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## The History of the Kallala Dynasty

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I take the Baburam Acharya Chronicle as incorrect because we find a copper-plate of Vivosasai, who is definitely Visesaraj; the date of this copper-plate is Nov. of A. D. 1498 (Saka-Era 1420). If Visesaraj was the son of Vaksaraj, as the Baburam Acharya Chronicle contains it, then there should be no difference of forty-eight years, as we find it in the record; in case of his being a grandson this gap is quite reasonable. Therefore, I, like the Kallalashahi and the Tucci chronicles, take King Visesaraj as the grandson of Vaksaraj and the son of Vijayaraj and refuse the authenticity of the erroneous Baburam Acharya Chronicle. In the copper-plate 73 Vivosasai has himself claimed to be a Kallala. Therefore, he is a king of the Kallala dynasty itself.

The Chhinasimakot copper-plate inscription calls King Vivosasai a Karbarika 74. It has been said in the document that Vivosasai had pleased (God) Triloki by offering themusks (kasture), having nice fragrances. From the documents it appears that the king had fought a few battles and destroyed the enemies in the encounters with the might of his sword. This reality seems to be the only reason why he has been referred to as potent in bearing the responsibilities of protecting the earth 75. Like his grandfather, he had also given patronage to the arts and literature of the kingdom. The king had ruled the country along with his son and family in a very peaceful manner. This was because he had inherited the country in which

there were no internal or external conflicts at all. Whatever troubles would have existed in the kingdom, those were set right by this predecessors themselves. These seem to be the possible reasons why we find him ruling without any trouble throughout his life.

### Bhanashahi 76 ( C. A. D. 1528-1585 )

The Jumaleshwar Chronicle mentions Maniraj and Vijayaraj as the rulers of the Kallala dynasty after Visesaraj 77. The Kallalashahi Chronicle gives the names of Vibhogaraj, Matiraj and Shahiraj as the rulers of the dynasty before Bhanashahi (sometimes spelled as Mamasshahi by the chroniclers and the copper-plate scribes) 78. The Baburam Acharya Chronicle puts Vivaraj, Bhutiraj and Visuddharaj as the kings before Manashahi (Bhanashahi) 79. Thus according to the Jumaleshwar Chronicle two kings had ruled there but the Kallalashahi and the Baburam Acharya chronicles enumerate the names of three kings as the rulers of the country after Vivesaraj (Vivosaraj) and before the commencement of the rule of Bhanashahi. The time of their rules was between A. D. 1498 and 1529 which totals to thirty-one years 80 and this explains the logical gap which we find between Vivosaraj and Bhanashahi. I think that this thirty-one year's rule of the Jumaleshwar Chronicle is a comparatively correct record. It appears that the father of Bhanashahi had died (he might be Vijayaraj, Shahiraj or Visuddharaj which I cannot say

with certainty) before the prince could procure the maturity of shouldering the responsibilities of the administration. He had to bear the burden of sovereignty from the very beginning of his youth and this quite logically explains the fact of his long rule of fifty-seven years between A. D. 1529 and 1582. Further, Bhanashahi was blessed with a very long life. The chronicles of the region are silent about the descendants of Visesaraj (Vivosasai) and the ancestors of Bhanashahi. This was because of the weak personalities of those rulers and their comparatively uneventful administrations. It seems that they had ruled without fighting any war and bringing the reforms for the improvement of the status of the people in the country. There are no authentic records of those kings in the shapes of the copper-plates and paper-documents.

Bhanashahi had ruled the country from Chhingsim (A. D. 1563) 81 and the Tipurikot or Tiprikot (A. D. 1585) 82 capitals. It appears that when he ascended the throne, the capital was at Chhinasim but due to some political reasons after a decade he had changed his residence to Tiprikot. In a *Lalmohar* 83 (paper-document), received from the house of Mr. Lachhiram Jaisi, the king has been addressed with five *Sris* before his name which stands for *Sri-5*, a title which later on became an usual feature of the Shah rulers along with their names after the take-over of the Kathmandu Valley. The mention of word *Sri* for five times before the name of the King displays that Bhanashahi was a very powerful king of Western Nepal in the later half of the fifteenth century A. D. In a copper-plate of the month of Jyestha-21 of the Saka-Era 1485 (+78 = A. D. 1572), found in the house of Mr. Tarke Bohora, the king has been called as a *Maharaja Chharyarajya* (the great king, who ruled for a long time) which is an additional proof to the fact of his long life. Bhanashahi has been adorned with the title of a great King (*Maharaja*) in this record and associated with plenteous nobles and officials of the state 84. At the time the present copper-plate was issued by him,

the king was carrying on the administration of the country from the Tipurakot (Tiprikot) capital. The details of the inscriptions indicate that the position of the king was quite secured and he had ruled the Jumla State with an accelerated greatness in the later half of the sixteenth century A.D. The last document of the king, a copper-plate inscription dated on Monday, Marg-5, of the Saka Era 1507 (+78 = 1585 A. D.), also mentions Bhanashahi as a "*Maharaja*"—a great king. In this document we find no details of the king.

The documents of Bhanashahi demonstrate that he was a very religious man. He had donated the finest agricultural land-plots to the Brahmins for their livelihood along with their copper-plate certificates. These documents were properly approved by the witnesses which included the prominent officials of the court like Pratapa Hita, Ram Singh Vista, Birbhan Jhokoto, Disa Vista, Mukunda Bhandari, Suratani Bhandari, Samantu Vista, Binu Kathayata, Raibhana Bista, Karunakar Upadhyaya, Parimal Bhandari, Salivan Bhandari, Citani Kathayata, Saratan Bista, Sainnal Bhandari and Kappa Kathayata. The writers of his copper plates were Saccisavallo Joisi and Udar Sajuvala. The recipients of the grants were mostly the Upadhyaya Brahmins 85.

At the time the king ruled his kingdom, the district of Dullu and Dailekh of the Bheri Zone was being ruled by Pratapashahi and Manashahi from the Bilaspur town. Pratapashahi has been called a "rajadhirja" in his record. Manashahi seems to be the heir of the king whom the scribe of the document has mentioned along with his father. The crown-prince was called as Sangramashahi also. The copper-plate, which provides all these informations, is dated on Monday, Falgun-9 at the Saka Era 1490 (+78 = A. D. 1568) 86.

There is a transcript of a paper-document (*Lalmohar*), dated on Thursday, Magha-18 of the Saka Era 1503 (+78 = 1581 A. D.) 87,

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It belongs to the reign of King Bhanashahi and it records about a religious charity (dharma-dana) which was done by a group of people in the honour of a stone (sila=stone-image). The document contains that the waters of the Triveni river had entered (into the compound of the temple of the deity) and spilled (the sacred shrine of the god). Ram Padhya, Kalu Padhya, Dhilala Ganesh Jaisi, Jagu Jaisi and Eagu Jaisi then contributed (in the cash and kinds) for the restoration of the ruined edifice (Bhagadi dharma jodhysko-chbah). Thakur Shrutishahi had a laudable contribution in this noble act of high socio-religious significance and due to his kind donations the abode of the god had turned into a pakka (old type of cemented) building (Raja Shrutishahi thakurakana Savetto di Pakva garyakochha). The witnesses of this document include the lords of the Muktinath and the Vadrinath holy sites and Jayapati Bhatta, Rana Singh Bhandari and Vishnudas Jaisi—the scribe 88. It appears that Shrutishahi was the younger brother of Bhanashahi and he had lived in the town of Chhinasm in the capacity of a Raja. 89.

There is a copy of a paper-document, dated on Sunday, Vaishakha-15 of the Saka Era 1512 (+78=A.D. 1590). It is a record of appending two water-conduits to a reservoir, excavated near a store (image, installed within) the square (of the village). In this document we find the mention of the Upadhya and the Bhatta pandits who had received the alms for preparing the document 91.

The wife of Bhanashahi was Bhanamata-devi. Both the king and the queen were the followers of Vaisnavism and gods Badrinath and Muktinath were their favourite deities of worships 92. The daughter of King Bhanashahi was married with the king of the Raskot dynasty 93.

In A. D. 1530, Bhanashahi, had signed

a treaty regarding the settlement of the boundary disputes with the king of Chhakabhot. It appears that before A. D. 1530 there was a severe conflict between the Kallala king of Tiprikot and the ruler of Chhakabhot (Chhakabhot). The treaty provided a great relief to the inhabitants of both the states.

We find the documents of Bhanashahi till Sunday, Marga-5 of the Saka Era 1507 (+78=A. D. 1585) 95. The first copper-plate of his son and successor, Salimashahi, appeared on Tuesday, Vaishakha-3 of the Saka Era 1513 (+76=A. D. 1591) 96. It appears that Bhanashahi had died sometime in A. D. 1588 or 1589 itself. After the death of Bhanashahi Salimashahi (Salem or Silamashahi) became the king of Jumla 97.

Salimashahi. (C. A. D. 1591—1599).

Although the first record of Salimashahi is dated on Tuesday, Vaishakh-3, of the Saka Era 1513 (+78=A. D. 1591) but he seems to have been coronated as the king of Jumla in A. D. 1588 or 1589 itself. Bhanashahi, the father of the king, had a very long life and he died after a very long rule. When Salimashahi ascended the throne 98, he was a fairly grown-up man and had received ample experiences of administration in the capacity of the crown-prince. The new king encouraged the small-scale industries in the state like the domestication of the animals and the production of the fuel-materials. He exorbitantly facilitated his subjects and alleviated their economic troubles by reducing their heavy revenues and taxes. The people of the country, freed from worries of different kinds, designated the king with the title of "Maharaja Muktishahi" (great king, the liberator of the subjects).

Five documents of King Salimashahi are available to us. The first document of them is a copper-plate inscription, dated on Tuesday, Vaishakh-3 of the Saka Era 1513 (+78=A. D. 591). It was issued by the king to

Kunta Buddha from the Chhinasim capital for his valuable services to the court. In this record the king desires that his son and grandson, etc, the, who become the rulers of the country after him, to protest his grant in the future for the happiness of Kunta Buddha and his descendents 100. The second document, dated on Saturday, Chaitra-sudi-15 of the Saka Era 1513 (+78 = A.D. 1591), is the record of a donation of some agricultural fields by the king to Arjuya Ranabuda. The recipient was authorized with a copper-plate certificate by the ruler to use the land from Sunday, Kartika-sudi-7 of the (Saka Era) 1516 (+78 = A.D. 1594) 101. The remaining documents of the monarch are also the copper-plate grants, issued by him from the Chhinasim capital. They served as certificates to the recipients of their alms. In these documents we find Karmakar Jaisi, Devala Bhandari, Chituwa Mahata, Sarguna Bhandari, Sujanea Kaski, Jhamu Bhandari and Suntu Jaisi 102 as the witnesses of the charities. These people were the courtiers of the king. Indu Senjuwal and Musya Tumata had served the king in the capacities of the scribe and the record-officers 103. Salimashahi died in A.D. 1599.

#### A Period of Conflict and the Struggle of the Supremacy of Power in the Family

After the death of King Salimashahi and the anointment of Surathashahi 104, between A. D. 1599 and 1719, we find about ten kings of the dynasty who had ruled the Jumla Valley from its various castles (Kots). Either due to revolution or division of the property (state) among the existing sons of Salimshahi each prince of the family had received a town 105 along with the hills and the villages of its neighbourhood. These chiefs governed the Kallala dominion until the manifestation of King Surathashahi in A. D. 1719.

#### Visekaraj (A. D. 1599—1600)

Visekaraj appears to have gained prominence

and become the king of the country in the lifetime of his father Salimashahi itself. He issued a copper-plate from his Tiprikot residence on Wednesday, Vaisakha-sakla-2 of the Saka Era 1521 (+78 = A. D. 1599) disregarding his languid father who had definitely survived till Friday, Margasir-17 of the Saka Era 1521 (A. D. 1599) for we possess a grant of the latter which the sovereign had issued on the above-mentioned date from his Chhinasim abode. It appears that Visekaraj had revolted against his father and manipulated to become the master of Tiprukot since the commencement of the troubles of Salimashahi due to his dilated age. After Visekaraj occupied the throne, he pleased his benefactors Daneva Kotuwal and Tiku Kotuwal by giving them the lands, free from all the thirty-six kinds of laible taxes 106. Harischandra Kotuwal and Jitu Kotuwal were other conscientious friends of the king 107. In A. D. 1600 these people had also received some lands, free of the taxes, from their master 108. Chandu Joisi—the priest, Ameju Budha-thapa, Sujita Raj and Ajita Senjuwal 109 were some other some important courtiers of Visekaraj.

#### Vasantaraj (A. L. 1600)

Like Visekaraj, Vasantaraj is also not counted as a king of the dynasty in the Kallalashahi Chronicle. 110. He does not seem to be a legal successor of Salimashahi. It appears that he had revolted and created a small principality for his administration from the Liku headquarter. Vasantaraj is found ruling from Liku on Monday, Margasirsa-25 of the Saka Era 1522 (+78 = A. D. 1600) 111. The king had donated some agricultural lands to his helpers and adherents in A. D. 1600.

#### Vikramashahi (A. D. 1602—1621)

The Kallalashahi and the Baburam Acharya Chronicles 112 mention Vikramashahi as the genuine successor of Salimshahi. The Jumaleshwar Chronicle contains the name of Salimashahi

immediately after the rule of King Bhanashahi. It appears that henceforth this chronicle is recording the details of the other branch of the family. That is why we get a confusion about the succession of the kings at this point 113. It seems that when Salimashahi fell ill in A. D. 1599, the younger brothers of Vikramashahi revolted and created small principalities for their rules. Vikramashahi, the eldest brother and the true successor of the dominion, became the king of the dynasty after the death of his father in A. D. 1602 only. Thus the period of A. D. 1599 and 1602 was the time of a great chaos and perplexity in the Jumla Valley and its neighbourhood. It had continued in some form of other until the coronation of Vikramashahi in A. D. 1602. There is a copper-plate of Sakramashahi which is dated on Friday, Jyestha-28 of the Saka Era 1526 (+78=A. D. 1604). It was issued by him from the Tiprikot town. This king also appears to be a brother of King Vikramashahi. He had also set the laws of his father, the king, and the heir-apparent of the dynasty, at defiance. The Boharas and the Mahats, whom he facilitated with the tax-free lands 114 in A. D. 1604, had greatly helped him in his cherished undertakings.

Vikramashahi, the eldest son of Salimashahi, ascended the throne of Jumla after the demise of the latter in A. D. 1602 amidst a great family troubles. The venerable ministers and courtiers of Salimashahi, particularly the Budhas, had warmly accorded their support to Vikramashahi. That is why, when the latter ascended the throne, he furnished sumptuous tax-free lands to the Budhas, 115. The Jaisi brothers of the Jumla Valley had also sustained the king in his dispositions 116.

Gorakh Bahadur Shaha, descendant of Salimashahi, provided a copper-plate to Yogi Naraharinath in A. D. 1965. The contents of this copper-plate to a boarder treaty 117 retlate which Vikramashahi and Salimashahi of the Raskoti Dynasty had signed in A. D. 1620. Gorakh Bahadur Shah narrated a very sad story of King

Vikramashahi to Yogi Naraharinath. This fable is related to Queen Sukanasa, the wife of King Vikramashahi. This beautiful woman was purloined by Jhampan, the ruler of Dhaulatri. Vikramashahi attacked the kingdom of the pilferer for three times but he was not able to annihilate the enemy and to return his consort from Dhaulatri. Finally he requested King Salim-ashahiof Raskot for his help against Jhampan. Thereupon the Raskoti king sent a big army from his capital for the help of Vikramashahi. Once more Dhaulatri was attacked by the king and there was a fierce encounter between the armies of the enemy groups. In the battle Paikela Budha, a soldier of Salimashahi, captured and slaughtered Jhampan. In the end Queen Sukanasa was relieved from the transgressive clutches of the plunderer 118. In the end a treaty regarding the settlement of the boarder irregularities between the Kallala and the Raskot countries was put in black and white by Vikramashahi and Salimashahi 119. The necessity of concluding this treaty had arisen because of receiving the new territory of Charkakot after murdering the pilferer of the queen in the battlefield. The two victorys divided the kingdom of Jhampan and included their contingents in their dominions 120 in A.D. 1620. Ultimately both the champions signed a copper-plate, Sanada (document), with their hands for the future boarder guide-lines between the Kallal and the Raskot dominions. The treaty was concluded at Dhaulatri itself. The initial lines of the document read as follows:—

“On Bhadra-I of the Saka Era 1542 (+78=A. D. 1620)..., at Dhauyatri capital, the great king of the kings, King Vikramashahi... This is the boarder line (between the territories) of Vikramashahi and Saimalasai...” 121;

In the copper-plate Vikramashahi not only warmly extends his heart-felt sympathies and thanks but he also generously appreciates to the great assistance of the Raskoti sovereign.

Further he amplifies that from the day of the conclusion of the present treaty the lands extended between the Tusarakhola (the stream that flows between Sanni and Raskot) and the Guligad (a stream  $\rightarrow$  Khola  $\leftarrow$   $\rightarrow$  Gada, above Ragma) and the territories of the two Manmas (i. e. the lands of Khandacakra, and Lekhamanma) belong to Saimalashah and only the latter will rule (and enjoy the fruits of) that area 122. The rest of the seized territories of Jhampan, Vikramashahi included in his own kingdom. In the copper-plate we find the mentions of Shiva Upadhyaya, Dashu Joshi, Raghava Joshi, Vishnuhari Joshi, Manika Joshi, Manoratha Devakota, Ananda Joshi and Sagara Joshi in the capacity of the witnesses 123. In order to provide additional force to the contents of the document the hymns of the Hindu religious treatises such as "Diggajakamatha.....punsam yugantepi" were also engraved on the record by the scribe. It has been said in the present copper-plate that any king (of any dynasty), who rules the above-mentioned region in the future, will abide by the words of this sanada (grant) 124. Then we read about the other witnesses of the record; these include Lord Buddha, the Dharma, the sun and the moon, who perpetually watch the earth. In the end of the text of the document we find the references of the rulers and the venerable authorities of the region. These include King Sambiladu of Nagma, King Hita Chadu, King Parimala, King Kantharaj, King Samudraga, five brothers of King Vighram, King Amojha, King Savartaraj, Thavaraj Vista, Jogu Mahatra, Jitu Mahatra, Aju Mahatra, Madan Raula, Manajita Karki, Ajitu Rawal, Bam Bhatta, Kashi Upadhyaya, Dipa Rokaya, Saniwan Budha, Ratanu Bhandari, Ramu Rokaya, Jayatu Vista, Birbham Budhathapa, Musu Thapa, Raimal Bhandari, Kashi Joshi and Mangol (Magar) King Bhagachandra. The dignitaries of Dhauyatri-Kamadi Mahatra, Sundar Mahatra, Pratapa Rauta and Hagu Joshi and Damodar Joshi of Pipalagai are also included as the witnesses of the document. The record was prepared by Shree Devaraj Gupu

Upadhyaya 125.

Vikramashahi had ruled the Jumla state till the Saka Era 1553 (+78=A. D. 1631) is proved by a copper-plate which he had issued to Shree Makuntano Joshi from Likura for his valuable services to the king 126.

#### Surtishahi (A.D 1618—1626)

A man named Thakur Surtishahi has been mentioned in a dharmapatra (the document containing the account of a dharm  $\rightarrow$  religion  $\rightarrow$  donation), dated on Thursday, Magha—18 of the Saka Era 1503 (+78= A.D. 1581) 127. He seems to be King Surtishah whom we find ruling at Lamathada in the Saka Era 1540 (A.D. 1618.). Surtishah was also a contemporary of King Vikramashahi. The Kallashahi and the Baburam Acharya chronicles 128 include neither the name of Surtishahi nor Surtishah in them but the Jumaleshwar Chronicle speaks of King Surtishahi as the son and successor of Bhanashahi, known as Prithvipatishahi 129 also. After Bhanashahi we find two series of names, indicating two separate states in the subsequent period. In the partition, which materialized either due to revolution or compromise, Vikramashahi became the heir of the main capital of the country while Surtishahi earned the segregated territories of the dominion only. This appears to be the only possible explanation for the existence of two Kallala states and kings in the Jumla Valley at this point. The nature of relationship between these heads of states is not clearly evident from any available record.

The documents of Surtishahi reveal that he was a devotee of Goddess Kanikasundari and God Pancha Bhairava<sup>130</sup>. When the king granted any charity to anybody along with its copper-plate certificate at that time it was only Goddess Bhagavati whose mudra (symbol) or image he had imprinted on the top of his record 131. But the

king possessed the sentiments of reverence for all the religions and their gods, and the devotees of the country. Ram, Laksaman (Lachhiman), Sita (Chhita), Parvati (Parvata), Rudra—Mahadeva and Masta (-devata) are also mentioned in the documents 132 of Surtishahi. Kana-kasundari, Bhumi—Vasundhara, Ganga-mayi, Hamuman, Indra, the deities of nerherland (**pat-ala**) 133 and **devadaru** trees were too put as witnesses of the Surtishahi's copper-plate grants and paper-documents 134. These facts lead me to conclude that King Surtishahi was a great catholic and he had blossomed his faith in all the divinities of Hinduism. The deities, he took, would preserve him and his state againsaga all the laible calamities and at the same time they would bestow prosperiety to the palacial treasury and country 135 in particular.

In A. D. 1618 Bali Raula of Giora received a ductile birta from the king. The recipient seems to have helped the king in his cherished undertakings 136. In A.D.1625 the sovereign awarded a few finest agricultural pieces of lands-plots to Shree Naribudha of Maja goan. These fields were located in the plain which stretched between the Karnali and the Balanumaliki rivers. In the charity the hill-tops, the rivers and the ghats (wharfs) of the region were also included 137. For the eternal safety of the donation the king conferred a copper-plate also to the recipient of donation. The certificate contains the names of a large number of witnesses which include the great celestials and the respected dignitaries of the country. Naribudha, the concessi-onaire, was authorized to use the donated lands in any manner he liked, including their sellings, etc. 138.

The last document of the king is a **lalamo-har** (sealed peper), dated in A. D. 1626. It has been beautified with the symbol (**mudra**) of Goddess Bhagavati on the top. This document pertains to a gift of some **ālo** (finest) fields and a few gold and copper pieces worth one hundred and ten rupees, conferred on So-

wakar Budha and Bivakar Budha of Satigoan, located in the neighbourhood of Khandacakra (of Raskoti king Malaibam). The area of the donated land stretched between the Kalabazar and the Kadyadebar rivers. In the document the aforesaid celestials and mortal witnesses are enumerated de nouveau (again).109.

We do not know with certainty about the personal relations which would have existed between Surtishahi and the kings of Chhinasm and Raskot. The records of the region are silent about this fact. As kings Vikramashahi of Chhinasm and Saimalashah of Raskot were the contemporaries and devout friends (authentically proved by the Dhauyatri treaty 141 of A. D. 1620), the relations between Surtishahi and them seems to have been quite pungent and swarthy in countenance. More researches are required on this topic by the scholars of the country.

#### Bahadurashahi (C. A. D. 1635—1665)

the Kallalashahi and the Jumaleshwar Chronicles 141 divulge about Bahadurashahi as the son and successor of Vikramashahi 145. The Baburam Acharya Chronicle is a little confussed at this place; it mentions Sundarashahi as the son and successor of Vikramashahi. I think that the Baburam Acharya Chronicle is incorrect here because the kings of the dynasty after Vikramashahi of this catalogue are not incorporated in the former schedules 143. Although we possess no document of Bahadurashahi but it appears that he had ruled the Kallala dominion between A. D. 1635 and 1665. I furnish this period (time) for Bahadurashahi's rule because we possess the last document of his father which is dated in A. D. 1631 and the record of his son who succeeded him after his death, dates on Tuesday, Bhadra-7 of the Saka Era 1591 (+78 = A.D. 1569) 144. A long period of gap tabled by the extant documents of the region indicates that Bahadurashahi had ruled the Jumla Valley for about thirty years between A.D. 1635 and 1665.

King Bajabahadur Chanda ruled in Kamaun and Garhwal between A. D. 1368 and 1678. During his rule "more strips of territories from Doti and Jumla were included" in the Chanda dominion 145. I think that because of this fact Bahadurashahi was in a great trouble and he had not been able to issue any tangible record propogating his firm rule 146.

#### Birabhadrashahi (A.D. 1665-1676)

Birabhadrashahi 147 ascended the throne of Jumla after the death of his father Bahadurashahi. Though the first record of Birabhadrashahi is dated on Tuesday, Bhadra-7 of the Saka Era 1591 (=A. D. 1669), he seems to have become the king of the dominion in A. D. 1665 itself. The other document of the sovereign is dated on Friday, Margasirsa-23 of the Saka Era 1594 (A. D. 1672). It shows that Birabhadrashahi had ruled for about a decade only. No important data regarding the political and social events of his reign are available to us at present. The extant confussions in the geneologies of the dynasty at this point without a hitch indicate some external and internal troubles in the kingdom and on the part of the emperor.

Birabhadrashahi has been described as a *Maharaja* in the records 148. He ruled the country from the Kakakot and the Tiprikot capitals. In A. D. 1669 the king facilitated Gajavarsingh and Basantu Bhandari with ample agricultural lands and their paper-certificates. In the document the officials of Birabhadrashahi-Jitu Joshi, Maharam Patan, Karanjagadeva Vista, Shankar Kathayata, Lakhanajit Karki and Jimu Hitu Bohara are also mentioned 149. The other record of the king is a copper-plate certificate which he had conferred on Jadya Budha. The witnesses of this record include Hita Jaimal, Jadu Vista, Jaisingh Vista, Vaidu Bhandari, Akavarya Raula, Rancha Singh, Salu Bhandari, Shankar Kathayata, Bhiumal Kathayata, Mana Bhandari and Ranajit Vista. Pashupati Joshi prepared the contents of this document and Dhinya Rawal engraved them on

the plate 150. The mudra ingraved on the top of this plate indicates that Birabhadrashahi was an august devotee of Lord Shiva and Goddess Bhagavati 151.

As the chronicles enjoin, Birabhadrashahi was succeeded on the throne by his eldest son Prithvipatishahi 152.

#### Prithuipatisdahi and other (A. D. 1678-1729)

For half a century between A. D. 1676 and 1729 (i. e. between the reigns of Birabhadrashahi and Surathashahi) there was a short of breakdown of law and order in the Jumla Valley. The chronicles of the Kallala dynasty reveal about the government of Prithvipatishahi after the reign of Birabhadrashahi but so far we have found no authentic document of his administration. A la carte (rather) we get Salimashahi (II), Bhanashahi (II), Narayanshahi-Pitushahi, Dhanashahi-Madhushahi-Gajushahi and Jahagrishahi ruling respectively from the Motiupur, Chhurkabbot and Dunai capitals (castles) during this period of lawlessness 153.

Salimashahi II appears in a document of the region along with Narasangashahi, Lachhimanashahi and Ramashahi facilitating certain tax-free land-plots to Sandarye Budha, Lachhye Budha and Punya Budha on Sunday, Vaisakha-20 of the Saka Era 1598 (+ 78=A. D. 1676) from his Motiupur capital (*rajasthane*) 154. Narasinghashahi and Lachhimanashahi appear to be the younger brothers of Salimashahi 155.

A document of King Bhanashahi and Queen Bhanamati, dated in the Saka Era 1600 (+78=A. D. 1678), seems to be an erraneous record 156 to me. Bhanashahi ruled the Kallala dominion 157 in the sixteenth century itself and not in the seventeenth century, as shown in the present record. In this record the king



has been mentioned to have ruled from the Chhurkabhot capital 158.

A much worn out copper-plate, dated in the Saka Era 1600 (+ 78 = A. D. 1678) is now extant to us 159. The first line of the document is peeled off from the specimen and the second line commences with the contents of Lakurajasthan Basantarajaki maya bhaiechha 160. It indicates that Basantarajashahi had disseminated the present benefaction from the Laku capital. Rama (shahi) is also mentioned in this document. He appears to be the brother of King Basantarajashahi 161.

The name of King Narayanashahi occurs in a copper-plate, dated on Sunday, Marga-7 of the Saka Era 1606 (A. D. 1684) along with Pitushahi, Dhanashahi, Madhushahi and Gajushahi 162. These individuals seem to have exercised their sway from the Dunai palace and it is from there that they had conceded certain lands to Kanawa Bohara and Hasya Rokaya, delineated in the present document. The donation was made free from all the thirty-six kinds of laible taxes 163. Pitushahi is found exercising the sway along with his consort Lachhimavati at Dunai on Tuesday, Marg-2 of the Saka Era 1606 (A. D. 1684—, —i. e. only five days before the circuiation of the previous document). He also extended the allowances of the agricultural fields to Hitu Bohara, Jiva Bohara and Sunatakya Bohara 164. In the light of the above-mentioned facts it is difficult to tell if Narayanashahi was the virtual king of Dunai or it were Pitushahi and Lachhimavati who really ruled the region in the early winter of A. D. 1684.

King Jahagrishahi was either the son and successor of Narayanashahi or of Pitushahi and he inherited the throne of Dunai after the demise of his father. He is seen ruling at Dunai on Wednesday, Jyestha-4 of the Saka Era 1614 (A. D. 1692) 165. Madhushahi, Gajushahi, Munishahi and Nahakallulashahi also appear in the copper-plate of Jahagrishahi.

Madhushahi and Gajushahi have been mentioned in the document of Narayanashahi dated in A. D. 1684 itself. Here the recipient of the largess is Ranajitya Budha 166. Jahagrishahi ruled the Jumla Valley until the rise of Surathashahi in the Saka Era 1641 (A. D. 1719) 167.

#### Surathashahi (A. D. 1719-1740)

The Jumaleshwar and the Baburam Acharya chronicles do not contain the name of King Surathashahi. These provide the name of Surtishahi 168 as the ruler of the Jumla Valley during this period but the available documents of the region authentically confirm that it was King Surathashah or Suratashahi who ruled the state of Jumla after the death of Prithvipatishahi and the anointment of King Sudarasanashahi. The Kallalashahi chronicle clearly demonstrates the fact of King Surathashahi's administration over the country before the accession of King Sudarasanashahi 169. It seems that Surathashahi was called as Surtishahi ( Surathashahi / Surathashah < Surathasai < Suratasai < Sruatisai < Surtisai < Surtishahi) also by the people of the Jumla Valley. Thus all the chronicles of the dynasty are correct at this place. Although we do not find any document of Surathashahi after A. D. 1736, but I conjecture that he had ruled the dominion until A. D. 1740. I prescribe this period for the king because the documents of his son Sudarasanashahi commence from A. D. 1745 only 170. This indicates that Surathashahi had atleast survived until A. D. 1740.

King Surathashahi has been addressed with the title of 'a great king' (Maharaja) in the records. Between A. D. 1719 and 1769 he issued numerous copper-plates and paper--documents (Ialamohar) to his allies from the towns of Tipurikot, Lamathada, Chhinasim and Lahur 117. It appear that when he ascended the throne, he overwhelmed all the petty rulers of the neighbourhood who in the past, either by revolution or compromise, had owned a state for their laws. It had become necessary for Surathashahi (always mentioned as Surathashah

in the records) to suppress the enemies; in the face of the above-mentioned enterprize it would not have been possible for the king to have provided a sinewy nationality and palpable prosperity to his people.

King Surathashahi was an august Vaisnavite and Ram was his favourite deity of worship 172. The king had developed profound devotions in the lords of Vadriksetra and Muktiksetra. That is why he frequently refers these deities in the beginning of his documents 173. Merciful to the ancient religions, the sovereign wanted to preserve the donations and the charities of the past rulers with great feelings and earnestness. He knew that it was better to defer to the past act of charities than to give new alms and he held this also that one who confiscates the landgrants imparted by himself or others in the past, hereafter he suffers the visitations of the hells by becoming the insects of the night-soils, etc. 174. That is why when Surathashahi came to power, he conferred a paper-certificate to Asya Bohora and Chhoyka Bohora conjointly, reaffirming his faith in the donations of a land-grant made by King Dharmavikramashahi in the past 175. In the mien of the previous benevolence the king freed Kallala Pahadi also on Monday, Falguna-11 of the Saka Era 1642 (A.D. 1720) from all the thirty-six kinds of laible taxes on a piece of land which the predecessor of the latter had received as a grant from King Bhanashahi in the past 176.

There are six records of King Surathashahi available to us 177. The first document is a copper-plate, dated on Wednesday, Bhadra-5 of the Saka Era 1642 (A.D. 1720) 178. It is the docket of a land-grant which the king had made available to Jogya Gharala for his valuable services to the royal family. The other document of the ruler comes from a collection of fourteen copper-plates from the house of Shree Bhimabhadur Rakhala of Dunai village. It

records the contents of a *maya* (grant) of the king to two Bohora brothers 179. The third copper-plate relates of a land-grant, free from all the thirty-six kinds of taxes. It was sanctioned to Kallala Pahadi of Amilavadi by the king for the reaffirmation of his faith to the charities of his ancestor, King Bhanashahi 180. A *shyahamohar* (paper-certificate) of the reign of the sovereign is dated on Saturday, Srawan-4 of the Saka Era 1606 (A.D. 1724). It belongs to a land-facilitation deed of the ruler to Shree Cintamani from Lamathada. In the document the king has been described as *Shree Shree Maharajadhiraja Surathashahadevaju* 181 by the writer. This title of the ruler indicates that he had become an illustrious sovereign by A.D. 1724. It appears that between A.D. 1720 and 1724 the king had to fight a few violent battles with his enemies. After he came out successful from the battlefield, his might was recognized everywhere and he became quite famous among the rulers of the contemporary world. Lamathada does not seem to have formed a part of his territory in the beginning; it was included in the dominion only after his victories on the enemies. This seems to be only probable reason why Naraharinath provides the title of Jumleshwar (the lord of the Jumla Valley) in the description of a copper-plate of King Surathashahi, which the latter had conferred on Shree Gothu Upadhyaya of Chhinasim. This document is dated on Thursday, Marga 24 of the Saka Era 1651 (A.D. 1729). The last record of the king is again from Lamathada. Like the previous documents this record also pertains to a land-grant certificate 182. It was issued by the ruler on Sunday, Marga-26 of the Saka Era 1658 (A.D. 1736) to Mr. Tula Rawal. It appears that when Surathashahi became the master of Sija—(Lamathada), he made this town the capital of his dominion and relinquished the administrative seats of Tiprikot and Chhinasim.

Now I would like to speak a few words

about the officials, the priests and the document-writers of King Surathashahi. The officials of the government during his rulership were called with the general appellation of Vintyaru 183 and the personalities under this post and different ranks included Ammarasai (Ammarashahi), Pathan Vista, Patu Vista, Chandu Mahatra, Kalla-lya Rauta, Dasu Budhathapa, Sapu Kathayita, Jaimala Kathayita, Rajitya, Lachhimanya, Duh, Dhana Paharih, Biju Bhandari, Gajya Raula 184, Patma Vista, Naru Joisi, Nathu Joisi, Ghuru Budhathapa, Ratnu Bhandari, Dasu Rokaya, Uttima Raula, Raimala Budha, Pala Raula, Jasu Dharala 185, Suhitaraj, Kalu Vista, Chadyama Bhandari, Khavasa Joshi 186, Hita Kalu, Raja Vista, Manoratha Joshi, Khavasa Haldar, Raja Megyadadih, Kalu Acharya, Dhana Bhandari, Kallyamana Bhandari, Laksya Dasaudi, Jaidas 187, Villasta Raghath Mahatra, Cintamani Acharya, Dhana Bhandari, Savala Bhandari, Raibhan Rokaya, Mana Bhandari, Krishnya Mahari, Nevi Chhatyal, Manu Raj, Khawasa Pathan Thapa, Dasudi Jagannath Bhatta Kathayat, Harimala Vityaru and Manorothe Joisi 188. Ammarashahi seems to be the head of these dignities and he had got a blood relation with the family of the king. Madhu Joisi 189 and Gopa Acharya 190 were the scribes (secretaries) of the state-documents. From the surnames of the officials, employed in the royal services, it is clear that Surathashahi was a clever statesman. Finding the facts of heterogeneous ethnic elements in the country, he included all the racial and caste groups of the dominion in the functioning of his government. These seem to be some of the most important factors why the king became successful in his military operations of different regions and illustrious among the contemporary rulers in the later-half of his rule. These facts establish that Surathshahi was a famous king of the Jumla Valley. He appeared like a flash of lightning in the second quarter of the eighteenth century and after two decades of rule he was recognized as a famous mortal on the earth

King Pirotibam was a contemporary of King

Surathashahi. This fact is indicated by a *shyahamohar* (paper-certificate) of Pirotibam, dated on Falgun-7 of the Saka Era 1644 (A. D.) 191. The document pertains to a *sanada* (certificate) of a few plots of lands located between the *killas* (boundaries) of Chamryakot (in the west), Ramagad (in the east), Khetagoan Melahapah (in the north) and Katasakhola (in the south) along with one black horse, one *purusodaphya*, one *cakuda*, one *dharani* of salt and one pocket of betlenuts to Shree Kusuma Upadhyaya of Lupacadi village, situated in the neighbourhood of the Sija town of the Jumla Valley. The recipient of the donation owned the rights of causing the fishes also of the Ramagad stream to be caught and sold until its confluence in the Karnali river 192. It appears that the relations of the Dullu and Jumla houses of the rulers were quite congenial during the rulerships of Pirotibam and Surathashahi. This might be the reason why Kusuma Upadhyaya of the Jumla Valley was able to go to the state of Dulla and had received the present grant from King Pirotibam.

Surathashahi passed away sometime in A. D. 1740. After the death of the king the Rokayas, under Visunya Kumaie Tulya Rokaya, wanted to flare-up revolution and create a state in the valley for their laws. Sudarasanashahi discovered about this conspiracy and he suppressed the Rokayas with a great ingenuity. We gather the facts regarding this revolution from a copper-plate of Tulya Rokaya 193 which the latter had issued to Mr. Kallala on Sunday, Vaisakhi-1 of the Saka Era 1655 (A. D. 1743). This trouble Sudarasanashahi had confronted in the beginning of his rule, perhaps before the coronation itself.

#### Sudarasanashahi (A. D. 1740—58)

The last available document of King Surathashahi 194 is dated in A. D. 1936 but he seems to have ruled whilest A. D. 1740. It is because until A. D. 1745 we find on

record of King Sudarasanashahi. Almost all the chronicles of the Jumla Valley mention the name of Sudarasanashahi but these catalogues 195 do not agree in themselves about the name of his father. The Jumaleshwar and the Baburam Acharya schedules contain the name of Surathashahi as the father of the king 196 but the archaeological evidence is in the favour of King Surathashahi alone 197. The Kallatashahi Catalogue 198 also corroborates to the archaeological evidence; hence I hold that it was King Surathashahi who was really the father of King Sudarasanashahi. It appears that the Rokayas had revolted at the eve of the coronation ceremony of King Sudarasanashahi 199 but the army of the king very proficiently suppressed them. This engagement of the king with the Rokayas seems to be the foremost reason for the non-availability of his documents in the first few years of his rule.

#### The Palace of the King

There is a big copper-plate 200 of Sudarasanashahi, running in forty lines; it furnishes us with an exhaustive account of the construction of a palace at Chhinasi by the king during the Saka Era 1667 and 1673 (A. D. 1745-51) 201. The foundation stone of the palace was laid down in the night, at 23rd ghatika (one-ghatika=24 minutes), corresponding the terminus of Friday and (the beginning of) Saturday, during the Kumbha lagna (i. e. the zodiac time of Aquarius). Vrischika-navamansa (the ninth division of the zodiac sign of scorpio) and Tisya nakshatra (a lunar mansion in the path of moon) of Vaisakha sukrapaksa (bright half fortnight of the month) —8 of the Saka Era 1667 (A. D. 1745) by Shree 5 Sudarasanasahebadevayyu of the Jumla state. Six thousand rupees came as subscriptions from the people of the Jumla Valley for the construction of the palace through the (constant) pursuits of Satyadhanashahi (of Dhwangadharna), Sairathashahi, Shivoram Vista and

Laksaman Joisi. Three thousand rupees the king contributed from his own treasury. The two amounts of the construction-expenditures totalled to nine thousand rupees 202.

During the silasthapana ceremony (the ceremony associated with the laying down of the foundation stone of certain building is called the silasthapana samarano) of the palace the koichin clothes of the cost of two hundred and nine rupees, five *falasas* (a kind of silken cloth) painted in five colours, the waters of the five sacred tirthas (the holy sites of the Hindus), one jar weighing one dharani (c.6 pounds in weight), (some) betel nuts and one turban the king donated to the Brahmans (of the country). In the act of executing the pillars for the palace Basanta Raja, Madhya Bhandari and Pirojya Karki had also helped. Kullya Bhandari and Ram Mahari were appointed the incharges of the stone supplies and twenty-five people (masons) were engaged in the dressing of the (imported) stones. Forty people were employed by the builder (king) for taking out fifteen hundred gatharis (pockets) of stones from the quarry including their carriages as far as the site of the construction of the palace. One hundred and forty-seven rupees and fifteen kodas (three hundred pieces) of clothes were given to the Oads (the carpenters, the masons the architects and other technical workers of the palace). Six hundred and twenty five rupees were given to the stone-querriers. Fourteen hundred and nineteen rupees, two hundred and seventy-five pathas (he-goats), one hundred and forty pathas (small kinds of the goats) and four pieces of cooking utensils (bhandas) were provided for the drinking of wines (*jarndapini lagalagyo*) to those people including the Kulalas (the pot-makers who make the tiles of the roof of the house. This word means to one who serves in the house of the landlords in the capacity of a servant) who had offered their voluntary services in the construction of the palace. One

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hundred and ninety--six rupees and sixty pieces of **patambari** (a type of dress) clothes were paid to the labourers for carrying the dressed slabs of stones in (the workshop of) Ghodyasaini Ringyal for executing the paintings (designs on them. This is how the palace of King Sudarasanashahi was constructed.

After one year and ten months, when the palace got built, Queen Gangavati (Chief consort of Sudarasanashahi) entered in its premises along with her son (Crown-prince Surya-bhanashahi) at the auspicious moment on Wednesday, Falgun-15 of the Saka Era 1668 (A. D. 1746). Then she ordered for the **Vastupuja** (before using any newly constructed secular or religious building the Hindus purify that monument by performing a sacred rite along with the festivities and rejoicings, known as **Vastupuja**) of the palace. In the performance of the rite two hundred Brahmans including Ganapati, Mathu Joisi and Acharya Chuch had participated. In the ceremony Maniram Acharya performed the duties of the **Hota** (one who throws the articles of oblation in the sacrificial fire), Vyasadeva Udadyaya acted as **Brahma** (the priest) and Basudeva Joshi did the function of the **Avardhya** (an officiating priest). Two hundred and nine rupees, thirty-two **thanhs** (pieces) of clothes costing sixty-nine rupees, nine falsas of five colours worth fifteen rupees, one bull of ten rupees, twenty-eight **dharanis** clarified butter, sixteen rams, thirty-four rupees, some **koichin** clothes along with ten **thanhs** of clothes for the flags, a few banners and ornamental gates costing fifty rupees, and two cows along with a lamp (lid, made looking like a lamp of terracotta) measuring two **dharanis** in weight were donated along with their garlands to five Brahmans in the honour of the worship of God Datta Bhairava, designated to be the presiding deity of the newly constructed palace. In the **daksina** (the post-ceremony charities given to the priests and Brahmans in lieu of their kindness for performing the rituals of the ceremony or accepting the meals of the festivity) the four cooks of Khasira

who were also Brahmans, received four sets of dresses costing twenty-four rupees along with a turbon of the builder (**sirapencha sahita caubisa rupaiyanko kapada**). In the month of Bhadra of the Saka Era 1669 (A. D. 1747), King Sudarasanashahi (also) entered the palace. At this time he dedicated a golden jar to the diety, installed a commomorative pillar in front of the shrine and then requested (the priests) for the congregation ceremony of the crown-prince. During the presnt rite the king gave (a packet of) **mandra** clothes of two hundred and eighteen rupees along with four horses and fifteen **bac-hhedas** (=colts i.e. the young kind of the horses for their use in the future) to the engineer and the workers of the palace. ....On Saturday, after the day had passed eighteen **ghatikas**, at the auspicious moment of **Sihga lagna** on Jyestha-12 of the Saka Era 1673 (A.D. 1751) the elephant (also) entered the palace 203.

The amount of money spent in the construction of the palace indicates that it would have been an imposing monument of Western Nepal. The plan of the bulding seems to have been prepared in the imitation of the Mughal Palaces of Northern India but because of the mountaineous environment and difficult means of accessibilities of the region the Kallala monument would not have been so gracious and magnificent as the contemporary abodes of the Indian or the Kathmandu monarchs. The palace was built out of the hewn slabs of stones, and painted (executed) with the beautiful designs. The inscription provides that King Sudarasanashahi was a man of high artistic temperaments. He had encouraged the artists and the engineers of the country by causing the present palace built for his use. The document contains a detail information regarding the prices of the commodities prevalent in the Jumla Valley in the second and the third quarters of the eighteenth century A. D. It greatly helps us for the formulation of the economic history of the region in those days.

At Chhetrapur on Wednesday, Marg-19

of the Saka Era 1679 (A. D. 1757) the king had given a **lalamohar** to Shree Chinal Chaudi 204. From the contents of the certificate we learn that due to some unknown reasons a benefaction accorded in the past to an ancestor of Shree Chinal Chaudi by King Birabhadrashahi had gone in the hands of the residents of Chhayaksetra for their usages and enjoyments by the time of the present ruler. Quite conscious of preserving the charities of the olden times for the security of his hereafter pleasures, the king extricated the present certificate and restored the rights of Chinal Chaudi (Chiudi) for his vituals of the lands in the manner they were granted to his predecessor by King Birabhadrashahi in the past 205. The witnesses of the **lalamohar** include Jagannath Bhandari, Mana Bhandari, Hari-kanatha Karki, Madhu Kathayat etc. 206.

The officials of the state during the reign of the king were called by the appellations of **dhamma-bhandari**, **chhadidhara**, **mohorachhala**, **vintyaru**, **chhapadhara** and **likkhitasaksi**. The **dharma-bhandari** was the minister incharge of the religious affairs of the country; the **chhadidhara** acted as the chief of the administrative machinery and the **moharachhala** used to give the seals to the royal writes. The **chhapadhara** was the incharge of the seal's department, the **vintyaru** served the purpose of the messenger (**dutaka**) and the **khaparadhars** (khapaparadhars) were either the secret (royal) messgers like the intelligence and the police force of today or the swardsmen of the king. The **likkhitasaksi** was the writer-cum-witness, associated with the department of the documents preparations. Chhatyal Kesari Raja and Pradi-pasai Gosain are also incorporated in the copper-plate of the king 207. It seems that they were the vassals of the king. In the beginning of the record we have the invocation 'Victorious is the Lord of Vadri Ksetra ( a holy site); the Lord of Mukti Ksetra, help. In the end of the record we get 'By the grace of Ram 204, written by the scribe. These invocations of the Vaishnavite deities confirm that King Sudarasanashahi was a devoted Vaishnavite

sectary.

We find no record of King Sudarasanashahi after Wednesday, Marga-16 of the Saka Era 1679 (A.D.) 209 and the documents of his son and successor Suryabhanashahi commence from Sunday, Kartika-21 of the Saka Era 1684 (A.D. 1759) 210. It seems that Sudarasanashahi died sometime in AD. 1759.

#### Suryabhanshahi (A D. 1758-90)

This ill-fated king ascended the throne of Jumla after the death of his father in A.D. 1758. He has been mentioned as the son and successor of Sudarasanashahi by all the chronicals of the Jumla Valley 211. The king was a contemporary of King Dipachanda of Almora-Garhwal and kings Prithivinarayan Shah and Ranabhadur Shah of the Kathmandu Valley.

According to Hamilton 212 when Ranabhadur Shah attacked the Jumla Valley in A. D. 1798, it was being ruled by king Sobhan Shahi 213. The chronicles of the region mention the name of Suryabhanashahi as the ruler of the state at this epoch. Hamilton recorded the history of this dominion from the informations he collected from Hariballabha (an informant of Hamilton) about forty-five years after its seige by the Gorkha Army. I think, that Hariballabha, as a result of the time-gap of about half a century, had forgotten the correct pronounciation of the name of King Suryabhanashahi; therefore he wrongly spelled it as ShobhanShahi to the British writer. Hence in the Hamilton's book we find the name of the king written as Shobhan Shahi instead of Suryabhanashahi as the ruler of Jumla at the time of its conquest by Ranabhadur Shah of the Kathmandu Valley in A. D. 1789-90.

Hamilton records the history of Jumla of the time of Suryabhanashahi as follows: . . . "An extensive country called Yumila, which, towards the west was once bounded by the territory of Ghar or Garhwal. . . . , and

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towards the east by Mustang, as it extended to Kagakoti on the Narayani, at the northern extremity of Malaibum, but towards the east it was much straightened by Jarkot, which extends to within a few kosas (one kosa is equal to two miles) of Chhinachhin, the capital. Large territories had also been gradually seized from its province by the chief of Kaman (Kamayun), who had extended his dominions to the snowy mountains." 214

"The chief of Yumila was a Rajput, and he was long acknowledged as the supreme lord or king over all the mountain chiefs towards the west; . . . . . extended his authority in the east also . . . . , that his superiority was acknowledged everywhere between the Kali river and Nepal (the Kathmandu Valley). His authority, however, was still more limited than that of the late Caesars of Germany, his subjects frequently levying wars, not only against each other, but against their sovereign; not only there any assembly of states from which he could obtain assistance against any common enemy. His power probably resembled that possessed by those who were called the sovereign kings of India, before the Mohammedan conquest and consisted in three privileges. Each chief sent him an annual embassy, with presents; he bestowed the mark of royalty (*tika*) and he had a right to interfere in keeping the stranger from overrunning the weaker, and to exhort all chiefs to preserve the balance of power. Except persuasion, however, no means seem to have existed to infer co-operation. . . . ." 215.

"The Rajas of Yumila were of Suryabansi tribe (solar race), and were admitted pure, so as to intermarry with the chiefs of Kamayun and Garhwal. They had penetrated into the hills about 500 years ago . . . . , they first settled in the Almora country, and thence removed to Jumla; and as the Doti Raja, acknowledged to be of the Salivahan family, it also called Suryabansi, I think it probable, that the Rajas of Yumila are the descendants and the representatives of Avanti and Basanti, and this will explain

the vassalage of them, which all the eastern chiefs avowed, although the people of Kamayun, by whom the Yumila chiefs were stripped of the best part of their dominions, deny this vassalage, and pretend to know something of their descent." 216

Thus according to Hamilton during the reign of King Suryabhanashahi the dominion of the Kallalas was extended in a vast area. The king, a descendant of the solar pedigree, had exercised his commands over all the rulers of Western Nepal. He used to bestow the mark of royalty on the vassals and at occasions used to interfere in their military operations and alliances. The matrimonial relations of the Jumla kings were mostly with the Chanda rulers of the Kamayun Garhwal State. 217

One *lalamohar* (sealed paper) of King Suryabhanashahi is dated on Sunday, Kartika -21 of the Saka Era 1681 (+ 78 = A. D. 1769). It was issued by him from the Chhinasmim palace to Maitya Tumata 218. The text of the certificate enjoins that in the past King Birabhadrashahi had donated some *alo* (a class) lands originally belonging to Saunya Bohora of Rumu village to Katibhanya Tumata of Kalya for his enjoyments, free from all the potential taxes, till eternity, that has, the king asserted, become an old story by his time. Therefore, he issued the present document to Maitya Tumata and reaffirmed his faith in the old donation which had stood from the time of King Birabhadrashahi for the consumption of the above-mentioned land plots, exempt from all the conceivable taxes, to Katibhanya Tumata and his descendants 219. The witnesses mentioned in the text include King Atimalla, Sujita Mahatra, Katusai Gosayin, Dhana Bhandari, Jagannath Bhandari, etc. 220. In the beginning of the text of endowment the king has invoked the lords of the Vadri and the Mukti *ksetras* (holy sites) to impart blessings for his perpetual victories and helps. The king has been addressed by the appellation of Sahebajyu (a gentleman) by the scribe of the plate. 221

The other **lalamohar 222** of the king is dated on Wednesday, Margasirasa-20 of the Saka Era 1695 (A. D. 1773) **223**. It is engraved with the name of Suryabhanashahi itself and is approved by various witnesses and officials. These people are found in the previous document of the king also, dated on Sunday, Kartika- 21 of the Saka Era 1681 (A. D. 1759) **224**. The present **lalamohar** pertains to a certificate of six hundred rupees, which Jadya Budha had received from the king **225**.

Naraharinath has published one copper-plate of Gopradadas Devasai in his book **226**. Dated on Wednesday of the Saka Era 1683 (A. D. 1761), it was issued by the aforesaid chief from his Parangaja abode. The document contains the details of a gift which the ruler had made available to Lama Budha and Chandya Budha. The relation of this chief with Suryabhanashahi, the defacto sovereign of the country, is not clear from any record. The lost known document of Suryabhanashahi is a **lalamohar** which he had circulated to Prithvimallashahi on Saturday, Pausa-22 of the Saka Era 1700 (A. D. 1778) from Chinasim. It authorizes the recipient of the grant to enjoy some lands in lieu of his valuable services to the king. The witnesses of this certificate include Sujita Vista, Sangram Bhandari, Devodatta Khavasa and writer Shree Balabhadra Joshi **227**.

When the Gorkha Army of the Kathmandu Valley attacked the Jumla Valley in A. D. 1787 under Kazi Shivanarayan Khatri and Sardar Pravala Rana along with two companies of army **228**, Suryabhanashahi resisted it with a "force of 22000 men; but Ranabahadur Shah, watching a favourable opportunity, when most of those had retired to their homes, completely surprised the country, and acted with such vigour and cruelty, that no force darest afterwards assemble." **229**. The vassals of Suryabhanashahi, who ought to have come for the help of the sovereign, did not turn up for his protection. The result was Suryabhanashahi was defeated and caught by the invading army

of Ranabahadur Shah. Hariballabha informed Hamilton that the victor had sent the defeated sovereign, Suryabhanashahi, to Kathmandu, where he lived until his death, in the confinements **230**. While in the imprisonment, Suryabhanashahi used to get two rupees per day to meet his expenses (of livelihood) **231**. The son of the king, Manasurashahi, ran away from Jumla and took refuge with the Bhotiyas of Taolakhar (Takhlakhar). This is how in A. D. 1790 the Kallala Dynasty of the Jumla Valley came to an end. After the conquest of the Jumla Valley Ranabahadur Shah moved to the further west for checkmating the Chandra rulers of Kamyun and Gahrwal.

#### Krishnashi Devichandashahi (A. D. 1782.....)

Krishnashahi Devichandashahi was a contemporary of King Suryabhanashahi. Somehow he had managed to become the master of Motyapur and he ruled in its neighbourhood with the epithet of "Shree-Shree-Shree-Shree-Shree-Maharajadhiraja" **232**. Krishnashahi seems to have been on enemical terms with Suryabhanashahi, the Kallala sovereign.

Krishnashahi was the master of Motyapurkot on Falgun-12 of the Saka Era 1704 (A. D. 1782) **233**. The titles of the king indicate that he was an energetic man, and while in the authority, he had exercised his laws with great compatibilities. The king had facilitated Vishnu Upadhya of Marahatha village with sumptuous landed wealth for his enjoyments **234**.

Like Suryabhanashahi, Krishnashahi was also defeated by the Gorkha Army. Yet, one does not know about the real end of this ruler. As he was not a defacto master of the Jumla Valley, Hamilton and Hariballabha did not pay any heed to record the details of his life and achievements. Krishnashahi vanished like the other Baisi and the Chaubisi rulers of Western Nepal.





The References

1. Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihasa Prakasha*, Kathmandu, 2013. I. I. P. 109; from a chronicle provided by Shree Virendra Bahadur Shah of Jumla to Naraharinath.
2. K. M. Munshi (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Delhi Sultanate*, Vol. VI, Bombay, 1960, pp. 116-24.
3. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. I) p. 106 ff.
4. *Panchaparavara* is a devise by which we differentiate between the different families of the Brahmanas. The meaning of *sakha* is branch. Thus it means a branch of the Brahman family.
5. This is a town of Rajasthan. The Rana rulers of the Kathmandu Valley also trace their origin from the Sisaudiya Rajpoots of Rajasthan.
6. Yogi Narahasinath, *Ibid*, pp. 107-109.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 111-113.
8. Baliraj was a king of the fifteenth century and Malaibum probably of the eighteenth century. Hence, present Malaibum might be *Medinivavma* (*Maedinibum* > *Malai-bum*), a contemporary of King Balraj, who appears as a ruler of the Jumala and Dullu valleys in the beginning and issues a copper-plate inscription along with Baliraj in the end. The two seem to be the enemies in the beginning, but, later on, because of the matrimonial relations of the two houses, these kings became staunch friends and care-takers of each other.
9. This Ganga river should be the river flowing in the vicinity of Simja-Lamathada.
10. Whose golden image was this, is not given in the chronicle.
11. Yogi Naraharinath, *Ibid*, p. 108. After woking a couplet, which reads:— "*Jagata sarvamantra mautrathinascha devatah, Tenamantrabrahamanadhina tasmatah brahmana devatah.*" the above-mentioned Brahmanas had said to King Jaktisingh that they were the real lords of Jumla and Humla. Again, as they were the Brahmanas, they demanded their lost territories from the owner. On hearing the demands of the Brahmanas, Jaktisingh gave the two valleys to them. The Brahmanas intrusted the newly acquired estate to Baliraj. They said to Baliraj that as he was a Kshatriya prince, he should rule the state and protect the religion and the Brahmanas from the offenders.
12. *Ibid*, p. 108. and pp. 112-113.
13. Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihasa Prakasha*. II. I, Kathmandu 2013. p. 109.
14. Yogi Naraharinath, *Sandhipatrasangrah* Vol. I, Banaras 2022, pp. 585-'88. This king had established the Thalara branch of the Bajhang Dynasty.
15. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on the Two Scientific Explorations in Nepal*, Rome, 1956, pp. 121 ff.
17. *Ibid*.
18. Hitnarayan Jha, *The Licchavis*, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 140-152.
19. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 112. The people of the Jumla Valley, particularly at Ruru, Vauchu and Chilakhaya, still recall about the charity which King Medinivarma had performed during his life-time. They sing of his donations as:—  

*Dhanna dhanna Medinivamma  
dhanna timro hiyo  
Satadinko hindanya vato  
databya ma diyo*

i. e. well done, well done, Medinivarma, you have a virtuous heart. The land (*vato*) which takes seven days to traverse, you gave that in the donation.

I think that this land Medinivarma had donated to Baliraj after the selected the latter as his son-in-law and the heir of the Jumla State. Baliraj owned the land as a dowry from the side of his consort. Thus it is by a marriage that Baliraj had assumed the powers and the throne of the Jumla State (after Medinivarma).

Mr. Surya Vikram Gyawali holds that

Medinivarma was not heirless. Malaivarma (Malaibum), whose five sons— Sumeruvamma, Sumersubamma, Sansaribamma, Prabhati Raye and Medinivarma, established their principalities at Dullu, Sanni, Dailekh, Dhulikot and Bhyakot (Yogi Naraharinath— *Itihasa Prakasha* II. I, pp. 364-66.), was either the son or grandson of Medinivarma. Malaivarma had ruled at Raskot about A. D. 1378. Now, if we accept the theory of Shri Gyawali, then Malaivarma becomes the ruler of the Solar Dynasty, because Medinivarma, with his epithets, etc. and the place of rule, seems to be the descendant of Abhayamalla and of the Solar Dynasty. But we know that Malaivarma of Khandacakra was of the Lunar Dynasty, and, therefore, at present I cannot agree with the learned historian. Some more researches are required in this field. Again Shri Gyawali holds that Medinivarma, the son of Malaibamma, had ruled in A. D. 1393; and he is the Medinivarma, described with Baliraj— the Kallala monarch of the early fifteenth century A. D. in the Jumla Valley. Gyawali holds that Medhivarma had gone at Chhinasima; he not only had lived there but had manipulated to occupy the Malla throne also. As this Medhivamma had only one daughter, and no son, he married her (his daughter) to Baliraj and blessed him for a long life. Himself, Medhivarma become a mandicant and left the dominion. Thus Baliraj establishes the rule of the Kallala Dynasty in the Jumla Valley in the beginning of the fifteenth century A. D.

Shree Gyawali holds that there were more than one Malaivamma in Western Nepal. Malaivamma, the consort of Mahalavasanta, the Khanchli Princess, was perhaps the second or the third Malaivamma. The sons of this couple were Shahavamma, Arimardana, Shatrusala, Kalimardana, Raghuttam, Raghunarayan and Ramesha. This Malaivamma had died in A. D. 1736.

He was the king of the Takumu State (Shri Gyawali was much kind to give this information to me. I shall try to give the history of the Lunar Dynasty in Western Nepal somewhere in the future.)

20. This is a ceremony observed with the feasts and the worship of the deities before the use of a newly constructed secular or religious building. In case of a religious building, i. e. a temple or the edifice of the god, it is during this ceremony that an idol of the deity is installed in the sanctum for the subsequent regular worship of the people.

21. Yogi Naraharinath, *Ibid*, p. 165.

22. Tucci, *pO. Cit*, (No.15), 121 ff.

23. *Ibid*, pp. 121-22.

24. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit*. (No. 1.), pp. 107-09.

King Jalandhari had no scoin. Therefore he appointed Bherimalla, a *cakridara* (waiter=attendant), as the king of Sija and gave him the title of *Sijapati*. The new king was asked by the protector to worship the goddesses Tripurasnduari and Kanakasundari until their appearance. According to some chronicles Bherimalla was the son of King Jalandhari.

25. *Ibid*, Shree Surya Vikram Gyawali believes that Jalandhari, very much popular among the people of the Jumla Valley, had come from the region of Jalandhar (the *dobhan* of Punjab is still called as Jalandhar *Pradesh*). He came at Jumla through Kangra and entered the Baitadi and the Darchula regions of Western Nepal for the first time. Then he followed the track of a river and reached Humla, and from there in the Jumla Valley in A. D. 1003. In the Jumla Valley he took shelter in the house of a Brahmana. After some-time Jalandhari married a Brahman girl named Kalika. As Kalikadevi was an esteemed lady of the Jumala Valley, Jalandhari received much respects from its people after the marriage, and even became their king also. When Kalikadevi died, she

was deified and Goddess Kalikadevi of the Jumla Valley owes her origin from this Brahman lady. Shree Gyawali thinks that from Western India in this way Nepal had many waves of the Rajpoot princes, who came in this country in different centuries. He is of the opinion that this migration was because of the strange strategic position of Kangra. He holds that because of the Indo-Greek, the Saka, the Scythian, the Kushan, the Pahlava and the Huna invasions in India in the ancient period the princes of that country had migrated in Nepal, and in this way Western Nepal has sheltered the Indian political refugees since a very long time.

The son of Jalandhari, Pahariraye or Phukagada, built a dam in the river which flowed in the neighbourhood of Khandacakra; it had greatly facilitated the irrigation in the vicinity of Raskot.

Shree Satya Mohan Joshi did not find any historicity in Jalandhari, although he accepts that no other king is so much famous in the Jumla Valley as King Jalandhari.

Shree Gyawali holds that perhaps Nagraj had to go to the Khari Pradesha and the Jumla Valley from Dullu because of the attack and the disturbances created by Jalandhari, and at that time he laid the foundation of Simja. He did not believe in the invasion of the Tibetans and the control of Nagraj over them (Shri Surya Vikram Gyawali and Shri Satya Mohan Joshi very kindly discussed the problem of Jalandhari Raja with me, and, that is why, I am able to give this information at this place. I shall write about him in detail elsewhere).

26. *Ibid*, pp. 116-17.
27. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.) pp. 361-62.
28. *Ibid*, pp. 349-353.
29. *Ibid*, p. 32.
30. *Ibid*.
31. *Ibid*, p. 112.
32. *Ibid*.
33. *Ibid*.
34. Tucci, *Op. Cit.* (No. 15.), p. 114 ff.
35. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 331-33.
36. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.) p. 106-111.
37. We know that Nagraj was the founder of the Sija capital and an exalted king of the Malla Dynasty of Western Nepal (see Dr. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 710-35)
38. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 14.),
39. Tuci, *Op. Cit.* (No. 15), p. 114.
40. *Ibid*, pp. 114-15.
41. *Ibid*, p. 115.
42. *Ibid*, p. 115 ff.
43. *Ibid*, p. 115.
44. *Ibid*, p. 115, Malla (-devi), the wife of the new king (Hastiraj).
45. *Ibid*.
46. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), p. 109.
47. *Ibid*.
48. *Ibid*.
49. *Ibid*, p. 165.
50. *Ibid*, pp. 106-8.
51. *Ibid*, pp. 112-14.
52. *Ibid*.
53. In the villages of Northern Uttar Province and the Terai of Nepal the people sing the Alha songs in the rainy season. In this epic song they enjoin that Baksaraj had killed the father of Alha and Udala-the two great heroes of medieval India. These heroes had defeated fifty two kings of Northern India including King Prithiraj Chauhan of Delhi in various military encounters. It is said that Alha and Udala had invaded the country of Vaksaraj and taken the revenge of their father's death from him.
54. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 9.), p. 106.
55. *Ibid*, p. 111. ff.
56. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 101 ff.
57. *Ibid*.
58. *Ibid*.

59. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 116-17.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
61. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), pp. 114-19.
62. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 116-17.
63. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 116. *Vijayabhidhananadyavarta sri-visalachatuhs ala sarvatobhadrasudhadhavalasaudhotsarga... dhana nagare.* 11
64. *Ibid.*, *Surasuraipujitapadapadmah prasannachi...* 11
65. *Ibid.*, p. 116-18.
66. *Ibid.* *Pratapapratapita vicaksacakra...* 1
67. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), p. 106 & 108; Tucci, *Op. Cit.* (No. 15.), p. 112.
70. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13), p. 120.
71. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), p. 106; Tuci, *Op. cit.* (No. 15.), p. 122.
72. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.) p. 108.
73. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 120'
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), p. 108. Bhanashahi was called Prithavipatishahi also.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
80. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 120 & 122.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-25.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*, p. 132 ff. Surtishahi seems to be a Kallala king ruling at Chhinasim Saka Era 1450 (A. D. 1618). He might have revolted against his elder brother, Bhanashahi, and forced him to transfer his capital at Tiprikot from Chhinasim. This fact is attested from the documents of Bhanashahi also. This might be a reason why we find the Kallala kings ruling simultaneously from two capitals of Tiprikot and Chhinasim. Thus from the time of Bhanashahi and Surtishahi we have two ruling houses of the Kallala Dynasty.
90. *Ibid.* p. 125.
91. *Ibid.* p. 124.
92. *Op. Cit.* (No. 14.), p. 1.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3, Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 132-36.
94. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 14.), p. 1.
95. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 125.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26.
97. *Ibid.*
98. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), p. 108. The Jumaleshwar Chronicle writes that Surtishahi became the king of the Kallala country after the death of Bhanashahi but the Kallalashahi and the Baburam Acharya chronicles (*Ibid.*, pp. 106-112) mention Salimashahi as the son and successor of King Bhanashahi. I think that both the chronicles are correct, because after Bhanashahi both of his sons had ruled; one from Chhinasim and the other from the Tiprikot capital.
99. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 125-26.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26
101. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-29.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
105. The towns of late-medieval period in Western Nepal would not have been bigger than a modern village of the region.
106. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 129.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
110. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), p. 106.

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111. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 130-31.
112. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 106-16.
113. *Ibid*, pp. 108-09.
114. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 131-32
115. *Ibid*, p. 131.
116. *Ibid*.
117. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 14.), pp. 1-3.
118. *Ibid*, pp. 1-3. In the Jumla Valley the people have a poem, still sung by them. It relates to Jhampam and Saimalashah, and their struggle. The poem reads as follows:-  
Jhampanako rato vakhu churile chhekyako  
Saimalasaika hata parnu karmama lekhyako  
Jahampanako rato vakhu Chaudhana-  
chanda milka. Jhampanako chaudhanyagho-  
chaudbakhilka.
119. *Ibid*, p. 3.
120. *Ibid*, pp. 1-3.
121. *Ibid*, Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 132.
122. *Ibid*, (No. 13.), pp. 133-36.
123. *Ibid*.
124. *Ibid*.
125. *Ibid*, p. 134.
126. *Ibid*.
127. *Ibid*, 124.
128. Yogi Naraharinath. *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 16-13.
129. *Ibid*, p. 108.
130. Yogi Naraharinath. *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 137.
131. *Ibid*.
132. *Ibid*.
133. *Ibid*, p. 132.
134. *Ibid*, pp. 137-38.
135. *Ibid*.
136. *Ibid*, p. 132.
137. *Ibid*, p. 137.
138. *Ibid*.
139. *Ibid*.
140. *Ibid*, pp. 132-36.
141. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 106-09.
142. *Ibid*, p. 113.
143. *Ibid*, pp. 106-09.
144. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 38.
145. D. R. Regmi *Modern Nepal*, Calcutta, 1961, p. 116. Regmi received this fact from the *History of Kamoyun* of B. D. Pandey.
146. As Bajabhadur Chanda ruled till A. D. 1678, one has ample place to doubt if he had really conquered some strip of territories of Doti and Jumla during the rulership of Bahadurashahi. This trouble might have come during the rulership of his successor Birabhadrashahi.
147. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 106-09.
148. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 138-39.
149. *Ibid*, p. 138.
150. *Ibid*, p. 139.
151. *Ibid*.
152. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 106-113.
153. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 139-43.
154. *Ibid*, p. 139.
155. *Ibid*.
156. *Ibid*, p. 140. I think that Naraharinath was not able to read the date of this document correctly. We have read that Bhanashahi had ruled between A. D. 1529-85. If we modify the date with the Saka Era 1500, corresponding to A. D. 1578, then, of course, it becomes an authentic document of King Bhanashahi.
157. *Ibid*, pp. 122-25.
158. *Ibid*, p. 140.
159. *Ibid*.
160. *Ibid*.
161. *Ibid*.
162. *Ibid*, pp. 140-41.
163. *Ibid*.
164. *Ibid*, p. 141.
165. *Ibid*.
166. *Ibid*, The literal meaning of Ranajitya Badha is "the old man who had conquered the battel. Does it mean that the Budha received this charity because he had shown

- an extra-ordinary genius in the conquest of some battle by the king.
167. *Ibid*, p. 143.
168. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit* (No. 1.), pp. 108-13.
169. *Ibid*, p. 106.
170. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 140.
171. *Ibid*, pp. 143-48.
172. *Ibid*, p. 143.
173. *Ibid*, pp. 146-47.
174. *Ibid*, p. 144.
175. *Ibid*, Dharmavikramashahi is not known by any other record of the region except this reference.
176. *Ibid*, p. 145.
177. *Ibid*, pp. 143-48.
178. *Ibid*, pp. 143-44. This document was given to Naraharinath by Mr. Lalasingh. Ghorala of Suvagoan, located in the neighbourhood of Tiprikot.
179. *Ibid*, p. 144.
180. *Ibid*, p. 145.
181. *Ibid*, p. 146.
182. *Ibid*, pp. 147-48.
183. *Ibid*, p. 143. The word *vintyarū* originates from the word *bhrityarū*; the latter is shaped from word *bhritya* of Sanskrit, standing for the servants and the servicemen.
184. *Ibid*, pp. 143-44.
185. *Ibid*, p. 144.
186. *Ibid*, p. 146.
187. *Ibid*, p. 147.
188. *Ibid*, pp. 147-48.
189. *Ibid*, pp. 143-48.
190. *Ibid*, p. 148.
191. *Ibid*, pp. 145-46.
192. *Ibid*.
193. *Ibid*.
194. *Ibid*, pp. 147-48.
195. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 106-13.
196. *Ibid*, pp. 108 and 113.
197. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), pp. 143-47.
198. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), p. 106.
199. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No.13.), p. 148.
200. *Ibid*, pp. 149-53. This copper-plate was used for a long time as a lid to an unbaked earthen container (*dehari*) of the house of Shree Chandra Devakota of Talichur, Asidara of the Jumla Valley. After cleaning for one day constantly Naraharinath was able to read its contents. On 2012/5/23/5 Shree Mohanbahadur Malla of Malabhida provided this copper-plate to Yogi Naraharinath.
201. *Ibid*.
202. *Ibid*.
203. *Ibid*.
204. *Ibid*, pp. 153-54.
205. *Ibid*, *Birabhadrasaika samayah yesalam resa payakai thiyo...inu Chainaja Chhadi kasi paunu nahi.....11*
206. *Ibid*.
207. *Ibid*.
208. *Ibid*.
209. *Ibid*, pp. 154-55.
210. *Ibid*, p. 156.
211. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 1.), pp. 106-13.
212. Francis Hamilton, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburg, 1819, pp. 282-88,
213. *Ibid*.
214. *Ibid*, pp. 283-84.
215. *Ibid*.
216. *Ibid*, p. 287.
217. *Ibid*, pp. 282-88.
218. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. Cit.* (No. 13.), p. 156.
219. *Ibid*.
220. *Ibid*.
221. *Ibid*.
222. *Ibid*, p. 157. Here the king has been called as *Shree Sayepajyu*. From the previous document itself we know that *Suryabhana-shahi* was called *Sahebajyu* (wrongly spelled as *Sayepajyu* over here) also by the people of the Jumla Valley.
223. *Ibid*.
224. *Ibid*, p. 156.
225. *Ibid*.
226. *Ibid*.

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227. *Ibid.*
228. Yogi Naraharinath, *Itihas Prakasha* II, III, Kathmandu, 2013, p. 438.
229. Francis Hamilton, *Op. cit.* (No. 212.), pp. 287-88.
230. Kirkpatrick. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, London, 1811, p. 292. "His country being governed by a Gorkhali Subha, and himself being under and honourable restraint at Kathmandu."
231. Francis Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 288. According to some people, as Hariballabha informs to Hamilton, Suryabhanashahi had escaped and gone to Lhasa.
232. Yogi Naraharinath, *Op. cit.* (No. 13.) pp. 158-59.
233. *Ibid.*
234. *Ibid.*

