

(Contda. from 10th issue)

THE ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF WESTERN NEPAL

Ram Niwas Panday
M. A. Dip Arch. (A.S.I.)

Dullu Pillar inscription contains the names of thirty five kings of the family of which first fifteen kings have got 'Pala' suffix added in the end of their names. What does it indicate? Were these Pala kings related to the main branch of the Pala dynasty of Eastern India? Let us hope to get some tangible information in the future to answer this vexed problem in a precise manner 52. Out of the fifteen Pala kings, the thirteenth king, Varagja Mahipala was quite illustrious. He conquered numerous renowned enemies in the battlefield, changed the capital to the town of Goha district (Gandjankot?) and there he received the taxes of the horses from the defeated foes (Kings) 53. When his son Visvapala came on the throne he transferred his capital to Jhumalara (Tiparikot?) district town 54. After crushing (stambhana) the enemies he received a country full of the riches. When his son Jivapala ascended the throne, he again changed the capital. Now the secretariat was brought to Gela (or Sela), located in the Jumala Valley. Jivapala was a great lover of the fine arts and music. He was succeeded by Punyamalla 55. Punyamalla married Sarkunamalla and from her he had several sons, the eldest being Shrimalla. Either due to some battle or epidemic all the sons of this unfortunate king died. Therefore, he adopted Nagaraj as the crown-prince of the state who lastly succeeded him on the throne. A few years after Nagaraj became the king, territory of the Mallas was invaded from the north by the Tibetan army. Nagaraj fought the enemies bravely with his forces and drove

them away from Guge. Now the victor realised that if he wanted to rule the snow-clad mountainous region of the far north then he should keep his one capital in the north too, and then he made Semsja (Ya'te) as his summer capital. He even Tibetanised the name of his family from Malla to Mal or sMal. Later on, the names of the kings were also Tibetanised. This indicates that Nagaraj was a great statesman and administrator 56. Rahul Sanskritayan has mentioned an image of Lord Buddha which he found at Badhata, Garhwal. This image has a small inscription in its pedestal which indicates that the present image of Lord Buddha was dedicated by Nagaraj when he visited the existing Buddhist shrine of the locality. It seems that Garhwal was subjugated during the time of Nagaraj and he visited the above-mentioned edifice immediately after his conquest 57.

Some scholars like Shree Satyamohan Joshi of the Royal Nepal Academy hold the opinion that the two Punyamallas of the front and the back faces of Dullu pillar inscription are the one and the same person. But I differ from him at this stage of our knowledge. Punyamalla, who married Sakunamalla and whose eldest son was Shrimalla, is described in the inscription as the son and successor of Jivapala, the fifteenth (or the last Pala) king, whereas the Punyamalla of the other face of the inscription is narrated by the scribe as the prince of Gela and the successor of Pratapamalla, who had no male

scoin to him. If the two Punyamallas be proved as one, then Nagaraj becomes a contemporary of either Vikramapala or Shridharapala, but it does not seem well because Vikramapala and Shridharapala had ruled long before the time of Nagaraj. Again most of the scholars of Nepal think that Nagaraj, the first king of the other face of the inscription, had come from the Khari region and he belonged to the dynasty of the Bhot monarchs. But from *Athakharipradesastho yo jvesaratama gotten (34) Shreenagajena Senjapuryam sthii (h) krita 12*, i.e. Nagaraj, who lived at the Khari region, bedecked with the title of Javeshwar (Jumaleshwar (yogi Naraharinath says that he become the lord of Java, Sumatra islands, etc. which is highly fantastic for any scholar of history and archaeology)—taken from *Sandhipatra Samgrah* of Naraharinath, published from Banaras, V.S. 2022, pp. 667-70). He founded the city of Semja one can not fully ascertain that he was a Tibetan prince, and came from Khari region, located beyond the Khojaranath site in the vicinity of the Manasarowara lake. Again his name is more of a Hindu and Aryan origin. I think that he was the second son of Punyamalla of the front face of the inscription and belonged to the solar dynasty itself. As there was no place in the front face of the inscription, the details of the family (dynasty) beginning from Nagaraj were engraved on the back face. What I think is that when Punyamalla of the front face was ruling, the Tibetans invaded the northern territory of the kingdom. The king sent Shrimalla and Nagaraj to fight the enemies. In the fighting Shrimalla, the first son of Punyamalla and the real owner of the kingdom, lost his life; only Nagaraj survived the vicissitudes of the Tibetans, The latter defeated the invaders and drove them away beyond the Manasarowara lake. At that time he had to stay in the Khari region. I think that these are the reasons why the *kharipradesatha* (living in the Khari region) to Nagaraj. As Nagaraj turned our victorious and survived as the

only claimant to the throne, he was bedecked with the title of Javeshwar (Jumaleshwar), as described in the inscription. As Nagaraj was a great statesman, he thought that without having one branch of the capital in the Jumla valley also he can not have the sway over his northern territory of the dominion. Therefore he laid the foundation of the Semja city. This city, later on, became an important city of Western Nepal and had been the capital of various kings until the conquest of the region by the Gorkha army in the late-eighteenth century. Further, Punyamalla—the father of Prithvimalla, flourished and ruled Western Nepal about three hundred years after Punyamalla of the front face of the inscription. Thus he is Punyamalla II of the dynasty, and a ruler of the fourteenth century A. D. only.

Capa succeeded Nagaraj on the throne after the demise of his father. He was not a successful ruler. This king was not even known to the Tibetan chroniclers. Capilla, the son of Capa, was also a weak king and he remained silent in the expansion of the frontiers of his dominion. Nevertheless, he was known to the chroniclers, unlike his father. The rules of Krasicalla and Kradhicalla were not so eventful as of Kracalladeva, the son of Kradhicalla. One inscription of Kracalladeva, found from Kartikeyapur (Tehri-Garhwal), dated in A.D. 1223 (Saka 1145 *Pausa Krishna-2*), records the visit and the worship of the king to the Baleshwar Mahadeo (Eaika-Rudra) temple after the conquest of Tehri Garhwal region in the sixteenth year of his congregation to the Malla throne. During his visit he donated a piece of land also to its Brahmin priest (Shree Baleshwar). But it does not mean that personally he was a Saivite. The inscription informs us that Kracalladeva was a Buddhist devotee 58. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Asokacalla.

Asokacalla was a famous king. He spread the mission of peace and tolerability in all the directions of the world 59. Five inscriptions of Asokacalla have been found so far of which “three

were traced in Bodhagaya and two in Kamayun (Koma) at Gopeshwar and Barahata (Uttarakasi) respectively"60. From the Gopeshwar and Barahata inscriptions it is clear that Asokacalla was the master of whole Tehri and Garhwal districts in the closing decade of the Twelfth century. He had defeated Trilokapala of the Katyuri dynasty in A.D. 1191. One Buddha image, donated by Nagaraj in the past is still esteemed at Barahata in the name of God Dat-tatreya by the people. It indicates that Kedarabhumi up to Bhallyana was under the protection of the Semja kings from the time of Nagaraj itself. The Katyuris of the region had accepted the suzerainty of the Malla monarchs former. Further conquest of the region by Asokacalla during his rule indicates some revolution only in the region during his lifetime. If Gopeshwar inscription of Asokacalla is a true account of his reign, then presently Kedarabhumi was completely subjugated in the Malla dominion. In the document Asokacalla has been described as a king of Danavabhutal, identified with Bhot by Rahul Sanskritayan. I think that Danavabhutal is Danavatal of Bardia district, which was the capital of the Mallas before their conquest of Vaisvanarajwalaksetra and the Jumla valley. The relics of Danavatal are of Buddhist origin and datable to tenth-eleventh centuries which are also in support my identification.

The Dwarahat iron-triden inscription of Asokacalla informs us that the victor reached even the sacred land of Lord Siva and there he arranged a meeting of the word lords. It indicates the visit of a Buddhist king to a holy site of Shaivism and noting else. Asokacalla was known as Anekacalla also. The Bodhagaya inscriptions of Asokacalla are dated in A.D. 1192, 1270, and 1274 according to Regmi but the epoch of the Laksamana era, used in them, is itself not fully ascertained by the scholars 61. One of these inscription calls Asokacalla as the greatest of the kings (of his time) and the ruler of one hundred and twenty-five thousand hills of the Khasa people, beautified with numerous pillars, engraved with his multi-

furious activities and grand qualities 62. He was a follower of Mahayan pantheon of Buddhism 63 and Hevajra 64 was his chief deity of worship. He sent several monks (bhiksus) to Bodhagaya from Semja to make a monastery for housing a statue of Lord Buddha. The monks went to the aforesaid town with huge donation of property from the king and there they made a beautiful monastery (vihara) including an image of Lord 65 as ordered by the king. It so seems that Asokamalla was a king-hearted sovereign and this gave an advantage to his sons Jitarimalla and Anandamalla to fight for the heirship and divide the kingdom into two parts after the death of his father like the three sons of Jayayaksamalla of the Kathmandu valley after his demise. For three generations we have two kings simultaneously ruling in Western Nepal. When Kalyanamalla comes on the throne, he unites the segregated kingdom and once again the whole of Western Nepal becomes one nation under one banner (king 66.)

Jitarimalla was the eldest son of Asokamalla. He had two sons whose names were Aksayamalla and Adityamalla. Ripumalla was the son of Anandamalla—the younger son of Asokamalla, and his son was Samgramamalla 67. Very little history of these kings is available in their native land. As three of these kings had invaded the Kathmandu valley, we have some information about their carriers from the chronicles of Kathmandu valley also.

The early Mallas of Dullu had concentrated their lives in the conquests of the Western mountainous tract only. When Jitarimalla ascended the throne, he realised the significance of the conquests of the eastern mountainous region. The king found a vast territory before him in the east.

Gopalavamsavali records the invasion of the king as follows:— "On the expiry of twelve years and three months of Anandamalla's reign, the Khasias came. This was the first invasion of

Raja Jayatari and occurred in the month of Pausa of the year 408 (Dec-Jan, 1287-88). In Sahme (Swayambhu area) where the Khasia king was encamping there, was raid by the entire mass of our people, who killed eight hundred of the invaders. Then the Khasias fled, and the people returned to their normal life in a happy mood. The year came. On Falgun sukla-13 Jayatari entered once again for the second time. He burnt several villages. He went to pay respects to the chaitya of Swayambhunath, then to Bugma, where he enjoyed the darshan of Lokeshwar. Thereafter he propitiated God Pashupatinath. He returned to his country without any harm reaching him. It was the year 409. Again the Tirhutiyas had entered"68.

Keshar Shamsheer Vamsavali has mentioned the invasion in the following words: "In the month of Pausa, 408 Jayatari entered for the first time. For the second time again he entered in Falgun of 414" 69.

Gopalvamsavali has recorded a third invasion of Jayatari also which reads as "On Falguna-krishna-pratipada Jayatari invaded and captured Nuwakot. (Then he) went to Bungamati temple (Rato Matsyendranath). dedicated treasury to him. He entered Deopatan from the western gate. This time.....Then he burnt the villages. He lived one month in Lalitapur. Yet the fortress was not dismantled"70. "In the prince's (Anantamalla's) reign, and in the Nepal year 804 of Sumbuth 1344, many Khasias migrated to Nepal and settled there"71.

From the above-mentioned accounts it is clear that during the reign of Anandamalla, Jitarimalla (Ji-t'ar-smal) had thrice raided the Kathmandu valley between Nepal Era 408-10 72. A fierce battle took place between the army of the invading king and the Nepal (Kathmandu valley) forces. In the conflict Jitarimalla lost eight hundred of his soldiers and then he returned to his native-

land. Fourteen months afterwards he again invaded Nepal. This time he entered Deopatan after conquering Nuwakot, set its villages ablaze and camped for one month surrounding its fortress. When he found himself unsuccessful in causing injury to the castle he returned to his country. Thus all the efforts of Jitarimalla failed and his dreams of unifying various states of Himalayan region and becoming a paramount sovereign of Nepal remained unfulfilled.

The geneology of the Malla dynasty is complicated after Jitari-(Jayatari) malla 73 but the studies reveal that Jitarimalla and Anandamalla had ruled at the one and the same time. Aksayamalla, Adityamalla and Ripumalla ruled in the second phase while Kalyanamalla and Sangramamalla ruled in the last phase of the turmoil. What I think is that one of the two houses had ruled from Dullu and the other party exercised its sway from Semja But this fact is not quite clear from the Dullu pillar inscription. According to Regmi 74 the trouble of succession arose after Kalyanamalla ascended the throne but Dhanavajra Vajracharya 75 opines that the turmoil came to an end after Pratapmalla's congregation only. As the latter ruled from Dullu and Semja both, he has been variously described in the records of Western Nepal.

Twentythree years after the invasion of Jitarimalla, on 433 Falguna-krishna-pratipada (Feb. 1313.), when Rudramalla and Jayanandadeva (Malla) were ruling the Kathmandu valley, the son of Anandamalla and nephew of Jitarimalla, Ripumalla, again invaded Nepal. He stayed at Buga (Matsyendranath shrine) for eighteen days and there he performed numerous religious ceremonies in the honour of the god enshrined in its sanctuary. In the end he returned home 76. It so seems that Ripumalla had not at all come as an invader but as a pilgrim to the Buddhist shrines of the Kathmandu valley. As he was a devout Buddhist and as Kathmandu valley was one of the most

important Buddhist centers, of medieval period he came to this city to pay his homage to the deities and the shrines as recorded in the chronicles of the Kathmandu valley. The giving of feasts and performing of the religious ceremonies in the honour of the lord of the present Kalpa [age (Padmapani Avaloketeshwar, known as Matsyendranath also)] confirms his great faith even to the deities residing far beyond the frontiers of his kingdom. That Ripumalla was a religious man is proved from one of his fragmentary inscriptions also, discovered on the eastern bank of the Chaukikhola near Semja of the Jumla valley. Here the king has been described as a devotee of Lokeshwar (perhaps of Padmapani or Matsyendranath ?) and writer of "Laghuratna traya." The inscription says that Ripumalla was a great politician of his time. He got his political theories written in the books or (engraved on the stone slabs) and circulated them for the knowledge and benefits of his people. The king had conquered all those enemies who had set troubles to him; (actually) he ruled the whole earth (by his prowess and the virtues) 77. Ripumalla had visited Lumbini, the birthplace of Lord Buddha and the stupa of Mortal Buddha Kanakamuni also. He must have given feasts and performed ceremonies at those holy sites during his visit. The *Abhisamayalankara* manuscript, preserved in the sPos-K' an monastery of Tibet, describes Ripumalla in its colophon as the king of kings and the lord of the earth who ruled his country (Western Nepal) in the Vikram Era 1370 (Feb. 1314 A.D.) 78. On the basis of V-III, Regmi thought that on Chaitra, sudi-2 of the (Nepal Era) 444 there was another (forth) Khasia invasion in the Kathmandu valley. At that time the invader "reached up to the royal palace at Tipura" Details of the invasion are not known; but we are told that the invaders had almost knocked the gate of the royal palace, its seriousness must have been felt by the defenders" 79. This Khasia invador is not identified so far.

V-I (F-27b.) 80 and V-III (F-46a.) 81 record

one more Khasia invasion which the Kathmandu valley had experienced in the Feb-March of 1328 (Sambat 488 Falgun-sukla-astami or Chaitra-purnima). This time the invasion took place under the leadership of Adityamalla. The invader first captured Noakot and Pharping (Sekharakwatha) and then entered Patan. All the three towns of the valley were set ablaze when the invador arrived in the capital. The king stayed at Pulavahila (?) for twenty-two days but the Patan fortress was not broken. Then he returned.

Adityamalla was succeeded on the throne by his son Kalyanamalla. No events of his reign are known to us so far. Kalyanamalla has been described in his records as a famous king and the lord of all the directions 82. As this king had no heir, he invited Punyamalla of Gela to succeed him on the throne of Semja and Dullu 83. Punyamalla accepted the offer and succeeded Kalyanamalla in the end. Kalyanamalla married his daughter Sakunamalla to Punyamalla to continue his progeny on the throne in the next generation and himself he retired in the Sa-kya monastery of Tibet as a monk to pass the rest of his life 84. Two gold-plated inscriptions of Punyamalla are available to us. One of them records that Punyamalla was an illustrious king of the earth, and the kings of Konkana, Karnata, Lata, Murala, Kerala, Dahala (region of Bundelakhanda), Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Mithila, Videh, Tira bhukta, Malava, Nepal, Gurjara, Jalandhar and Andhra were his tax-paying vassals (*karadarajya*). They were always engaged in the services of the king in the Semja capital. Punyamalla ruled from the capital over the vassals as the sun rules over the countless stars. While on the throne, he governed his subjects on the principles set forth by the Hindu teachers of political philosophy. The king was a renowned exponent of 'nitisastra' and he taught the principles of the administrative policies to his subordinate kings like a teacher when they accepted his suzerainty. He ruled his country on the principles of religion and he was himself a devo-

tee of Lord Buddha 85. Though he has been described as an overlord of the country expanded ranges between the Himalayan to south India and Bengal to Jalandhar but it seems to be an exaggeration of the eulogers actually he was not a ruler of such a vast territory. But he had definitely raided the Kathmandu valley (Nepal) during his rule. The other gold-plated record 86 of the king, while glorifying him with the epithets granted in the first plate, in addition, record the facts of his intense love for the arts of music and dances. This inscription was issued on the day of Vijayadasami of the Saka Era 1258. In the plate the **lekhaka** has described the monasteries, the shops and the people of the capital including the virgin dancers who had pleased the king with their exquisite dances on the festive and ceremonial days. The hills, the rivers and the officers of the royal court are also described in the document. This record plate was donated by the king to Vidyakar Pandit along with a piece of land described in the document 87.

Gopalavamsvali contains a small passage according to which in Nepal Era 454, on the day of **Bhadra-sukla 7**, the (Khasias) entered **Thayitabha** of Lalitpur. **Sakhupatiraja** was killed before he could enter the city. Forty more persons had to lose their lives (in the conflict). On **Falgun - Krishna - pratipada** the Khasias returned without punishing (taking revenge from the enemies). They set fire to **Sankhu 88**. Though the name of the Khasia king is not mentioned by the chronicler but by now it is confirmed that at this time it was **Punyamalla** who had invaded the Kathmandu valley. Personally **Punnamalla** did not accompany the invading army; only his generals had led this campaign. The commander of the Khasia army (**Sikhapatiraja**) had to lose his life before he could enter the city (as described in the chronicle). This might have been the reason why the aggressor returned home without punishing (taking revenge from) had them enemies.

After **Punyamalla**, his son **Prithvimalla** sat on the **Simja** throne. The **Dullu** pillar inscription

which provides the geneology of the western **Mallas** was installed in the reign of this **Prithvimalla**.

About fifty percent of the inscriptions and the copper plates of the **Malla** dynasty coming from Western Nepal were engraved during the reign of **Prithvimalla**. Most of these documents are the land-grant of religious type given to the **Brahmin pandits** residing in his kingdom. Nevertheless, a few of the inscriptions are interesting from the historical and cultural point of view also and they contain the genealogy of the dynasty a few important events related with the king, the officials of the court and the administrative setup which **Prithvimalla** had for the devised commons of his the country. The following are a few significant inscriptions of **Prithvimalla**.

1) **Dullu** pillar inscription 89. It was engraved by **Balasaraswati** in the Saka Era 1279. The inscription contains the geneology of the **Mallas** beginning from the time of **Adipala** and it continues until illustrious **Prithvimalla**, during whose rule the present edict was prepared and installed at the site.

2) A **Kanakapatra** preserved in the house of **Mukhiya Dhananjya Regmi** of **Seridhukka**, **Panchasayadara**, of the **Jumla Valley 90**. It is a donative record, and it was issued from the court to a priest to avoid the laible misfortunes which might have caused some physical and or mental worries to the king due to the solar or lunar eclipses. This inscription is important because it provides many promising epithets of the king in the eulogy, the names of the administrative officers including their duties and responsibilities in the state the reference of the king of **Achham**, who ruled almost like a governor of **Prithvimalla** and the policy of his religious tolerance for the contemporary orthodox and heterodox sects and pantheons. This inscription was issued on **Srawan-sudi-10**, Friday of the Saka Era 1278.

3) The copper-plate inscription of **Prithvimalla**, dated on Monday, 13th **krishnapaksa**

margasirsa srisamvat 1415, Saka Samvat 1280. It contains the description of the **Vaisvanarajwalaksetras** located in the vicinity of the Dullu and Dailekh towns. The qualities and the epithets of the ruling monarch are also enumerated in the document 91.

4) Patharanavali inscription of Mahamatya Devavarma Chhatyala of the time of King Prithvimalla. It records the construction of a reservoir by the prime-minister which still serves as a resthouse to the caravan moving on the Surkhet-Dullu-Semja-Zan--Zum highway (road). The inscription is dated on **Pausa-vadi-2** of the Saka Era 1278, Friday (Dec. 1353) 92.

Among the smaller and spilt-up or weathered inscriptions of his reign, the following may be mentioned:-

A) Kalikotadara Vattisagoan Khatyadivada Jiula water-conduit inscription 93. It is dated in the Saka Era 1260.

B) Achham Mallobhaisolyadara Kucigoan reservoir inscription 94. It is dated in the Saka Era 1276.

C) Mundedeval water conduit inscription 95. There is no date in this inscription.

D) An inscription of the king preserved in the personal collection of Chautariya Prem Jang Shah of Dullu 96. It was prepared by Cudmani on the instructions of Devavarma in the Saka Era 1280.

E) Bala Dullubheshwar inscription of Jayasingh 97 dated in the Saka Era 1277. It was carved in the reign of Prithvimalla but his name is not mentioned in the record.

A few very small and fragmentary inscriptions of Prithvimalla we get on the pillars erected, sometime in groups, at numerous sites of the Surkhet valley, Dullu-Dailekh and Jumla district like Seridhuskkaka, Micanagavadara, Asidarasimkhada, Kalikot, Dokrakot, Chhivadiruskot, Eikakhutya Dhurlala 89, Salatala, Satakambha, Bhusakot, Dullu, Padukasthan, Dandimandi, etc. 99. At these sites we find

the pillar inscriptions of many other early or late kings or nobles of Western Nepal as well. That is why, it is necessary to separate the records of Prithvimalla from the mess and study them in their proper perspective.

Most of the inscriptions mentioned above by me are of religious nature and they do not throw any light on the historical or political movements which might have materialised during the reign of Prithvimalla.

Prithvimalla was the son of Punyamalla and Sakunamala. He had two wives, Dharmamala and Dipamala. They glorified Prithvimalla like the Bhumi and the Sri goddesses glorify the left and the right sides of Lord Vishnu. The name of the sister of the king was Khandamala 100.

The records show that there was some external trouble in the early day of Prithvimalla's rule. But he handled the situation tactfully and removed the obstacles like a brave king. That is why, he has been described as '**Virasiprithvimallah**' in the Dullu pillar inscription 101.

After he returned successful from the battlefield, his fame extended and was established in all the directions of the world. This battle made Prithvimalla a staunch believer of the non-violent Buddhism like Asoka. In the inscriptions we find him concerned more with the monks and the priests. It helped the feudal lords and the influential personalities including the kings of the vassal states to rise from the situation for the fulfilment of their long cherished desires. They declared themselves independent during his weak successor Abhayamalla. A little freedom of a few distinguished personalities are found from the time of Prithvimalla itself. Mahamatya Devavarma Chhatyala and Jayasingh have been seen issuing inscriptions in their names during the life-time of the king at the Malla capital itself. These things indicate that after the king inclined towards Buddhism, he was played like a ball by his prime-minister Devavarma and powerful Jayasingh. The former had his sway in the southern side of the town while the latter exercised his power

in the northern side of the town. The Dullu pillar was engraved in the early days of Prithvimalla, rule and there he has been figured as an insignificant **raja** (king) only. But when we come to his copper-plates, we find him assuming some great titles of a **cakravarti** king like **paramabhattacharaka-maharajadhiraja-rajaparmeshwar and rajatarataraniashriprithvimalladevah** 102. The mention of **adiksitarajadiksaguru** and **rajarajatarani** in another copper-plate of the king indicates that Prithvimalla used to give sermons on the theories of Hindu political thought to his subordinate kings for the administration of his huge empire. He was well-versed in the political philosophies propounded by the great teachers of the subject like Gargayana and Gautama 103. That is why, the contemporary people of the world took him as the **Apadarajyastan, Pathanavali** inscription of prime-minister Devavarma calls him as **paramadharmika-paramakalpdrum avatara**, which indicates that Prithvimalla was a great religious personality. He had fulfilled all the desires of the people who approached him for the fulfilment of their unfulfilled desires. Though he was a religious man and fulfilled the desires of the beggars like the **kalpadruma** (wish-giving tree), it does not mean that he was a **bhiru** (weak and meek) king. From the blessings achieved through the constant worship of Anagha Buddha, he was all potent to protect the frontiers of his empire. Like Vishnu on Garuda, when he reached the battlefield, with his mightiest arms and heavy bow he shot countless sharply pointed arrows which brought a flood of blood from the bodies of the enemies. While dancing in various unusual **talas** on the tunes of the **ranabheris** and within the heart tearing noises of the battle-field, the Bhairavaganas in their infuriated moods, happily drunked the blood of the enemies. The **mandaladhisas** had bitterly fallen dead from their enraged elephants in the course of the battle. The elephants of the adverseries, after they were pierced by the arrows of the king, had flown their blood (**mada**), in great quantities. The wood-fies (**Bhramaras**) delightfully inhaled the bloods of the elephants in the battlefield 104.

Prithvimalla was graced with many capable personalities around him. His prime-minister (**Mahamatya**) Yashovarma Chhatyala always assisted him in his tasks. That is why, he was allowed by the king to build a **navali** (reservoir) near Dullu and to put an inscription there in his name. Jayasingh was another important courtier of the king. The governor of Raskot Karki Khanga Bahadur Budhathapa, Achhami Raula, Bhartako Raula, Vispati Raula, Faityala Raula, Hiru Raula, Kuwar Bhar, Balalachandra, Adhu Bhandari, Kidi Thapa, Dharmabhadra Thapa, Adhikajya Singh, Istidas, Devavarma, Amatya Jagatasingh Raula, Bachhu Bhandari, Shankardeo Bhandari and Saktu Joisi 105 were some of his other learned and tactful advisers. They always assisted the king while he got in some naughty state problems. That is why, as recorded in the documents, he was able to administer his subjects satisfactorily. The king was successful in each of his moves and tasks (**sarvatra vijayinah**).

Jumla **Kanakapatra** provides some additional facts regarding the courses and career of Prithvimalla. It mentions that the king had lived in a four-storeyed white place of imposing dimensions. He was frequently surrounded by the charming ladies, well-versed in the art of music. His eloquent body was perpetually kept besmeared with the scents of numerous smelling flowers, and while in the palace and receiving constantly the exquisite love and glances from the slanting eyes (**kataksa**) of the **rmanis** (beautiful young maidens), he filled nectar in the **tarunajana** (young people, i.e. atmosphere); this even made alive the dead Kamadeva (the lord of the sexual pleasures and amourousness and the carrier of the flower arrows, who was once burnt by the **humkara**-flames of Lord Mahadeva. This is how the king lived in his palace of Semja, located on eastern bank of the Hima river. His two wives Dharmamala and Dipamala, like the Bhumi and the Laksami goddesses, had richly enriched the pleasures of the king by their elastic and fascinating presences and whispers. Huge banners of the Mallas, marked with the Garuna emblem, perpetually wavered on the

palaces of Semja and Dullu. Life was all gay and romantic in the Malla capital 106.

Thus Prithvimalla was a great personality of medieval Nepal. He rose to the occasion and established himself firmly on the throne, but, later on, as he engaged himself in the pleasures and religious activities, his administration turned loose. This resulted in the break-up of the mighty Malla empire after his death. The influx of the Chittaur Rajputs was definitely the other decisive reason for the downfall of the Mallas. After Prithvimalla, Semja and Dullu got lost in the dark veil of different contingencies.

Prithvimalla was succeeded on the throne by his son Abhayamalla. One copper-plate of Abhayamalla is dated on Sunday **Falgun-vadi-7**, of the Saka era 1228. There the king has been described as the ruler of Udumbarapuri (Dumra-kot, Doti?), situated on the right and left banks of the Seti river (*svetasarita*), the conqueror of the enemies' army with the unbounded prowess of his arms and the art of archery, and the receiver of the gifts brought from (the kings of) Kamboja, Bahayuja, Vahalika and Persian (countries). His lotus-like footprints were marked in the crowns of all the prostrated **samanta** kings of his time. The king was much loved by the **kaminis** (beautiful young women) in their eyes. This **tamrapatra**, was issued by the king to Jayabrahma Jyotisi, and it contains a detailed account of a piece of land which was donated by the king in the Achham district 107.

The inscription describes Abhayamalla as a great king of his time but the facts were completely different from the narrative. It seems that the writer followed the traditional way of description in the preparation of the document. That Abhayamalla was a master of a small territory is evident from the above mentioned record itself. The king has been described as ruling from the capital of Udumbarapuri in the grant which would establish that by his time the cities of Dullu and Semja (Ya'tse) had fallen away from the Malla dominion.

The absence of **Simjanagara** (the Semja town) from his copper-plate confidently affirms the escape of the northern Malla capital and dominion from the Abhayamalla's paws. "We have no further information about his reign". He seems "to be the last great ruler of his time" 108.

The Fall Of The Mallas

Tucci writes, "Prithvimalla had a great dream and he did his best to realise it; but it seems that somewhere he met with a disaster. The Tibetan chronicles stop with him, no inscription of his successor has yet been found (now we have the copper-plates of Abhayamalla, and Medinivarma, the son and the grand-son of Prithvimalla). But without anticipating what new researches and new documents may one day bring to light, I venture to suggest that with Prithvimalla the kingdom which his forefathers had started, and he had greatly extended, crumbled to pieces, and so the feudal chiefs whom he had subdued but left in charge of their possessions reconquered their freedom: the country was spilt again into small states too poor to claim with some fortune his succession and as often happened in India fighting one against the other,..... perhaps on account of some unfortunate expedition and the consequent rebellion of the feudatory chiefs in Tibet and in Nepal.....the Malla kingdom, came, with Prithvimalla, to an end" 109.

Tucci seems wrong in this conclusion because we have Abhayamalla, his son and successor, who seems to have exercised the same sway in the kingdom and outside which his father Prithvimalla could have enjoyed in the kingdom. His copper-plate inscription of A.D. 1376 (Saka 1298) begins with **Bhuvanadhairyabatardvahana dhairyapracurya** which indicates that he was all able for the protection and administration of his widely extended Malla empire. Then the description **atulabhujavalavijita ripuvalaka-**

mini (with immense prowess of his arms he has conquered the army of the foes) and **pracanda-bhujadanda Kandaulitakodandakhandaniragacch-hacachhara nikarpravaha jajjarikritastudhara** (i.e. from his most powerful arms and invincible bow he shot numerous arrows and tired—defeated the monarchs — or the holder of the earth) also prove the fact of his might and the conquests of the enemies. The mention of the gifts of the jewels coming from Kamboja, Vanayuja and Persia, located far across the sea, and of the dust of the king's sole spotted on the crowns of the postrate feudals of repute (**Kamboja-Vanayuja Vablike Parasikadyuta gata rvaratnasonghasahar samudrah and savalasaman tamandalimanlimanditacuranasarojah 120**) also lead to the fact of Abhayamalla's glorious rule. Thus Prithvimalla was not defeated in the expedition, and his empire did not collapse as a result of the rebellion of the feudals subsequently.

Then why the annihilation of the Western Mallas after Prithvimalla ? We know that when Prithvimalla ascended the throne, his position was not so exalted. At that time (i.e. the Sak era 1260+78=A.D. 1348) he was being addressed at **Sri-Prithvimalladeva 111** only but by A.D. 1354 (i. e. Saka 1276+78=A.D. 1354) he changed his title to **Srirajadhiraja Prithvimalladeva 112**. **Jumla-Kanakapatra 113** contains that he was "perfectly able to protect the frontiers of his empire. With his mightiest arms in the battlefield he deflected countless sharply pointed arrows from the bow,..... fought a fierce battle on the earth, and brought the kings (**mandaladhisah**) on the feet (**Payanikrita**) '114'. It clearly indicates that Prithvimalla had to fight in the battlefield about A.D. 1345 and he came victorious in the end. **Nijabhujadandacandimasa-makranta Viratapithadhisthita pratistestadevatah-(ta)-paricaryaparayana** (with the glory of the prowess of his arms he subjugated his family deity installed him a gorgeous pedestal, and constantly venerated him) text of the Jumla-Gandakot copper-plate **115** of Prithvimalla also corroborates to this fact. After these conquests he become a **rajabhatar 116**

(the husband—lords of the kings), **apada rajujagajjyestha 117** (seniormost among the kings of Apada state) and **adiksitarajadiksa-guru 118** (priest of the unbaptized kings). After this the kings of Achham, Bharatakot, King Brihaspati and Fatyal **119** became his vassal (subordinate) and tax-paying kings. And, it is only after this that he became a **paramabhataraka maharajadhiraja paramesvara Sri-Prithvimalladeva** and bore numerous titles of a king of the kings like **rajatarartarani** (the liberator of the starlike kings) **120**. But after fighting numerous deadly battles he turned religious in character. This fact is evident from the inscription of his prime-minister also. Here the king has been addressed as a great religious personality and an embodiment of the wish-giving tree (**maharajadhiraja paramesvara paramabhataraka paramadhrmika paramakalpadrumavatara srimatprithvimalladevavijayarajye 121**). Here the word **paramakalpadrumavatara** (a great wish-giving tree) shows that he had excelled in donation and charities **122**. He constantly engaged himself in the religious life and activities (**dharmakarmanikurvata**) and he frequently gave his treasures to the needy (**dhamani dadatarthibhyo**), when demanded **123**. He made numerous land-donations along with their copper-plate certificates **124** and believed that these acts of charity would protect him (**dharmadeva hato hanti dharmo raksati raksitah 125**). For the protection of his donations he began to give the witnesses of the sun and moon; Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwar; Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, and the earth (**Atra saksinah 11 suryacandramasan Brahma-Vishnu-Mahesvarah 1 Buddha-Dharma-Sanghah 1 Bhumandalasakainah 126**). In the end of his rule he turned so religious that he began to think of the happiness of his subjects in the life hereafter also (**Yadabhuta punyamaritam Teva lokadvaye sarve sattvah santu nirapdah 127**). Even through his subordinates he began to feel the happiness of the amimates (**Punyena sarve sattva sukhinobhavantu 128**). One of his inscriptions goes to the extent of calling him even **Dharmaraj** (i.e. religious king **129**). In the later

part of his life he constructed numerous temples of the Hindu and Buddhist deities which still stand with their former glory in the Karnali, Bheri, Seti and the Mahakali zones 130. His water-conduits of the Bheri, Seti and Karnali zones are quite illustrative here in the context of his humanitarian activities. Exceptionally good highways were built in the kingdom, and at places, such as at Patharanavali, these were graced with the reservoirs (*Navalis*) which had provided, and still provide shelter and water to the tired pilgrims moving on those mountainous tracks. The pillars (*vijayastambhas* or *dharmakirtis*) engraved with short inscriptions, installed during his reign, served the purpose of the milestones to the people, and guided their ways. The king was so virtuous that he had dedicated his statue along with his consort to the Vaisvanara sites. These statues are represented with folded palms in the veneration of the holy images of the sites. When ordinary people of his kingdom saw these images, they incorporated more religious instincts in their hearts. It is due to his personal pursuits that Western Nepal was able to develop the sites like Muktiksetra, Manasarovarksetra and Vaisvanarajwalksetra. These things firmly prove that Prithvimalla was really a **paramadharmika**, king as mentioned by prime-minister Devavarma in his Patharanavli inscription.

I think that it was the religious policy of Prithvimalla which was ultimately responsible for the break-up of the mighty Malla empire of Western Nepal. When the saddle of administration turned loose, in the last days of the king we find powerful personalities emerging in the capital itself. If prime-minister Devavarma was powerful in the southern part of Dullu and issuing inscription on the face of **paramadharmika** Prithvimalla 131, then Jayasingh was dedicating inscriptions in the northern part of the same city even without mentioning Prithvimalla's name 132. What I want to say is the yoke of the religious sovereign was

loose, and it gave inspirations of freedom to his vassals and feudals after the death of Prithvimalla.

The later half of the fourteenth century is a period of great political changes in the Indo-Gangetic plain. By this time the Moslems had firmly established themselves in India. The Slaves, the Khilajis and the Tuglaques became the rulers of India one after another, and all of them had combatted and defeated the Rajput kings and chiefs of Rajasthan during the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. As the luck turned in favour of the Muslims, the defeated Rajput kings, worried to protect themselves, their religion and the purity of their race, fled to the north and took refuge in the hills and the forests of the Himalayan mountains. "The records mention that the new chieftains came from Rajasthan, a few courageous leaders with a few followers, who conquered new possessions for them in the sub-Himalayan countries; the name of Chittor receives very often in the documents" 133. Regmi followed Tucci and confessed: "In the fourteenth century there was a general upsurge in the country owing to the entry of the Rajput settlers from the plains. Although this was not a large-scale immigration, the new settlers with their military traditions, superior organization, and claims to superior births proved too strong a match for the local chiefs to contend with and one by one each of the latter succumbed to their offensive, so that the entire area after sometime came to be ruled by the Rajput families. But it was a conglomeration of fragments over which the conquest was made. Nor one single powerful political unit has emerged. What appeared was only of a sort of process of replacement of certain Khasa ruling families by those claiming Rajput descent. As usual the pattern of divisions and fragmentation remained the same as ever" 134. But what we find is that it is not the Rajput migration to the regions which brought the end of the Khasa empire, but the religious policy of Prithvimalla which ultimately caused the break-up and collapse of the Western Mallas, after his demise.



REFERENCES

1. Fuhrer, North—Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. II, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions, Allahabad, 1891, p. 50.
2. Atkinson North—Western Provinces Gazetteer XI, Allahabad, pp. 51628.
3. Keilhorn, Inscriptions of Northern India E. I, V, p. 79.
4. Bhandarkar, Inscriptions of Northern India E. I. IX ff., nn. 1454, 1467, 1468.
5. Cunningham, Mahabodhi, p. 78 Pl. XX XXVIII.
6. Itihasa Sansodhana Mandala, Purnima Vol. VI. pp. 14-29
7. Ibid.
8. Naraharinath, Itihas Prakasha. Anka 2, Bhaga I, pp. 45-2247; Sandhipatrasangraha, pp. 761-75.
9. G. Tucci, Preliminary Report on the two Scientific Expeditions to Nepal, Roma 1956.
10. Op. cit, (No 6.)
11. Luciano Petech, Medieval History of Nepal Rome, 1958 , pp. 102-03, 108 and 197-98.
12. S. B. Gyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas, pp. 48-53.
13. D.R. Regmi, Medieval Nepal P I p. 710-35.
14. Op. City., No 6.)
15. Himavatasanskriti, Kath. 2016, pp. 11-15.
16. Op. Cit, (No. 11.) pp. 215-16 (p. 11).
17. R. Sanskritayan, Kamaon, p. 26.
तस्मिन्नेव महाक्षेत्रे हिमवदाश्रमे मुनेः ।
----- ॥१॥
----- ॥
चकार वसति तत्र भिल्लानां निचये युतः ॥२॥
रेमे सोऽपि किरातैश्च संध्यास्नान् पराङ्मुखः ।
मृगमांसांसनो नित्यं कृष्ण कम्बल कञ्चुकः ॥३॥
Mahabharata Kedarakhanda
Chapter, 206.
18. Ibid.
किरात तंगडाकीर्ण पुलिन्दशत संकुलम् ।
हिमवत्य वरे जुष्टं पिकाश्चर्यं समाकुलम् ॥२५॥
सुवाहुश्चापिता दृष्ट्वा पूजया प्रति गृह्यतः ।
विषयान्ते कुलिन्दानामीश्वर प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ॥२६॥
Mahabharata Vanaparva,
Chapter, 140.
19. Ibid-Quoted from Kumarasambhava of Kalidas.
इदं तुसारस्तुति धौतरक्तं यस्मिन्न दृष्ट्वा पिहित
द्विपानाम ।
विदन्ति मार्गं नरवरन्ध्र मुक्तैर्मुक्ता फलैः के-
शरिणां किरातैः ॥६॥
भागीरथी-निर्झर-सीकराणां वोढामुहुः कम्पित-
देवदारुः ।
यद्वा पुरा विष्टमृगैः किरातैरासेव्यते भिन्न-शिखण्डिर्वहः
॥७॥
20. Ibid, pp. 26-31.
21. Ibid.
शनकैस्तु क्रिया लोपाद इमाः क्षत्री जातयः ।
वृषलवत्वं गता लोके ब्रम्हाणा दर्शनेन च ॥४३॥
पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रविणाः कम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पाल्हावाः चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥४४॥
Manusmrti,
Chapter X, V. 43-44.
22. Ibid, p. 28:- Quoted from Himalayan Districts Vol. II, p. 335.
23. Ibid, pp. 34-35.
24. Op. cit, No 9, pp. 92-104.
25. Ibid, p.-93.
26. Ibid, p.-91.
27. Ibid, p. 81 and 106.
28. Ibid.
29. op cit, No 17, pp. 34-61.
30. Op. cit, No. 8; (Sandhi); pp 761-75.
31. Ibid.
32. Op. Cit, No. 17 p p. 36-61.
33. Ibid, p. 36.
34. Ibid, pp. 39-42.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid, pp. 42-43.

37. *Ibid*, pp. 60-61.
 38. *Ibid*, pp. 55-76.
 39. *Ibid*,
 40. *Ibid*, pp. 70-72.
 41. *Op. cit*, (No. 9,) p. 109.
 42. *Idid*, pp. 116-17.
 43. *Op. cit* No 13, p. 714; *Op. Cit.* (No. 13) p. 714; p. *Cit* (No. 9), pp. 46-50; *Op. Cit.* (No. 6), p. 18.
 44. *Op. Cit.* (No. 9.) pp. 51-65.
 45. *Ibid*, p. 50; *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 714.
 46. *Op. Cit.* (No. 9,) p. 66; *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 715.
 47. *Op. Cit.* (No. 9), p. 66.
 48. Suggestions have been made for the identification of Yat'se with Kalkakot and Tsaparang also. Sometimes these towns served as the capital of Guge. At the time of Lig dynasty K'yun-lun-dnul-dkar was the capital of Zan-Zunn (Guge). When Rin-C'en-bzan-po came on the throne he sometimes made To-ling also as his capital. But none of these towns stand for Yat'se or Semaja - the capital of the Mallas.
 49. *Op. Cit.* (No. 9), p. 68. Tucci wrote that out of the two faces of the stone, one records the geneology of the family of Adipal and the other of Nagadeva until Prithvimalla. I think that Nagadeva was also of the family of Adipala. As there was no place in the bottom of the inscription, the scribe of the inscription recorded the history of the family after Nagadeva (Nagaraja) other face of the stone.
 50. *Ibid*, p. 50.
 51. L. Petch, *A Study on the Chronicles of Laddakh*, Calcutta 1939, p. 115.
 52. I think that the Palas of Eastern India, being a powerful dynasty, were blindly imitated in the matters of the suffix by the early kings of the Dullu inscription.
 53. *Op. Cit.* (No. 8 Sandhi). p. 767:-
 ततः ख्यातो धी जातः श्रीमान्वरगजमहीपाल नृपगोह
 विषये तुरङ्गैर्वधाढधानकृतद्वयं पृथ्वी निवृत्त
 वसुता वयस्तुला (स्तला) ————— ॥६॥
54. *Ibid*:
 विषये ह्युमकाराख्ये (ना स्फीतं) राज्यमवापसः ॥७॥
55. The Malla suffix occurs in the Dullu inscription for the first time with Punyamalla. In this state of knowledge it is very difficult to ascertain whether the Western Malla kings were really Mallas or they bore the title of Malla (a great hero) like the other ruling kings of India and Nepal during the medieval period. Extensive research is the only way to determine this problem.
 56. *Op. Cit.* (No. 9), p. 51 ff.
 57. *Op. Cit.* (No. 17), p. 112 and 349: The inscription reads as : भट्टारक नागराज.
 58. *Op. Cit.* (No. 1), p. 50.
 परम सौगत काचल्लदेव
 59. *Op. Cit.* No. 6, p. 15
 दिग्भक्तिषु क्षान्तिलतां ततान् ।
 60. *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 722.
 61. *Op. Cit.* (No. 6. foot note), pp. 20-21.
 62. *Ibid*.
 निखिल-महीपाल-जनकेत्यादि निजनिखिल प्रशस्ति
 समलंकृत सपादलक्षण शिखरि खषदेशराजाधिराज
 श्रीमद्शोकचल्ल — — — — —
 — — — — — नामधेयास्य ।
 Taken from E.I. XII, p. 30.
 63. *Ibid*.
 प्रवरमहाजानजयिन and प्रवर महायानयाजिनः।
 64. *Ibid*.
 हेवञ्च चरणारविन्द मधुकरा — — — ।
 65. *Ibid*.
 विहारीयं बुद्धप्रतिमा सहिताकृत्वा ————— ।
 66. *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 714.
 67. *Ibid*.
 68. *Ibid*, p. 241-42. and *Op. Cit.* (No. 15), p. 11 ff.:
 वर्षे १२ मा ३ पश्चात् खशिया आगत (वः) ॥
 राजा जयतारि प्रथम प्रविष्टः सम्बच्छर चारिसय
 आठ पोष मासे ॥ साह्यगुस्थाने खशिया अबुठ
 सय पातयित्वा राष्ट्र सर्व वन्ने सेवितं खशिया तेन
 पलायितं लोक स्वस्थेन स्वस्थान स्थितं ॥ तस्य
 सम्बच्छर प्रवर्तते फाल्गुन मासशुक्ल त्रयोदशी ॥

पुनर्द्वितीय जयतारि प्रविष्टः ॥ ग्रामादि अठिन दाहं करोति ॥ स्यंगु चैतं पसयति ॥ कुम्भ लोकेश्वर दर्शनं श्री पशुपति प्रसन्नं ॥ स्वस्थेन स्वराष्ट्र भवति संभवच्छर चारिसय नव ॥ पुन तिरहुतिया प्रविष्टः ॥

69. Op. Cit, (No. 13), p. 242 and Op. Cit. (No. 11), p. 215:-

संवत् ४०८ पौषमास जयतारि प्र-(विष्ट प्र-) थमम् । संवत् ४१४ फाल्गुनमास द्वितीयावार प्रवि (-ष्ट) खशिया प्रवेश ।

70. Op. Cit, (No 6), pp. 22-23.

संवत् ४१० फाल्गुनकृष्णप्रतिपदा जयतारि वस्यलितेल नवक्काठकाया वुगन्देवत्त पयिसर पम्भ-ण्डार दुता ॥ ग्वल्वंस पछिमद्वारण दुम्बिस्यम् धवलान अकाल विस्यम् स्वान छाया उप्र हाय पश्चिमद्वार सटया थ्व लिव ग्रामद्वाको मे चोया लिछि यहंस गह्ण याड माडा गह्ण मलाच्च ।

71. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, London, 1811, p. 264.

72. Op. Cit. (No.13), pp. 240-43; Op. Cit. (No. 11), pp. 102-03; Op. Cit. (No.12), pp. 48-53 and Op. Cit. (No. 6), pp. 21-23.

73. Op. Cit. (No. 6), pp. 15-16.:-

जितारिमल्लस्तनयोथ तस्य तस्यात्मजोथाक्षयमल्लनामा
॥१४॥

अशोकसुतआनन्दमल्लस्तदनुत्तयवः ।

रिपुमल्लो संग्राममल्लस्य तस्य तनू भूवः ॥१५॥

आदित्यमल्लोऽथ जितारि सुनुः कल्याणमल्लस्य
नृपस्य तातः ।

कल्याणमल्लिः प्रथते स्वभूमौ प्रतापमल्लह्वय भृत-
क्षितीशः ॥१६॥

B. Other evidence for the struggle for power and succession is provided by the Jwalaji, Niglisagar and Lumbini pillar inscriptions. These read as:-.....

(a) Jwalaji Ins. of Sruinath Ranta:-

"

श्री अजीतम्

ल्लराजा (स-) परीदा

रश्चिरं जयतु

श्री नाथ राजत्

(शा) के १२२१

Ibid, p. 23.

(b) Nighisagar Pillar Inscription:-

ॐ मणि पद्मे हुँ श्री रिपुमल्लश्चिरं जयतु ।

Ibid-Footnote.

(c) Lumbini Pillar Inscription:-

ॐ मणि पद्मे हुँ श्री रिपुमल्लश्चिरं जयतु
संग्राममल्ल जयः ।

Ibid.

These epigraphical evidences indicate that perhaps after Asokacalla, Western Nepal divided between his two sons, and they had ruled separately for three generations.

74. Op. Cit, (No. 13), p. 714.

75. Op. Cit, (No. 6), p. 18.:-

कल्याण मल्लिः प्रथते स्वभूमौ प्रतापमल्ल ह्वयक्षितीशः

This part of the inscription also indicates the division of Western Nepal during the time of Jitarimalla and Sangramamalla. This would explain about why Jitarimalla was unsuccessful in his conquests of the Kathmandu Valley, and why he had to return so soon to his capital.

76. Op. Cit, (No. 11), p. 108.

77. Op. Cit, (No 8), p. 80.:-

—रिपुमल्ल राजनीति—लोकेश—

—निजिताहितप्रक्षेण रिपुमल्लेन भू-भूजा—॥

साधनी निजकृत्वा (र-च-)प रिपुमल्ल चिरंजय ।

लोकनाथपदध्यान लधुरत्नत्रयामिधा (-त्मिका)॥

लिखिता रिपुमल्लेन विद्या सवार्थ साधनी ॥

78. Op. Cit, (No. 11), p. 108: foot note:-

(विक्रम) संवत् १७३० फाल्गुन वदी २ सोमदिने ।

संवत् ४४८ फाल्गुनशुक्लसप्तमी खशियाराजा

सुरक्षेत्रे (Surkhet Valley) राजराजेश्वर

लोकेश्वरश्रीरिपुमल्लदेवराज्ये

79. Op. Cit, (No. 13), pp. 251-52.

80. Op. Cit. (No. 6), p. 25.:-

तन्त्रान्तरे अदितमल नेपाल प्रविष्ट ।

संवत् ४४८ चैत्र पूर्णिमा ।

81. Ibid.

आदितमल्लया कटकन् वस्यम् नवक्वाठकास्यम् ।
डन्हु लिवलिशाखर क्वाठकासन लिन्दुम्बिवव
स्वदेशमे चोसन यरहं पुल वहीरिस थाकन याड
पुडादिन २२ मलाच्च ।

82. Op. Cit, (No. 8 Iti. Pra.), p. 60 क्षितीशः ।

83. Ibid.

स स्वयं नागराजस्य नैवाशेष यदन्वयं ।
अथ गेलान्वयः पुन्यमल्लस्त्राभ्यसिच्यत् ॥११॥

84. Op. Cit, (No. 9.) p. 68.

85. Op. Cit, (No. 8, Sandhi), pp. 762-63:

ॐ स्वस्ति ॥ समस्त मेदिनी—करदीकृत
कोंकण—कर्णाट—लाट—मुरल—केरल—डहाल—अंग—वंग—
कलिङ्ग—मिथिल—मालव—नेपाल—गुर्जर—जालंधर—
आन्ध्रप्रमुख मेदिनीनाथसंसेव्यमाना स्थानीनिकेतना—
जरे । श्रीमति सेंजापुरे । परमभट्टारकमहाराजा—
धिराज परमेश्वर परमसौगत कुलकमल विकासनैक—
मार्तण्ड प्रचण्डानजभुजदण्डचण्डिमाक्रान्त विराटपीठा—
धिष्ठित प्रतिष्ठितेष्ट देवतापरिचर्यापरायण राजचक्र
नारायणः गार्ग्यायणगौतमादि प्रणीति नीतिशास्त्र
नूर्युण प्रष्ट अपाडराज जगज्येष्ठः॥ अदीक्षितराजदीक्षा—
शिक्षागुरु राजतारातरणि प्रभृति निजविमलविरुदावली
विराजमानधर्मपाल महीपाल श्रीपुण्यमल्लदेवाः
सान्तःपुरस कुमाराः सुचिरं विजयिनो भवन्तु ॥

86. Ibid, pp. 761-62.

87. Ibid.

88. Op. Cit, (No. 6,) p. 26.

सवत ४५४ भाद्रपद सुदि ७ थयित माटो प्ह
दुम्बिया सुखगति राजटो दुम्बीचम लाक्व खशियाहु
स्याङ्ग एकतन अङ्क ४० न्यतला गाक्व पाडो कोन्या
लास्य वङ्गालिस दण्डकस्यानि सङ्कामे चो
खाशियान् ॥

89. Op. Cit, (No. 8, Iti. Pra.) pp. 58-67.

90. Ibid, pp. 49-58.

91. Ibid (Sandhi), pp. 770-72.

92. Op. Cit, (No. 9,) p. 45, fig. 55; Sanskr.
Sandhesha, (Nos.10-12), Sansyuktanka, p. 5it

93. Op. Cit, (No. 8, Iti. Pra.), p. 45.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid, p.p. 67-68.

96. Ibid, pp. 68-69.

97. Ibid, pp. 190-91.

98. Naraharinath, Ithas Prakash, Anka-2,
Bhaga-3, pp-464-503.

99. Op. Cit, (No. 8 Iti. Pra) pp. 165-224.

100. Ibid, p. 16.

ततः शकुनमालायाः खण्डमालामिधासुता ।
सुतश्च पृथ्वीमल्लाख्यातो जातो तत्र क्रमादिमौ ॥

101. Ibid.

सम्राज्ये स कुलापात समायाते महीभृतांम् ।
वीर श्री पृथ्वीमल्लः ख्याति कीर्ति विराजते ॥

102. Ibid, p. 49.

103. Ibid, pp. 69-70.

104. Ibid, pp. 49-50.

श्री धनारधनाधिगत प्राज्यराज्यरक्षाक्षम प्रचण्ड
निजभुजदण्ड कुण्डलित कठिन कोदण्ड । निर्मुक्त
निशितशरनिकरनिभिनाराति प्रतीकोच्छलक्षतजासो
पानोन्नमतोत्कटकट पूतनोत्तालवेताल कोलाहलकाहली ।
कृतसमर धरणीमण्डल । मण्डलाधीशो पायनीकृत
मत्तवेतण्डगण्डस्थल गलन्मदामोदमुदितमधुकरमधुर—
झंकारमुखरिता ।

105. Ibid, pp. 59-70.

106. Ibid, p. 49.

श्रीविशालचतुःशालसुधाधवलसौधोत्सङ्गसंगतांगनासंगी-
तमनोहरे हरहुङ्काराशुशृक्षणिक्षपित प्रतीककुसुमासुग-
जीवातुर रमणीयरमणीकटाक्ष विक्षेपवारिवाहप्रमुदित
तरुणजनमनः शिखावलाया । र अपारसौरभ्यलुम्यन्म-
धुकरमुखरसहकाराशोकपुन्नागसुरभितपरिसरे । श्रीमति-
सेजा नगरे । गरुणध्वजा

107. Op. Cit, (No. 8 Sandhi), p. 772.

. स्वेतसरितासमलङ्कृतपरिसरप्रदेशामुदुम्बर-
पुरीमधिवसन्ततुल भुजवलविजितरिपुवलकामिनी
जननयननिर्गतवारिपूरिसुदूरसमुत्सरितमत्सरिक्षितिपति-
प्रतापानलः प्रचण्डभुजदण्डकोदण्डखण्डनिर्गच्छच्छर-
निकरप्रवाह जञ्जरीकृतारिभूधराब्धुरसंहरणबालगोपालः
कम्बोजवानायुजवाह् लीकपारसीकाद्युदगतार्वतसंघसा-
रहसमुद्रः शवलसामन्तमण्डलीमौलिमण्डित चरणसरोजः
सपरिवार श्रीमान्भयमल्लधिरं जयतु.—.....!

108. **Op. Cit.** (No. 13), p. 729.
109. **Op. Cit.** (No. 9), p. 112.
110. **Op. Cit.** (No. 8 Sandhi), pp. 772-30.
111. **Op. Cit.** (No. 8 Iti. Pra). p, 45.
112. **Ibid.** P. 45.
113. **Ibid.** p. 49.
114. **Ibid.**
 राज्यरक्षाक्षमप्रचण्डनिजभूजदण्डकुण्डलित कठिनको-
 दण्ड । निर्मुक्तनिशितशरनिकरनिभित्तराति प्रतीको-
 च्छल । कृतसमरधरणी मण्डल ।
 मण्डलाधीशो पायनीकृत
115. **Ibid.** pp. 69-75.
116. **Ibid.** p. 49.
117. **Ibid.** pp. 69-70.
118. **Ibid.**
119. **Ibid.** p. 52.
120. **Ibid.** p. 70.
121. **Ibid.** p. 46.
122. **Ibid.**
123. **Ibid.** p. 60.
124. **Ibid.** pp. 49-75.
125. **Ibid.** p. 51.
126. **Ibid.** p. 52.
127. **Ibid.** p. 67.
128. **Ibid.** p. 45.
129. **Ibid.** p, 77.
- (१) ॐ मनि पद्ये हूँ (२) अनेनपुण्येन सर्वेसत्वाः
 (३) सुखिनो भवन्तु धर्मराज (४) श्रौ
 पृथ्वीमल्लः शुभभवतु ।.....
130. The author, who surveyed the most of Western Nepal, has submitted two reports of the region to the Tribhuwan University Kirtipur.
131. **Op. Cit.** (No. 8 Iti, Pra), pp. 46-47.
132. **Ibid.** p. 190.
133. **Op. Cit.** (No. 9), p. 128.
134. **Op. Cit.** (No. 13), p. 730.

