that Nāgarājā was the founder of the Khaśa Kingdom of which Sinja was the capital.

King Nāgarājā was the great conqueror and reformer. He not only founded the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal but also made many reforms in his kingdom. If the Buddha image inscription of Barahat (Garhwal) is that of Nāgarājā, he must have conquered Kunlaon and Garhwal also.

After Nāgarājā, according to the Dullu pillar inscription and Tibetan chronicles, Chāpa, Chāpilla, Krāśichalla and Krādhichalla became kings in succession. But we have no source to throw light on their reigns. The source cited above give only their names and order of succession. The king who bears great importance after Nāgarājā, is Krāchalla, son of Krādhichalla.
Kumaon Invasion of Krāchalla

A confirmation of deed of Krāchalla is inscribed on the reverse of the copper plate grant made by the Katūri king Desatadeva to the Bāleśvara of Kumaon. This inscription of Krāchalla was inscribed in the Śāke era 1145 (1223 A.D.). At that time the capital of the kingdom of Krāchalla was ‘in the prosperous city’ near Dullu.

According to the Bāleśvara temple inscription (App. B-1), Krāchalla had invaded and subjugated Kumaon in 1223. This took place in the sixteenth year of his enthronement. Therefore, it seems that Krāchalla had become the king in (1223-16) 1207. The chronological history of the Khaśa Kingdom begins from that date.

Eight names of Māṇḍalikas (governors) and two names of Rāuttarājas are also inscribed in his Bāleśvara temple inscription. They had accompanied the king during his invasion of Kumaon. They were: Śri Yāhaḍa Deva Māṇḍalika, Śri Chandra Deva Māṇḍalika, Śri Hari Rāuttarāja, Śri Anilāditya Rāuttarāja, Śri Vinaya Chandra Māṇḍalika, Śri Vidyā Chandra Māṇḍalika, Śri Jaya Sīmha Māṇḍalika, Śri Jihala Deva Māṇḍalika, Šri Sallāla Deva Māṇḍalika and Šri Musā Deva Māṇḍalika.

In those days, the Māṇḍalikas had occupied high position. In this inscription Māṇḍalkias and Rānttarāias are mentioned as friends and ministers of the king. It appears that Krāchalla adopted ‘divide and rule’ policy to administer Kumaon. Some local chiefs were made Māṇḍalikas to gain their favour. Atkinson writes:

The names of the Māṇḍalikas or local chiefs contain those of two Rawat Rājas evidently of the same clan as the chief of Domkot, and the names Jihala and Jaya may be compared with the names of Khaśiyā Rājās Jāhala and Jaya. It is worthy of note that three of the Māṇḍalikas have the tribal affix Chandra, the same as that borne by Som Chand’s family.
With the advent of the subjugation of Kumaon there took place a fierce battle and the casualties might have been many as the inscription states, "...the prosperous Krāchalla Deva... has crushed the whole circle of his enemies with his arms, and having destroyed the kings of the demolished city of Kartipura, (Kārttikeyapura-Kumaon) and established our right therein." (App. B-1). As mentioned above, many of the local chiefs accepted the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom and the others who did not were destroyed by Krāchalla.

But after the conquest Krāchalla showed tolerance in religious matter. Although he himself was a Buddhist king, he offered worship to Ekrudra Bāleśvara, the Hindu god, and donated a larga area of land with mines, valleys, and jungles, together with its products. In this way, Krāchalla showed deep respect to the feeling of his Hindu subjects of the newly acquired territory of Kumaon.

Conquests of Aśokachalla

Aśokachalla succeeded his father Krāchalla. The inscriptions relating to him are found not only in Western Nepal but in Garhwal, Gaya and Bodh Gaya also, and confined to the dates between 1255 and 1278. (App. B 2-6). Therefore, it appears that he ruled over the country for more than twenty-three years.

The reign of Aśokachalla marks the climax in the history of the Khaśa Kingdom. The trident inscriptions of Gopeśvara (Garhwal) and Barahat (Tehri Garhwal) mention him as a great conqueror. If his father Krāchalla had conquered Kartripura (Kumaon), he would have further proceeded towards west and occupied Garhwal and Tehri Garhwal. His army known as "sarvakāmini vāhinī" was one of the best forces of that time. King Puruṣottamasimha of Kumaon in his Gaya inscription writes that Aśokachalla was a renowned and illustrious ruler, and was the crest jewel of the kings of Sapādalakṣa mountains.10
The trident inscription of Gopeśvara points out that as Vikrāṃditya ruled over Vetālas, so did Aśokachalla over Dānavabhūtala. Dānavabhūtala might have been referred to the country of Western Tibet, which was under the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom. Some chronicles of Tibet mention, “His son, A so lde (Aśokachalla), bought those 44 towns which had at an earlier time been offered to Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) by Mya-nan-med (Aśoka Maurya). At that time they belonged to the Sog-pos (Mongols), and he established a religious brotherhood, which was sustained by their taxes.” (App. A). These 44 towns or villages might have been the territory of Ladakh, lying to the north of Kumaon.

The sarvagāminivāhint (an encompassing force) of Aśokachalla brought the Gandaki region under the control of the Khaśa Kingdom. It was due to that control, Jitārimalla, son of Aśokachalla, could easily invade the valley of Nepal for the first time in 1288. It appears that the tribal chieftains of the Gandaki region were compelled to pay tribute to the Khaśa Kingdom during Aśokachalla’s rule.

Thus Aśokachalla expanded his kingdom into a trans-Himalayan empire in this mountainous region. His empire comprised Guge, Purang and Gangri (Kailāsa) in the north, Tarai in the south, Kumaon and Garhwal in the west and the Gandaki region in the east. Generally, we cannot find the existence of a big kingdom in the mountainous region during the medieval period but it was due to their valour and bravery that Aśokachalla and his followers expanded their kingdom into an empire conquering the rugged and ferocious barriers of nature.

Aśokachalla was known not only as a great conqueror but was also renowned for his broad religious policy. He is especially remembered as a kind and tolerant king in the pillar inscription of Dullu (App. B-27). Although he was a devout follower of Buddhism, a faith based on non-violence, he always kept his army strong and effective.
As the Gandaki region was occupied, the waves of the Khasa-Āryan people came and settled there and their language and culture expanded rapidly throughout Western Nepal by the time of Aṣokachalla. The king promoted various aspects of Nepalese Pahāḍī society and culture. The first written document of Nepali language (Sīnjārī branch of the Khasa language) available so far belongs to his period (App. B-6). It will be discussed later that the famous Kānkrevhāra of Surkhet, a large and beautiful Buddhist monument of the Karnali region, was probably made in the heyday of the Khaṣa Kingdom, that is during the reign of Aṣokachalla.

Dispute on the Succession after Jitārimalla

Jitārimalla was the elder son and successor of Aṣokachalla. He was the first Lhaṣa ruler who adopted the Malla title. The Khaṣa people under the leadership of their king, Jitārimalla, stormed the valley of Nepal to invade for the first time in 1288. If the small inscription of Pādukāsthān, Dullu, dated 1299 is of Jitārimalla, the span of his reign seems at least 11 years. (App. B-10).

Jitārimalla had two sons—Aksyamalla and Ādityamalla. But there is controversy as to the immediate successor of Jitārimalla. At the same time Jitāri’s nephew Ripumalla (Anandamalla’s son) appears to have enjoyed royal titles.

Aksyamalla was the rightful successor of his father’s throne. But no source speaks of his enthronement. Tibetan chronicles also do not mention his name in the list of the Khaṣa rulers. He might have died before being crowned or some other incidents might have occurred which prevented him from succeeding his father. On the other hand, a chronicle of Tibet writes, “Ḥdzin-dar-rmal’s son (Jitārimalla’s son), Ā-ḥdzin-rmal (Ādityamalla), first became a monk at Saskya (Shākya monastery of Western Tibet); (then) he became king again.” (App. A). It is to be noted as to why Ādityamalla went to Shākya monastery to be a monk. It may be the rise of Ripumalla
who ultimately captured the throne of the Khaśa Kingdom, and Ādityamalla fled to Tibet.

Ripumalla appears for only two years (1312-1313) with the status of a sovereign king. Hence nothing is known about Ripumalla and his son Safhrāhamalla. It appears that Ādityamalla returned from the Shākya monastery at sometime between 1313–1316 and established his hold over the throne of Sinjā (App. B 12, 15).

A Change in the Line of Succession

Ādityamalla, as known from the Gopāla Rāja Vamsāvall, was ruling until 1328. Probably, he died immediately after his return from the invasion of Nepal valley because an inscription of his successor king Puṇyamalla, dated 1328 is available (App. B-18).

According to the stone pillar inscription of Dullu, Ādityamalla’s grandson Pratāpamalla left no issue to succeed him. This put an end to the line of Nāgarāja. Then, Puṇyamalla, a descendant of the Pālas, became the ruler of the Khaśa Kingdom. Before his succession to the throne of Sinja, he was a vassal chief living in Gelā.21 The Dullu pillar inscription states nothing as to how Puṇyamalla got the throne of the Khaśa Kingdom. According to a Tibetan chronicle, a relative of the last king (Par-tab smal) of the Nāgarāja dynasty named So-nam de (bSod-nams lde) accepted an invitation to become the king and under the title of Pun-ma1 held the government of Purang.22 Most of the chronicles of Tibet brought to light by G. Tucci also agree with this statement.23 However, it seems that Puṇyamalla did not succeed Pratāpamalla, he succeeded Ādityamalla. As mentioned earlier, Ādityamalla was ruling up to the fullmoon day of Chaitra 448 Nepal era (April, 1328 A.D.).24 A copper plate inscription mention that Puṇyamalla had become the king before the month of Baisākha (April-May) of the same year. (App. B-18). There is no inscription of Kalyāṇamalla and Pratāpamalla available.
The chronicle of Taghwai monastery (though its authenticity has yet to be proved) states that king Ādityamalla had one son (Kalyāṇamalla) and a daughter (Śakunamālā). Kalyāṇamalla’s son Pratāpamalla was a bachelor. When Ādityamalla died, Pratāpamalla did not ascend the throne. At his request, Puṇyamalla, the husband of Śakunamālā, was proclaimed the king. Thereafter, Pratāpamalla became a monk.²⁶ P. R. Sharma writes:

It is possible to regard following Mr. Balakrishna Pokharel that the right to inherit the throne as well as the Malla title came to Puṇyamalla by virtue of his marrying the daughter of the sons of Nāgarāja’s house. I know from the instance of the Matwālī Chhetris of the Choudhabisakholā (Jumla) that this practice known as ‘gharhālne’ prevails even today in which a sonless father brings in his son-in-law to stay in his house.²⁶

Such a custom, like the one just mentioned above, known as dolājiprathā was in vogue in the Nepal valley during the medieval period in which a sonless father gives his daughter in marriage and his son-in-law receives his gotra (family name) as well as the right to inherit him.²⁷ If viewed in the light of this custom, Puṇyamalla, who married Śakunamālā, the daughter of Ādityamalla, got the right to inherit the throne of Ādityamalla as well as to adopt the Malla title.

Puṇyamalla was succeeded by his son Prithvilmalla around the beginning of the year of 1338. The duration of Puṇyamalla’s rule seems of about nine years (App. B-18-21). The Khaśas once again invaded the Nepal valley in the winter of 1334 during the reign of Puṇyamalla. It has been claimed that Puṇyamalla had conquered several countries such as Koṅgkana, Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Murala, Kerala, Dahāla, Áṅga, Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Mithila, Mālava, Nepal, Gurjara, Jālandhara and Āndhra (App. B 20). However, his claim, excepting the conquest of Nepal in 1334, lacks substantial evidence.
On the Khasiyās’ Invasions of the Nepal Valley

As mentioned earlier, the Gandaki region was subjugated by Khaśas by the time of Aśokachalla. This helped his successors in making continuous efforts to get control of the kingdom of the Nepal valley. Jitārimalla, the son and successor of Aśokachalla, was the first Khaśa ruler who invaded the valley for the first time in 1288. According to the Gopāla Rāja Vamsāvali, the Khaśas had invaded the valley of Nepal several times as follows:

4. Ripumalla’s visit-NS 433 Phālguna (1313 A.D.).
5. Khaśa invasion during the time of Ādityamalla-NS 441 Chaitra (1321 A.D.).
6. Ādityamalla’s second invasion-NS 488 Chaitra (1328 A.D.).

Thus the Khaśas had entered the valley altogether seven times and among them six were the invasions. Ripumalla visited the valley in 1313 on a pilgrimage. All the Khaśa invasions were carried during the winter except the last one. Puṇyamalla’s force entered the valley in the month of Bhādra (August-September) and returned home after six months in Phālguna (February-March). Most of the campaigns were led by the Khaśa rulers themselves. Therefore, it appears that the campaigns were taken by them seriously.

In the east of the Khaśa Kingdom, the valley of Nepal from the early period was a prosperous one due to its fertile land and interpot trade link with Tibet and India. It was not only well known for its prosperity but also renowned as a centre
of pilgrimage, having the sacred shrines of Pasupatinātha, Svayamāṃbhūnātha and Matsyandranātha.

The story of the enormous wealth of the Nepal valley lured several invaders. As the people from the remote hills of the Karnali region came and settled in the fertile basins of the Gandaki region after the Khaśa rulers’ domination the Khaś-Āryan people and their culture widely diffused throughout Western Nepal. Then the Khaśa campaigned towards the heart of the Nepal valley by the time of Jitārimalla in 1288. On the invasions of Jitārimalla the author of the Gopāla Rāja Vamsāvalī writes:

The Khasiyās came. For the first Rājā Jayatāri entered in the month of Pauṣa of the year 408 NS. In Sāmhe (Svayamāṃhū area) 800 Khasiyās were killed and entire mass of our people took shelter in the forest. Then the Khasiyās fled. Thereafter the people returned to their normal life in a happy mood.* The year came. On Phālguna Šukla 13, Jayatāri entered once again for the second time. He burnt several villages. He offered worship to Svayamāṃbhūnātha, Lokesvara and Paśupatinātha. Then happily he returned to his country. Sāmvat 409 NS.* On 410 NS Phālguna Šukla Prapatipadā (February 26th, 1290) Jitāri came and captured Nuwākoṭ. He presented treasury to Būngma (Rātomatsyendranātha), entered Gvālā (Deopātan) by the western gate. Then he burnt several villages. Remained encamping for one month in Pātan (but) the fort could not be opened.28

From the above statement it seems that during the first invasion the year of 408 NS (1288 A.D.) a fierce battle had taken place between the Khaśas and the forces of the Nepal valley in which eight hundred soldiers of the invaders were killed. The number of casualties on the side of the Nepal valley is not mentioned. However, it seems that the kingdom of the Nepal valley was defeated by the Khaśas and its people took shelter in the forest. When the Khaśas returned to their homeland, the people of the Nepal valley returned to their normal life.
After fourteen months of the first invasion, Jitārī again invaded the Nepal valley. At that time the Khaṣa troops burnt several villages. Gopāla Rāja Vamśavali does not mention anything regarding the resistance against the invading force. It mentions only the religious deeds performed by the king Jitārimalla in the Nepal valley. His third invasion took place in 1290, after one year of his second invasion.

Though the Khaṣa invaders fired the city and looted the wealth of the people and the palace of the Nepal valley, they exhibited their spirit of religious toleration outside their domain also. Jitārī performed pujā and offered presents to the deities of Hindus as well as Buddhists in the valley. Ultimately Anantamalla, the then king of Nepal, would have been compelled to pay tribute to the Khaṣa kingdom.

But the Khaṣa supremacy established by Jitārimalla over the valley did not last for a long time. The Doyas from the Karnāta Kingdom of Tirhut invaded the valley in 1300 and 1311. The Tirhut invasion of 1300 was carried on at the request of the king Anantamalla himself.

King Anantamalla of Nepal died in 1308. After him Ānandadeva ascended the throne. But some prominent courtiers like Jayāśaktideva, Vetaladeva and Meghachandrādeva were against the new king. They did not hesitate even to seek help from the Doyas of Tirhut. The Doyas were called for. They reached the valley in the month of Māgha (January-February) 1311. They remained in the valley for more than a year. They fired the cities and temples, plundered the riches of the temples and imprisoned courtiers and Brāhmaṇas. But they could not establish their rule and returned home in 1312. Nor could they dethrone the king Ānandadeva.

In 1313 the Khasiyā Rājā Ripumalla visited the valley. King Ānandadeva of Nepal was the supporter of the Khaṣa
ruler. As the ḍoyas were driven out and Ānandadeva had consolidated the power, Ripumalla did not need to carry any operation against anyone. Therefore, the Gopāla Rājā Vamśāvalī does not mention any hostility at that time when Ripumalla was in the valley. It states that Ripumalla went to Buṅgma, offered treasury to Matsyendranātha, propitiated the Bhaṭṭāraka of Gvālā (Pasupatinātha) and worshipped the Chaitya of Kāntipur (Svayaṃbhūnātha); he performed ceremonies and returned home after eighteen days. He had visited Nepal not as an invader but as a pilgrim. At the same time, he enforced the Khaṣa supremacy over the Nepal valley.

Until Rudramalla's emergence on the political horizon of Nepal, nobody appeared to challenge the Khaṣa supremacy over the valley. In 1320 Rudramalla crowned his relative Arimalla in Deopatan. Rudramalla was not satisfied with the king Ānandadeva. Therefore, he placed Arimalla on the throne and he himself became the de facto ruler. Ultimately, Ānandadeva was forced to quit the crown.

In 1321 the Khaṣa king Ādityamalla sent his troops for an attack over the Nepal valley. Gopāla Vamśāvalī does not mention the name of the leader of the invading force. It mentions that on the second day of the bright moon of Chaitra, 441 NS the Khaṣas came, fought and destroyed the fort of Rājabāsa of Tipura (Bhaktapur). Their aim seems to eliminate the power of Rudramalla. So they attacked Bhaktapur which was the seat of Rudramalla's de facto rule. Ultimately, Rudramalla might have agreed to pay tribute to the Khaṣa Kingdom. That's why the Khaṣa rulers did not feel necessary to attack the valley during the lifetime of Rudramalla.

Rudramalla died in 1326 at the age of thirty. After the death of Rudramalla there was complete chaos in the political atmosphere of the valley. In such a condition the
Khaśa king Ādityamalla once again raided the valley in 1328. According to the Gopāla Rāja Vaṃśāvalī, Ādityamalla came on the seventh day of the bright moon of Phālguna, 448 NS (1328 A.D.), fought and captured Nuwākoṭ. After five days, his force captured Sākharkwāth (Pharping), burnt several villages and surrounded the fort of Pulbahī (Lalitpur) for twenty two days but they could not destroy the fort. Then Ādityamalla and his force entered Nepal in the full moon day of Chaitra 448 NS. The Vaṃśāvalī preserved in the Kaiser library describes the result of this invasion in the following words:

Then Ādityamalla entered Nepal, extracted danḍa (fine) from the people of Lalitagrāma (Lalitpur) in the full moon day of Chaitra 448 NS.

Thus, Ādityamalla returned to his country after many days’ loot and destruction of the Nepal valley. The Khaśas once again invaded the valley during the reign of Puṇyamalla. The Gopāla Rāja Vaṃśāvalī writes:

Thayitabhā entered Lalitapur on the seventh day of the bright moon of Bhādra 454 (NS) (August-September, 1334). Sakhpatisirāj could not enter the city and was killed by the Khaśas. Other forty men were killed. The Khaśas returned on the first day of the dark moon of Phālguna (February-March, 1335) with booty. They brunt the village of Sānkhu.

Thus the Khaśa troops remained in the Nepal valley for about six months. It was the longest seize of the Khaśa in the valley. At that time, the Khaśa troops might have involved themselves in the domestic quarrel in the kingdom of Nepal. It was a time when Devaladevi, queen of the late king Harisimhadeva of Tirhut, was emerging as a dominating figure in the politics of Nepal. Probably, Devaladevi and her followers succeeded in persuading the Khaśa troops to return, assuring them to pay tribute regularly.
It appears that the Khaśa rulers were not motivated to annex the Nepal valley into their kingdom due to the inconvenience of transport, administrative and other difficulties. Besides, they always faced mass resentment in the valley. The people chose to take shelter in the forest rather than to accept the permanent control of the Khaśa invaders. On the other hand, the Khašas had heard of the enormous wealth of the valley. Therefore, they always tried to maintain their supremacy over the valley only to get the incomes derived from it. The Khaśiyā operations were carried to make the valley their tributary. When the tribute was paid regularly the Khaśa rulers left the valley undisturbed. But when their supremacy was violated they invaded the valley, fired the cities, plundered the riches and compelled the kingdom of Nepal valley to pay tributes. Therefore, it appears that during the early medieval period, the kingdom of Nepal valley remained a tributary of the Khaśa Kingdom for sometime.

The Glorious Days of Prithvīmalla’s Rule

Prithvīmalla was the son and successor of Paṇyamalla. Puṇyamalla had two sons: the elder one was Srīmalla and Prithvīmalla was the younger. Probably, Srīmalla died before he was crowned and Prithvīmalla succeeded his father. So far available inscriptions mention that Prithvīmalla ruled over his country for more than twenty years (Ayp. B-21-30).

The famous Dullu pillar inscription, which is known as Kīrtistaṁbha also, was installed by Prithvīmalla in the Šāke year of 1279 (1357 A.D.). Many other inscriptions of his time are found in the Karnali region. About one third of the inscriptions relating to the history of the Khaśa Kingdom were inscribed during the reign of Prithvīmalla. For the study of the history of the Khaśa Kingdom, the Dullu pillar inscription of Prithvīmalla bears great importance.

Prithvīmalla had many capable personalities to assist him either in war front or in administration. Tibetan chronicles
also mention the name of his chief minister.\textsuperscript{36} His chief minister was Yasovarmā. Devavarmā and Jagatisimha were other ministers.\textsuperscript{37} Yasovarmā is also known as the \textit{Mahāman-ḍalēśvara} from the inscription of Jayagarh village (App. B-25). His other prominent courtiers were: Jayasimha, Achhāmi Rāulā, Bhartākoṭī Rāulā, Vrihaspati Rāulā, Faityāl Rāulā, Kuñwar Bhr, Balāl Chand, Abhu Bhanḍārī, Kīdi Thāpā, Itsaku Joisī, Sarṅkardeva Bhanḍārī, Bāchhu Bhanḍārī and Kīdi Sejuwāl. (App. B 22-32).

Many learned Brāhmaṇas like Prasāda Golhaṇa Joisi and Devarāja Joisī adorned his court. They received tax-exempt lands from the king. Śivadeva Joisī, Juthādev Joisī were also respected in his court. Likewise, the learned men and artisans like Bālasarasvati Sumati, Abhivijayasiṁha and Śivarājā. These persons had worked for the installation of the \textit{Kirtistambha} (victory pillar) of Dullu. The \textit{Kirtistambha} states that all taxes were exempted to the Brāhmaṇas, Bhikṣus (monks), Dharmabhaṇakas (preachers and Sūtradhārakas (artisans). He gave treasury to the needy who approached him. He was constantly engaged in religious activities and it is said that he converted the age of Kali (iron age) into golden age.\textsuperscript{38}

During his time the Khaṣa Kingdom attained cultural and material prosperity. Commercial contacts with India and the mainland of Tibet were maintained. The main caravan route, connecting India and Tibet passed through Surkhet, Dullu, Sijnā and Tāklākhār. Prithvimalla had entrusted his minister Jagatisimha with the task of maintaining this road. Horse-drawn carriages might have been introduced. These Dharmaśālās (shelters) and Nāulis (water receptacles) were constructed along the roadsides for the convenience of the caravan carriers and pilgrims. Pātharnāuli of Dullu (Fig. 15) and shelter of Hauḍī are still to be found in use. A small water receptacle having a small Stupa on its roof was constructed during the reign of Prithvimalla and the same known as
Kuchivihar today, is yet to be seen in a village of Achhām (Fig. 14).

Śiṅja and Dullu had been more prosperous cities during the time of Prithvimalla. According to a *kanakpatra* (gold plate) inscription of this king, the royal palace of Sinja was white washed and had four imposing dimensions. The varandaahas of the palace were alluring with the songs of beautiful maidens and the palace and its environ was besmeared with the scent of numerous smelling flowers (App. B-26). Dullu was venerated as the most holy place having three Vaiśvānara sites in its surrounding. (App. B-30).

Prithvimalla, probably, had faced many difficulties during the first phase of his rule. He might have fought many battles and suppressed many rebels. This is felt from the expression that his was the battlefield uproaring like that of Vetāla (App. B-26). He compelled his adversaries to pay him tribute. He ruled his country with dexterity and gave instructions to his vassal kings, as he is said the teacher of the unbaptised kings (*adikṣita rājā dikṣā śikṣā guru*) (App. B-30). In an inscription, he is mentioned as great religious king (*parama dhārmika*) and an embodiment of wish-giving tree (*parama kalpadrumāvatara*) (App. B-23).

**To the Decline**

Prithvimalla was one of the great rulers of the Khaṣa Kingdom. It was in his time that the glory of the Khaṣa Kingdom once again reached its climax. "(he) had great dream and he did his best to realise it; but it seems that somewhere he met with disaster." It appears that in his old age he retired from the active political life and devoted himself to religious activities. He followed the policy of non-violence. He did not seriously care for the state affairs, which ultimately caused the disintegration of his great kingdom.

Prithvimalla ruled over his country at least for twenty years from 1338 to 1358 (App. B-21-30). In 1352 Nirayapāla
of Doti appeared as a sovereign king. Therefore, it seems that Doti had revolted against the central government of Sinjā during the last phase of Prithvimalla's rule. The yoke of the Khasa suzerainty was overthrown from the South-Western Tibet with the rise of Chang-Chub Gyaltsen, who by 1350 had made himself master of the whole Tibet. Tibetan chronicles also do not mention the names of Prithvimalla's successors.

The Dullu pillar inscription presents the genealogy of the Khaša Malla rulers. It mentions also the names of the queens of Prithvimalla, and even the names of the composer and inscriber of this inscription. If Prithvimalla had a son, when this inscription was inscribed, he certainly would have been mentioned. Probably, Prithvimalla was heirless.

A land grant charter of 1367 which was issued by the king Śūryamalla from Sinjā has been published recently (App. B-33). Some prominent courtiers of Prithvimalla such as Juthādava Joisi, Saṅkaradeva Bhāṇḍārī and Achhāmi Rāūlā figure in it. Therefore, Śūryamalla appears to have occupied the throne of Sinjā after Prithvimalla. But the relation between Prithvimalla and Śūryamalla is not clear.

It seems that Śūryamalla initiated military campaigns to suppress the revolt of Doti and other vassal chiefs, and he achieved some success in his attempt. His inscription mentions that his sword was vigilant to destroy his opponents. He protected those chiefs who were loyal to him, and destroyed those who were proud and revolted against him, and he was the protector of Uttarākhaṇḍa, i.e. north-western region of Indian sub-continent (App. B-33). Exaggerations in regard to the praise of the kings are commonly found in the inscriptions. However, one can conclude from the above statement that Śūryamalla was always attentive to save his kingdom from further disintegration.

Two land grant certificates of Abhayamalla are found which were issued from Udumbarapurī in 1378 (App. B-34,
But these records do not mention Abhayamalla as a sovereign king. Nor is Udumbarapuri mentioned as a capital of any kingdom. His name is not associated with the titles of a sovereign king such as Parambhatāraka and Mahārājadhīrāja. He was Adhirāja (crown prince) at that time. It appears that Śūryamalla had entrusted him with the task to suppress the revolt of Doṭi. He appears to have been successful to overcome that revolt. If he had not been successful, he could not have issued the land grant charters from Udumbarapuri. Once again Doṭi came under the control of the Khaśa Kingdom during the time of Śūryamalla.

Abhayamalla was, probably, the son of Śūryamalla. But it is certain that he was the successor of Śūryamalla. Many courtiers of Prithvimalla and Śūryamalla such as Achhāmi Rāulā, Udayasimha Rāulā, Śrīvarma Rāulā and Kidi Sejuwāl also figure in the land grant charters of Abhayamalla (App. B-33-41). Two land grants made by Prithvimalla were also confirmed by Abhayamalla in 1376 and 1383 (App. B-33, 34 and 39).

As discussed earlier, Abhayamalla seems to have played a successful role to suppress the revolt of Doṭi. But Doṭi could not permanently be subdued. King Nāgamalla (son of Nirayapāla) of Doṭi appears as the sovereign king in 1387.¹⁴³

The Rise of the Varman Family

Yaśovarmā had been the most powerful chief minister during the reign of Prithvimalla (1338-1358). He is mentioned with great regard along with the king Prithvimalla in the Pāthnāuli inscription of Dullu (App. B-23). Prithvimalla, in his old age, devoted himself to religious activities. He did not care much in the state affairs. Yaśovarmā had stronghold in administration. His descendants maintained their position in the reign of Śūryamalla. During the time of Abhayamalla, they entirely dominated the politics of Sinja. Many Varmās such as Malayavarmā, Medinīvarma Jayatavarmā,
Śrīvāmā, Sujānāvāmā, Surulavāmā, Harivāmā Rājāvāmā, Sumeruvarmā, Avantivarman and Anakuvarmā are known as the witnesses of the land grants in the inscriptions of Abhayamalla (App. B 34-41). These Varmās seem to be the descendants of Yaśovāmā.

After Yaśovāmā, Malayavāmā figure prominently in the politics of Sīñā. From the Rainkāsāṅghu inscription of Kalikot, dated 1378, it is known that Malayavāmā had taken the title of Rājā at that time (App. B-38). A land grant charter issued by him in 1389, found in Jajarkot, mentions him as the Mahārājadhīrāja (App. B-40). He had, probably, established a separate kingdom, the headquarters of which were Khāḍāchakra and Bilāspur. Abhayamalla, on the other hand, was the king of Sīñā and he seems to be ruling up to 1391 (App. B 41). Malayavāmā, at about 1391-92, captured Sīñā and made his son Medini varmā the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara (provincial administrator) of that place.

It appears that after Abhayamalla, Malayavāmā became the ruler of the Karnali region. He had controlled the area from the east of Dotī to the west of Gaṇḍaki and from the south of Tāklākhār to the north of the Tarai. After Malayavāmā, according to the chronicle of Raskot, his knigdom was divided among his sons and Balirāja as follows:

| Malai bamma | Sumeru- Medini bamma | Parbatirāya Sāṁsaribamma, Balirāja, bammu, (Jaktisitha), (Pitambara- King of King of)
| Salyan | Jajarkot | King of Dhulikot
| (Jaktisitha), (Pitambara- | (Rukum) | varma),
| King of | Dailekh | Jumla
| King of | |

The name of Sumeruvāmā as the son of Malayavāmā is also recorded in the Rainkāsāṅghu inscription of Kalikot. (App. B-38). The existence of Medinīvarma, Sāṁsāravarma
and Balirāja has been authentically proved by the inscriptions. Medinīvarma was the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara of Sinja in 1393. After some years he became the co-ruler of Sinja with Balirāja as the copper plate charter of 1404, which was jointly issued by them, mentions both of them as the kings of Sinja. Thereafter, Medinīvarma does not appear in the political scene of Sinja. He is said to have been the king of Jajarkot under the name of Jaktisimha.

Sinja and Jumla are the two river valleys separated by a hill within the reach of one day’s journey. In Jumla, Balirāja had become the king at about 1400. (App. B-43). Probably, he was a relative of Malayavarmā, and he had helped Malayavarmā in capturing the throne of Abhayamalla. When the kingdom was divided after Malayavarmā, Balirāja got Jumal and after some years Sinja also. Thus, he became the founder of the rule of Kalyāl dynasty and the kingdom of Jumla.

The Disintegration of the Khaṣa Kingdom

As noted earlier, Nāgarāja founded the Khaṣa kingdom sometime at the beginning of the twelfth century. Its glory was enhanced by his successors. In its heydays, it extended as a trans-Himalayan empire. But, during the later years of Prithvīmalla’s rule, it began to crumble down into pieces. The following causes can be attributed to the fall of the Khaṣa Kingdom.

1. Prithvīmalla, during the early days of his rule, fought many battles and vanquished many enemies. But in his old age he retired from active participation in practical political matters. He devoted most of his time to religious devotion and philanthropic activities. His apathy towards state affairs and his adaption of non-violence ultimately caused the disintegration of his great kingdom which was being preserved with swords.

2. In the middle of the fourteenth century, under the
leadership of Chang-Chub Gyaltsen, Tibet regained its prestige. This king by 1350 had made himself master of the whole country. Thus, in the reign of this king, South-Western Tibet got freedom from the yoke of the Khaśa suzerainty. The omission of the names of the Khaśa rulers after Prithvīmallā by the Tibetan chronicles bear testimony to this fact.

3. King Krāchallā and his son Aśokachallā had conquered Kumaon and Garhwal. It is uncertain as to when these places became independent from the suzerainty of the Khaśa Kingdom. After the conquest of Aśokachallā, the history of Kumaon remains thickly wrapped up in confusion. We could not find any trace of its sovereign status. The Rāigāon pillar inscription and other sources mention that it was Gyānachand who ascended the throne of Kumaon with repute and significance. After Aśokachallā’s conquest, he was the first ruler who as a sovereign king ruled only Kumaon for more than forty-five years (1374–1419). Thus, under the able leadership of Gyānachand, Kumaon once again rose to a powerful and independent kingdom.

4. It is certain that Ḍoṭī was under the control of the Khaśa Kingdom up to the time of Puṇyamallā (1328–1337). The Pālas of Ḍoṭī might have taken part in the state affairs of the Khaśa Kingdom as local administrators. No evidence is available to prove separate existence of Ḍoṭī during the heydays of the Khaśa Kingdom. In 1352 Nirayapāla of Ḍoṭī appeared in the capacity of a king. But, as stated earlier, Ḍoṭī seems to have been subjugated once again during the time of Sūryamallā. Ultimately, Ḍoṭī gained freedom. Nāgamallā, son of Nirayapāla, appeared as the independent king of Ḍoṭī in 1387.

Due to the inconvenience of transport and other difficulties the Khaśa rulers had adopted the decentralised
administrative system. The local chiefs were entrusted with the task of running the administration of their respective areas and there were many vassal states. When the central government of Siṃjā became weak during the second-half of the fourteenth century, some of them like South-Western Tibet and Đoti got an opportunity to be free from the control of the Khaṣa Kingdom.

5. It appears that when Prithvimalla retired from the active political life, the courtiers of Siṃjā were divided into rival groups in order to take the control of administration. Yaśovarmā dominated the others and became the most powerful chief minister of Prithvimalla. His descendants maintained their predominant positions in the court of Siṃjā. During the time of Abhayamalla their position was more exalted. Abhayamalla did not have the capacity to get rid of the Varma family. Ultimately, Malayavarmā occupied the throne of Abhayamalla. Malayavarmā had control only over the area from the east of Đoti to the west of Gaṇḍakī and from the south of Tāklākhār to the north of the Tarai.

As stated earlier, after Malayavarmā his kingdom broke into a number of small principalities. The Karnali region of his kingdom was divided among his sons and Balirāja. The year 1404 witnessed the total extinction of the Khaṣa Kingdom when Balirāja became the co-ruler of Siṃjā with Medinīvarma.56 Thereafter, Medinīvarma did not appear in the political scene of Siṃjā and Balirāja became the sovereign king of the Jumla Kingdom. He was the founder of the rule of Kalyāl dynasty in Jumla and he made Svarṇarāma the capital of his kingdom. Siṃjā remained no longer the capital of any kingdom.

REFERENCES

2. Ibid, p. 149.
12. G. Tucci, n. 8, pp. 53–54.
14. G. Tucci, n. 8, pp. 52–60; S. C. Das, n. 8, p. 52; Appendix, A.
15. According to the chronicle brought to light by S. C. Das (n. 8, p. 52) a relative of the last king (Partabmal) named So nam de (bSod nam lde) accepted the invitation to become the king and under the title of Punyamalla held the government of Purang.
20. Rahul Sankritayan, n. 16, p. 112.
21. Gelā lies to the south-west of Sinja at about the distance of two days' journey. The Dullu pillar inscription mentions it as the seat of the Pālas who were the ancestors of Puṇyamalla,

22. S. C. Das, n. 8, p. 52.
23. G. Tucci, n. 8, p. 55-60.
24. *Gopāla Rāja Vaṃśāvalt*, p. 27.
26. P. R. Sharma, n. 3, p. 34.
28. Ibid, pp. 26, 42.
29. Ibid, pp. 40, 43.
30. Ibid,
31. Ibid, p. 43.
32. Ibid, p. 27.
33. Ibid, p. 44.
34. Ibid, pp. 27, 48.
36. G. Tucci, n. 8, pp. 55-60.
38. Ibid, B-27, Verses 20, 22 and 23.
39. G. Tucci, n. 8, p. 112.
42. Udumbarapurī has been stated as surrounded by the Setī river. This river descends southwards through the heart of Doṭī.
43. Surya Mani Adhikary, n. 40, pp. 52, 54 and 65.
44. It is believed that Khāḍāchakra (situated between Kalikot and Raskot) and Bilāspur (situated between Dullu and Jajarkot) were the capitals of Malayavarmanā's kingdom. The ruins are yet to be seen in Khāḍāchakra near Mānma village of Kalikot.
48. *Appendix B–42."
51. H. E. Rechardson, n. 41, p. 35.
53. Puṣyamalla in his land grant charter of 1337 mentions that he had bestowed a land of Ukuñ (Dārchulā) to a Paṇḍita named Vidyākara. See *Appendix, B–20.
54. Surya Mani Adhikary, n. 40, pp. 51, 64.
55. *Ibid*, pp. 54, 65.
The sources for the study of the administrative system of the Khaša Kingdom are very few. No epigraphic records and other reliable written documents are available for the study of this important aspect of polity. Therefore, this topic will be studied mainly in the light of the titles and designations of the kings, courtiers and vassal chiefs, and other terms and words which are found in the contemporary inscriptions of the Khaša Kingdom.

The Khaša Kingdom in its heydays occupied a vast territory comprising the diverse topographical regions: the Himalayas, the hills and the Tarai. Due to unbridged rivers, snowy mountains and frozen passes the means of transport and communication connecting distant provinces of the country with the centre were difficult. Therefore, direct rule in all provinces was not possible. It appears that only the Karnali region was under the direct rule of the central government. There were many vassal states outside the Karnali region which paid tribute to the Khaša Kingdom. The Khaša kings had left the defeated kings or chiefs to discharge the functions of the local administration of their respective areas by themselves. The administrators of the provinces, under the direct control of the centre, were appointed by the king. The administrative organisation of the Khaša Kingdom apparently was as follows:

Rāi (King)
King, the Benevolent Ruler of the Middle Age

The Khaša rulers adopted Buddhism when they came in contact with the Tibetan Buddhists. After the foundation of the Khaša Kingdom in Western Nepal, however, they ruled the country according to the ideals of Hindu polity. Kings like Krāchalla, Aśokachalla, Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla stated themselves as Paramasaugata, the great devotee of the Lord Buddha. Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla expressed that they became able to preserve their great kingdom with the blessing of Buddha (App. B-19, 20, 26). King Aśokachalla took pride in calling himself a abhinavabodhisattvāvatāra, the recent incarnation of Bodhisattva. (App. B-2).

According to the Hindu polity, the king is the protector of the realm and society as the God Almighty protects and sustains the universe. The Khaša kings, like many Hindu kings of ancient times, bore the eulogies such as paramabhatāraka mahārājādhīrīja paramesvara, rājavalinārāyaṇa, asuranārāyaṇa, rājachakranārāyaṇa, garuḍanārāyaṇa, garuḍad-
hvajāvatāra etc. These eulogies tend to indicate that the kings were treated as the incarnation of the Devine Viṣṇu. The one, paramahattāraka mahārājādhirāja, was the distinctive designation of the paramount Hindu rulers.

The king was all in all. He was not only the head of state but was also the chief administrator. The official business was carried by his order. He was also the fountain of justice. He was the chief judge who heard or decided the cases that came from his subjects. The Bālaśvara temple inscription mentions the king Krachalla as the Dharmarāja, the Supreme Judge (App. B-1).

Although the king was all powerful, however, he had to follow the traditional customs and practices. Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla committed themselves to rule the country according to the law and polity propounded by the Hindu scholars and commentators like Gārgyāyaṇa, Gautama, Hārita and Apastāṅva (App. B-19, 20, 26, 30). It appears that they had accepted the control of the Superior Authority as it is said that they were able to preserve their great kingdom with the blessing of the Lord Buddha (śrīghanāradhanādhigata prājya-rājya rakṣā kṣama). The discharged the functions of a benevolent ruler of the middle age.

The kings were respectful and tolerant to both Hinduism and Buddhism. They paid special attention to the welfare of their subjects. Evidences show that they constructed many water-receptacles, shelters, roads and temples. Sometimes, the kings went out of the capital for inspection tours and gathered first hand informations about district administration. Some orders are found issued from their tour camps.¹

The king was the central authority. His power was delegated to the courtiers, ministers, Maṇḍaleśvaras and other various officers. On the other hand, there were many vassal kings who were entrusted to run the local administration. It
is mentioned that Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla had given instructions to their vassal kings (Adikṣita rājā dikṣā śikṣā guru).

Kumāras (Princes)

The reference to the Kumāras is found in almost all the land grant certificates of the Khaśa Kingdom. The position of the princes was next to the king. As eldest son of a king had the right to occupy the throne after his father, his brothers were generally appointed in the governmental posts like Sendpatis (commander-in-chiefs), Maṇḍaleśvaras (governors) and Amātyas (ministers). In this way, the princes assisted the king in the state affairs.

Primogeniture was the accepted law of succession to the throne. A sonless king could adopt his son-in-law or near relative as his heir-apparent. As discussed earlier, Puṇyamalla had succeeded his father-in-law Ādityamalla. The tradition of coronation was also in vogue. The Dullu pillar inscription mentions the coronation ceremony of Puṇyamalla (App. B-27, verse 17).

Emphasis had been given to the education of the Kumāras, especially to the heir-apparent. The teachers of Aśokachalla were the learned Paṇḍit Muśala and a monk named Guchapathi from Kashmir. (App. B-3). There were many scholars like Deva Joisl, Jayākara Paṇḍit, Golhaṇa Joisl, Vidyākara Paṇḍit and Śivadeva Paṇḍit who taught ethics, law and polity to Ādityamalla, Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla. Trainings in administration and military arts were also given to the Kumāras. Prince Abhayamalla, as mentioned earlier, appears to have played a successful role to supress the revolt of Doṭī during the time of Sūryamalla.

Mahāmātya and Amātyas

Mahāmātya was the chief minister while Amātyas were the ministers. Some fragmentary references to the ministerial
designations of the Khaśa Kingdom are available in the inscriptions. According to the Bāleśvara temple inscription, King Krāchalla had accompanied his ministers during his invasion of Kumaon (App. B-1). Sahanapāla’s grandfather Mriśibrahma was the Mahamahattaka (chief-minister) and his father Chāṭabrahma was the Mahattaka (minister) in the court of the Khaśa Kingdom during the times of Krāchalla and Aśokachalla (App. B-4).

In the reign of Prithvimalla (1338–1358), there were Mahāmātya Yaśovarmā, Mahāmātya Devavarmā and Amātya Jagatīsimha working simultaneously. Among them Yaśovarmā was the most powerful one. He is mentioned with high regard in the Pātharnāuli inscription of Dullu by the Mahāmātya Devavarmā of Chhatyāl family. (App. B-23). Amātya Jagatīsimha was also the in charge of maintaining the trans-Himalayan road passing through Dullu and Sinja (App. B-31). Yaśovarmā was also employed as the Mahāmāndaleśvara of Achham for sometime (App. B-25). Sujānavarmā was the Mahāmātya in the court of Abhayamalla (App. B-39). Since the reign of Prithvimalla, many other members of the Varman family, and the persons having Rāulā titles figure frequently as the witnesses of the land grant charters. Some of them were the Amātys in the administration. Their main duty was to assist the king in his state affairs. Also, they had to take part in the warfare in the capacity of commander of the army. Sometimes, they were appointed as the Maṇḍaleśvara to run the administration of the Maṇḍalas (districts).

Maṇḍalikas or Maṇḍaleśvaras

Inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom give some references to the Maṇḍalikas, Maṇḍalādhiṭṭas and Maṇḍaleśvaras. Eight Maṇḍalikas and two Rāuttarājas mentioned in the Bāleśvara temple inscription, are stated as the friends and ministers of the king Krāchalla. They had accompanied the king during his invasion of Kumaon (App. B-1).
Medinīvarmā was the Mahāmandaḷesvara of Sinja in 1393 and Saṁsāravarmā was the Māndalika of Dullu in 1395. As the Mandaḷesvara was a title conferred on such powerful persons of the kingdom, it seems to be a very important position of that period. Sometimes royal princes, at times senior officials and occasionally defeated kings were employed as Mandaḷesaras.

The Mandaḷikas, Mandaḷesvaras and Mandaḷāhiśas were the same designations. They were the governors of the Mandaḷas similar to that of the districts of present Nepal. Also, there seems no difference between Mandaḷesvara and Mahāmandaḷesvara as the Rāja is often regarded as the Mahārājādhīja. The Mandaḷesvaras were responsible to the king and used to visit the capital from time to time in order to get the instructions from the sovereign. The kanakapatra of Prithvīmalla mentions that Mandaḷādhiśas offered presents and loyalty to the king (App. B-26). They were required to send military contingents to the king in his military undertakings. Sometimes, they had to take part in the warfare.

Pātra, Bhaṭṭa and Śiṣṭa

Some persons having Pātra, Bhaṭṭa and Śiṣṭa titles such as Pātra Saṁkaradeva, Pātra Trailokyabrahma, Bhaṭṭa Paduma, Bhaṭṭa Dāmodara, Bhaṭṭa Nārayana, Śiṣṭa Rāghava and Śiṣṭa Mahipukāla are known from the inscriptions of Krāchalla and Aśokachalla (App. B-1, 3, 4). They appear to be the prominent courtiers. Bhaṭṭas were, probably, the Dharmādhikāras, the royal chaplains. The Bhaṭṭa appears to be the perverted form of the Bhaṭṭa. Some persons like Hiru Bhāṭa, Rāchhu Bhāṭa and Saichu Bhāṭa figure as the witnesses in the land grant certificates of Prithvīmalla and Abhayamalla (App. B-22, 39).

Bhanḍāri

The term ‘Bhanḍāri’ is a corrupt form of the Saṁskrit word Bhāṇḍagārika, the meaning of which is treasurer.
Sahanaapāla was the *Bhāṇḍagārika* in the court of Aśokachalla. The *Bhāṇḍagārinas* bore witness in a land grant of Puṇyamalla. (App. B-19, 20). Many *Bhandarīs* also figure in the inscriptions of Privthvīmalla. Since it was the title of the treasurer of the state, it was an important designation of the kingdom.

*Rājagurus and Joisīs*

The *Rājaguru* (preceptor of the king) of Aśokachalla was a learned man whose name was Mūśala. Gohana Joisī was the teacher of Prithvīmalla. He was also an astrologer who made Prithvīmalla’s horoscope and got the land grant from the king (App. B-26). *Jaisī* is the corrupt form of *Joisī* and *Jyotisī* the meaning of which is an astrologer. As stated earlier, at present in Western Nepal, the *Jaisīs* belong to a sub-caste among the hill Brāhmaṇas. Many *Joisīs* figure prominently in the inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom. They were learned persons having excellent knowledge in Sāṁskrit. They were the authors of the highly florid Sāṁskrit language of the inscriptions. They were granted with honour the tax-free *Birtā* lands from the kings. They were obliged to advise the kings to rule the country according to the ethics and polity propounded by the earlier Hindu scholars.

*Lekhakas*

It was the title of an officer who was appointed to write public documents. According to the Muḍeival inscription of Dullu, there were many *Lekhakas* during the time of Prithvīmalla, among them Iṣṭidāsa was the chief one. (App. B-29). He is also known from the Kuchivihar inscription of Achham (App. B-24).

*Preksaka*

The title ‘Pekhaka’ is known from the inscriptions of Punyamalla and Abhayamalla. It is the perverted form of *Preksaka*, meaning an onlooker. Probably, Preksaka was the inspector or an officer of intelligence. He might have been
entrusted with the task of sending information to the central government. In some of the available royal charters of the Khaša Kingdom, they are placed before the other officers like Adhikārīs and Kārkīs. This suggests that Preksaka was an important functionary of the Khaša Kingdom.

Aḍai

This officer figures in the inscriptions of Punyamalla and Prithvīmalla. The Aḍai was, probably, the supervisor of the crown lands known as Serā. There would have been many arable Serā lands. For example, a terrian field near the Sīnjā royal palace area is called Serā even today. The agricultural produces of Serā lands were appropriated by the royal family.

Adhikārī and Kārkī

In ancient Nepal, the governmental officers were called Adhikrita. In the Khaša Kingdom also the Adhikārī seems to be an official who combined judicial and administrative functions. The title ‘Kārkī’ seems originated from the words Kāranika or Kārika, an executive officer especially related to the public incomes.

In the land grant charters of the Khaša Kingdom, Preksaka, Aḍai, Adhikārī, Kārkī, Khadgā, Buḍā, Buḍāthāpā, Thāpā, Rānā, Mahatārā and Rokāyā working at Humla, Dang, Jumla, Dullu, Kudna, Palanta, Raskot, Chhidya, Sirkot, Gum Bajura, are addressed as the local functionaries. Among them, Adhikārī and Kārkī were the officers of an administrative unit bigger than a village and smaller than a Maṇḍala or Viṣaya (district), which may be called a Darā (sub-district). The Adhikārī discharged the administrative and judicial functions of the Darā. He worked under the supervision of the Maṇḍaleśvara. The Kārkī was, probably, an associate to Adhikārī in the fiscal administration of a Darā.

Mahatārā and Rokāyā

Mahatārā was the village headman and Rokāyā was his subordinate in the village level administration of the Khaša
Kingdom. He had also to take part in the warfare if called for. Some āstrasastambhas (herostones) are found established in commemoration of the Mahatārās who died in fighting. Mahattaras (the elders) were the members of the village council in the ancient Indian states. The village headman of the Thārus in Dang-Deukhuri is called Mahato even today. The Rokāyā was also an important person in the village administration. His main duty was to receive or entertain the guests, especially the state officials who paid inspection tours. The Jāgrā land known as Rokāyā Šālo was given to the Rokāyā as his emolument.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

King, The Supreme Commander of the Army

The king was the supreme commander of the armed forces. The Khaśa kings were themselves great warriors. Though they were the devout followers of Buddhism, a faith based on non-violence, they kept their army strong and effective. The Khaśas were well known warriors from the ancient times. Their military morale became more exalted during the days of the Khaśa Kingdom. The Khaśa rulers often themselves led their troops in the invasions. For instance, Krāchalla and Aśokachalla in the conquests of Kumaon area, and Jitarimalla and Ādityamalla during their invasions of the Nepal valley had commanded their armies.

As stated earlier, the Khaśa kings had compelled many small kings of the neighbouring countries to accept their suzerainty. Some Khaśa kings had plundered the wealth of the Nepal valley. Sometimes, they abducted the wives and daughters of the defeated kings. It is said, “His (Aśokachalla’s) nails were tinged with the vermilion on the foreheads of the wives of inimical princes.” (App. B-2).

King Aśokachalla was proud of his ‘encompassing force’. Krāchalla, Puṇyamalla, Prithvīmalla and Abhayamalla are stated as the best archers. In the skill of bowmanship,
Krachalla is compared with the Hindu mythological heroes such as Rāma, Bhīṣma and the Pāṇḍavas (App. B-1).

Senāpati, the Commander of the Army

The Gopeśvara trident inscription mentions that generals and captains had accompanied the king Aṣokachalla in his invasion of Kumaon (App. B-2). Often the royal princes, sometimes Amātyas, Maṇḍaleśvaras and the other administrative officers also acted as the commanders of the armed forces.

Many persons having Rāulā title figure in the land grant certificates as the witnesses. Some powerful personalities like Malayavarmā, Medinīvarmā, Saṃsārvarmā and Balirāja had taken this title. The Challa and the Malla were the titles of the kings and the princes, and the Rāulā was the title of the high ranking feudatories including the relatives of the royal family. When military forces were the main sources of political power, the Rāulās had almost monopolised the post the Senāpati.

Paikelāe, the Warriors

The references to the Paikelāe like Thāpās, Khādgās, Rānās, and Budās are found in the land grant certificates. Thāpās and Khadgās are also known from the commemoration pillars established in honour of the Paikelās who died in fightings. These pillars are known as Virastambhās (hero-stones). The Sātkhambha inscriptions of Dullu mention:

Be it auspicious. Yasu Thāpā, son of Bhīmadeva, established the herostone in 1256 Šāke Era ........

Be it auspicious. Dhāmu Khaḍgā, son of Bhīmadeva, established the herostone in 1256 Šāke Era. 10.

Thus the two sons of Bhīmadeva, namely Yasu and Dhāmu had taken the titles Thāpā and Khadgā respectively. Khadgā is the corrupt form of the Saṃskrit word Khadgagrāha meaning the holder of sword. Therefore, Khadgās were the
posts of soldiers who fought with sword. *Thāpās* were also the military personnels since they had established herostones. Yasu Thāpā, Bāsu Thāpā and Rāja Thāpā are known from the inscriptions of the herostones. Many Magars were also employed in the army as they had family surnames such as *Thāpās Thāpā, Rānā, Budā* and *Bndhāthoki*.

During the times of war the *Paikelās* took part in it, and in times of peace they lived in the countryside cultivating their own fields. The folklores of the Karnali region speak highly of the courage and bravery of the *Paikelās*. The member of the *Paikelā* houses helped the king in times of need as the *Samurais* of medieval Japan had done. The carvings of the horse rider *Paikelās* on many wayside stone pillars (Fig. 16) are still to be seen all over the Karnali region.

**Weapons of War**

Bow and arrow, sword and spear, and *Pāśa* (rope) were the main weapons of war. (App. B-1). The land grant charters of Prithvīmalla and Abhayamalla state that their enemies were shot dead by arrows shot from the bows (App. B-26, 36, 37). The carvings of *Paikelās* are seen holding weapons like spear and sword. They are depicted defending with armour, shield and helmet (Figs. 2, 16, 19). Horses were commonly used in the battle-fields. One can see many carvings of horse-rider *Paikelās* on the stone pillars. Horses are also seen covering with armour (Fig. 16).

**JUDICIAL CUSTOMS**

**The Traditional Sources of Justice**

Almost all the kings took pride in being called well versed in various *Dharmaśāstars* (the Hindu scriptures). Many Hindu scholars got patronage in the court. They had to advise the kings to discharge the administration of justice according to the laws of holy Hindu texts. The inscriptions mention that laws, ethics and polity propounded by the ancient Hindu scholars like Gārgyāyaṇa, Gautama, Atri,
Hārita and Āpastamba, were the main basis of the judicial administration of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The sayings of the *Smritis* and *Purāṇas* have been exactly quoted in the inscriptions:

The donor of lands dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years, but the resumer and his counsellor remain in hell for the same number of years.

The appropriator of a village, a gold coin, or one inch of ground, enters into hell to remain there for the reigning period of fourteen Indras.

Whoever resumes lands given either himself or others, may he be born as a worm to remain in filth for full sixty thousand years.

One who would maintain and improve one's own donation or others' donation would enjoy the blessings of gods and goddesses.

The people and the rulers were much religious minded. They believed that if any sin was committed they would suffer in the hell. They were more frightened of sins than legal punishment. The discharge of justice might be misled but the offender, as they thought, could not spare himself in any way from Dharmarāja, the Supreme Judge. The concept of hell and heaven made them strictly follow the then prevalent Hindu code of conduct.

**Legal Punishment**

An inscription of Sinja mentions that Ripumalla had written a book on polity. (App. B-14). That book might have included many references to the administration of justice but the book is not available so far. The murder of Brāhmaṇa, infanticide, killing of women, cow-slaughter and the offence against the king or the act of treason were considered most heinous crimes. Severe punishments like death sentence and confiscation of the property were prescribed for such offences from the ancient period.

The king Sūryamalla took pride in calling himself the
seizure of the whole property of the proud and rebel kings (sagarva rāja sarvasvaharaṇa praviṇa)—(App. B-33) Ādityamalla and Punyamalla declared that corporal punishments including one dhārṇī or 100 tolās of gold as a fine would be inflicted if the royal orders relating the security of Taghwai monastery were violated (App. B-17, 18).

Some punishments such as dāṇḍakūṇḍa, petāll, chori and jārt are mentioned in the land grant charters (App. B-26). Judicial fines and corporal punishments were collectively known as dāṇḍakūṇḍa. Petāli was, probably, the punishment for abortion. Chori and jārt were the names of punishments inflicted on theft and elopement respectively. However, sources so far available have not stated more elaborately about the laws and the administration of justice of the Khaṣa Kingdom.

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

The administrative system of the Khaṣa Kingdom was the decentralised one. Its organisational structure appears to have been as follows:

The Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capitals (Sinja and Dullu)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vīṣayas or Maṇḍals (Districts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vassal States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darās (sub-districts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sinja, the Summer Capital

The valley of Sinja is situated in the Jumla district of Far-Western Nepal. The valley is fertile and looks beautiful. On the eastern side of the valley, there is a small hill, Lāmā-thāḍā, where the ruins of the royal palace can still be seen. Sinja was the main seat of administration and Dullu was also the headquarter especially for winter season. Sinja lies at the distance of about 100 kilometers from Dullu. It is situated approximately 9,500 feet above sea level. Unlike Dullu, this valley remains snow covered in the winter.
Sinja, being the capital of the powerful kingdom, had become a prosperous city. Many inscriptions mention Sinja as ‘Srīmatt senjābhidhānava ragara’. The royal palace of Lāmāthāḍā was of four imposing dimensions and white washed one. The heaps of ruins lying to the east and southern slopes of the royal palace area show that they were many secretarial complexes and barracks of body-guards.

**Dullu, the Winter Capital**

References to Dullu as the capital of the Khāša Kingdom is found in the Bāleśvara temple inscription of Krāchalla, dated December 1223 (App. B-1). Prithvīmalla had issued one land grant charter from Sinja in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July–August) and another from Dullu in the month of Mārga (November–December) (App. B-26, 30). Therefore, Sinja and Dullu seem to be the summer and winter capitals of the Khāša Kingdom. The famous pillar inscription (Kirtistamabhā) of Prithvīmalla having the genealogy of the Khāša rulers is still standing on the roadside of the Dullu hill (Fig. 1)

**Viṣayas or Maṇḍalas**

According to the pillar inscription of Dullu, sometimes during the medieval period, Mahipāla and Biśvapāla had been the administrators of Goha Viṣaya and Jhumkār Viṣaya. The districts such as Achham, Jumla, Dailekh and Suvarṇabhumi (South-Western Tibet) were known as Maṇḍalas which were governed by the Maṇḍaleśvaras or the Maṇḍalikas.

**Derās and Villages**

The term ‘Darā’ does not occur in the contemporary records. However, from the references of the inscriptions, it can be known that the area, where the Adhikārī was the administrator, was similar to that of a Darā (Garkhā in Mahākālī Zone and Thum in mid-western and Eastern Nepal). Until recently, the administrative unit bigger than a villages and smaller than a district, was known as Darā in the Karnali region. Such units mentioned in the inscriptions of the
Khaṣa Kingdom were: Uparī Jumla (Sīnjā Darā), Talī Jumlā (Pāṇchśaya Darā), Rāskot, Palāṇītā, Dāṅg, Dullu, Hum and Bājru.\(^{13}\) Within a Darā there were many villages. As mentioned earlier, Mehatārā was the chief functionary of the village administration and Rokāyā was his subordinate.

After Aśokachalla, the direct rule of the central government seems to have been confined to the Karnali region. Only the places such as Ukuṇḍ (Dārchulā) in the west, Humla in the north and Dang in the south are recorded in the land grant charters issued by the successors of Aśokachalla. (App. B–19, 20, 25). The territories of the Khaṣa Kingdom, outside the Karnali region, were administered by the vassal chiefs. Such vassal kings were the Guruṅg and Magar tribal chiefs in the Gandaki region and local chiefs of South-Western Tibet.

REFERENCES

1. Two land grant charters are found issued by Puṇyamalla from his tour camp of Piutharpu (App. B, 19–20).
3. Some of the Joisi Brāhmaṇas who got land grants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Names of the Donor Kings</th>
<th>Names of the Brāhmaṇas</th>
<th>Authors of the Certificates</th>
<th>Dates in Sake Era.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Āديثamalla</td>
<td>Sons of Deve Joisī</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Puṇyamalla</td>
<td>Jayākara Paṇḍit</td>
<td>Golhaṇa Joisī</td>
<td>1258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Prithvimalla</td>
<td>Golhaṇa Joisī</td>
<td>Śivadeva Paṇḍit</td>
<td>1278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Prithvimalla</td>
<td>Devarāja Joisī</td>
<td>Juṭhādeva Joisī</td>
<td>1280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Śūryamalla</td>
<td>Juṭhā Joisī</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Abhayamalla</td>
<td>Jayabrahma Joisī</td>
<td>Dharmdāsa Joisī</td>
<td>1298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Abhayamalla</td>
<td>Siru Joisī</td>
<td>Vidyākara</td>
<td>1299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Abhayamalla</td>
<td>Puḍu, Tīlu and</td>
<td>Dharmdāsa Joisī</td>
<td>1299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sirkanṭhu Joisī</td>
<td>Joisī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Abhayamalla</td>
<td>Son of Jayākara</td>
<td>Vidyākara Joisī</td>
<td>1313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9. Yogi Naraharinath, n. 2, pp. 115–117. Even at present in the Karnali region, the *Rokāyā* provides foods and shelter to the government officials and other guests. He takes only the price of food grain. This responsibility is carried on turn by turn by the villagers. It is known as “Rokāyā pālo”.
11. *Ibid*.
13. *Ibid*, pp. 50–111,
Western Nepal witnessed a great change in the society during the early medieval period. The social interactions led by the encroachment of the Khaśa people were the special phenomena of this period in this area. The rapid assimilation and accommodation of the races, religions, cultures and languages which occurred in this region was never seen before or after this age.

The Khaśa kings were the great devotees of the Lord Buddha but they had equal respect for Hinduism. So Buddhism as well as Hinduism flourished in their kingdom. A sense of harmony and toleration developed between the followers of these faiths. The Pahāḍi language which is known as Khaśa language also emerged at that time. It bore a great impact of the Saṃskrit language from the south. The Khaśas gained political power and eventually dominated the society of Western Nepal. As mentioned earlier, the Pahāḍi caste groups of Nepal owe their origin largely to the Khaśa stock.

The Caste System

The Khaśas were gradually being Indianised even before the beginning of their influx into Western Nepal from the west, that is from Kumaon around the middle of the first millennium A.D. The Āryan people of the Indian plains who preceded or followed the Khaśas to come to this region assimilated themselves in the Pahāḍi caste groups of which the Khaśas constituted the dominating bulk. Most of the non-Mongoloid people of Western Nepal adopted the Hindu caste system.
Brāhmaṇaṇaś—According to the Hindu classification of the caste system, the main duty of the Brāhmaṇaṇaś was to perform religious ceremonies. They were learned men holding posts of priests and teachers. They were highly respected in the society. In the Bāleśvara temple inscription, a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa is adorned as well versed in many branches of knowledge (App. B-1). Two other Bhaṭṭa Brāhmaṇaṇaś, Dāmodara and Paduma, got respectful place in the court of Aśoka-challa (App. B-3). The Bhaṭṭa was the title of the royal chaplain.

Prasāda Golaṇḍa Joisi was the teacher of Prithvīmalla. He was the astrologer who made the horoscope of the latter (App. B-26). The Brāhmaṇaṇaś like Jayākara and Vidyākara were given the title of Paṇḍit. It was the title of a Brāhmaṇa scholar. The other titles of the Brāhmaṇaṇaś, Āchārya and Upādhyāya, were the titles of religious preceptors. (App. B-4). The astrologer Brāhmaṇaṇaś were known as Joists.

The Brāhmaṇaṇaś exerted influence in the royal court and enjoyed many privileges. They were bestowed with honour the vrittis, that is Birṭā lands exempt from all taxes. The vrittis were never to be confiscated. Murder and enslavement of a Brāhmaṇa was considered a heinous crime. It has been stated in an inscription, “he who saves the cow from swamp, the Brāhmaṇa women from slavery, vṛtti from abolition and Brāhmaṇa from murder, gets liberation from the sins of his whole life”. (App. B-26). The Brāhmaṇaṇaś also occupied many important governmental posts like Adhikāri. Kārkī and Bhaṇḍārī. These official titles changed into family names in course of time. Even at present, many Brāhmaṇa families have these family names.

Kṣatriyaś—The Kṣatriyaś were the people of ruling and warrior class. The Pālas who ruled over the Karnali region before Nāgarāja, were the Kṣatriyaś migrated from the Indo-Gangetic plains. An inscription of Bodh Gaya mentions
Sahañapāla, a courtier of Asokachalla, as ‘the light of Kṣatriya kula’ (App. B–4). It appears that with the foundation of the Khaṣa Kingdom, the Pālas of the Karnali region were reduced to the position of feudatories. There were matrimonial alliances between the ruling Khaṣa family and the Pālas. For instance, Puṇyamalla of the Pāla family married Ṣakunamālā, the daughter of the Khaṣa king Ādityamalla. The Khaṣa rulers regarded themselves as ‘pure’ Kṣatriyas after they become a political power. Many of the Bāisī Ṭhakurīs seem to be the descendants of the Khaṣa Malla rulers of Sinja. Many Varmās and Raulās who occupied important positions like Amātyas, Mandalesvatas and Senāpatis were the members or near relatives of the ruling Khaṣa family.

On the other hand, the Paikelās (warriors) like Thāpās, Khadgās, Rānās and Budhās were recruited mainly from the ordinary Khaṣa and Magara communities. Both groups of the Khaṣa, Tāgādhārīs Matwālīs, could get the post of the Paikelā.

Vaisyas—No epigraphic records show the presence of the Vaiṣya people in this kingdom at that time. Therefore, it appears that the Pahādi caste groups had no Vaiṣya caste.

Śūdras—An inscription of Balirāja records a Damāl (tailor) and a Tamoṭā (copper-smith). The references to Sārkī (cobbler) are also found in a copper plate of 1450. These were the lower class and untouchable people known as Śūdras.

The Position of Women in the Society

The women of the upper starta of the society were respectful. Many inscriptions of the Khaṣa Kingdom write: “Sāntapura.. śchirāṁ jayatu” (Antapura will also be victorious). The Antapura was the living place of the queens. Two wives of Prithvīmalla, Dharmamālā and Dīpamālā, were regarded as the Bhūmī and Śrī of the Divine Viṣṇu. (App. B–27). Krāchalla, in his Kumaon inscription, does not mention his father’s name but his mother Śirā has been praised as the most prominent lady. (App. B–1).
Chastity and faithfulness were considered the best qualities of an ideal woman. The Kumaon inscription of Krâchalla mentions, “The quality of charity and other virtue is excellent, but more so is she who is addicted to her duties and ever faithfully devoted to her lord (husband).” (App. B-1). In the kanakapatra of Prithvimalla, the term ‘gosâi’ is associated with the name of a woman named Târâdevî. The word ‘gosâi’ denotes her high position. Very respectable persons of the society were addressed as gosâiyyû. An inscription of Ghoḍâsain village of Achham reads, “Śrî Târâdevîśchiram jayatu.” Therefore, Târâdevî seems to have been another prominent lady of the Khaṣa Kingdom. The ‘mâlâ’ was the surname of the female members of the royal family. Śâkunamâlâ was the mother of Prîtvîmalla, his sister was Chandramâlâ and his queens were Dharmamâlâ and Dîpamâlâ. Ratnâmâlâ was the queen of Malayavarmâ (App. B-38).

The kings and nobles kept many wives and concubines. Sometimes, wives and daughters of the defeated kings were also taken forcibly. The Gopeśvara trident inscription of Ašokachalla bears witness to this fact. Among the thirty taxes, one jârikar is also mentioned (App. C). The word jâri denotes that women had the right to divorce. But this right was probably confined to the lower strata of the society. The slavery of women was in vogue. But the Brâhmaṇa women were never to be enslaved (App. B-26). A tax called mudâlî is recorded in some land grant certificates. The meaning of muda is head, and most probably mudâlî was a tax imposed on women of certain Himalayan tribes (App. C).

No evidence is found as regards the female education. A few references regarding to the religious activities of women are available. Śîrâ, the mother of Krâchalla, was the protector and benefactress of cows and Brâhmaṇas. Sâukâ Karkyâni and her husband built a temple of Buddha during the time of Ašokachalla (App. B-6; Fig. IX).
The Followers of Buddhism and Hinduism

Western Nepal was the contact zone of Hindu and Buddhist civilisations. During the early medieval period, Buddhism was flourishing in Tibet while it was being uprooted from the plains of India due to the renaissance of Hinduism. But, at the same time, both religions were flourishing in Western Nepal.

In the north of the Himalayas, during the seventh century, Tibet emerged as a strong and unified kingdom under the leadership of Srong-tsan Gampo. By then, Tibetan people adopted Buddhism. Many Buddhist scholars from Nepal and India were invited to preach religion in Tibet. Buddhism prospered by the fostering care of Srong-tsan Gampo and his successors. Many monasteries were established in Tibet for the propagation of Buddhism. Among them, the Śākya monastery of Western Tibet was one of the principal seats of Buddhist learning. But Tibet fell into great disorder after the assassination of Lang Darma in 842. Following the disturbances in Tibet, some Khaśas reached South-Western Tibet, and in course of time the Khaśa chiefs emerged as the ruling kings. They were the forefathers of Nāgarāja, the founder of the Khaśa Kingdom in Western Nepal. The Khaśa who came in the contact with the Tibetan Buddhists adopted Buddhism.

There are many evidences to suggest that the Khaśas adopted Buddhism only when they came in contact with Tibetan Buddhists. Tibetan chronicles notice that Nāgarāja and Devarāja, who had Sanskritised names, had been Buddhist monks in Tibet (App. A). The Buddhist chant ‘oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ’ which is usually found inscribed at the top of stone pillar inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom, is written in Tibetan script Fig. 1). Tibetan impressions are also reflected in the art and architecture of the Karnali region. The clay-tablets found in Sinja (Figs. VII and XX) resemble the Tibetan clay-tablets belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
The Vajrayāna sect of Buddhism which originated in Bengal was adopted by the Tibetans later on. It had great impact on the religious life of the people of the Karnali region during the early medieval period.

Nāgarāja and his successors were the ardent devotees of the Lord Buddha. The feudals and courtiers like Saunā Kārkī, Yaśovarmā, Devavarmā and Malayavarmā also had shown their deep respect to Buddhism (App. B-6, 23, 24, 25, 38). Buddhist art and architecture are commonly found in the Karnali region. King Prithvimalla who ruled the country during the later phase, built many Chaityas but no Hindu temples. All the architectural works of that period, except the Vināyaka Pañchadeval of Akṣayamalla, are related to Buddhism. In the land grant certificates issued in the names of the Hindu Brāhmaṇas and drafted also by the Brāhmaṇas, Buddhism found a due place. The trinity of Buddhism (Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha) is the witness of the land grants. The prominent kings like Krāchalla, Aśokachalla, Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla have stated themselves as parama-saugata, the great devotee of Lord Buddha. Therefore, Buddhism seems to have been the court religion of the Khaṣa Kingdom.

However, there was no discrimination between Hindus and Buddhists. The Khaṣa kings were extremely tolerant in the matter of religion. The Brāhmaṇas declared the Khaṣa rulers as the living incarnation of Divine Viṣṇu. By the efforts of the Brāhmaṇas, Hinduism began to prosper in the kingdom. From the epigraphic evidences it appears that Hinduism was also gaining ground in the court of the Khaṣa Kingdom since the reign of Krāchalla (1207–1223).

The Bāleśvara temple inscription of Krāchalla provides an example of the religious toleration of the Khaṣa rulers. The inscription mentions Krāchalla as an ardent devotee of Lord Buddha (parama-saugata). At the same time he equally revered Ekrudra Bāleśvara, the Hindu deity, by offering worship and donating land. The inscription states, "The donor of lands
gains (the favour) of Āditya, Varuṇa, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, as also of Soma, Hūtāsana and the god holding the trident in his hand.” Furthermore, the inscription endows Krāchalla with all the qualities of the Hindu legendary heroes such as Rāma, Bhīṣma and Dharma (App. B-1). His mother Śirā, as the same inscription states, was the protectress and benefactress of cows and Brāhmaṇas. According to a chronicle of Tibet, Krāchalla had established an image of Maitreya and Mañjuśrī made of gold (App. A).

Aśokachalla is addressed as abhinava bodhisatvāvatāra, the recent incarnation of Bodhisatva, in his inscription of Gopeśvara. Other two inscriptions mention him as pravara mahāyāna yāyinah, the staunch follower of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism. (App. B 2, 3, 4). His teacher Mūśala, his younger brother Daśāratha and his courtiers were also Buddhists. Many Buddhist scholars like Guchapathi of Kashmir, had got patronage in his court. He established an image of Buddha in Bodh Gaya and an arrangement was made by him to offer regular worship to Mahābodhi. Though Aśokachalla was the follower of Buddhism, he had the great respect for the Hindu deities. For instance, he had erected tridents (the arm of Śiva) in Garhwal (App. B-2, 5).

The Khaśa rulers had attacked the valley of Nepal on a number of occasions. They fired the cities, looted the wealth of royal palace and people but Hindu temples and Buddhist shrines were respected by them. Jitārimalla and Ripumalla offered worship and treasury to Paśupatinātha, Matsyendranātha and Svayaṁbhūnātha. Ripumalla visited Lumbini and Kapilvastu en route from Sinja to Kathmandu (App. B-11, 13),

The use of ‘Om maṇi padme hum’ is found in the Lumbini Kapilvastu inscriptions of Ripumalla. This Buddhist chant is usually found inscribed at the top of the stone pillar inscriptions of the Khaśa rulers. The followers of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism whirl the Dharmachakra and count the series of
beads muttering this chant. Accordingly, Ripumalla, Tārādevī, Prithvīmalla, Yaśovarman, Devavarmā, Jayasimha and Malayavarmā inscribed this chant at the top of their stone inscriptions which testifies their faith in Buddhism. Ripumalla was a very religious and learned king. He had copied a Buddhist text entitled Laghuratnatraya (App. B-14). Another Buddhist text, Abhisamayālaṅkāra, found in a monastery of Tibet and copied from Surkhet in 1370 B.S., mentions him as Rājarājeśvara Lokeśvara (App. B-12). Ādityamalla in his boyhood lived at the Śākya monastery of Western Tibet for sometime. Pratāpamalla chose to be a monk rather than a king.

Puṇyamalla and Prithvimalla state themselves as the great devotees of Lord Buddha, but they were committed to rule according to the ethics and polity of holy Hindu texts. Golhana, the teacher of Prithvimalla, was a Brāhmaṇa. Many learned Hindu scholars got patronage in the court. Since the reign of Prithvimalla (1338-1358), orthodox Hindu gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva were introduced as the witnesses of the land grants. However, even after Prithvimalla, Buddhism maintained its position in the court. Abhayamalla and Malayavarmā built a Buddhist monastery consisting of eighteen Gombūs in Khojarnātha.

After the fall of the Khasa Kingdom, Hinduism began to supercede Buddhism. Due to lack of fostering care of the Bāisi and Chaubisi rulers, the influence of Buddhism slowly declined and was confined only to the higher Himalayan valleys.

The Places of Pilgrimage

Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva, the holy Mānasa lake (Mānasarover) of Western Tibet, situated at the altitude of about 14,000 feet and Khojaranātha (Khecharatōrtha of Sanskrit literature) were and are still the most sacred places of pilgrimages for both the Hindu and the Buddhists. Hindu pilgrims from the south used to visit these places after travers-
ing the difficult passes of snowy range. The chronicle of Rāskot mentions that Malayavarmā had built a big monastery in Khojaranātha.

Having many sacred centres in its surroundings, Dullu was venerated as a holy place of pilgrimage at that time. The holy sites—Śirasthāna, Nāvisthāna and Pādukāsthāna were called trayavaīśvānarajvālākṣetra, three centres of Agni or the god of fire, where natural gas flames were burning constantly shooting from the ground (Fig. 7b). Among them, two are burning till now and one (of Pādukāsthān) is extinguished. An inscription of Prithvīmalla mentions Durlaṅghyanagara (Dullu) as paramapāvana, the most holy place. Prithvīmalla had introduced a fair called Harīsaṅkari in the aforesaid holy sites of Dullu (App. B-30). Kāṅkrevihār of Surkhet was also an important religious centre of Buddhist pilgrimages. Today only the heaps of ruins of that great Vihār are lying scattered (Figs. 3, 10, 13, 22, 23). But they help to discover a highly flourished civilisation of the historic past.

The religious importance of Lumbini and Kapilvastu was not the less. King Ripumalla visited these sites en route Sinja to Kathmandu. Khojarnāth and Śākya monastery of Western Tibet were renowned centres of Buddhist pilgrimage. Many Buddhist pilgrims of Tibet used to visit Lumbini, Kapilvastu, Sāranāth and Bodh Gayā through the trans-Himalayan route which passed via. Siṅjā and Dullu. Badarīnāth, Kedāranāth and Muktināth were other important holy sites. The inscriptions of the Jumlā Kingdom contain the expressions like śrī śrī badarīnātha jayati and muktiṇātha sahāya. The deity of Muktināth was venerated as the Lokeśvara by the Buddhists and as Nārāyanā by the Hindus.

Ceremonies and Festivals

The karmaṇḍa, the Hindu science of rituals, had prescribed various ceremonies to be performed in the Hindu society. Even the Buddhist kings, courtiers and officials followed the
Hindu customs and traditions. An inscription of Malayavarmā, dated 1389, mentions uljo, mailo, sarādhya, dāsai and tiyār (App. B-40). Uijo denotes the Hindu saṃskāras like nārāna (name giving ceremony), vratabandha (the sacred thread investiture ceremony of twice-born Hindu castes) and marriage. Mailo denotes funeral rites. Daśaiñ and Tiyār (Tihāra) are the names of Hindu festivals. The Hariśaṅkaritātra was a religious ceremony held on the first day of the month of Mārge when people used to visit the three holy sites of Dullu (App. B-30). There seems no discrimination between Vaishnavism and Śaivism as Hari and Śaṅkari jointly denote a ceremony. Kuśe Aumśi, Chaite Daśaiñ, Meṣa Somkrānti, Karkaṭa Samkrānti, Makara Samkrānti and Baudha Pūrṇimā are some other traditional festivals of Western Nepal.

Education and Learning

Epigraphic records show that the Khaśa kings and their courtiers, Brāhmaṇas and other administrative functionaries were educated. But no evidence throws light on the education of women and ordinary people. Brāhmaṇas were the teachers, astrologers and priests. The Kumaon inscription of Krāchalla states that a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa was well versed in many branches of knowledge (App. B-1). The titles of contemporary Brāhmaṇas such as Āchārya (professor), Upādhyāya (preceptor), Joisi (astrologer) and Pāṇḍita (learned person) tend to show that the Brāhmaṇas were highly educated. The Hindu Brāhmaṇas as well as Buddhist monks had adorned the court of the Khaśa Kingdom.

The eulogy makers of Puṇyamalla, Prithvimalla and Abhayamalla such as Golhaṇa Joisi, Śivadeva Pāṇḍita, Juṭhādeva Joisi, Dharmarāja Joisi were the learned Brāhmaṇas who possessed profound knowledge of Saṃskrit language. These eulogies are written in highly florid Saṃskrit. Sumati, the composer of the Dullu pillar inscription, Iṣṭidāsa and Dharmadāsa were other educated persons having excellent knowledge of Saṃskrit. (App. B-23, 24).
The kings were not only skilled in the science of warfare (śastra), but also well versed in ethics and polity (śāstra). Puṇyamalla and Prithvīmalla are said to have possessed such kinds of knowledge. An inscription of Sinja writes that king Ripumalla, inspired by the meditation of Lokanātha, copied a book, Laghuratnatraya, which ‘tended to fulfil all human desires’. (App. B-14). A manuscript of Abhisamayālāṅkāra had been copied in 1313 from Surkhet by his inspiration (App. B-12). Though the educated Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriya aristocrats possessed knowledge of Saṃskrit language, the ordinary people were ignorant of it. So the kanakapatra and copper plate charters were partly written in varnacular language. The varnacular language was the eastern Pahāḍi or the Siṃjālī section of Khaṣa language.

**The Origin and Development of the Siṃjālī Language**

As discussed earlier, the Khaṣas were non-Vedic Āryans. They entered the Indian sub-continent from the north-west around the beginning of the first millennium B.C.. While they were in central Asia, they had their own language which was an offshoot of the ancient Iranian language. But their language was not as prosperous as Saṃskrit of their Vedic Āryan predecessors who entered India before them. The Khaṣas came as conquerors in groups. The language and its speakers could not be separated. Their language also came with them. However, it is obvious that in course of their movements from Afganistan to Nepal, their language was much influenced by the Saṃskrit language. Both of the languages, the Vedic-Saṃskrit and the Khaṣa, owe their origin to the ancient Iranian language of central Asia.

The Khaṣas inhabited in the north-western hill (Pahāḍī) region of the Indian sub-continent. Therefore, the Khaṣa language is known as Pahāḍī language also. It can be categorised as follows:8
Khaśa Language

Western Pahāḍī
(Local dialects of hills, west of Garhwal)

Central Pahāḍī
(Garhwali and Kumaoni)

Eastern Pahāḍī
(Siṅjāli)

During the early medieval period, the main seat of the Khaś-Āryan people who spoke the eastern branch of the Khaśa language was Siṅjā. Therefore, the eastern Pahāḍī can be called Siṅjāli also. This language began to prosper when theKhāsas established their kingdom in Western Nepal and made it the official language of their kingdom. The first authentic documents of the Siṅjāli language, available so far, is inscribed in a stone pillar of Pāduskāthān, Dullu, during the time of Aśokachalla (1225–1278). This inscription (Fig. 1) reads:

(1) Oṁ namo Buddhayeh | sri
(2) Asokachchalladeva schi (3) raṁ jayatuḥ | Saunā Kā
(4) rki Sāũkā Karkyāniko (5) devalaḥ |

Most of the copper plates and all kanakapatras of the Khaśa Kingdom are written partly in Saṁskrit and partly in the Siṅjāli language. But the main text is inscribed in the vernacular (Siṅjāli) language. Two copper plate charters of Ādityamalla and Puṇyamalla, issued for the Tibetan speaking areas, are found written partly in Siṅjāli and partly in Tibetan. Saṁskrit was popular among the priests and Paṇḍīts, and all the Hindu rituals were performed following the Saṁskrit holy texts. But Siṅjāli was the language understood by the people in general except the Tibetan immigrants of the Himalayas.

The Khaśa rulers contributed much to the development of the Siṅjāli language by making it the medium of the official correspondence. Even after the collapse of the Khaśa Kingdom, it became the state language of all the Bāisi and Chaubisī principalties. After the conquest of them by the Gorkhāli rulers, the Siṅjali language began to be called the
**Gorkhā Bhāṣā** (Gorkhā language). Later on, the Sinjālī branch of the Khasa language became the national language of the kingdom of Nepal.

**REFERENCES**

Due to want of adequate data, a systematic study of the economic history of the Khaṣa kingdom is far from being possible. The following account is primarily based on the fragmentary references of the inscriptions so far available. The people had adopted various occupations. The chief means of their subsistence were agriculture, animal husbandry, industries and trade.

**Land Tenure System**

The main occupation of the people was agriculture. So the arable lands were of great importance. Even the Brāhmaṇas, engaged in religious activities, were desirous of acquiring Bīrtā lands from the state. Obviously, land was the mirror of social status. The land within the domain of the state was considered the property of the king. Only when the king used to bestow land on others, the propriety right was shifted to individuals. The forms of land tenure prevalent at that time may be categorised as Serā, Raikar, Guthi, Bīrtā and Jāgīr.

*Serā*—During the eighteenth century in Nepal, "Raikar lands which were appropriated by the crown for meeting the foodgrain and other requirements of the royal palace household were called Serā."¹ An official known as Adai was the in charge of functions relating the Serā land² The Adai figures prominently in the land grant certificates of the Khaṣa Kingdom (App. B-26). During the days of the Khaṣa Kingdom, this officer was, probably, the supervisor of Serā lands. It appears that there were many Serā lands the agricultural
produces of which were appropriated by the royal family. For instance, a terraced field near the Sinja royal palace area is called Serā even today.

Raikar—The inscriptions mention that the king was called Rāi. People could cultivate land paying tax to the king or state. Hence, the Kar (tax) taken by the Rāi (king) was Ratkar, and the land which was taxed by the state was known as Raikar land. The land grant certificates of the Khaśa Kingdom mention the term 'kut' as a tax. The private individuals who cultivated Raikar lands had to pay tax to the state in the form of kut (rent). They had only the cultivating right and the ultimate right of the Raikar lands was vested on the state. If the ownership of the Raikar lands were divested in the form of Birtā or Guthī, the cultivators had to pay rent to the Birtā holders or Guthī institutions.

Guthī—Guthī refers to the institutional land ownership. The lands granted for the use of religious and charitable institutions were known as Guthī lands in Nepal during the medival period and after. The Bāleśvara temple inscription of Krāchalla provides an evidence to the institutional land ownership. King Krāchalla bestowed a land grant of large holding with all revenues derived from it to the Ekrudra Bāleśvara addressing the learned person, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, who was the worshipper of that deity (APp. B–1). The grant was made to meet the expenses of the Bāleśvara temple.

Birtā—The land endowment with the exemption of all taxes made to certain individuals, especially to Brāhmaṇas for their livelihood was called vṛtti. Birtā is the perverted form of vṛtti. The Birtā land tenure system was extensively prevalent in the Khaśa Kingdom. The Brahmaṇas who had approach to the royal palace got large Birtā holdings from the kings. The Birtā lands received by the descendatns of Vidyākara from Puṇyamalla and by Golhaṇa Joisi from Prithvīmalla were of large size while Jayabrahma Joisī got a small plot of Birtā
land from Abhayamalla (App B-19, 20, 26, 34, 35). Certainly, the large Birtā holders did not cultivate their lands themselves. They could collect various taxes and rents from the peasants who cultivated their Birtā lands. Traditional Saṃskrit literature advocated to donate lands to Brāhmaṇas, teachers, priests and religious and charitable institutions. The land grant certificates state that anyone who donated land would live in heaven for 60,000 years. Thus the religious interest was the main factor for prevalence of Birtā and Guthi land tenure systems.

Jāgīr—M.C. Regmi points out, “The form of land tenure known as Jagir came into being (in Nepal during the 18th century) when revenues on land were assigned as emoluments to government employees and functionaries.” Some faint references denote that the system of Jāgir land tenure was prevalent in the Khaša Kingdom. For example, two inscriptions of some later period (1450 A.D.) found in Jumla, record Rokāyā Ālo (field of the Rokāyā), which was probably a Jāgīr land given to the Rokāyā as his emolument by the state. The Rokāyā was a functionary of the village administration. The fiscal character of the Khaša Kingdom was non-monetised. Therefore, it appears that Raikar lands were assigned as Jāgīr to various employees and functionaries of the Khaša Kingdom.

Trade with India and Tibet

The main trans-Himalayan trade route connecting India and Tibet through Western Nepal passes along the course of the Karnali river via Sinja and Dullu. Contemporary records mention that Sinja had become an important trade centre during the days of the Khaša Kingdom. (App. B-19). Ācharya Kautilya in his Arthaśāstra mentions two kinds of woolen blankets, Bhīngisī and Apasārakā, exported from Nepal. No evidence bears testimony of sheep rearing in the valley of Nepal. Therefore, these blankets might have been exported from the Karnali region which was an important wool produ-
cing centre from the early period. Among the thirty-six taxes of the Khaṣa Kingdom, \textit{Pākhokar} (tax on blankets) was one (App. C). The state derived considerable amount of income from the taxes levied on the export of wollen products. The main items exported from the Khaṣa Kingdom towards the plains of India were: wool, woolen clothes, herbs, horses of noble breeding, falcon and musk of the deer. The Khaṣa Kingdom imported the items such as silk clothes, spices and salt from India. This kingdom exported foodgrains, cotton clothes, pepper, chilli and some other items to Tibet. Among the major articles imported from Tibet included wool, woolen clothes, salt, sheep, horses, gold and silver,\(^6\)

The falcon and musk of the deer were the special items to export towards India from the hills of Far-Western Nepal through the ages. A tamed falcon could bring its prey to its master. So people tamed and kept it. Even at present, there are some places called \textit{Bājīhalā}, the spots to capture falcons. People of Far-Western Nepal have many stories about the taming and exporting falcons to India. The musk of the male deer was, as now, of great importance for medical purpose. Even at present, the Jumlī musk is well known for its high quality. From the early period, Jumla was a renowned musk producing centre. There was special demand of the Jumli musk in the Indian markets. So the export of the musk was one of the most profitable business. The upper class people were also interested in it. An evidence of some later period mentions that Arjun Buḍā acquired land from the king Muktisāhi and Silimsāhī by presenting \textit{purso kathuro} (male must deer) to them.\(^7\) A \textit{kanakapatra} of Puṇyamalla while describing the city of Sinja, writes that the merchants living in their shops were happy (App. B-19). This statement signifies that the condition of trade in kingdom was good and Sinja was one of the main trade centres.
Medium of Exchange, Weight and Measures

The coins of the Khaśa Kingdom are not found so far. No record is available relating to the minting of coins in the kingdom. The kanakapatra of Prithvīmalla refers to the use of coins but it is not certain whether they were exported from outside. It is known that suvārṇa, ṭakī and dām were the units of coins in circulation. (App. B-26). The suvārṇa was the unit of gold coin, ṭakī was of silver and dām was of copper. Suvārṇa and dām were the highest and lowest denominations of the currency. But the calculation of these units is not clear.

Although the circulation of gold, silver and copper coins was not unknown, however, the barter system appears to have been predominant. The copper plate charters of Ādityamalla and Puṇyamalla found from the Taghwai monastary mention that one dhārṇi and 100 tolās of gold was to be taken as fine for disobeying the royal orders (App. B–17, 18). If coins were in wide circulation, fine would not have been taken in kind. Some information about weights and measurements could be found from the contemporary records. As pointed out above, the terms of tolā and dhārṇi were used to denote the quantity of gold. This testifies that tolā, seer and dhārṇi were the measures to weight the quantity of matter. According to the system prevailing from the medieval period in Nepal’s western hills, the calculation of avoirdupois weight was:

28 tolās = 1 seer
8 seers = 1 dhārṇi (2240 grams)

The kanakapatra of Prithvīmalla mentions that one who resumes even one aṅgula of (Bīrta) land would suffer the agony of hell. Therefore, it appears that aṅgula, bittā and hāta were the units of the linear measurements:

12 aṅgulas = 1 bittā
2 bittās = 1 hāta (18 inches)

Similarly, some terms like mutho and mānu are mentioned in the kanakapatra of Prithvīmalla. These units were
used to measure the quantity of grains and liquid things. The volumetric measurements would have been as follows:

- \(10 \text{ muṭhis} = 1 \text{ mānā}\)
- \(8 \text{ mānās} = 1 \text{ pāthī}\)
- \(20 \text{ pāthīs} = 1 \text{ muri}\) (approximately 3.00 cubic feet)

Some terms that denote the types of lands and system of land measurement are also known from the inscriptions. They are: \(ālo, ālā, ālikā, ālo\) and \(suvārā\).\(^8\) \(Ālo, ālā\) and \(ālikā\) denote paddy field. The unirrigated land where crops like maize, millet and buck-wheat were grown was called \(ālo\), and \(suvārā\) was the terraced land of the same type. Yogi Naraharinath writes that one \(ālo\) was equal to 25 ropants (1,36,900 sq. ft.)\(^9\). \(Ālā\) was the plural form of \(ālo\) and the Saṁskrit version of \(ālā\) is \(ālikā\).

Sources of Revenue

The land grant charters of the Khaśa Kingdom mention various kinds of taxes collectively known as \(chhattiskar\) (thirty-six taxes). The Brāhmaṇas who acquired \(Birtā\) lands from the kings were also exempted from those taxes. Judicial fines, punishments, forced labour and obligations were also included in the thirty-six taxes. King was considered the owner of the land and water in his kingdom. Therefore, tax on the products of the earth was a sort of rent in return. Many kinds of taxes, regular and occasional, are known from the inscriptions. However, the mainstay of finance continued to be the land revenue. The \(kut\) which literally means ‘rent on land’ was the main source of the income of the Khaśa Kingdom. In ancient Nepal and India, the tax on land was usually called \(bhāga\) (share), which was a fixed proportion of crop.\(^{10}\) The \(kut\) appears to have been the same kind of tax as \(bhāga\) (App. C). The proportion perhaps varied according to the quality of land, irrigational facilities and the need of the state.

There were the taxes levied on cattle and other livestock, and agricultural, dairy and industrial products. Tax
on domesticated animals and fowls was called *bhoga* in ancient Nepal. In the Khaśa Kingdom, tax on cattle and other livestock was known as *jiu* (App. C). Besides, there were taxes levied on dairy produce such as milk, curd, and ghee. These taxes and tax on honey were called *chaunt* taxes (App. C). In addition to the regular land tax known as *kut*, there was a tax called *mauni* which was levied on seasonal agricultural produce such as vegetables and fruits. Another tax on agricultural produce was *rubo* (tax on cotton). *Pulo* was also a kind of land tax levied on grass and grazing lands. *Suto* (tax on cotton thread) and *pākho* (tax on woolen cloths) were the taxes on industrial produce (App. C).

In ancient Nepal, tax on trade was known as *kar*. In the Khaśa Kingdom, the *kar* probably included taxes on shops and merchandies, and tolls on roads. House tax called *kudiyo* was also levied upon common people. The regular taxes known as *kut*, *jiu*, *kar* and *kudiyo* which fell upon the masses would have yielded considerable income to the Khaśa Kingdom. The term *moda* *aputāli* denotes that state had also claimed reversion of the property of those dying without heir.

Other taxes called *jāri*, *muḍāli*, *uido* or *uhāro*, *mānu-muṭho*, *dubāuñ* or *dubāro*, *pithāyo* or *potalo*, *jhyānpat guphyān* and *kaḍito* were the lesser and occasional (App. C). There were also liabilities to forced and unpaid labour known as *beth-bāulo*, *sewā*, *dhārā* and *ropāiro* (App. C). Services in labour and gifts were expected by the kings and his officers on tour. *Bandanāchāra* or *dekhani* and *chhapardām* fall on this category (App. C). Many of the taxes and forced labour were also paid to the village headmen, *Birtā* holders and local feudals. Beside various kinds of taxes and services in labour, state derived considerable income from the tribute paid by the vassal chiefs. Sometimes, the Khaśa kings extorted money and riches from defeated kings.
REFERENCES

2. Ibid, P. 225.
6. No data of exported and imported goods is available from the contemporary records. However, it can be inferred from the background of geographical situation, local traditions, the state of trade during the time of the Bāisī principalities and availability and non-availability of materials that the trade was carried on as mentioned above.
8. Ibid, pp. 50, 70, 104, 120,
11. Ibid
12. Ibid
CHAPTER SIX

With the foundation of the Khaśa Kingdom, the art and architecture began to prosper in Western Nepal. The political consolidation achieved under the leadership of the Khaśa rulers led to the economic and cultural development of the region. The economic and cultural development helped the development of the art and architecture. The art and architecture of the Karnali region had been influenced by both the Indian and Tibetan styles. The Khaśas had come in contact with the Tibetan Buddhists even before the foundation of their kingdom in Western Nepal. Therefore, the Buddhist iconography and architecture of the region largely bore the Tibetan impression. In those days, the Śākya monastery of Western Tibet was one of the principal centres of Buddhist learning and art. The Brāhmaṇical architecture began to flourish in Western Nepal only after Kumaon came under the control of the Khaśa rulers of Sinja. In fact, it was an extension of the Kumaon architecture.

Statement of the Time

Most of the temples, stupas and sculptures of the Karnali region are undated. The first temple that bears the date of construction is the Vināyak Pañchadeval of Achham built by Aksayamalla in 1280 (Fig. 9). A Buddhist temple is reported to have been built by Saunā Kārki and his wife during the reign of Aśokachalla (Fig. 1). The Pātharnāuli of Dullu (Fig. 15) having five votive stupas on its roof was constructed in 1354 (App. B-23). In the same year, another nāult (water-receptacle) having one stupa on its roof was built in Achham.
It will be mentioned below that the Kāñkrevihār was also a fine creation of the architectural activity of the Khaśa Kingdom. Though most of the sculptures are undated, there are some clues to fix their approximate time. The image of the Akṣobhya Buddha (Fig. 1) found at Pādukāsthān, Dullu, was made during the reign of Aśoka-challa. The sculptures of three Paikelās (Figs. 2, 19, 16) and two lions (Fig. 6) appear to have belonged to the period of the Khaśa Kingdom. The clay tablets found in the caves of Lāmāthādā, Sinjā, which contain Buddhist chants, Buddhist images and stupas (Figs. 5, 12,) were made during the period between twelfth and fourteenth century. The script of the Buddhist chant of the tablets resembles the script of the inscriptions of the Khaśa Kingdom. Some of the stupa symbols of the tablets give their exact parallel to the stupa inscribed on the top of the Dullu pillar inscription. (Fig. 11). Similar clay tablets having Buddhist chants and symbols found in Tibet are mentioned to have belonged to the period between eleventh and fourteenth century.¹

The Vināyak Pañchadeval of Achham

The Hindu temple constructed in śikhara style is called deval and a group of five temples are collectively known as Pañchadevals. They are commonly found in the Karnali region. The districts of Jumla, Dailekh, Achham, Doti and Dadeldhura are rich in temples. The Vināyak Pañchadeval built by Aksayamalla, a member of the Khaśa ruling family, in 1280 is the specimen of the Brāhmanical architecture of the Khaśa Kingdom. Among the five temples, one temple of the south-west has totally collapsed and vanished, and four of them are still standing in a mutilated condition (Fig. 9). The central temple contains the inscription of Aksayamalla on its lintle. (App. B-8).

The Pañchadevals are the temples of five deities of Hindu patheism that is of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya. A śivalinga is still found lying in the central temple of Darnā
The images of Viṣṇu, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Śūrya are enshrined in the four-sided sukanāsikā sanctums of the central temple of Mānma Pañchadeval. These images are in crude form. However, they help to identify that the Pañchadevals are none but the temples of Hindu Pañchāyana gods. As in the sanctums of almost all the central temples of Pañchadevals the śivaliṅgas are enshrined, Śiva Pañchāyana concept appears predominant in this region from the early period. In most cases, the central temple of the Pañchadevals is the largest structure than its subsidiary temples of its four corners. The temples are built on a platform. They are single structures separately made on rectangular ground plan. P. R. Sharma writes:

One can divide the temple vertically into three parts. They are from below: the base consisting of the sanctum wall called the Jamgha, the superstructure or the tower called the Prasāda or Śikhara and the crowning umbrella–stone called the Āmalaka.

The ground plan of the largest temple of the Vināyak Pañchadeval is of 5.00 feet length and 4.50 feet breadth. The height of the Jamgha is of 6.00 feet and of the prasāda or śikhara 13.00 feet. The height of the āmalaka and its stand is unknown as this portion has fallen. The remaining height of the temple is 19.00 feet.

All the temples are made of chiselled stone blocks. There is no use of any piece of wood. The masonry work is done with thin layer of lime mortar. Iron nails were used at key-joints of stones to fasten them. The temples are made on an elongated pyramid shape with a flat top and the āmalakas are on their finials. Stones used in the temples are carved with flowers and patterns. The lintle and ceiling are also artistically carved. The temples of the Vināyak Pañchadeval are only the remarkable Brāhmanical architecture of the Khaśa Kingdom, remained so far although in a mutilated condition. The architectural and sculptural monuments of Doti and Dadeldhura are mainly works of Doti state which emerged after the fall of the Khaśa Kingdom.
The first dated monument of that area is the Ajayamerhât Panchadeval built by Nāgamalla, the king of Doti, in 1393. Most of the temples of Jumla also belong to the later period. The temple of Bištábādā were constructed in 1500 and the temple of Ukhâdî in 1486. Similarly, all the temples of the Dailekh district seem to be constructed during the period of Dullu and Bilaspur states. The Pañchadevals of Darnâ (Achham), Mânma (Kalikot), Raskot (Kalikot) and Chilkhâyā (Kalikot) also belong to the later period. However, it is obvious that they all bear the traditional style which was imported in this region from Kumaon during the thirteenth century.

The Kâñkravihâr of Surkhet

A large heap of ruins of the Kâñkrevihâr is lying on a hill, south of the Surkhet valley. The ruins are scattered over a perimeter of about 400.00 feet. The height of ruins is about 20.00 feet. Large and massive stone block having diverse patterns and figures are lying scattered. Therefore, it can be inferred that a large temple had been built there. The name of the place associated with ‘vihar’ indicates that the sectarian character of the temple was related to Buddhism. This will be further testified when one sees the figure of Buddha in meditative posture inscribed on the stones at the spot. (Fig. 13).

No records mention the date of the construction of the temple of Kâñkrevihâr. Only the style and the religious tradition of the region may help to assign the approximate date of its construction. The style shows that it was an earliest temple of the region. As mentioned above, Buddhism was in a highly flourishing state during the period of the Khaśa Kingdom. King Krâchalla (1207–1223) and Asökachalla (1255–1278) had done many works of religious merit related to Buddhism. Ruins and stone sculptures of Surkhet mention that this valley was a centre of the Buddhist religious activities during the early medieval period. An inscription of Āsā sâhu and Ruera-
devī dated 1292, found in Surkhet, shows that human habitation existed in the valley and religious works were done here at that time (App. B-9). A manuscript of the Buddhist text *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* had been copied from Surkhet in 1313. (App. B-12). Therefore, it can be inferred that the temple of Kāṅkrevihār was built in thirteenth century, probably during the reign of Aśokachalla (1255−1278), which were the most glorious days of the Khaśa Kingdom. The temple was made on śikhara style. Two miniature towers (Fig. 10) with āmalaka seen on the spot were probably overlaid the tower of the temple. An image of the flying nymph (Fig. 22) is seen artistically carved on a stone block which was probably projected below the lintle, facing the door-opening. On many other stones, Buddha images with Tārās (Fig. 13), sinuous plant stalks, lotus flowers, associated couples of swans and cranes, and so on are tastefully carved. The ruins indicate that this temple was the most celebrated architecture of the Khaśa Kingdom.

**Stupas, the Symbolic Monuments of Buddhism**

Many stupas or chaityas constructed during the period of the Khaśa Kingdom are found in the Karnali region, particularly in the districts of Jumla, Dailekh and Achham. Among them, the stupa of Kuchi (Fig. 14) and stupa of Pātharnāulī (Fig. 15) were built in the reign of Prithvimalla (1238-1251). They are built on the roof the nāulis (watet-receptacles).

The stupa Siriḍhuskā, Jumla, (Fig. 20) exists as an independent object. This stupa contains the Buddhist chant 'om mani padme hum' in Raṅjunā character. The stupas have square plan. Their garbha or basement, after raising vertically two to four feet, is stepped reducing above. Then a square cube with a cornice lies on it. Some global square and circular tiers representing kalaśa (dome) and bhūvanas (globes) are placed above the square cube. Besides, the stupa of Kuchi has four-sided openings and a girdle of beads around the basement (Fig. 14). The Pātharaāulī stupa is built on the roof of a
large structure of the nāuli (Fig. 15) made of large and massive stone blocks. There were five chaityas made according to the māndalika arrangement (App. B 23). But at present only one chaitya exists.

The stupas of Michāgāuñ were constructed in 1482 and 1501. The chaitya symbols are inscribed in many stone pillars including the Kīrtistambha of Dulla (Fig. 11). They have garbha (basement), chhatra (umbrella), kalaśa (dome), torana (festoon) and bhūvanas (globes). The clay tablets having the chaitya symbols (Fig. 5) represent the Tibetan impression on the Buddhist architecture of the region. They are of the fashion of the Tibetan mC’od rtens (Chhortens). One of the stupa symbols contains a figure of Aksobhya Buddha inside of it (Fig. 12) while another multi-towered stupa has a figure of Vairochana (Fig. 5). The multi-towered stupa is the distinguished feature of the Buddhist architecture.

SCULPTURES

Sources of information on the iconographical arts of the Khaśa Kingdom are much limited. Some sculptures are found in Dullu, Dailekh Bazar, Baijanath (Achham), Doti and Dadeldhura, but many of them belong to the later period. The icons of Dailekh Bazar are the works belonging to the subsequent centuries of the Gorkha conquest (1789 A. D). The Nārāyaṇa temple of Dailekh Bazar where these icons are enshrined, was built by a Gorkhkā general. Similarly, the icons of Baijanāth fall after fifteenth century onwards. The images of Doti and Dadeldhura including those of Gaurī and Mahiśāsuramardini appear to have been the works of Doti state as the first historical monuments of that area. These icons were enshrined in the Ajayamerhāṭ Pañchadeval of Dadeldhura constructed in 1393 by Nāgamalla, the king of Doti. The following images are selected for the study of the sculptural arts of the Khaśa Kingdom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Icons</th>
<th>Places</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akṣobhya Buddha</td>
<td>Pādukāsthān, Dullu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Buddhist Sculptures

It is reported that Nagaraja (?) had established an image of Buddha in Barahat (Uttarakashi). An image of Akṣobhya Buddha (Fig. 1) carved on a stone pillar shaft established by Sauna Karki and his wife on the occasion of the inauguration of the temple of Buddha was built by them during the reign of Asokachalla. This figure of Buddha is represented in the characteristic of bhūmisarṣa mudrā (earth touching posture). The Buddha sitting on a lotus, decorated with a crown, yajnopavita (sacred thread) and aksamālā (a girdle of beads around the neck). He wears no robe found usually in other Buddha figures, His eyes are half-closed. Similar Buddha figure appears in a clay-tablet found in a cave of Lāmāthāḍā, Sinja (Fig. 12).

A Buddha figure representing dhyānamudrā, the meditative posture, appears depicted in the ruins of Kāṅkrevihār (Fig. 13). Two figures of Tārās holding lamp-posts are standing on his two sides. This figure of Buddha wears a diaphanous robe. Another Buddha figure in meditative posture with a standing Tārā is also seen on a roadside pillar of Bhanḍārigauñ, Achham. A stone pillar of Itīm, Surkhet, contains the figures of Maitreya, Lokesvara, Gautama and Tārā.

Buddhist images figure in the clay-tablets found in the caves of Lāmāthāḍā, Sinja One of them contains a Buddha inside of a chaitya symbol. On either side of the chaitya, two figures representing Tārās are sitting on the lotus flowers (Fig. 12).
Another clay-tablet shows a figure of Padmapāṇi Lokeś-vara standing and holding a stalk of lotus in one hand and granting boon or protection with the other (Fig. 12). A figure of Vairochana Buddha is seen in a clay-tablet. The Buddha is placed within the main sanctum of a multi-towered stupa (Fig. 5). P. R. Sharma points out, “Another fragmentary clay-tablet from Sinja shows a four-legged deity standing in ālidha posture. It is no doubt a Tāntric divinity most probably either Heruka or Saṃvara, the popular tutelary deity of Tibet.”

Tibetan impressions are reflected in the Buddhist sculptures of the Karnali region. As regards the clay-tablets, they resemble the Tibetan clay-tablets of the period between eleventh to fourteenth century.

Other Sculptures

A figure of celestial nymph (Fig. 22) appears carved on a stone block of the ruins of Kānkrevihār. The stone with this figure was most probably placed under the lintle facing the door-opening of the temple. The image is artistically carved. She is stretching her hands and has flying posture. She wears necklace, bangles and akṣamālā. Three life-sized stone sculptures of lions are standing in a displaced order on the roadside of the royal palace area of Lāmāthāḍā, Sinja. These animals have large eyes and mouths opened. They might have been placed on either sides of the door-opening of the temple palace. Four figures of Paikelās (warriors) appear to have been carved on the stone pillars of Pādukāsthān, Dullu. (Figs 2, 16, 19) They are equipped with sword, spear and armour. One of them is a figure of horse-rider (Fig. 16). The horse is also covered with armour. The pillars contain inscriptions which read as follows.

A. (1) Om svasti
(2) Sidho rā
(3) ut ko
(4) Vira Stīn
(5) bhaṭ | |

B. (1) Om svasti
(2) Visu ko
(3) vira stambhah | |
The above quoted inscriptions show that the pillars were erected in commemoration of the warriors who died fighting. In the Karnali region, many wayside stone pillars show similar figures which could be interpreted in the same way. Other stone pillars containing the symbols of the sun, the moon, stupa and disc are commonly found all over the region. Most of the pillars contain the date of installation ranging thirteenth to fourteenth century.

REFERENCES

3. In front of the temples of Bistabadi, there is a stone pillar inscription which reads: Or̄m svasti sr̄i śaṅke 1422 dhitru rāut ra bām pannā rāwal......ko dharma.
5. Some stupas of Michagaun contain the following inscriptions:
   (i) svasti śri śaṅke 1404 hamiru rāul silamālādei... | |
   (ii) svasti śri śaṅke 1423 māse 11 tithau 5 vāre 6 sir hitu rāul.. kritam subhamastu | |
8. P.R. Sharma, n. 2, p.28.
9. Ibid.,
RECAPITULATION

The Khaśas were non-Vedic Āryans who had entered the Indian sub-continent from the north-west around the beginning of the first millennium B.C. and became the chief inhabitants of the north-western mountainous region of the Indian sub-continent. It appears that the first Khaśa group arrived in Western Nepal around the middle of the first millennium A. D.. Many of the Khaśas, who came in contact with the Hindus of the Indo-Gangetic plains adopted the Hindu culture. The Khaśas of the priest class became Brāhmaṇaṇa during the early period and some others became Kṣatriyas. The Matwāll-Chhétṛīs or the Pābai-Khaś of Far-Western Nepal's hills who did not convert themselves into the Hindu castes are the pure remnants of the ancient Khaśa people.

The Brāhmaṇaṇa, Thakurīs and Chhétṛīs of hills and valleys on the southern slope of the Himalayas are known as Pahāḍī caste groups. The Brāhmaṇa and Rajput immigrants from the plains of India who preceded or followed the Khaśas have been assimilated in equal social status of the Pahāḍī caste hierarchy. Therefore, present Nepāli Pahāḍī caste groups are the admixture of the Khaśas and Indo-Āryans. But the greater degree of admixture owes to the Khaśa stock. The dominating bulk of the society of Western Nepal before the Khaśa influx were the Mongoloid people—Guruṅgs and Magars. The Khaśas set the motion for the succeeding Pahāḍī caste domination of the country.

During the early medieval period, the Khaśas established a fairly big kingdom known as Khaśadeśa, the Khaśa kingdom. Their kingdom covered a vast territory comprising Western
Nepal, South-Western Tibet, and Kumaon and Garhwal during its heydays. It was a magnificent achievement conquering the rugged and defiant barriers of nature. Nāgarāja was the Khaša ruler who founded the Khaša kingdom in Western Nepal around the beginning of the twelfth century. His successors Krachalla, Asokachalla, Jitārimalla, Ripumalla, Ādityamalla, Puṇjamalla and Prithvīmallā were the prominent rulers of the Khaša kingdom. After the foundation of their kingdom in the Karnali region, the Khaša conquerors occupied the fertile basins of the Gandaki region, King Jitārimalla led the Khaša troops to invade the Nepal Valley for the first time in 1288. From this time onward, the Khašas invaded the valley of Nepal several times. The kingdom of the Nepal Valley paid the tribute to the Khaša rulers. The Khaša kingdom began to crumble down into pieces by the times of Prithvīmallā. After Malayavarmā, it completely collapsed. Though the powerful kingdom vanished from the political horizon, it had lasting impacts on the succeeding society and politics of Nepal.

Most of the family surnames of the Nepāli Pahāḍī caste groups as given in Appendix ‘D’ were derived from the governmental designations of the Khaša kingdom, and from the place-names of the Karnali region. This testifies that in the past people of the Pahāḍī caste groups of Nepal were distributed mainly from the Karnali region throughout the kingdom of Nepal.

During the days of the Khaša kingdom, civil and military functionaries, who were entrusted with the task to maintain order in the Gandaki region, migrated to this region along with the ordinary people because the fertile basins of the seven Gandakis had sufficient attraction for the settlement. The Khadgās who were defeated by Drabya Shāha in Gorkhā were probably migrated from the Karnali region. The contemporary records of the Nepal Valley show the influence of
the Khaśas and the Khaśa language in the Malla kingdoms of Kaśtipur, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur.¹ The people of the Khaś-Äryan origin penetrated into Eastern Nepal during the days of the Sena kingdom of Pālpa which was extended in the east up to Morang. Prithvinārāyaṇa Shāha, after his conquest of Eastern Nepal, had also encouraged them to settle there.

The Khaśas were renowned warriors from the early period. It was due to their valour and bravery that they became able to establish a great kingdom in this rugged mountainous region. Even after the collapse of the Khaśa kingdom, the Khaśa Kṣatriyas maintained their morale. The Khaśa soldiers were regarded as the best warriors during the eighteenth century when Prithvinārāyaṇa Shāha of Gorkhā launched the campaign for the unification of Nepal.² The Khaśa soldiers played most important role in the unification of Nepal under the leadership of Prithvinārāyaṇa Shāha and his successors.

The court religion of the Khaśa kingdom was Buddhism. The Khaśa rulers were ardent devotees of the Lord Buddha. Many of the courtiers in the kingdom were also Buddhists. But the kings and courtiers were extremely tolerant in the matters of religion, and they had equally respected Hinduism. When Hinduism gained predominant position in this region after the fall of the Khaśa kingdom, the Hindus adopted the same attitude towards Buddhism. The sense of religious toleration and harmony which was developed in the days of the Khaśa kingdom is found to be at the core of the present Nepalese Pañḍīt culture.

The Pañchāyana cult which was a good combination of different sects of Hinduism such as Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaktism and Śūrya worship was also gaining ground in the Khaśa kingdom. The symbols and images of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Devi and Śūrya were enshrined in the Pañchadevals and worshipped together. These Pañchāyana gods represented by small śāligrāma stones are worshipped at home daily
by the Pahādi Brāhmaṇas of Nepal before their morning meal. Even the systems of weights and measurements, and land tenure systems such as Birtā, Guṭhī and Raikar which were adopted in Western Nepal during the days of the Khaša kingdom, are prevalent in the present Nepalese society. Only, the Birtā system was abolished in Nepal in 1959.

One of the most significant impacts of the Khaša kingdom on modern Nepal was in the field of language. The eastern section of the Khaša language is known as the Siňjāli or Eastern Pahādī. The Khaša kings made it the state language of their kingdom. Many inscriptions of that period are found written in this language. It also became the state language of all the Bāisī and Chaubisī principalities which emerged after the fall of the Khaša kingdom. Today, the Siňjāli branch of the Khaša language has become the national language of Nepal.

The creative assimilation of the language, culture, traditions and population of Khāšas helped the Gorkhālls in their campaign of the unification of Nepal. All the Bāisī and Chaubisī principalities had the same language, culture, religion and traditions. That’s why the conquest of Western Nepal by the Gorkhālls was not followed by the religious and cultural disturbances. The cultural unification of Western Nepal with high sense of harmony and toleration was achieved under the Khaša rulers during the early medieval period.

REFERENCES:


BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

English


Nepali

Adhikary, Surya Mani. *Paśchima Nepālko Aitihāṣika Anvesāṇa* (Historical Research of Western Nepal). Kathmandu: Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 2043 B.S.


Joshi, Satya Mohan. *Karnāli Lok Saṁskritī, Khaṇḍa Ek, Itihās* (History of the Karnali Region), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2028 B. S.

Khanal, Mohan Prasad. *Madhyakāli Abhilekh* (Inscriptions of the Medieval period). Kathmandu 2030 B. S.


Panta, Devakānta. *Doṭeli Lok Sāhitya* (Lore and
Legends of Doti). Kathmandu : Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, 2032 B. S.

Pokharel, Balakrishna (ed.). Pāñc̤h̤t̤a̤ya Varṣa (Five hundred years of the Nepali Language). Kathmandu : Sājhā Prakāśan, 2031 B. S.

Yogi Naraharinath. Itiḥās Prakāśa (Light on History), Vol. I. Kathmandu : Itiḥās Prakāśa Manḍal, 2012 B. S.

—-Itiḥās Prakāśa (Light on History), Vol. II, Parts 1, 2 and 3, Kathmandu : Itiḥās Prakāśaka Saṅgha, 2013 B. S.


—-Rudārksaranamāhatmyam. Kathmandu : Tārak Bahādur Shāhā, 1880 S. E.

—- (ed.) Prithvīnāyana Sāhako Dibya Upadesa (Divine Counsel of Prithvīnārāyaṇa Shāhā). Kathmandu : Yogaprabārīṇi Mahāsabhā, 2016 B. S.

Saṃskrit, Hindi and Newārī
dabaral, Shiva Prasad. Uttarakhandaṅka Itiḥāsā (History of Kumaon and Garhwal). Garhwal : Viragāthā Prakāśan, 2028 B. S.


ARTICLES

English


Nepali


—“Karnāḷī Pradeśakā Rājā Ādityamallako Śāke 1238 ko Tāmrapatra” (A Copper plate Inscription of Ādityamalla), *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2041 B.S.), p. 127.
APPENDIX—A

The Kings of Guge

(According to the Dpag-bsam-lion-bzam (p. 52), a chronicle of Tibet).


Translated from the Tibetan Chronicles

Hkhor-re had two sons, viz. Nāga-rā-dza and Deba-rā-dza. Later on the three together (i.e. the father with his two sons) took the sign of monkhood. Although the (religious) name of the father was Ye śes-hod, he became better (easier) known by the names Lo-chen (Paṇḍit) and Mkhan-slob-goig-pa ('only Guru'). When he had entrusted the government to his younger brother Sroṅ-ñe, the hymns and Vinaya being widely known, the Smritis (śāstras) came at that time. During the reign of Sroṅ-ñe's son, Lha-lde, Subhuti śrī-śānti was invited (to Tibet from Kashmir). He translated the Śer-phyogs, and Lo-chen's disciples translated many (other books). He had three sons. Of these Hod-lde reigned, whilst Byān-chub-bod and Zi-ba-hod, the younger ones, became monks, and invited Lord Atisā (to Tibet). During the reign of Hod-lde's son, Rtse-lde, Zi-ba-bzan-po (Śāntibhadra) arrived in Tibet; and, when the wise men of Dbus-Gtsan and Khams had assembled, the great religious council (chos-bkhor-chen-po) of Mñah-ris took place. His son was Hbar-lde, then Bkrasis-lde, Bha-lde, Nāga-deva; Btsan-phyug-lde went to Ya-tshe (Sinja). His son was Bkra-sis-lde. Then, in order, Grags-btsan-lde, Grags-pa-lde. He erected (an image of) Ḫjam-
dbyaṅs (Maṅjughoṣa) of 70 bre (a weight) of gold, a stupa of 24 bre (of gold), an (image of) Bde-mchog (Sambara) of 500 (Rupees) of white silver, and (an image) of Byams-pa (Maitreya) of 12000 (Rupees). His son Ā-so-lde, bought those 44 towns which had at an earlier time been offered to Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) by Mya-ñan-med (Aśoka). At that time they belong to the Sog-pos (Mongols), and he established a religious brotherhood, which was sustained by their taxes. His sons were Ḥdzin-dar-rmal and Ān-na-rmal; of these two the latter had the Bkah-hgyur copied in gold. His son Reẖurmal conquered many Indian nations; he erected (images of) the eight Sman-bla in silver, and provided golden roofs for the Ḥphrul-snaṅ temple. His son was Saṅgha-rmal; and his son was Ḥdzin-dar-rmal. Ḥdzin-dar-rmal’s son Ā-ḥdzin-rmal, first became a monk at Sāksya; (then) he became king again. His son was Ka-lan-rmal. With his son, Par-tab-rmal the family of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end. Bsod-nams-side of (S)pu-raṅs was invited to Ya-tshe, and, when he began to reign, he took the (title of) Puṅ (ya) rmal. His son Pra-ti-rmal and the minister Dpal-idan-grags-pa (Yaśovarmā?) began the Chinese roof (golden roof?) over the Bcu-gig-zal (Avalokita temple) at Lha-sa.

APPENDIX B
Inscriptions of the Khaṣa Kingdom

The inscription of the Khaṣa Kingdom are collected and reproduced in this Appendix. The author is much indebted to the researchers who found out and published these inscriptions in different books and journals. These inscriptions are found in Western Nepal, Western Tibet, Kumaon, Garhwal, and Bodh Gaya.

APPENDIX B—1
The Copper Plate Inscription of Krāchalla

Place—The Bāleśvara Temple, Sūi, Kumaon.  
Date—1145 Śāke (1223 A.D.).

Note—This inscription is inscribed on the reverse of the copper plate grant to the Bāleśvara temple made by the Katūrī king Deṣṭādeva. Original text in Sanskrit is not available.

The Translation of the Inscription

Be it auspicious. The prosperous state of Bharauta.

The splendid Sirā ruling in heaven, ever strengthened by her victorious lord, having embraced the goddess of victory resplendent with her precious pearls, dropping from the skulls of her elephantine foes, who were dragged to battle, and killed and felled by the spears of her warriors, vincible only by the lord of heaven, a protectress and benefactress of cows and Brāhmaṇs. Her son was the great hero and king Krāchalla, the most excellent, and chief of all who bear arms or are versed in the sciences, and who was ever inclined to (act of) piety and charity. By his combat with elephants of newly sprouting tusks, with lance, sword, and ropes, Krāchalla, the lord of earth, became equally marvellous with the Pāṇḍavas. He was a devout Saugata (Buddhist), and shone like the sun on the lotus of the Jini-kula (it may be read Jijārkula). He was fierce in the strength of his arms, of marked valour, and entitled the most venerable, the lord supreme, and great king of kings, the prosperous Krāchalla Deva, lord of men, who, in the Vijaya rājya (realm of victory), now in his possession, has crushed the whole circle of his enemies with his own arms, and having destroyed the kings of the demolished city of Kartipura, (Kārtikeyapura) and established our right therein, inspected the land bequeathed by its former kings, all of which, with their revenues, are all now made over to the highly deserving of homage Śrī Bāleśvara, the sole Rudra Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, a Bengali Brāhmaṇa (baṅgaja) Jāgṭkebhyam by means of this grant. Here is a couplet of the king’s sister: “The clouds with abundance of rain fill the mountains and rivers, but fame
the necklace of the world, stretches over the three worlds.”

The (following) is another couplet of the great queen:

“The quality of charity and other virtues is excellent, but more so is she who is addicted to her duties and ever faithfully devoted to her lord, for time is known to have a devouring head.” The great king in council with his principal courtiers, viz.:

Sri Yāhad Deva Mandalika,
Sri Vidya Chandra Mandalika,
Sri Sri Chandra Deva Mandalika,
Sri Jaya Śimha Mandalika,
Sri Hari Raja Rāutta Raja,
Sri Jihala Deva Mandalika,
Sri Anilāditya Rāutta Raja,
Sri Vallāla Deva Mandalika,
Sri Vinaya Chandra Mandalika,
Sri Musā Deva Mandalika,

Having determined with his friends and ministers and well considered the matter as in duty bound, has given the aforesaid grant to the logician, tantrika, counsellor, saintly, forbearing, prudent, renowned in compositions of prose, verse, and poetry in this age of Kali, the poet, connoisseur of the purport of works (books), skilled in the calculation of horoscopes and the like, the son of Nanda, conversant in agury, and renowned in the world. The limits and boundaries there of being Svahāragadi on the east, as far as Kahudakota on the south; as far as Talakota on the west; and as far as Ladhāul on the north. This spot thus bounded on the four sides, and situated in the Sri Kona Desa (corner land), with the mines, valleys and jungles, together with all products thereof, are given over by me by means of this grant, and for its continuance coeval with that of the sun and moon.

(Verses)

All the mighty (princes) who from time to time shall be born in my race, let them as well as other masters of land preserve this (for ever). The donor of lands gains (the favours)
of Aditya, Varuna, Brahma and Vishnu, as also of Soma, Hutāsana, and the god holding the trident in his hand. When the lands (possessed by) Dilīpa, Nripa and Nahusha have been left behind, they shall never accompany any other monarch (on his demise). Lands have been bequeathed by various kings, beginning with Sagara. Whoevers becomes master of land at any time, he reaps the produce thereof. He who receives lands as well as he who grants the same both become meritorious and both in heaven remain. Whoso resumes lands whether given by himself of another,

As a filthy worm for sixty thousand years doth pother;
Whoever steals a gold coin, resumes a villa, or an inch of ground,
Shall dwell in hell as long as offerings are drowned.
No gift is equal to the grant of land, no wealth equal to gift.
No virtue greater than truth, nor sin than falsehood’s shift.
The king, one’s life, strength and gods deserve most to be regarded by all

So long as the possessor of the place where the lotus loves to exist of the auspicious Krāchalla-deva wanders on the earth, so long may the lotus-abode of the chief of the Kirantis (may be Kirttira) (flourish)—(Srimat Krāchalladevasya yāvat ambhyajinipati viharatu bhuvī tavat kirāttīrasya nripakumu-dākara).

And long as the lord of stars spins on the head of the god holding the Pināka bow, and his dreadful braids of hair are moistened by Ganga’s stream.

What was the holder of the Gāndiva bow—merely possessed of valour? What was the son of Dharma? What is the lord of wealth? What was the Rāmabhadra the mighty, and was Kudarpa too before him? No, never were they such neither in this manner nor in that, as the famed Krāchalla, who is as a gem on the crowns of all the rulers of earth.
In beauty he resembled the moon and Ratipati.
To the indigent he was the Kalpa-tree.
In valour he was in quality like the gem of Raghu.
In the assemblage of all the qualities he was Bhavānipati.
In bowmanship he was a Rāma or Bhīṣma himself.
In justice he was as if born of Dharma.
Krāchalla was a destroyer of his elephantine enemies in the Kaliyuga.

Let our allies, abiding in firm amity, meet with prosperity.
And let the rulers of earth govern her with justice throughout the year.
Let the four articles of polity remain steady with you as a new married bride.

And let the god having the semi-bow as a gem on his crest confer good fortune on mankind. Dated 1145 of the year of the Saka king, the 2nd day of the waning moon of Pausha, Monday, asterism of Pushya. The moon in Cancer, and the sun in Sagittarius; and Saturn following him; Mars in Virgo; Jupiter and Mercury in Scorpio; Venus in Aquarius; the ascending node in Aries; and the descending node in south-east. Written in the prosperous city near Dulu. Welfare to all worlds!

APPENDIX B-2

The Trident Inscription of Aśokachalla

Place—Gopeśvara, Garhwal.

Date—111 (7) 3 Sake (1251 A. D.).


Note—The date of the Gopeśvara trident inscription read by Atkinson seems wrong. It would have
been correct if it had been 1173 Śāke in stead of 1113 Śāke. Regarding to the name, Atkinson reads ‘Anekamalle’ but Rahul Sankritayan rightly reads it as Ašokachalla.

The Translation of the Inscription

Om. Be it auspicious. The lord paramount and most venerable king of kings, the fire of whose valour has consumed the swords of his enemies, and the gems of whose nails are deeply tinged with the vermillion on the foreheads of the wives of inimical princes. Who in the depth (of his understanding) and extent of his renown was like the great ocean, and the splendour of the gems of whose footstool flashed on all sides with the collected rays of luminous rubies on the heads of the assemblage of his allies and hostile princes. Who is as a lion amongst royal elephants and a ruler of the land of Dānavas as Vikramāditya had been of Vetāla. Who like Nārāyaṇa uses all princes as his eagles (garuras), and is endowed with the three energies. Who is sprung from the family of Gauḍa and is tilaka (signet of royalty) to the Vairātha Kula and a recent incarnation of Bodhisata. This is prosperous Aneka Malla (Ašokachalla), the tilaka on the rulers of the earth, who with his encompassing forces has subdued Kedāra Bhūmi, and having made his conquered territories as his own province, free of warfare, the lord of earth has erected thereupon his royal edifice Śrī Padmapāda, which he has adorned with everything for his enjoyment, giving of gifts and feasts. In the year of the Śāka king past 1113 (1173) by solar calculation the number of days past is Gaṇapati 12, Friday, the 9th of moon written by Malla Śrī Rāja Malla, Śrī Iswari Deva, Paṇḍita Śrī Rañjana Deva, and Śrī Chandrodaya Deva, in conjunction with the general and captain.

APPENDIX B—3

The Bodh Gaya Inscription of Ašokachalla

Date—Lakṣmaṇasenasyātita Era 51 (1255 A.D.).

Note - In the end of the inscription there is a figure of an ass ascending upon a female pig.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. श्रो नमो बुद्धाय। येघ्मम्महितुप्रभववहेतुतेषांतथागतोहावदत्
   (1) तेषांच्योनि—
2. रोधेवंबादीमहाभवेः (महाभवेः)। देयघ्मम्मयप्रवरमहाजानायिपः
   (महायानायिपः) पर—
3. मोपाशकसमसत्यप्रकृतेवपेतमहाराजश्रीमदशेखरचलदेवस्य (१) यदन—
4. पुण्यक्षेत्रवधु (१) मातापितृपुत्रांगमंडलसत्तासत्त्वरस्तुरुत्तमानान—
5. फल (१) वाप्तयति। कास्मीरपुडितभद्वनुषयिरराजगुप्तपुणितमुशाल—
6. पार्षस्करदेव। पार्ष्ट्रलोकश्रुतकाविपः। श्रीमद्राजानवोध—
7. यित्वा। भुजेदामोदरिः। भट्टपुवन । शिष्टराजसम्बुधुकालप्रभुत्व (प्रभृत्वा)
8. बिहारियंदुप्रतिमासहिताकारिता। यदेकर । नेवेदायतांदे—
9. तन्त्रभक्तय (तज्ज्ञ तज्ज्ञ र्यक्तय) दीपसहितायाच्याश्रक्षेत्रेवित्तेनिन्य—
   श्रीम्महावीधायिः—
10. घलसंघादेवस्वे। प्रत्यहुदेय। नेवेदामिदंत्यहालवित्त तिप—
11. तस्ताश्रितस्वपकारीमामकयौपरिक्लितवित्तमिति।
12. श्रीमलराज्येंस्तथातीतराज्ये सं ५१
13. भारदीने २९

APPENDIX B-4

The Bodh Gaya Inscription of Saharapala

Date—Lakṣmanaṇasenaśaṭita Era 74 (1278 A. D.).

Transcript of the Inscription

1. बौद्धमूढाय ॥ देवधम्मेर्यस्वरमहायानयायिनः परमोपासकः हेवकर्म- चरणार्चिन्द्रकर्त्तक मधुकरलाकारप्रेमी—

2. श्यामजगुड़परम्पराणिरिम्मागराजमलम्मलिनिनिकलमहीपाल- जनकेश्वरिनिनिकलप्रस्तर्तसमलकु—

3. तसपादलक्षणिकर्मकर्मराजाधिराजश्रीमद्वश्चलकणिकोऽप्रथि- श्रीवर्धानमधेश्यकुमारप्रणाल—

4. दप्तरमोऽध्विनिव्वरत्त्वमित्रप्रार्थिनिनिकलिनिवर्त्त्ववोधिस्तव्यरमिनि- श्यामप्रथिनिवर्त्त्ववोधिस्तव्यनामायि—

5. स्महतकश्रीचात्रनद्रपुत्रस्वमहाउत्तकध्रीमृतिरस्य (१) यदय- पुण्यतुमव्यायायमादिपार्यायमादिनायि—

6. तुष्यवर्णब्रह्मचर्यकलसतव्यं रतुत राजानलाम्ब्यितित्वीमलक्षण- सेनदेवपादानामतीतराज्ये—

7. सं. ७४ वैशाख बंदौ १२ गुरी ॥

APPENDIX B—5

The Trident Inscription of Abokachalla

Place—Bārāhāt, Garhwal.

Date—X


Note—This inscription is inscribed in a metal trident of 21 feet height in Bārāhāt (Uttarakashi).

Transcript of the Inscription

ओṃ स्वस्ति ॥ क्तवादिविजयमहालयमहादेववस्त्रस्माभिमानाराज्ये— श्रीमद्वशक्षल्लुपति: स्त्रभच्छलालीत्वात् ॥ पश्चाच्चप्रतिपरारोप्यत्र— विजयस्नांस्मार्तिण्डामाहुत्त्वाकाँतात्रिप्रतिस्बधिंभक्तांयुक्तंसनात् पुनः।।
APPENDIX B—6

A Stone Pillar Inscription during the time of Aśokachalla

*Place*—Padukasthan, Dullu.

*Date*—X


*Note*—It is the first authentic inscription of the Nepālī language available so far.

**Transcript of the Inscription**

1. ऑंमोऽमवद्ये: I श्री 2. असोकचतुर्वर्णात्मक 3. रंजयतु: I 
   सुनाका 4. किसाऊकाक्ष्यासिक 5. देवत:

APPENDIX B—7

The Inscription of Clay-Tablet

*Place*—Simpati, Lamagupha, Sinja.

*Date*—X

*Note*—The clay-tablets contain the Buddhist chant similar to that of the Bodh Gaya inscription of Aśokachalla (App. B-3)

**Transcript of the Inscription**

1. ओऽ्ये 2. धम्म हेतु प्रह (भ) वा हे 3. तू तेषां तथागतो हवाद 
   4. तू तेषां च यो निरोध एवं 5. वादिमहाश्रम 6. ण:

APPENDIX B—8

An Inscription of Akṣayamalla

*Place*—Bināyak Pañchadeval, Achham.

*Date*—1202 Śāke (1280 A. D.)
Note—This inscription is inscribed in the lintle of the central temple of the Vināyak Pañchadeval.

Transcript of the Inscription

An Inscription of Asā Sāhu and Rudrā Devī

Place—Birendranagar, Surkhet.
Date—1214 Šāke (1292 A. D.).
Note—The stone which contains this inscription is kept on the wall of a newly built temple of Mahāṅkāla in Surkhet. Some letters of the inscription are effaced and the legible ones read as follows.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ....... सुखोत्रे.... II फाल्गुनमसे सुरक्षितपसे 2. ....... तिथिो....थारे 5 भिसाके 1294 बासासाहु रुव्रादेई 3. ....... देवल........... 

APPENDIX B—10

An Inscription of Ājita (Jitāri) malla

Place—Padukasthan, Dullu.
Date—1212 Šāke (1299 A. D.)
Source—Yogi Naraharinath published this inscription in Itihāsa Prakāśa, Vol. II, No. 1 (Kathmandu:
I have also read the original text of the inscription.

Note—Jitarimalla has been named as Ājitamalla in this inscription. Some Tibetan chronicles also mention him as ajidar-ral. On the other hand, the same king is called Jayatāri by the Gopāl Varṇāvali. These documents have orthographical error in mentioning the name of the king.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं सत्कुञ्ज 2. श्री बाजीतम 3. ल्हरां जा परिवा 4. र शियरंजयतु ...
5. ज्ञिजनाथारात्र 6. शाहे १२२१

APPENDIX B—11

The Kapilvastu Inscription of Ripumalla

Date—1234 Śāke (1312 A. D.).


Transcript of the Inscription

अं मणिपण्ड्रे II श्रोरिन्युमलशिवरंजयतु १२२४ I

APPENDIX B—12

An Inscription of Ripumalla

Place—This inscription is recorded in the colophon of a manuscript work of Abhisamayālaṅkārā preserved in the spon K’an monastery of Tibet.

Date—1370 V. S. (1313 A. D.).

Note—This is the first inscription of the Khāsa Kingdom which mentions Vikrama Era.

Transcript of the Inscription

सम्बत् ११७४ फाल्गुण बटि २ तिथिदिने । मुरक्केर । राजराजेश्वर—
लोकेश्वर श्रीरिपमल्लेद्वराज्ये ।

APPENDIX B—13

The Pillar Inscription of Ripumalla

Place—This inscription is inscribed on the Asokan Pillar of Lumbini.

Date—X


Transcript of the Inscription

1. बो माने पढ़े हुं । 2. श्रीरिपमल्ल विचर जयतुः । 3. संग्राम
(म) हल्ले जयः

APPENDIX B—14

A Stone Inscription of Ripumalla

Place—Sera, Sinja.

Date—X


Note—Some letters of the inscription are effaced and the legible ones read as follows.
Transcript of the Inscription

1. अः मणिपद्रेाः || रिमुमललययः 2. "... रिमुमल्लराजनी (ति)" लोकेश
3. "... लिखापिता 9 निजितहितपक्षण रिमुमल्लनभूभुवः 4. साधनीजिनकल्वा...रिमुमल्ल चिरंजय ।। लोकनाथपदधार्मानलघु 5. रत्नतायामिदाः ।। लिखितारिमुमल्लन विषय सर्वार्थ साधनी।

APPENDIX B—15

The Copper Plate Inscription of Ādityamalla (1)

Source—Dhanaraj soti, Sotigaun, Bajhang.

Date—1238 Śāke (1316 A. D.).

Note—This inscription has been brought to light by Raja Ram Subedi in “Karnāli Pradeśa kā Rājā Ādityamalla ko Śāke 1238 ko Tamrapatra”. Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 11, No. 3 (2041 B. S.), p. 117.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओं स्वस्तः। श्री सेव्जातुभवस्ताने। समुद्रवंशोद्भव विराधपाराधिष्ठित्य—प्रतिपावित्तेभ्य देवता श्री हृदय—

2. जिनादपदुपरिश्वयया परायण। राजकंशनारायण। राजपु (ज) वलमल्लहकापांवीरेतयादि

3. विविध विहूदावलिविराजमानपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमददित्य

4. मल्लदेवः सात्तः पुरः सकुमारः सपरिवारविचित्र जयतु।। राइका भाषा पसा भे

5. अकड्ड्या कोङ्गऽ लडऽ नपावा गाप्रियाप्ताका बाला 3 अनु उपाध्या सिउधो

6. उपाध्यां जगाड्डो उपाध्यां पसा भया छनो।। त्वामुकरि सेवामादत्त ध्रुव भुवः

7. भाषा आदित्यमल्लन शाखा प्रतिपाल। बांस्तनकि शारा भच। जसापाउण पायेँः
8. छ। रक्ता सो यो घानू। मेहस्वलति कत्यान्ते मर्यादा सागरो
गति। प्रतिपत्ति महा स
9. तयं न विचलति कवाचन:। अन्त शाक्षिक रत्नन्य।
भि शाके १२३५ मागमिरि सुदि।
10. द्वारश्यां गुरो लिखित मिति गुणमिर

APPENDIX B—16

The Copper Plate Inscription of Adityamalla (2)

Place—C. D. O. Office, Dailekh.
Date—1243 Šāke (1321 A.D.).

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ...सिःजासामावायित्वस्यानि। दुर्वीरदोंद्वचिहिमसामात्तत्—
2. दन्तिविराटपीठाधिष्ठितप्रतिष्ठिततप्रेण्डबतिपरिवारपर्याण।
   राजकसनारायणरा—
3. जस्मिनवलमलराजसरस्वतीकठाभरराजकोदंिविदाउँ।
   राजप्रतापमार्
4. डचन्तिकापूरणेकपपुरुषाराम। निस्सीमसाहसबीरेतालिनामातिद्वृत्ति—
5. विकल्पविराजमानपरमभूमकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेवत्वश्रीमद—
6. स्वमलदेव: सान्त: पृः सकुमार: सपरिवारशिरजयतु।
   राजकापाय भाषा।
7. पसाकि अक्रः पंम्बोजोइसिका कान्सा चेला। पदमनाथ। धामु
   दुहुङ्का।
8. तामकु जम्बोभाटको बा १ बोहोरातोला जैसमको बा १ बाहिताल्मको
   आली।
9. थापाको हुंदो। एति आला सवेकर अकर दोहोलिकै पसाकि अक्राहु।
10. भादित्यमलकि शाखा पसाकर। पंम्बो जोिसिका शाखा भुङ्च।
    दिहकरिकूम्—
APPENDIX B—17

The Copper Plate Inscription of Ādityamalla (3)

Place—Taghwai Monastery, north of Gorkha.
Date—1243 Śāke (1321 A. D.).
Source—Mohan Prasad Khenal, Madhyakālin Abhilekh (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 1-3.
Note—The inscription is written in the vernacular Sinhālī and the Tibetan. The same subject matter has been repeated in both the languages. In this Appendix only the Sinhālī portion of the inscription is included.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओऽ स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीशाके 9243 शाहसादिरियमल्लदेव सपिरिवारिषिरवः-युः ॥ राजका भाषा पसारकर अकि ॥ बास्नागालामाकारिवारता हाः-श्रा इश्वर नासुहो हामि श्रापालितो हाः ॥ भाया स्वस्ति पायिन्द्या या- 
2. बाचनु कटक्क बादवा जादा गुम्बा घच्च नकिय ॥ कोहि जेशकर्
3. त सोनतोला 100 को थारोतासुयचोतकु ॥ वरामल्या या (श) ॥
4. पसाभिः ॥ आऽ (मुद्रा)

APPENDIX B—18

The Copper Plate Inscription of Puṇyamalla

Place—Taghwai Monastery, north of Gorkha.
Date—1250 Śāke (1328 A. D.).
Source—Mohan Prasad Khenal, Madhyakālin Abhilekh (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 9-10.
Note—In this inscription also the same subject matter has been repeated in the vernacular Sinhālī and the Tibetan. Only the portion of the Sinhālī language is included in this Appendix.
Transcript of the Inscription

Date-1258 Sāke (1336 A.D.)

Note—In the end of the inscription, a figure of sword and the name of Punyamalla are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. भो स्ववित। धर्मको निको टा (ठा) कुर पुणमल्लको म (७) दिस।
2. पूवतित नायो हाथाको मुखिङ एकक भविकारी।
3. कर्मक करकर समुं प्रति काजको घायले भड़।
4. कठा मानिसी पासकियो ताजुगां पाख शवा।
5. गिर्य पनि पुर्वलो महारा (ज) को बले विधांकरी अ।
6. कनु तेनकारनलागी मुदपात पसाकिए।
7. यो महाराजको वल विद्वा काृला मृ (भ) नि टास।
8. कुसमलितमा पाटा बमकरी विनितकी पो (यो) तसर।
9. मसाकियो ताजगापासनर्मादालीसित हल्ल।
10. स्वयम्कोरमूसो भूपालि मालिन चउनि सोत भा।
11. त माध्यिन कोइ चबूट हुधु किया महाराजको मुदन।
12. लेखत ताहँ अतित विनित दोया जो यस लुटपात।
13. ननेष्ठात धानिन सुनको घारो टासूपतनलेज जो।
14. झंडुषा झुङळ।

APPENDIX B—19

The Kanakapatra of Punyamalla (1)

Date—1258 Śāke (1336 A.D.)

Note—In the end of the inscription, a figure of sword and the name of Punyamalla are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. भो स्ववित। धर्मको निको टा (ठा) कुर पुणमल्लको म (७) दिस।
2. पूवतित नायो हाथाको मुखिङ एकक भविकारी।
3. कर्मक करकर समुं प्रति काजको घायले भड़।
4. कठा मानिसी पासकियो ताजुगां पाख शवा।
5. गिर्य पनि पुर्वलो महारा (ज) को बले विधांकरी अ।
6. कनु तेनकारनलागी मुदपात पसाकिए।
7. यो महाराजको वल विद्वा काृला मृ (भ) नि टास।
8. कुसमलितमा पाटा बमकरी विनितकी पो (यो) तसर।
9. मसाकियो ताजगापासनर्मादालीसित हल्ल।
10. स्वयम्कोरमूसो भूपालि मालिन चउनि सोत भा।
11. त माध्यिन कोइ चबूट हुधु किया महाराजको मुदन।
12. लेखत ताहँ अतित विनित दोया जो यस लुटपात।
13. ननेष्ठात धानिन सुनको घारो टासूपतनलेज जो।
14. झंडुषा झुङळ।
APPENDIX B—17

The Copper Plate Inscription of Ādityamalla (3)

Place—Taghwai Monastery, north of Gorkha.
Date—1243 Śāke (1321 A. D.).
Source—Mohan Prasad Khenal, Madhyakālin Abhilekh (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 1-3.
Note—The inscription is written in the vernacular Siṃjālī and the Tibetan. The same subject matter has been repeated in both the languages. In this Appendix only the Siṃjālī portion of the inscription is included.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. अं स्वसित ॥ श्रीशाखे १२४३ श्रीमददिशयमल्लदेव स्वपरिवारसिद्धार्ज्-
2. येन ॥ राइका भाषौ पसाफिअविन ॥ बास्माबालामासापरिवारिए हा-
3. द्रा इछुन्न नास्सो हाम्म दानपतिहो हाई ख्या स्वसित पाधियानुम रक्षा
4. वाइनौ कटक आउदा ठाडा गुम्बा घच्छ नकिय ॥ कोडि जेघचकर्
5. त सोनटोला १०० को धारोतामाहलोनकु ॥ वरापाबच्छ्या वा (भा) षृ
6. पसाफह ॥ आि झुदा)

APPENDIX B—18

The Copper Plate Inscription of Puṇyamalla

Place—Taghwai Monastery, north of Gorkha.
Date—1250 Śāke (1328 A. D.)
Source—Mohan Prasad Khanal, Madhyakālin Abhilekh (Kathmandu: 2030 B. S.), pp. 9-10.
Note—In this inscription also the same subject matter has been repeated in the vernacular Siṃjālī and the Tibetan. Only the portion of the Siṃjālī language is included in this Appendix.
Transcript of the Inscription

The Kanakapatra of Puṇyamalla (1)

Date—1258 Śāke (1336 A.D.)
Note—In the end of the inscription, a figure of sword and the name of Puṇyamalla are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. भो स्वस्ति। सुभेल्हांसुभेल्हांसिराध्रश्रालिहकनककलशंशोषितवरविहँर मनोहरविविण्येचे—
2. शिस्मुपपकिंसोराज्यसंतुष्टमहाजनसश्रीविहितनृत्योत्सवप्रहतएमुगुरज जीभूतस्तनि—
3. तप्युदितशिखरभिमण्डलविहिताण्डरांबंधवे। अंबूरघुनिधुंवंधुरवंधीयः समुलस्त्रिमलक्—
4. लोलिगिरिकल्लोलितलिबलोलहिदोलखेलनूमरालोपक्षपालीपक विशेषभविष्टप्रतिकृतिगिरियोक-
5. रासावाहिंदीवाहाधिनीतपूणपुपुरांगचंपकाशोककुरवकुलवाली लवंगसंविद्मुघासक—
6. धराक्कचंदमुंजमयरज़: पुंजपिणिरतिपरिसरे। श्रीमति सेंजभिधानवर नगरे।। गम्बत्व जावता—
7. रापारससारसागरोत्तरसेनपुत्राधिनाराधिकाददियराज्यराज्य रक्षामप्रचंडनिजपुजुर्जुढ़रक—
8. हिमालागांतिराटयोधितिप्रतिभितित्तैतेत्तैतिपरिचयपिसुराणाराज चक्रारायणगार्य—
9. गौतमानिहरितानिसविधमंजराजनीनिश्चत्रिपुणाप्रतापसंजराजजग ज्ञ्येष्ठराजतारतारण—
10. भूति विश्वारवि विराजमान परमभदरकम्हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर श्रीमन्यययमलदेवा: सा—
11. रत् पुरपरिवरा। सकुमारा शिशुरंजनस्य। श्री शाके १२५८ कालिक सुदृ बिजयादशम्या रविवारे पिउतपुँ—
12. राजक्रिय अब्रय भाखासाध्य। राईको आदेश।।
13. हृद दंगका पेखक अडी अधिकारी महत्म मंहती समी
14. प्रति मुना र तामाशासनू कनकपत्रक भावू करि जयकर वंडत चतुः सीमायजन विश्वुद्ध आचार्य—
15. केस्थ्यो सवर्धाविनिमृत्वत करि पसारिर वग्य ७० पुण्यमल्लक शाखायो भाष्य प्रतिवाल जया—
16. करपंशितकुपूर्तनाति भाइ भृतिजा चेलिका वेला आदि भूचं वस्यो रस्यो देखि
17. कोहि उल्टा पलटकर नपावन अध्य उचितकर जयकर पंडिते दुयनु अग्न
18. साक्षियो सूचिचिनिमसो वुधयरेरंसहाः। लवपादानं चवारिस्थानाती सवर-हिता:—
19. सवरभाण्डागारिणः। दिशककोकुम्कुलाचलपाणि पतिफिधापि चलति वनुधेयं प्रति—
20. पन्नमनमनसांतचललिपुंसांयुगान्तेपि। पठिच्यं सहक्राणां सवमं तिश्चति भूमिदः
APPENDIX B—20

The Kanakapatra of Puṇyamalla (2)

Date—1259 Šāke (1337 A. D.).
Source—Yogi Naraharinath, Itihāsa Prakāśamā Samādhi-

Transcript of the Inscription

_VIDEO_
APPENDIX B—21

An Inscription of Dharmabhadra Thāpā

*Place*—Khatyadivada, Bettisgaun, Kalikot.

*Date*—1260 Šāke (1338 A. D.).


*Note*—This is a stone inscription found in a water-recaptacle of khatyadivada.

**Transcript of the Inscription**

1. ओँ स्वसित ॥ श्रीशासक १२६० मासा-  2. नि ||१६॥ तिथय ॥१३॥
2. श्रीपृथ्वीमल्लदेव: क्षिति  3. परिवार: चिरं जयतु धर्मम्ब्रद्ध भावा सुकृतं
4. 「......」

APPENDIX B—22

The Copper Plate Inscription of Prithvimalla (1)

*Place*—Singeda, Bajura.

*Date*—1271 Šāke (1349 A. D.).

Note—In the end of the inscription, the figures of sword, conch, sun and moon, and the letters 'malla prithvi' are also inscribed,

Transcript of the Inscription

1. बोँवासित्। श्री मतिसेवज्ञामिद्वा अन्वरनगरोगरुणभारताः
2. र संसारसर्गरोत्तरसेतुपूर्वागठन श्रीधनाराधनाधिगतप्रायकः
3. राज्यरक्षाक्रम प्रचंडनिज्ञुज्जवंदंदंदिरायोगात्मानानं बिराटपी
4. ठाकुरदित प्रतिशिक्षित देवता परिश्रमा परायण राजबलि नारा
5. यण गार्वायण गौतामिदि प्रणीत राजमीतिशाश्च प्रवीण प्रण्ड अ
6. पार....राज जगज्ञेष्ट अदीसितराजदीक्षाशितागुण राजाराजा
7. तरण प्रभुति विश्वदेवले विराज्ज्ञान परमभट्टारक महाराज
8. जाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमन्नूच्चमल्लदेवपदा: सांत: पुरा:
9. सपरिवार: संवृत्त विजयिनि:। श्रीशाखे नौ२७१ कार्तिक बहुन
10. एकादशं। गुहावासे। राइको आदेस
11. अकुलिका अधिकारी कार्य प्र
12. ति ब्रमु: २ मुद्रभाट। आ।। कदंदं नको दामु जोिसि ब्रा १
13. सेठगुः उद्धारका अ
14. घालको तियालो भास घालि आलो पु-याई शोभाक ब्रा १
15. हिंगभाट। राघु भा
16. ठे एकत्र ब्रा ३।। दोहेलि संवृत्तक अकम् करिसहुः (४)
17. भए भाट। दो
18. मु जोिसि शोभाकहिंगभाट राघुभाट पसाकिर अकम् छुः
19. मुदालि पेटालि मोडः अपुतालि कोि हैन नयाप। यो भाषापूरी
20. दूभोकलि शाका पसाकिर बफन। सिघाडिकि शाका चिलकी
21. चेलो भूवृत्त अत्तिशिशि: सूर्यचंदनमसी:। दुहू धतिरसंध्या: र
22. ल्न ब (प) दूम राउला: अशामि राउला। जुगराज राउल।

APPENDIX B—23

An Inscription of Devavarma, Patharnauli, Dullu

Date—1276 Šake (1354 A. D.),
Note—The inscription is engraved on the lintle of the Patharnauli made of large and massive stone blocks. I have also read the inscription at the spot.

Transcript of the Inscription

अं मणि पव्वे हँ

1. अं स्वस्ति श्री शाके १२७६ पौष वंदे २ शुक्रवारे महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वरपरममटारकपरमाधामिक

2. परमकल्पु मातारश्रीमत्युथिवीमलदेवबिजवराजे। महामाय श्रीमत्

3. नप्ताश्रीरवियाराजस्याधनराजस्यव्ययम्। छत्यालवंशितकमुनुल्य। वर्षशः।

4. देवबर्मा महामति। तेनापूवेतरावापीत्विततामसवरलम।

5. अभामभूमिभान्तानंजिवित्वर्जैहिनांमहामाय श्रीमद्देवबर्मेवः

6. धुधानूतनरीत्या। देवतामविवलभा। बापीर्विरितिता। लिखित

APPENDIX B — 24

An Inscription of Devavarmā, Kuchi, Achham

Date—1276 Śāke (1354 A. D.).


Note—This inscription has been engraved on the lintle of the small reservoir (nāul) of Kuchi village.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. श्री शाके १२७६। श्रीराजाधिराज पूवीमलविःचरंजयमु। श्री

2. लिखितमिदं

अधिकादास...
APPENDIX B—25

An Inscription of Yabovarmanā

Place—Jayagadh, Achham.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओऽमणिपद्मेऽ 2. महामणिलेखवरुङ्गुकु 3. लावतार र्मियवरहा-विरचरजयतु

APPENDIX B—26

The Kanakapatra of Prithvīmalla

Place—Seridhuska, Jumla.
Date—1278 Śāke (1356 A.D.).

Note—This inscription is in possession of Dhananjaya Regmi of Seridhuska. In the end of the inscription, the figures of conch, disc, sword and the letters ‘prithvimalla’ are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओऽ स्वस्ति॥ स्वस्तिकन्यवात्वर्गीविशालचुः शालमुखाववलसोघोरससम-सगतयनांसंगीतमनोहरः हर्षु काराणु- 2. दक्षिणिक्षपित्रिकुशमाणु जीवातुर्मणियरणीकटाक्षविभ- पवारिवाहसुदितत्तथनमनः गिर्नवलापः - 3. राजपरासौरवचमधुकरमुखरसहकारसमुकुन्नपुर्णमुरंपितविदर्शे
4. पारसंसारसागरोत्तरसेतुपुतराधिप संतोषराधि गतप्रायराक्षकमचंद्रनिन्ज भुजंडकुंदं दिनतकठिनकोदंद-

5. निमुंक्त निषिद्धारकरनिनिश्चितारतिप्रतीक्षलस्तराजसवानोभवोतकलक्षुतूनोततःवेतवालकोलाहलकाहनी-

6. कुटसमरधरणीमंडल। मंदलाधीशोपायनिकृतमतविभंगरंगंगलहडंदामोदमुदितमुकरराजंकारसुखरता।

7. स्थाननिकेतनानिर्विचर। राजविलाणरायणसूर्यचन्द्रविमुक्तोत्ययानराजमंतारसरस्वतीराजकंटामनरणतिकाराजेजयी।

8. व्रितनाराध परमभटारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर राजतारारतारणिश्रीमत्तुर्म्मीलदेवी। सांतः पुरापरिवारः विजयिनः।

9. श्रीश्रीके १२७३ आचार्यपुरुष १० शतके रामको आदेस।

10. जुमला दुखुं कुड़ना गलाता राक्षसोटका अधिकारी काक्ष खदाहान- 

11. अट्टे अधिकारी विययारी सहानि सभों प्रति। मेरि जन्मीत दोया।

12. आखरू पदायका प्रसाद गोल्हु जोईखि कनकपत्रक भाया पसा करिअक्यांछ। आ ९ गमोड़को धोपाल भंडारिका का दृष्येखेसहित।

13. आ ९ वा जकोटको पुन्या पाटांक चोधां सहित पुरोकर। आ ९ न- 

14. दांको घारागाईको विन्या कथ ठं तको। आ ९ ए कुड़ना परवरांखिको।

15. आ ९ वेपूको लखुनाडा सेटांको। आ ९ चिरुं चिरिको। चि-

16. धांको जांवुगाऊ १ अतिविक। पूर्वि आचित्यमल राङक पुन्यमल- 

17. चन्द्रग्रहण संकल्प घाटि पसारकर अश्व। असेल म पनि आचारांकें घाटि सर्ववाहानिनिमुं कतचुरुः सीमाप्रयंतविश्वस्वर्णकर

18. अकर सर्ववेद विरहितु नकनपत्रक शासन दोहोतिकर गोल्हु जोईसपसारकर अक्यां छु डड कुंड मोड अनुतां-

19. लियो मुहानि पेटालि चोरि जारिकर तु किउं क्वाडि ज्ञापां गुजुं बंडीं पान पाणी उहारो मातु मुठो वेठ बाबो।

18. दुबाईं पिठाइयो पोटलो आदि कर आकर छत्ति से कर छाड़ि अक्यांछ।

19. वा नदाचार छापराम वेठ सुतो लो आदि करि सेर कर छाडि 

श्रीमति संजय गरे। गृहस्वामी जातियता।
The Stone Pillar Inscription (Kirtistambha) of Prithvīmalla

Place—Dullu, Dailekh
Date—1279 Śāke (1357 A. D.)
Source—Yogi Naraharinath, Itihāsa Prakāśa, Vol. II,
The author of this book has also read the inscription at the spot.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओँ स्वसितः सेवेद्वमूलसद्वन्तः 2. दानशौचः विनायकशः।
3. श्रुतुरोथ्ये प्रजानां शिष्टभावः। 4. ॥ आदिक्षेत्रे भवदानिपालो
नूपः । 5. तोल्लामलापूरूः। सूतस्तदीयो जय । 6. पालभूमसत्पुरानसी
हिंजयादिपालः। 7. ॥ श्रीवीरमालोनृपतिस्तलोभूतस्या। 8. दम्भूद्रिडः (म)
पालभूपः। 8. श्रीपालभूपस्त। 9. नयस्तदीयः। श्रीधीराज पः तनयः सः लेः
10. मेः। ॥ 3।। 11. सोमपालो नृप तस्मात्सूर्यायापालै। स्वरोपायतृ।
12. पालस्तदात्मजः। ॥ 4।। 13. ततः। ख्यायातृ। 13. शोनिन विगः (प्र)
हपालक्षितिपुत्सतलो। 14. जातः। श्रीमान्वरजमहीपालपृ। 15. ति।। 16.
जित्वा संख्येरीनू। विहितवसित। 16. गोङ विपये तुरगेबद्यानकृत। विः 17.
पुलाश्चिनीतीनू। ॥ 5।। गोङित। 18. एकास्वरूपः। 19.
20. एकास्वरूपः। 20. एकास्वरूपः। ॥ 6।।
विश्वविद्वानकारायेः। 21. विश्वपालह्योपृपः। 22. सतनमकत्वासपत्नः
राजमवापसः। ॥ 7।। 23. कुन्तेजालो जीवपालह्योपृपः। ॥ 8.
24. "सतमकत्वासपत्नः। ॥ 8।। 25. ्सोभवं
"सर । 26. लोपः। ॥ 27. निष्ठ महायातः। ॥ 9।।
पुष्मलाह्यः। 28. ्साधवे। 29. श्रीमान्वरजमहीपालपृ। 30. भूत ॥ 10।।
श्रीनामालाह्यासदूर्वसात्मनमहिय। 31. स्तनुपायोऽस्त्र महयातः। 32. न
श्रीवीरमालोनृपतिस्तलो। 33. जयस्तदात्मजः। 34. श्रीनामालाह्यासदूर्वसात्मनमहिय।
श्रीमान्वरजमहीपालपृ। 35. नू। ॥ 11।। 12.

Back

ओँ भणि पद्मे हूँ

1. ओँ स्वसितः। तस्मात्चापस्तस्माचापिलः। 2. क्रान्तिचक्षु इति
तस्मात्स्मात्स्मात्वाधि। 3. चलन्।। क्राचल इति क्रमद्वृपः। ॥ 13।। 4.
क्राचलजोभूमृद्धशोकचल्लोदिभिषि। 5. पु श्रायितलांततां । जितारिमलः ।
APPENDIX B—28

The Stone Inscription of Jayasimha

Place—Balabhairab Temple, Dullu. Dailekh.
Date—127 (9) Śāke (1357 A. D.)
Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, Paśchim Nepālko Aitiḥāsik Anveśana (Kathmandu: C N A S, 2043 B. S.). p. 11.

Transcript of the Inscription

 Lahore Press (२)
प्रत्युपय फलार्जीयात्युप्स्मल्लप्रयुक्तम्। जयसिङ्गेनपादाक्षरंभिनि-
मापिता शिला॥ श्री शास. १२७ (९)॥
APPENDIX B—29

The Mudedaval Inscription of Prithvīmalla

*Place*—Dullu, Dailekh.
*Date*—1280 Śāke (1358 A. D.).

Transcript of the Inscription

1. (अ) स्वस्ति श्रीशाखे १२८० अ (आ) शिक्षना ॥ देवर्मण्मादिक्षण पृथ्वीमल्लमहीभुजा ॥ चिरिङ्गन्नजलाधारीपरिच्छेतयारिता ॥ १ ॥ यद्वृत्तुण्यमम- 2. नमुगतामागमागमीति ॥ तेनलक्ष्यवेसवेसवा: सनुनिरापद: ॥ २ ॥ भंडानांचितिवित्तसंधये ॥ ३ ॥. लेखकनान्मेकानां चाहूड्रामणिगुणी ब्रिट्टदासाएश्व धर्मं व्यविलिखितम्भ भाषक: ॥

APPENDIX B—30

The Copper Plate Inscription of Prithvīmalla (2)

*Place*—Magistrate Office, Jumla.
*Date*—1280 Śāke (1358 A. D.).

*Note*—In the end of the inscription, the figures of sword, sun, moon, and the name ‘Prithvīmalla’ are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ऑङ्किण्ड ॥ अनिधनसमितिढोड़े (ग) चछूड़वालाजालजिन्ना लपत्तुक्षेत्रस्वानर्थविध्याधिक्षणयामपवन ॥ २ ॥. श्रीदुल्लभ्यनगरे । गहुँडवजाव- 3. तिरापारसांतसागरीसांततुधुतापधनधीननराधनाधि— ॥ ३ ॥. गतप्रायवर्याय- 4. क्षाक्षश्रेणिन्जन्मज्ञुजंहदबहुमानभाकान्तिवराप्राययमिधितिष्कट्टक्षेत्र— देवता: ॥ ॥
APPENDIX B—31

An Inscription of Jagatisimha

Place—Devargauda, Kalikot.

Date—X


Transcript of the Inscription

आणि भूवी मल्ल

एक हजार दस हजार वर्षीय पुरातत्त्वविद्याध्यक्ष

स्थान—योगी नरहरिनाथ, इतिहास प्रकाश, भाग II, भाग 1 (काठमाडौँ: इतिहास प्रकाशकाल शाङ्ख्य, 2013 ब.स.), प. 75; ग. तुच्छी, एक प्रारंभिक रिपोर्ट दोनो वैज्ञानिक संरक्षण अभ्यास नेपाल (रोम: 1956), फिग. 60।

स्बूति इंस्क्रिप्शन
APPENDIX B—32

An Inscription of Prithvimalla

*Place.*—Tharpuchakha, Kalikot.

*Date.*—X


**Transcript of the Inscription**

1. औँ मणिपुरे हूँ । 2. अनेनपुष्पेन सवेय सत्वा । 3. छुङ्किनो भवन्तु ।।

धर्मराज
4. श्रीपृथ्वीमल्लः शुभमंवतु ।।

APPENDIX B—33

The Copper Plate Inscription of Sūryamalla

*Date.*—1289 Śāke (1367 A. D.).


**Transcript of the Inscription**

1. औँ स्वस्थि । 2. बस्तिकस्तूरिका मोदप्रमोदवितजगत्यम् सेनाभिधानवरनगरं विख्यातमुष्णत्यये ।।

2. तत्रसमस्तक्षोणिरक्षाक्षमविक्षिणनिजपुजुरद्विग्रजायत्रकरकम्बलकिलकर्वालधाराकृत।

3. विपक्षकलक्षलक्षसंभोगसुखरसिक अभायविश्वाणविजितसुरद्र मविद्र मघघुपणाल—

4. सरस्वतीसंतोषमिति नामसत्वबहुतविभुजन उत्तरधरीधर्मप्रवीण श्रीवनारायणप्रपात—

5. सतत जगद्विजयराजपतापमात्वराजसंग्जनसंहितीरिप्रराजनाथधर जगवोति—

6. साह्नसुमुद्रशौयि यें दायगाम्मीयचातुरोप्रमृतिगुणमणिसमुद्रमहाराजाधिराजराज—

7. कापितककाशीवर्धारागार्गराजराजयक्षाक्षसवर्राजसंहितवर्णप्रवीणप्रभृति—

8. यथायिवहिद्विराजमान श्रीपृथ्वीमल्लपादा वान्तु पुरपरिवारा समादिशिति।

9. श्रीसा—के १२९=९ मार्गशीविद्वादशम्यां। दुबे राखो आदेश।

10. सिंको जामका अधिकारी कार्किरति। आलो ९ गुबाल्या पानिको मुरवातोला सहित आलो।

11. सेतान्यागानको। आलो ९ वाद्य ।१२। गोको आलो।
APPENDIX B—34

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (1)

Date—1298 Śāke (1376 A. D.).
Source—Himavat Samskrīti, Vol, 1, p. 35

Transcript of the Inscription
The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (2)

*Date*—1298 Śāke (1376 A. D.).
*Source*—Himavat Saṁskriti, Vol. 1, p. 36.

Transcript of the Inscription

अभयामल्लाका साधनोऽनुसार राजस्थानीराज्यानि संस्कृतार्थमा सङ्केतक लिखितफळतः राजस्थानिक संस्कृतार्थमा सङ्केतक लिखितफळ राजस्थानिक संस्कृतार्थमा सङ्केतक लिखितफळ राजस्थानिक संस्कृतार्थमा सङ्केतक लिखितफळ

जुसि काविलाका अधिकारी कार्यप्रति तथा निहिलिका मामा आदो भुखेकत्को ग्रामिकाराइ। नयाखेत। वेलाहेत। वाजयाधूराका गढा दुप्रिवास। सिलहाको भुगदिपाटो ३ कन्य आला २ मंडलाका तामास्त्र कानून जान। बांधकार्खिँ कं तु। महाराज संति अमलाराज सीत। प्रथमोति। पसानक अब्ज्रूठ छ। आसा गूंथां कादिखा पोटों पिठायो मोड अपूतालिगुडालि वेताली। जारि चौरिको ह्यो तननबाह यो भाषा अभयमल्लाका साधनो अब्ज्रूठ छ। तुल आसा । अन्त साधनार रत्नावः। सूर्याद्वित्तयों जेतब्ज्र राजला। घेतु राजला। उदास राजला अछामी राजला शुभम।
APPENDIX B-36

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (3)

Place—Danduru Village, Bajhang.

Date—1299 Śaka (1377 A. D.).


Note—The inscription is reproduced here with corrections. In the end of the inscription, the figures of disc and conch and the name ‘sri abhayamalla’ are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओ उपस्थित। राजव्वसुरतारायणरायवालगोपालपुरायवोदयं हुस्ल्य।
2. श्रीअभयमललदेवपालः सप्तरिवारः: सकुमारः: सवंतव बिज्यिनो भवन्तु। 3. श्री शाके 1299 वेशाख दिन सोमवासरे राइको भादेश। 4. अधिरायको कार्रा वुढाखापा रोकाय सर्वप्रति कुमालतहको बालो। 5. मूर्तिकांतिया भार्गोवांका मुलिका चौयान ढुंगु कन्या वानियाको ६ हूं रो। मुषा शोलाको उपजनषपापाठो महत्त्वया उभो एक र चौयान। 7. शिदुड्डार्वानिधर चिद्विषात्व बायूबोढार्बो- ठोबाट उभो पांडिलतो। 8. उभो बागावाणो पर्य एकल सभे भालापूर्यः यह सततः घाली सिरः। 9. जोइसी षात्तक अक्षयांछु। डंड दोष मोड अधुताली कर्तु भानु। 10. पोटो पिठायो जारी चारी शापः गुण्या जजु कुडियो मुडाली। पे। 11. ठाली। भाकारको ढिडो पतालकी निध सवर्कर सवंदेह विलुदु। 12. तर अभेमलको चेलीको चेलो भादी पसाकर रित सिरः जोइसीको चे। 13. लिको चेलो भादी भुंचा जनायापामुलमल पसाकिन्तै तेताप जेतवह्निसिरवः। 14. मलेवः भुजानववाह तनकोटी मुहलबम्स तेजाप जयारक उपाध्यादिनान्तेङ। 15. इतुकी साया। तेजापकर उपाध्यायी साया भुच्च अन्त साक्षिणः रत्नारायायासु। 16. यान्त्रिकमसी। वुढबोढ। मुमण्डलका साँच्चा जाड़ो राजप रामणषगाहा। 17. तिपुम्मान्त ढोकुक्वर हरिवमो राजल लैपक विवकर जोयाध्यम प्रतिपाल। 18. सो पुष्प पाया। जो यह वृत्त पतङ्गचर सो महापातक पाया। मेहू। 19. शब्दित कल्पानेमयीमा शागरोगति। प्रतिपनमहहस्त्यः (न) विचलन्तित के। 20. दाचन। शवद्वत
The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (4)

**Date**—1299 Śāke (1377 A. D.),


**Transcript of the Inscription**

1. ओ श्वसित || अविकलभुवनभरोदवन्धेर्याचरुण्यकीति— 2. 

2. कदम्ब्येवशेषपवलिकलेवसर्यनिहारणोरसत्यसत्यपुरुषस्वद्धेसूतहिन्नित्यिनि— 3. भिगलितुड़ूलभाविकितमोदवह्मत्याब्वेतसरसरमकृतपरिवर्त्येश्वरी— 4. रिमिधिवसनञ्चुहुभुजेलविजितपुवलकामिनी— 5. शामनवन्गतारिपुरमुद्र— 6. गंधर्भर्निक्रमप्रवाचरविकरमृत्युधरासुसु रसंह्वालयोपल: काम्ब्रज वानापुरवा— 7. हलविपारसिकथुड़ द्वारावरतनरसाहस्समुद्र: शालसात्मतमण्डलिमौलि (मण्डित) चरण सरोज: 8. संपरिवार: श्रीमानमयमलनबिरजयतु। || श्रीवके १२९९ फाल्गुन वदि ११ सोमे राज्यो बादेश। 9. हुप्राका अधिकारिकाँ कार्यालय। आ १ मार्याखोलाको। आ। १०. वेती वाज्यको आ। ११. हुब्री १०. को लाम्पाटा उभो भूल एका आ २ तामार्थ सानेरे छूट जोस्सा। तिलु जोस्स। सिर्कू। १२. जोस्सा पसाक्स अर्क्याङ्कु सबूकर अकर सवीदा विशुद्धान्याया गुप्ता कहियता मोड अ। १३. पुतली मुग्नाली पेटाली सभे छाडि अव्याह। कोहियन नाभ। यो भापा। १४. अभयमल्लक्षिका साधा पसाक्स अर्क्यां पुडुएस्सा। तिलु जोस्सा सिर्कू। जो-
An Inscription of Malayavarmā

Place—Rainkasanghu, Kalikot.

Date—1300 Śāke (1378 A.D.)


Note—This inscription is inscribed on a huge stone.

Transcript of the Inscription

ॐ मणि पद्मे हूँ ॥
ॐ स्वतंत्र । श्रीशाखे १३०० राजा श्री मलयवर्मा रत्नमाला रानी सुपुत्र सुपेक्ष वर्मा……चिरं जयन्तु ॥

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (5)

Place—Brahmatola, Bajura.

Date—1305 Śāke (1383 A.D.).

Source—This inscription has been available by the courtesy of Mr. Purna Prakash Nepal “Yatri”. According to him, this copper plate is in possession of Gopinath, Kalu jaisi and Govind jaisi of Brahmatola village of Bajura district.
Transcript of the Inscription

The Copper Plate Inscription of Malayavarma

Appendix B—40
Transcript of the Inscription

1. स्वस्ती श्रीसाके १३९१ मसे ५ तिथि ९५ वारे ५ नक्षत्रे १७ श्री ब्रम्हांति वित्ता (ता) को २. तात्राप्रत्य लिपिद्वृत्ति श्री श्री महाराजधीराज देवसुर डेडमल मलस्म य ३. कि माया भूख कालुकवा अनन्तमलन वशालि दियाको छ बिक्रिल्लका दिवदर्र अदिकारि बाहु्ले पायो ४. मंग्ध हुरुङ्गको घोष्ठ पाष्ठो जम्भ। पूव (वै) सुयाङ पवित्र रात्रम् (१) दो उल्ट्र घनगाताः शृङ्खलाको दोभन (दोभान) द। ५. देवन मेलवोलो गाढ्येंद्र दान सेनमणुहस्तन संलग्न पायो इन्चिराफिता (ल्ला) मित्रको द (द)। ६. द कु (कु) के मुद्द अयतलि चुल्लि बवे उत्तो मैलिङ्ग दुवारो साउँि विरोल्य बदारो सराधी वसे तियार ७. वेति बागुँनले पायो तेसू तरफ त्य (१) हां हांसरभ साव (१) रि भवाम (२) देवतिकीमेलमनक दिनु ८. त्य (हां) तिम भित्रका मानिसलाई डोनी डोको चलाई दिनु साचि (२) डागाँउ सत्त्रेस सकंताम देखिर आनु ९. जसि मंघर फंजु रावल भूष थापा मेहलतोति न (३) दुजैस जो व्रम्भ बाँडुङे रो वापु घाउँ दे जो चन्द्र। १०. सुजैमस सो व्रम्भ दाँडें हाँसको कामू कामुङ्को हाँस हो त यस तांमपत्र फरि जा त बंदेय साचि ।।

APPENDIX B-41

The Copper Plate Inscription of Abhayamalla (6)

Place—Samjelgaun, Myagdi.

Date—1313 Sāke (1391 A. D.)


Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओँ स्वस्ती श्रीगणेशायनम्।। श्रीव्रमणनारायण राष्ट्रवालस्वयम्।।
2. श्रीमानभियमलदेवसुङ्गविसीदिव्योभवाम्।। श्रीशाके १३९२ वेशा।। ३. पदार्थ आवश्यकताको खंडाराउँ रोकाया धीरे।।
4. स्थानविभाजनीकनका शस्त्रा पपालिनिमित्रालको आलो द।। ५. बेत उदो १९ बेत
APPENDIX B—42

The Copper Plate Inscription of Medinivarmā

Place—Jumlakot

Date—1315 Śāke (1393 A. D.).


Note—In the end of the inscription the figures of sword, sun and moon are also inscribed.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. ओ१ स्वर्गित || स्वस्तिक नं (न) चावतं श्री विसाल चतुः शाले सुधा (ध) वल कौशोल्ल || श्रीमत १ सिजामिदानवर नगरे । श्रीमत १ प्रोद (तू) ३. प्रताप महांमलेश्वर श्री मेदिनीव्रु || सकल कला प्रवीण । की ४. ति केयूर हार । सेरामादानान्त (त) रण । मंडलिय असुरनारायण अभव (स्व) ५. दान दीक्षा समय । मंडलीय स्वर्ण दान दक्ष । सकल विद्वे (ह) उजनाधा ६. र । कामिनी मानस सरोवर राजसू || मंडलीय ध्वजधिवीर । छट (वृ) ७. े (दुग) राजाधिराज । निजकुल कुमुद प्रकाशनेक ।
APPENDIX B—43

The Copper Plate Inscription of Balirâja

Place—Kalaigaun, Mugu.

Date—1322 Šâke (1400 A. D.).

Source—Surya Mani Adhikary, Paśchima Nepālako Aitihāsik Anveṣaṇa (Kathmandu: C N A S 2043 B.S.), p. 33.

Transcript of the Inscription

1. अं त्वस्वगित्त | उद्यत्त आदिभूत: | तद्युकुल संतानोभूपतिनिगम् ।
2. बसुङ्ग तथ्यपि वधोंस वृद्धि जनित मुत् पोता शतृयबीरसूर: | जातो
The Thirty-six Taxes of the Khaṣa Kingdom

The land grant charters of the Khaṣa Kingdom mention various kinds of taxes collectively known as chhattisakar (thirty six taxes). Judicial fines, corporal punishments, forced labour and obligations were also included in these taxes. The taxes and their meanings seem to have been as follows:

1. Daṇḍa kuṇḍa—Collective phraseology for judicial fines and corporal punishments.
2. Moḍa aputālī—State had claimed reversion of the property of those dying without heirs.
3. Muḍālī—The meaning of muḍā is head. Probably, muḍāli was a kind of tax imposed on women of certain ethnic group of the Himalayas.
4. Peṭālī—Punishment for abortion.
5. Chori—Punishment regarding theft.
8. Kut—A tax levied on agricultural produces. It can be interpreted as the rent of land.
9. Jiu—This refers to a tax on domesticated animals and fowls.
11. Uido or Oido—A tax collected from the villagers for public welfare works or to help someone who suffered from natural calamities and other difficulties.
12. JhyāIPA palette Taxes levied on forest produces.
13. Guñphyā Kadito

15. Pākho—Pākho or pākhī is the name of a kind of woolen blanket. So pākho seems to have been the tax on the producers of woolen cloths.

16. Uhāro—A tax collected from the villagers for the entertainment of distinguished guest coming from outside the village.

17. Mānu Taxes consisting of foodgrains for feeding the government officials and hermits.


20. Dubauñ Dubāro—Rakams paid by the people on such occasions like chhaiṭī (ceremony celebrated on the 6th day of a newly born baby), vratavandha (sacred thread investiture ceremony) and marriage of royal family and nobles.

21. Piṭhāyo or Poṭalā—Pithāyo or poṭalo denotes the țikā and jamarā of the Daśāī and Tihar festivals. As these terms are mentioned along with the names of taxes, they seem to have been the rakamse paid by the people on these occasions.

22. Vandanačār or Dekhanī—It was a kind of custom to show respect to the king.

23. Chhapardām—A rakam paid by the people to set up tour camps for the king, nobles and governors.


27. Sevā—It was, probably, a kind of compulsory service to be rendered by the people to the state.

28. Dhārā—It was also, probably, a kind of forced and unpaid labour for the construction of water-receptacles.

29. Ropāiro—Forced and unpaid labour to sow paddy crop on crown-land and the lands of nobles and village headmen.

30. Pulo—A tax on grass and grazing lands.

31. Maunt—Tax on fruits and vegetables.

32. Chauni—Tax on milk, curd, ghee and honey.
33. Akāśako phal—It was, probably, a tax upon the hunting of the birds.
34. Pātālaki nidh—Tax on mines.

Thus the tax system of the Khaśa Kingdom appears to have been diversified. However, its character was regressive. Brāhmaṇas had got many Birtā lands with the exemption from all taxes.

APPENDIX—D

Origin of the Family Surnames of the Pahādī Caste Groups of Nepal

The following nomenclatures show that most of the family surnames of the Nepalese Pahādī caste groups were derived from the governmental posts of the Khaśa Kingdom and from the place-names of the Karnali region.

I. The governmental posts of the Khaśa Kingdom which are taken as the family surnames:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Family Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adhikāri</td>
<td>The officer of the Darā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kārki</td>
<td>An officer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṇḍāri</td>
<td>Treasurer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lekhaka</td>
<td>Writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahatārā</td>
<td>Village Headman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rokāyā</td>
<td>Associate of the Mahatārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thāpā</td>
<td>Paikelā (warrior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khaḍgā</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rānā</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buḍhā</td>
<td>Do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I. Family surnames derived from the place-names of the Karnali region:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Family Surnames</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jumla</td>
<td>Dhitā</td>
<td>Dhitā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāṇḍusera</td>
<td>Pāṇḍe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumla</td>
<td>Sinja</td>
<td>Sijāpati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chadilāgāuṇ</td>
<td>Chaulāgāiṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suvāḍā</td>
<td>Subedī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niyāpāṇī</td>
<td>Neupāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pyākuriṭ</td>
<td>Pyākuryal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achham</td>
<td>Timilsain</td>
<td>Timilseenā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Devakoṭ</td>
<td>Devakoṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhuṅgāni</td>
<td>Dhuṅgāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghimiryā</td>
<td>Ghimire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhāṅku</td>
<td>Dhāṅkāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vajgāuṇ</td>
<td>Vajgāiṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rimā</td>
<td>Rimāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Svānāra</td>
<td>Svānār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghodāsain</td>
<td>Ghodāsainī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Puḍāsain</td>
<td>Puḍāsainī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhamālī</td>
<td>Dhamālā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Darnā</td>
<td>Darnāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kuikā</td>
<td>Kuikyāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chālsā</td>
<td>Chālise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajhang</td>
<td>Regam</td>
<td>Regmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sota</td>
<td>Soti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khār</td>
<td>Kharel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajura</td>
<td>Jamakattī</td>
<td>Jamarkattēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chhātī</td>
<td>Chhātyāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kunḍī</td>
<td>Kunḍyāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baitādi</td>
<td>Gājarai</td>
<td>Gajuryāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doti</td>
<td>Doṭekholā</td>
<td>Doṭel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khatyāḍī</td>
<td>Khativaḍā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nirauli</td>
<td>Niraulā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ojhānā</td>
<td>Ojhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kāṇḍā</td>
<td>Kāṇḍel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bogatān</td>
<td>Bogatī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugu</td>
<td>Khanāyā</td>
<td>Khanāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukum</td>
<td>Gotām</td>
<td>Gotāme, Gautam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sāpakoṭ</td>
<td>Sāpakoṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dailekh</td>
<td>Lāmāchhānnī</td>
<td>Lāmichhāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bāṅskoṭ</td>
<td>Bāṅskoṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dailekh</td>
<td>Bāṁstoli</td>
<td>Bāṁstolā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Sātalā</td>
<td>Satyāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Luyāntī</td>
<td>Luiṭel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Vastākoṭ</td>
<td>Vastākoṭī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Chāpāgāuṅ</td>
<td>Chāpāgāiṅ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Nepā</td>
<td>Nepāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Riju</td>
<td>Rijāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Pokhar</td>
<td>Pokharel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Lamsu</td>
<td>Lamsāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Lamjī</td>
<td>Lamjel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Daha</td>
<td>Dhahāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Koirāli</td>
<td>Koirālā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Davādā</td>
<td>Davāḍī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Gaihra</td>
<td>Gaihre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Bhūrtī</td>
<td>Bhūrtel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Parājul</td>
<td>Parājulī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Kaṭṭi</td>
<td>Kaṭṭel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,,</td>
<td>Bhuṣākoṭ</td>
<td>Bhuṣāl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are few examples. Hundreds of family surnames seem to have been derived from the names of the villages of the Karnali region. The Karnali region was the main cultural centre of the Pahāḍī caste groups. People of the Pahāḍī caste groups were distributed mainly from the Karnali region throughout the kingdom of Nepal.
Illustrations

GLOSSARY

Fig 1. (Cover page, front) The Akṣobhya Buddha Image, Padukasthan, Dullu.

Fig 2. An Image of Paikelā (warrior), Padukasthan, Dullu.

Fig 3. Ruins of Kankreviha, Surkhet.

Fig 4. Ajayamerhat Pañchadevel, Dedelhura.

Fig 5. Clay-Tablet, Lamagupha, Sinja.

Fig 6. Two Sculptures of Lion, Lamathada, Sinja.

Fig 7. The Pañchadeval of Manma, Kalikot.

Fig 7b. The Constantly Burning Natural Gas Flame, Sirasthan, Dullu.

Fig 8. The Pābais Khas of Jumla (A Pure Remnant of the Ancient Khaśa People).

Fig 9. The Vinayak Pañchadeval of Achham.

Fig 10. Two Miniature Towers in the ruins of Kankreviha, Surkhet.

Fig 11. The Dullu Pillar Inscription (Kiritistambha).

Fig 12. Clay-Tablets, Lamagupha, Sinja.

Fig 13. The Buddha with Tārās in the ruins of Kankreviha, Surkhet.

Fig 14. The Kuchivihar Stupa, Achham.

Fig 15. The Pātharnāuli of Dullu.

Fig 16. An Image of Paikelā (warrior), Padukasthan, Dullu.
Fig 17. The valley of Sinja.
Fig 18. Temples of Bistabade, Jumla.
Fig 19. An Image of Paikelā (warrior), Padukasthan, Dullu.
Fig 20. The Stupa of Siridhuska, Jumla.
Fig 21. The Stupa of Michagaun, Jumla.
Fig 22. Flying Nymph in the ruins of Kankrevihar, Surkhet.
Fig 23. Ruins of Kankrevihar, Surkhet.
Fig 24. The Territory of the Khaśa Kingdom.
The British & The Brave
A History of the Gurkha Recruitment in the British Indian Army
Kamal Raj Singh Rathaur

_The British and the Brave_ celebrates the fierce figure of the illustrious warrior, the Gurkha. Tracing the untrodden course of military history, Rathaur reveals the fascinating factors, operations, treaties and intrigues, that shaped the making of the finest infantryman of the world.

_The British and the Brave_ is a well researched work. It will be useful to scholars on Nepal as well as Indian military history.
—Prof. Ramakant
Director, South Asia Studies Centre, Jaipur

Kamal Raj Singh Rathaur is making an attempt to portray the forces that shaped the recruitment policy towards the Gurkhas. The attempt is praiseworthy since it is based on historical evidence.
—Prof. M. S. Jain,
Univ. of Rajasthan, Jaipur

_The British and the Brave_, first attempt of its kind, shall be a revelation of sorts on yet another area shrouded in the womb of history.
—Harsh Rathore in _Newsviews_

NIRALA PUBLICATIONS
Jaipur    New Delhi