

THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF WESTERN NEPAL

Ram Niwas Pandey,
M.A. Dip Arch. (A.S.I.).

The snowy and inaccessible mountains, dangerous fauna and difficult communications kept Western Nepal aloof and unknown to the rest of the world. But this inhospitable zone was one of the most developed region during the ancient and the medieval periods. When ruled by the Mallas of Dullu and Simja, it was a fairly big country, extended far beyond the present national frontiers which included the land stretched between the Ganges in the west, the Gandaki in the east, Purang and Guge in the north and Avadha or Kosala in the south. Innumerable old materials found in the explorations of Western Nepal have now turned that region into an important historical, cultural and archaeological area of the nation.

A few inscriptions of the early rulers of Western Nepal have been found in India and published in the epigraphical works of that country by Fuhrer,¹ Atkinson,² Keilhorn,³ Bhandarkar⁴ and Cunningham.⁵ Baburam Acharya⁶ is the first Nepalese historian to give his attention to studying the history and culture of Western Nepal. Though he collected numerous important documents but he could not make use of them and publish the report of the study. The royal priest Hemaraj Sharma⁷ also took some incentive in the matter but he did not explore the region in person. Totraraj Pandey and Nayaraj Pant have also done some work on the history of the Karnali

basin and the Khasiya Mallas. Recently Naraharinath⁸ and Tucci⁹ have extensively explored this region. They have published their materials and opinions in their books. As Naraharinath is not an archaeologist or historian, he has not progressed far in his research¹⁰. Tucci, being a foreigner, was not allowed to visit the holy sites which possessed the ancient relics and the historical documents. He has examined only those materials in his expedition which he found in the public places and the important highways. In the last few years many scholars have attempted to write the history and culture of Western Nepal. Petech,¹¹ Gyawali¹² Regmi¹³ and Dhanavajra Vajracharya¹⁴ will be remembered for a long time for the critical observations they have made regarding the history and culture of Western Nepal. Gopala Vamsavali¹⁵ and Keshar Shamsher Vamsavali¹⁶ also contain some history of Western Nepal. Recently Tribhuvan University had provided a chance to the author to explore the historical, cultural and the archaeological potentialities of Western Nepal. He collected much varied informations and documents regarding the sculptural and the architectural history of the region during his explorations. These materials, when coupled with the existing literature and the documents, and studied properly, will through valuable light on the history of the region, the accomplishments in the art, architecture and

iconography, and the traditions of the society and its religions.

Western Nepal, which today provides no evidence of the cultures belonging to the proto-historic and the early-historical times, does not seem to have been a barren and uninhabited tract in the past. The landscape, environment and the ecological conditions confirm that with the dawn of the civilization it was inhabited by the aborigines known as the Bhillas, Kinnaras, Pulindas, Sabaras and the Kiratas. These peoples have been mentioned in the later-Vedic and the Puranic literatures. They did not believe in the sandhya nor in the bathing, based their livelihood on the flesh of the deer, used black blankets, while the skins of the deer served as their bed-sheets and the garments (like Kanchuki)¹⁷. The region of Tangana, mentioned in the Mahabharata¹⁸, was occupied by the Kiratas and the Pulindas, who used to worship God Kulinda.¹⁹ In Kumarasamhava, Kalidas talks about the Kiratas as living amidst the snow-clad mountains of the Himalayas, densely grown-up with the large trampling Gedarus Deodarum (Devadaru) trees, traversed by the legs of the fearless deer and the peacocks in majestic clans.²⁰ In the past these people had worshipped the luminary celestial forces and the atmospheric spirits including the poisonous reptiles, like the Nagas. As the Guge and the Zan-Zum provinces of South-Western Tibet constituted the immediate northern boundary of the region, the people of Western Nepal, under the influence of their Tibetan neighbours, had initiated many peculiar socio-religious traditions and ethnological features which compel the scholars of today to associate them with the racial stock of the north. The people of Western Nepal still live in the old inaccessible surroundings full of draughts and cold, satisfied with a little cattle-breeding and the agriculture of the rustic grains and vegetables. Racially and socially

both they were profusely contained; they had to experience the onslaughts and the vicissitudes of numerous inroads and the raids of the nomadic Aryans in the second millennium B.C., resulting in an unidentifiable diffusion of the cultures and emergence of a new aryanized society over the primitive aborigines. But, as illustrated above, due to the inhospitable landscape, the society and the culture of the region remained primitive and only a little aryanized. Even after the Aryan influence of the society, theology, religion and the godhead, there was a very little modernization in their traditions and the behaviours.

The political upheavals of Central Asia, which originated with the migrations of the Aryans, continued for a long time, even up to the late ancient period. In the last few pre-Christian and the early Christian centuries, North-Western India had witnessed many deadly invasions of a few white races; one of them, the Sakas, known as the Khasas²¹ in the Nepalese and the Indian records, also entered the inhospitable N.W. India; and one of their branches moved towards the Himalaya including our Western Nepal. They terminated the aboriginal rulers of nominal lordships and become the paramount sovereigns of the region till the emergence of the Imperial Guptas in the Indian sub-continent. In the post-fourth centuries they became the simanta and the Karada (frontier and tax-paying) states to emerge as the powerful Khasiya Mallas of Mid-Western Nepal in the ninth century and afterwards, with the growth of the provincialism in Northern India. The Sakas spread between the Kosi and the Ganges in the Himalayan ranges, and due to their military prowess the Hindus of India accepted them as the Ksatriyas of the second and the third rates. While counting the hierarchy of the castes and the races Manu has mentioned them with the Paundra, Oad, Dravidā, Kamboja, Yavana, Saka, Parada, Pahlava, Chini, Kirata and Darada. Later on, as they had fallen from the bows

of a Ksatriya, got designated as Sudras by the expounders of the laws, the Brahmins. 22 The Mahabharata enjoins that the Sakas had originated from the tail of the Vasistha's cow, Nandini, to protect the latter, when she was forcibly being taken away by Saint Visvamitra. Quoting Talmy, whose accounts are based on the writings of Pliny, Atkins talks in his work about the Khasas and the Kiratas as they spread from Kashmir to Western Nepal 23.

The fierce battle of Divodas and Sudras with the Sambaras and the Asuras, described in the early-Vedic literature, may not have taken place in the Western Nepalese territory, but after the defeat of the non-Aryan chiefs, their community moved to take shelter in the nearby northern hills in the second millennium B.C. itself. There may not be any tangible archaeological evidence to show but during the age of the sixteen Mahajanapadas this region was under the dominion of the Kuru-Panchala state. Nandas, the sovereigns of a huge empire, had definitely ruled this hilly tract. The edicts of Emperor Asoka, engraved on a stone of Kalsi, Dehradun U.P., addressed to the people of Tehri-Garhwal and Western Nepal in the third century B.C. without leading any military campaign in that part show that region under the Mauryan dominion from the life-time of Chandragupta Maurya. If there was any relation of the Indo-Greeks with this region it is not archaeologically and numismatically manifest, but the Kushanas, at least after the time of Kaniska, had definitely ruled some of this part. The Imperial Guptas ruled here one by one till the first defeat of King Skandagupta under the Hundas in the sixth decade of the fifth century. What happened to the Hundas is not known, to us but soon we find the Maukharis ruling in Kashmir, and we should not forget the possibilities of the Maukhari administration in this region for some-times. After the death of King Grahavarma, the last Maukhari monarch and the consort of Princess Rajyasri,

the sister of mighty Harasavardhana, the state of the Maukharis also fell in the hands of King Harsa. If Po-lo-ki-mo-pula of Huien Tsiang is really Bramanpur, located immediately to the south of Su-pha-la-na-ku-ta-lo (Suvarnabhumi), identified with modern Jhari-kor-sum (the region in the neighbourhood of the Manasarovar Lake), then, as Pandit Rabul Sanskritayan holds.²³, I accept that during the rulership of King Harsha the southern area of the region under discussion, was under the dominion of the Vardhan empire. The long waiting turmoil which shadowed the Indian politics for about a century seized for about fortyone years between A.D. 605-47 on the eve of this exalted Puspabhuti of Kannauja. The time of King Harsa is designated the second classical phase of Indian history after which we find only the disturbances and the disintegration of the imperial unity, giving rise to the growth of the tiny provincial states.

The upper tract of the region, mentioned as Su-pha-la-na-ku-ta-lo by Huien Tsiang in his accounts and known as Suvarnabhumi in the works of Barahamihir, Kalhana and Gopalabhatta, was popularly familiar as Streerajya (the country of the women) among the contemporary people. Zan-Sum or S.W. Tibet was also included in Su-pha-la-na-ku-ta-lo and inhabited by the Kirata, Kaunanda (Kuninda) and Khasa tribes²⁴. "For ages the woman has been the ruler (here), and so it is called as the kingdom of the woman. The husband of the reigning women is called king but he knows nothing about the affairs of the state. The man manages the war and sows the land, and that is all. The land produces winter wheat and much cattle, sheep and horses. The climate is extremely cold (icy). The people are hasty and impetuous. On the eastern side this country is bordered by the Fan kingdom (Tibet), on the west San-po-ho (Sampoh or Malasa), on the north by Khotan. According to Tang-shu the palace of the queen (who ruled this land) was nine-storeyed and her

husband was assigned by the title of Kin-chu."25.

The Tibetan historical chronicles²⁶ enumerate that Suvarnabhumi was formerly ruled by the Lig dynasty but then K'ri-sron-lde-btsan annexed it in his Tibetan dominion. In A.D. 644 Lig Sna-Sur revolted against the Tibetan rule. He was crushed by Sron-btsan-sgam and at that time this vast country was completely dominated by the Tibetan governors. Between A.D. 653 and 676 Spug-gyim-rtsan-cun, sTon-rtsan and bTsan-sna were the governors of Zan-Zum and they made various settlements for the administration of this newly conquered state. In A.D. 677 Zan-zum again revolted. This resulted the sanction of the census of the country in A.D. 719. In A.D. 724 sTa-gu-ri-tsab made a settlement, according to which Suvarnabhumi became a vassal of Tibet under Lig sNa-sur, the king, and his two ministers K'yun-pp-ra-sans-rje and sTon-lom-ma-ce. K'ri-sron-lde-btsan knew that Suvarnabhumi would again revolt against him, so under the new alliance, he married his daughter Sad-mar-kar to the Suvarnabhumi prince, Lig Mji-rhya. But when he found his daughter unhappy in the vassal capital, he again raided Suvarnabhumi and devastated it. These facts prove that Suvarnabhumi "was in the state of vassalage, but had not completely lost at least nominally its independence"²⁷. After the last campaign of K'ri-sronlde-btsan and the dethronement of Lig Myi-rhya "Zan-zum was divided for military purpose in the chiliarchies (districts)"²⁸. These chiliarchies were represented in the Tibetan secretariat through their variegated banners, marked with different symbols characteristic to different divisions. The colours of the banners also differed from district to district. After this arrangement Suvarnabhumi never became independent or revolted against its master. There are definite evidences of two full hundred years of the Tibetan yoke of administration between A.D. 650-850 on the shoulders of the people of Suvarnabhumi.

This shadow originated with the conquest of Sron-tsan-gam-po after A.D. 629 and rooted deeply after the death of King Harsavardhana in A.D. 647. The commander-in-chief Dhandi of Harsa, who got the northern territory of the Vardhana empire after the death of King Harsa, could not resist the savage military chiefs of the north, and he had to accept the overlordship of the Lhasa monarch. It seems that the power of the Tibetan monarchs had declined due to their religious policies. Then the descendants of Dhandi, Chakrayudha and Indroyudha, with the helps of the Gurjar-Pratihara king, Devasakti Vatsaraj and King Dharmapala of Magadha, again became the masters of Western Himalaya. Dharmapala and his exalted son Devapala both claim of their conquests in the Himalaya. It seems that when Bhोजराज I (A.D. 638-92) established himself on the throne of Kannauj, Suvarnabhumi or the area under discussion fell under the dominion of the Pratiharas of India, away from the clutches of the Tibetan kings. I conclude that the Pratiharas did not rule the region themselves; they were simply the overlords, and the local Katyuris became the real rulers of the inhospitable tract.²⁹

The claim of King Dharmapala and his son Devapala of the Himalayan conquests in their eulogies is not a fake statement because we find the names of fifteen Pala rulers in the Dullu inscription of King Prithvimala, installed in A.D. 1357 (Saka Era 1297).³⁰ They are Adipala, Jayapala, Vijayapala, Srivirapala, Vikramapala, Sripala, Sridharpala, Somapala, Suryapala, Samudrapala, Sukhapala, Vighrahapala (Grihapala), Varagaja Mahipala, Visvapala, and Jivapala. It seems that the Palas, under Dharmapala and Devapala, had captured the south-eastern Suvarnabhumi, and their descendants, just enumerated or some powerful member of the ruling Pala family, deputed by the conqueror, took the control of the reign. As he was the first Pala king of the mountains, he assumed the title

of Adipala, the first Pala king, and started a new lineage of rulership to rule for sixteen generations to come, as referred above. Grihapala or Vighrahapala was a learned and famous king, and his son Mahipala, known as Varapala and Gajapala also, had excellent elephants in his army. He had ruled from the Gohavisaya capital, and conquered numerous enemies in the battle. The victor realised the cost of his horses from the defeated kings. His son Visvapala changed the capital to Jhumakar and received a big state full of wealth and prosperity after defeating his enemies. In the end of the Pala rule, related to them, comes Punyamalla. It so seems that when the last Pala king found himself childless, he adopted Punyamalla and nominated him to continue his progeny after giving his daughter to him in marriage. Thus, the Palas disappeared from the political horizon of Western Nepal. Though no dates are found to their laws, I conjecture that they had ruled in the Himalayas from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the eleventh century, while extending the frontiers of their state in the different directions³¹. As mentioned above, when the Palas ruled the south-eastern Suvarnabhumi and the adjoining Terai, and the hills of the Seti and the Mahakali zones were perhaps ruled by the Katyuris of Kartikeyapur, and they were the feudatories of the mighty Pratiharas of Kannauja³².

The Katyuris of Karitkeyapur constitute the first historical dynasty of Western Himalaya. They emerged as the ruling family of the region in the middle of the ninth century and enjoyed sovereign power till the middle of the eleventh century. As contemporaries to the Palas of the Eastern Himalaya and its adjoining southern plains, they show much similarity in their epigraphical records.

Though scholars trace the origin of the Katyuris to Basudeo, the Kushana, historically on refusing the overlordship of Pratihar King Mahipal, Basantan became the founder of the Katyuri dynasty³³. His descendents—

Kharapara, Adhidhaia, Tribhuwan Raj, Nivarta and Istagana, do not seem to have done any work of merit during their reigns except preserving the inherited ancestral state. Lalitasur was the most exalted king of the family. He led several campaigns in the various directions and extended the frontiers of his tiny dominion. As a result of his successful operations in different zones he became a paramount sovereign (Ksitisah) of the Himalayan states whose feet were constantly greeted by the heads of the defeated states³⁴. The mention of the officials, the people and the presentation of the objects by the feudals, etc., joining his court from time to time, confirm that he was a king of unbounded might during the chequered times of the early-medieval Indian politics. He had been able to hold the sway in the mountains only due to the weak Pratihar and the Pala successors of the mighty sovereigns at Kannauja and Magadha. At this time the might of the Tibetan kings had also dwindled in the Himalaya due to their unnecessary religious interferences. As Lalitasur grew powerful in his stately affairs, he introduced an era also after his name. His two copper-plates found from Pandukeshwar, U.P., are dated in the twenty-first year of his own era. His epithets, the donations and the behaviour confirm that he was a very virtuous king having many noble qualities in him, rarely found in the kings of the medieval period³⁵. In the long inscription of Lalitasur and his son Bhudeo we do not find any mention of the north or the Tibetan kings. It seems that the Katyuris had still feared the invincible might of the Bhot monarch, and they did not like to disturb the Himalayas in the north and the north-east. Bhudeo succeeded King Lalitasur. He donated a copper-plate to the authorities of the Vageshwar temple in the fourth year of his rule. This inscription gives a long geneology of his dynasty and records the achievements of his predecessors also. The document enjoins that the Katyuris were the Saivites and they had worshipped their lord in his various forms and

shapes. The inscription talks about a devout friend of the king, a Kirataputra (the son of a Kirata), who seems to be an important feudal king of the Kirata aborigines. King Bhudeo was a devotee of the Brahmins, enemy of the Buddhist saints, lover of truth, handsome, learned and quite religious in nature. Kali, the divine monarch, could not touch him. The king was of golden complexion and his lotus-shaped blue eyes were always restless and resplendent. The feet of the king were constantly wet with the tears of the crown-bearing prostrated kings of different districts. He was as mighty sovereign and his uninterrupted weapons had dismantled the darkness (tyranny of the impious kings) prevailing in the atmosphere³⁶.

After Bhudeo we get Salonaditya, Ichhate, Desta, Padamata and Subhiksa ruling one after the other from Kartikeyapur, and they were contemporary to the Pratihara kings Mahipala II and Yasapala and the Magadha kings Gopal II and Vighrahapala III. Though Viradeva is not referred to in the Katyuri records, he was an important king of the dynasty. Local tradition enjoins that he was a mean king. He had spread much terror among the people by his unpleasant acts of snatching the beautiful girls of the country to his personal use. He was so sensual that even he kept his own maternal aunt as wife against the social tradition. Ultimately he was thrown to death from the peak of a mountain by his palanquin bearers³⁷. Viradeva was succeeded by Trilokapala, whose eldest son Niranjandeva became the first king of Doti-Dadeldhura, while Abhayapala, the second son, went to Askot and began to rule separately from there³⁸. It seems that when the Khasiya Mallas, after Nagaraja, grew in power, the Katyuris dwindled to a vassal of the former and kept their existence in some form or other till the conquest of Western Nepal and Kamayun-Garhwal by Rana Bahadur Shah of the Gorkha dynasty. The other possible reason of the downfall of the Katyuris is their family

struggle because we find the Katyuris ruling at Doti-Dadeldhura (Nepal), Askot, Kali-Kamayun, Baramandal, Baijanath-Vageshwar, and Dwarahat (India, for forty-eight generations) before the Gorkha conquest³⁹. I think that they had separated in the eleventh century itself when the Khasiya Mallas were emerging from Dullu and Semja as a stronger race while occupying the whole of Western Nepal, Kamayun-Garhwal and South-West Tibet. I shall discuss the Katyuris of Doti-Dadeldhura in detail elsewhere.* Here I would like to emphasize only this that they trace their origin from Salivahan and call themselves as Rajputs. They were called the Rainakajyu or Raikajyu⁴⁰ in the late-medieval records of Western Nepal.

Very cleverly Tucci writes, "One fact seems certain to me, that about the eleventh century there was unrest among the Himalayan tribes, and that some group crossed into Western Tibet and there founded new principalities, going so far as to Tibetanize their habit and names.

"As to what these invaders from the south Himalayan countries were, we can safely state, (they were) Khasa, who as a war-like aristocracy controlled a fluctuating mass of other tribes, those K'ri-ta (Kirata) or Mon to which the old Tibetan chronicles make allusions"⁴¹.

The sculptures and the temples of the stone-slabs built by the Mallas in the Seti and the Mahakali Zones (Devalahata, Uku, Palkot, Jagannath and Devalabanjh) and the tradition of the region attest that the Mallas of Simja (Ya'tse) and Dullu were actually responsible for this unrest in the Himalaya. They defeated or terrified the small Himalayan states and became the rulers of a vast territory between the Gandaki, the Yamuna, Zan-zum and the Ganga in the east, west, north and the south. They were the only reason for the disappearance of the Katyuris from the political horizon of Western Himalaya in the late-eleventh century, as I mentioned earlier.

† R.N. Paudey, A short History of Doti State, Vol. I, No. pp. 247. Nepal Review Kathmandu April 1969 etc.

Then what about the Mallas of Dullu and Semja? The Bheri and Karnali zones have yielded a vast treasure of archaeological materials which provide us with a glaring testimony for the shining rule of the Khasiya Mallas in Western Nepal. These Mallas ruled the Seti and the Mahakali zones through their samanta kings. Then what about the origin of the Western Mallas? I conjecture that when the Mallas of Kushinagar and Pava fell prey to the growing imperialism of the early Christian centuries, they fled in the north and lived for a few centuries between the Mahabharata and the Churiya ranges as the petty chiefs to emerge as the strongest power in the early-medieval period. The sites of Danvatal and Kankrevihar will provide the clues to solve this problem. Both the sites are Buddhist and both of them speak of their existence before the emergence of the powerful Khasiya Mallas in the eleventh century from Dullu and Simja. Therefore, I would like to emphasize that the deposed Malla chiefs were passing their humble days in the present belt of the Tharu habitation and at the time of mass upheavals in the Himalaya during the eleventh century they managed to become the overlords of the whole Western Nepal. The evergreen and fertile Tharu belt and the trade-routes, which these Mallas controlled from Danavatal and the Surket valley, seem to be the most potent causes of their success. The trade of the whole mountaineous land was done through a highway that ran from Danavatal and Kankrevihar of the Surket valley to Zan-Zum and Guge of Tibet and if that road was controlled or completely blocked, the whole inaccessible Himalaya up to Zan-zum of Western Tibet would suffer and collapse. The Mallas understood these fact and they acted accordingly which seated them on the throne of Simja till the superior flash of the Rajasthan princes in the fourteenth century. Tucci thinks that these Khasia Mallas originally came from the Kamayun-Garh-

wal region, but his evidence, the name of Badrinath, does not find any mention in the earlier records. That is why, I think that they conquered the Kamayun-Garhwal region⁴² only after they had become stronger at Simja and Dullu. Tucci raises another problem, i.e. the Mallas were Buddhist first but when they subjugated the southern region of the Hindu population, they got hinduized. This hypothesis of Tucci is also wrong. Lumbini, Kapilavastu, and Sravasti, the three important centres of the early Buddhism, were nearer to them, and the time they lived at Danavatal and Kankrevihar, they had venerated only the Buddhist deities and the shrines in their towns. When they extended the frontiers of their dominion in the subsequent centuries, at that time also they were Buddhists, and this provides a clear explanation about why they got the sacred Buddhist formulae of "Om Mani Padme Hum" and the Chaitya engraved on their stone edicts (inscriptions). Later on, when they ruled over a vast territory, they found the Hindus and the Buddhists both living in the kingdom. So they changed their religious attitudes and adopted Brahma, Vishnu and Ishwar also in their state records along with the Buddha, Dharma and Samgha. One more explanation could be forwarded for the appearance of the Hindu deities and the Brahmanical pattern of architecture in their dominion, i.e. till the ninth century Buddhism was an exalted religion of India and the Nepalese Terai under its Mahayan sectaries, but after the break-up of the Indian imperialism and the growth of the provincialism along with the proud Hindu kings, Buddhism got a setback in the whole of the sub-continent. Sectarianism overwhelmed the Khasiya Mallas of Nepal also but as they were Buddhist the last fifteen hundred years, they could not change their religion so abruptly. They understood the call of the time, hinduized themselves with the adoption of the Vaishnavite and the Saivite deities and gave the donations of the lands to the Brahmins including

their copper-plate certificates. Moreover, medieval period was the time of the revival of the Brahmanical religions under its exalted teachers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja. This also provides some explanation for the changing religious beliefs of the Khasiya Mallas of Western Nepal.

Prithvimalla, who ruled in the middle of the fourteenth century (Saka-1279 A.D=1357), has left a huge pillar inscription at Dullu⁴³. It gives the geneology of his family which begins from king Adipala. The names of the rulers given in the inscription are as follows;-

Adityavamsa.

- | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------------|--|
| A) | 1. Adipala, | his son | These Palas, mentioned |
| | 2. Jayapala, | " | as the predecessors of the |
| | 3. Vijayapala, | " | Khasiya Mallas, seem to be |
| | 4. Shrivirapala, | " | an offshoot of the Palas of |
| | 5. Vikramapala, | " | Eastern India. I have already |
| | 6. Shripala, | " | discussed their history and |
| | 7. Shridharapala, | " | the part they had played in the |
| | 8. Somapala, | " | politics of Western Nepal |
| | 9. Suryapala, | " | in the early-medieval period. |
| | 10. Samudrapala, | " | |
| | 11. Sukhapala, | " | |
| | 12. Vighrapala, | " | |
| | 13. Varagaja Mahipala | " | |
| | 14. Visvapala, | " | |
| | 15. Jivapala, and his son | " | |
| | 16. Punyamalla (who married Sakunamalla;
Shrimalla was the eldest son of King Punyamalla) | | |
| B) | 1. Nagaraj, | his son | |
| | 2. Chapa, | " | |
| | 3. Chapilla, | " | |
| | 4. Krasichalla, | " | |
| | 5. Kradhichalla, | " | |
| | 6. Krachalla, | " | |
| | 7. Asokachalla, | his two sons | |
| | 8a. Jitarimalla | 8b Ananada Malla | } conflicts. |
| | 9a. Aksayamalla | Adityamalla—9b Ripumalla | |
| | | Kalyanamalla—10b Sangramamalla | |
| | 10a. Pratapamalla | | |
| | 11. | = | { (He had no sons, but a daughter whom
he married to Punyamalla, a
prince of Gela, Suvarnabhumi. |

12. Punnyamalla (He was invited to rule the Khasiya state).

13. Chandramalia (daughter); Prithvimalla,

(wives; } 1. Dharmalla
 } 2. Dipamalla)

14. Abhayamalla (Not mentioned in the Dullu Inscription).

The inscription was installed during the life-time of Prithvimalla, and, that is why we have no names of the kings who ruled after him.

After Nagaraj as these Khasiya Mallas ruled over the south had western part of Tibet, also they found their fullest narration in the manuscripts of their Tibetan chroniclers. They became completely adept in the Tibetan society. That is why, the people of Tibet forgot their foreign origin, took them as an indigeneous race and tibetanized their family and the names in their records. Scholars believe that like the Sanskrit pillar at Dullu there would have been an inscription of Prithvimalla in the Tibetan language and script at Simja (Ya'tse) also. The Simja pillar would have satisfied the historical instincts of the northernly races about the ruling origin of the Mallas. But that inscription is not available to us nowadays. These Mallas were called rMal or Smal in Western Tibet. The

founder of dynasty came on the throne of Guge after deposing and murdering gLandar-ma of Ide family in A.D.840. The Tibetan historical chronicles⁴⁴ *rGyal-rabs-gsal-bai-me-lon, Deb-t'er-snon-po, dPao-tsug-lag-ap'ren-ba, Sum-pa-Bk'an-po, Grags-pa-regyal-mts'an, sP'ags-pa, Bustan-ya, Deb-t'er, (Blue Annals), dPao-gtsug-ap'rel-ba, Nor Chronicles, rGyal-rabs, Deb-i'er-dmarpo, Chronicles of Fifth Dala Lama Pad-makar-po, Sum-pa-mk'anpo, Chronicles of Laddakh and Guide of Kojarnath* contain a long history of the Khasia Mallas under their Tibetan names. Professor Tucci critically examined them and found that the later kings of Malla dynasty were wellknown to the Tibetan historians and chroniclers. According to him the Tibetan names of these Malla rulers were as follows:-

Dullu Inscription ⁴⁵

- Nagaraja
2. Capa
 3. Capilla
 4. Krasicalla
 5. Kradhicalla
 6. Kracalla
 7. Asokacalla
 8. Jitaimalla
 9. Anandamalla
 10. Ripumalla
 11. Samgramamalla
 12. Adityamalla (son of Anandamalla)
 13. Kalyanamalla
 14. Pratapamalla
 15. Punyamalla (of another family)
 16. Prithvimalla

Tibetan Chronicles ⁴⁶

- Nagadeva
- X
- bTsan-piygug-Ide
- bKra-sis-Ide
- Grage-btsan-Ide
- Grags-pa-Ide
- A-so-ga, A-so-Ide
- aDsian-dae-smal, aJi-dar-smal
- A-nan, A-nan-ta-smal
- Reu, Reu-smal
- Sam-gha-smal
- A-jid-smal
- Ka-lan-smal
- Par-t'ab-smal
- (Punya-rMal (bSod-namas)
of the family of Purang.
Pra-ti-smal

If we believe the Tibetan chronicles then Pratapamalla had no son. Therefore, he renounced the throne and became a monk of the Sk-skya monastery (to pass the rest of his remaining life.) After him Punyamalla of Gela (Sela) was brought to the Malla kingdom, married to Sakunamala (the daughter of Pratapamalla) and ceremonially enthroned to continue the progeny of Nagadeva. Illustrious Prithvimalla and his sister Chandramala were born out of this couple. This explains why the Dullu inscription and the Tibetan chronicles record two families, i.e. that of "Punyamalla from aPu-ran and that of the kings of Guge whose throne he occupied"⁴⁹. Punyamalla belonged to the princely family of Lhasa whereas the early Mallas of Dullu were of the Khasa tribe. It is noted with satisfaction that the change in the royal geneology materialised with Nagadeva when the latter took Ya'tse (Simja) also as his capital and accepted the Tibetan rMal or Smal (Malla) title of the family and Ide (Deva) suffix in the end of his name. Nagaraj was the on of Ye-Ses-od (aK'or-re). Tucci "observes, After aBar-id PT says: 'then in succession aKra-sis-ide, Lha-ide, Nagadeva (Naga-ide) became generally (P'al-cer) masters of mNa'-ris': after aBha-le GR states: 'then in succession bK'ra-sis-ide, aBha-re, Nage-ide became masters of Guge, Guge, sPu-ran, Mar-yul, etc.' as to show that there was a change..... these Western Tibetan genoologies seem to go back to two main sources, one being represented

by DT, VDL, SP and the other by PTN, GR, DM, Koj" 50.

The **Guide of Kojarnath** is quite significant from the historical point of view. According to it Hor had invaded Guge and at that time the shrine of Kojaranath was destroyed. Petech believes that this invasion was of Zain-ul-Adidin A.D. (1420-70.) from the south "who went as far as Guge"⁵¹ during his campaign. According to this chronicle Zan-zum was being ruled by the descendants of Ide-gtsung-mgon, but other chronicles completely differ. They mention K'ri family as the ruler of Guge Zam-zum (W. Tibet) at that time. **Guide of Kojaranath** has recorded bKra-sis-sde's (Kra-sicalla's) visit of sPu-san. There were three silver images in the Kojarnath shrine. They were executed by Asvadharmā and a Kashmiri artisan, Van-ku-la. People had esteemed these images till the collapse of the Kojaranath temple. According to DT (**Blue Annals**, p. 605) aDsin-smal was the name of Adityamalla whom Ses-abun had initiated in the year 1219. There Adityamalla has been described by the title of "Mna'-bdag-gYa'ts'e-pa", i.e. the lord of Ya'tse (Simja). Though the information supplied by the annals is correct but the chronicler could not record the exact time of Adityamalla. From the Dullu inscription we know that Prithivimalla ruled in the Saka Era 1297 (AD. 1357), and there are many predecessors before him. Therefore the time of Adityamalla will be far more than sixty years as observed by the **Blue Annals**.

(To be concluded in the next issue)