

# ĀDARŚA

A supplement to *Pūrṇimā*, the journal of the Saṃsodhana-maṇḍala  
No. 2

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*tad iha na guṇadoṣau yojanīyāv alīkau  
katham api mahatā yat saṃskṛto 'yaṃ śrameṇa |*

– Bāpū Deva Śāstrī (1819-90)

'The undeserved merit or fault, therefore, should not be applied here,  
since this has after all been prepared with great effort.'

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**A Historical Gloss on  
the *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra***

**No. 2\***

– Bholanath Paudel, Dhanavajra Vajrācārya  
and Gyan Mani Nepal

*nītiśātrāmṛtaṃ śrīmān arthaśāstramahodadheḥ ।  
ya uddadhre namas tasmai viṣṇuguptāya vedhase ॥*

Kāmandaka<sup>1</sup>

'Honour be to Kauṭalya [as unto] the Creator; who from the ocean of the *arthaśāstra* churned out the nectar at the *nītiśāstra*.<sup>2</sup>

**Kauṭalya's Thoughts  
on the Kingdom of Nepal's Ready Expansion from 1786 onwards,  
on Dependent Kings' Not Taking Sides with Nepal  
in the War with the British in 1814-1816  
and  
on the Indian Mutiny of 1857**

A man who is energetic and endowed with *svāmisampat* ('necessary kingly quality'), and in whom there is the wish to conquer new countries is called a *vijigīṣu*. The *vijigīṣu* conquers new countries by means of his *mantraśakti* ('power arising from learning') and by the *prabhāvaśakti* ('strength of wealth and an army') and by the *utsāhaśakti* ('willingness to act'). Many kings, as they fall under his increasing influence, will come under his protection. Then the *vijigīṣu* will have to make provisions to administer countries that

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\* Translated from Paudel, Vajrācārya and Nepal 1953 by Philip H. Pierce.

1. *Kāmandakīyanītisāra* 1.6. – Translator
2. The translations follow the Nepali translations of the original Sanskrit, made by the authors themselves. – Translator

have been conquered and have fallen under his subjugation. Since those countries may lie very far away, it is natural that it will not be convenient to administer them directly from the *mūla* ('capital'). Under such circumstances it is easier to have the kings of those conquered countries do this job. Since these kings have fallen under the impact of the *vijigīṣu*'s *daṇḍa*<sup>3</sup> and have come to seek sanctuary under it, they are called the *daṇḍopanata*. As the *vijigīṣu* must make the *daṇḍopanata* always bow down by [the might of] his *daṇḍa*, the *vijigīṣu* is called the *daṇḍopanāyin*. The *prakaraṇa* which tells of what rules of conduct the *daṇḍopanāyin* king is to follow towards the *daṇḍopanata* is called the *daṇḍopanāyivṛtta*. In the *daṇḍopanāyivṛtta*, in the process of telling what sort of conduct on the part of the *daṇḍopanāyin* towards those *daṇḍopanata*-s is profitable and what sort of conduct is undesirable, Acārya Kauṭalya states as follows:

*upakāriṇam upakāraśaktyā toṣayet | prayāsataś cārthamānau kuryāt |*

(*Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra* VII.16.121.35-36)

'[The *vijigīṣu*] should make a dependent king who has helped him content, in conformity with his help. He should give him wealth and honour according to his efforts.'

When respect is shown to cooperative kings – in the form of wealth and honour in accordance with their help – they will help in later times too, in the expectation of further wealth and honour.

*paribhavāpaghātakutsātivādāṃś caiṣu na prayuñjita | datvā cābhayāṃ pitevānugrhnīyāt | yaś cāsyāpakuryāt taddoṣam abhivikhyāpya prakāśam enaṃ ghātayet | parodvegakāraṇād vā dāṇḍakarmikavac ceṣṭeta | na ca hatasya bhūmidravyaputradārān abhimanyeta | kulyān apy asya sveṣu pātreṣu sthāpayet | karmaṇi mṛtasya putraṃ rājye sthāpayet | evam asya daṇḍopanatāḥ putra-pautrān anuvartante |*

(*Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra* VII.16.121.38-45)

'The *vijigīṣu* should not use humiliation, beatings, abuse or harsh words upon them (i.e. *daṇḍopanata* kings). Like a father, he should instill a

sense of security [in them] and show compassion for them. He should proclaim to all the guilt of whoever does him (*vijigīṣu*) harm, and take his life in public. If there is a possibility that others may be alarmed if his life is taken publicly, he should practise the means such as the *dāṇḍakarmika* (means related in the *dāṇḍakarmika* (89) *prakaraṇa*, i.e. killing, in some secret way). He should not use force on the slain king's landed property, material wealth, sons and daughters, and wives. Also, he should keep men related to his family in their respective posts. [The *vijigīṣu*] should set the son of a king on the throne [of the father] who has died while performing services for him. In this way, the *daṇḍopanata* kings will obey from generation to generation.'

It is best for the *vijigīṣu* to conduct himself as far as possible in a conciliatory manner towards dependent (*daṇḍopanata*) kings. Were he to conduct himself ignobly towards kings who have fallen under his sway, they would be provoked at him to no purpose. Therefore when he employs disrespect, abuse and harsh words on them, doubts will come uselessly into their minds. And their good feelings towards him, too, will disappear, and they will seize upon the opportunity of taking revenge. There is nothing to be gotten thereby but loss for the *vijigīṣu*. From his having given them sanctuary and offered them compassionate protection, they themselves will fall under his sway because of his virtue. And they will not have evil designs but rather the *vijigīṣu*'s good in mind. Dependent kings will display circumspection within themselves and faith towards the *vijigīṣu* on the strength of the feeling that it is right, when someone practises evil against the *vijigīṣu*'s, for that scoundrel to undergo punishment, and to punish the guilty party by disciplining him openly. Some king, now, is going to his doom, and if from a sentence of the public forfeiture of life there is fear that others may be alarmed, then for the *vijigīṣu*, who is attempting to keep the realm on its feet, performing *upāṃśuvadha* ('secret execution') comes to be a necessary action. If, after doing away with him, he makes use of force and lays hands on the others' realms, thinking that anything can be done to simple-minded kings who have fallen directly under his sway, then the effect on them will be different. Their descendants and the members of their clan will be provoked, thinking that he killed in order to confiscate illegally. But if he does otherwise – if he confers separate powers upon their sons and brothers individually and secures his country's well-being by willingly relying on others' support – then the kings will always be dependent upon the *vijigīṣu*. And as the members of their family, too, have each received their customary powers, they will not harbour thoughts of the realm becoming dependent on someone else.

3. No translation of technical terms that are not rendered by the authors into Nepali is offered here. – Translator

Now, in order to show what the fruits of acting contrary to this are, Kauṭalya says:

*yaṣ tūpanatān hatvā baddhvā vā bhūmidravayaputradārān abhi-manyeta, tasyodvignaṃ maṇḍalam abhāvāyottiṣṭhate | ye cāsyā-mātyāḥ svabhūmiṣv āyattās te cāsyodvignā maṇḍalam āśrayante | svayaṃ rājyaṃ prāṇān vāsyābhimanyante |*

(Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra VII.16.121.46-48)

'The *maṇḍala* provoked by [the *vijigīṣu*] who, having killed dependent kings or imprisoned them, uses force on their landed property, material wealth, childrens and wives, will make efforts to undo him. Also the ministers who were working in the realm of the person (i.e. the dependent king against whom force was used), [stirred up] by the provocation against him [*vijigīṣu*], will join the *maṇḍala*, or by themselves will make attempts upon the kingdom or life of the *vijigīṣu*.'

If the *vijigīṣu* in his greed begins to uproot the weak and dependent kings by force and to appropriate everything to himself, the latter, plunged subsequently into a hopeless state of fear that they will not find anywhere any means to stand on their own two feet with, will all of one mind become compelled to stir up a revolt to put an end to the *vijigīṣu*. It is natural too that, after the downfall of their master, the ministers who rose to power together with him, having received a shock to their livelihood, should also become provoked and join in the revolt. Where they have the power to do so, they will try to take under their own control the kingdom of the *vijigīṣu* who did their master in, or else they will try to kill him. Peace cannot endure under these circumstances in the *vijigīṣu*'s empire. Once some weakness of his manifests itself, it will not be long before his kingdom is forfeited.

Kauṭalya, having understood this matter, now says the following in the way of a solution for it:

*svabhūmiṣu ca rājānas tasmāt sāmnānupālītāḥ |  
bhavanty ānuguṇā rājñāḥ putrapautrānuvartinaḥ ||*

(Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra VII.16.121.49)

'Therefore the dependent kings dwelling each in his own territory ('realm') and protected by the conciliation of the *vijigīṣu* will be favourably disposed towards him and will obey [him] from generation to generation.'

Examples from history illustrating these *sūtra*-s are given in the following.

From 1744 to 1775, King Prithvīnarayan Shah, on his own initiative, spread his kingdom from Gorkha by marching eastwards up to the Sikkim border. Later, in the west too, many realms were seized one by one by his able nobles. As a fruit of Prince Bahadur Shah's policy, Palpa broke away from the Chaubisi<sup>4</sup> Confederation and went on to become dependent on Nepal in 1786. The border of the kingdom of Nepal reached the Jumna in 1793, during Bahadur Shah's period of rule. Later, in 1805, the commander Amar Singh Thapa (the elder) carried conquests in the west up to the banks of the Sutlej. Many kings fell under Nepal's increasing influence and became its *daṇḍopanata*-s. Prince Bahadur Shah assumed a policy of acting towards these dependent kings in a spirit of conciliation, as Kauṭalya had said. The court priest Śaktivallabha set forth this matter in 1793 in his *Jayaratnākaranāṭaka*:

*tataḥ saṃjāte prabhāte divākare hy udite punaḥ sa rājā rājaputraś ca rahasyaṃ cakratuḥ | rājan parajanapadāpaharaṇaṃ svāśrita-bhūmipālapālanam sannyāyena prajāpālanam ...cāsmatkula-paramparādharma'sti |*

(Jayaratnākaranāṭaka, kallola 9)

'Then in the morning, after the sun had risen, the king (Ranabahadur) and the prince (Bahadur Shah) again met in private. O King, defeating the enemy's country, protecting dependent kings and guarding the subjects justly is the code that has been handed down by our family tradition.'

The *daṇḍopanata* king of Palpa, Mahadatta Sen, helped Nepal in war. In accordance with the Ācārya's saying: *upakāriṇam upakāraśaktyā toṣayet, prayāsataś cārthamānau kuryāt*, Bahadur Shah, in return for his help, gave Mahadatta Sen the three kingly states of Gulmi, Argha and Khanchi, and various other tokens of royalty. The author of *Jayaratnākaranāṭaka* set forth this matter in the following way:

*rājaputraḥ ... tataḥ samarasahāyinaṃ pālpādeśādhipatiṃ śrīmahā-dattaśyenābhidham rājānaṃ kanakacchatrādisakalarājacihnāni kanakasamkalitahīrakādīnavaratnakaṅkaṇe muktākunḍale muktā-hāram uṣṇīśādisakalapariḍhānādivaṣṭraṇi ekottaraśatakuṅjarān*

4. Twenty-four petty states in the Gandaki region.

ājāneyaikottarasahasraturāṅgamān kṣudrabhūpālarājyatrayaṃ  
mudrābhāraśataṃ ca datvā preṣayāmāsa ।

(Jayaratnākaranāṭaka, kallola 9)

'Bahadur Shah then sent away the king of Palpa who had aided him in war, Mahadatta Sen, with a gold umbrella and the like (all the signs of kingly power), a pair of gold bracelets set with the nine jewels (diamonds and the rest), a pair of pearl earrings, a head-cloth and the like, all the clothes one wears, 101 elephants, 1001 fine steeds, three states of petty kings and 100 loads<sup>5</sup> of rupees.'

'After Mahadatta Sen's death... Prithvipal Sen ascended Palpa's throne. [...] As soon as Ranabahadur Shah returned from Benares, he sent for ... Prithvipal under the pretext of wanting to marry his younger sister. The poor, simple-minded Prithvipal, not thinking that there was a frightful plot behind the matter, arrived in Kathmandu with four hundred soldiers, and upon his arrival the soldiers were disarmed and Prithvipal ... was put into confinement.'<sup>6</sup>

(Balachandra Sharma's *Nepālako aitiḥāsika rūparekhā*, p. 202)

In April 1806, following the murder of Ranabahadur, Bhimsen Thapa passed a death sentence on Prithvipal Sen, who was still in confinement, regarding him as an accomplice of the murderer, Sherbahadur. This death penalty was passed very mercilessly. Poḍe-s<sup>7</sup> bound up the corpse, dragged it through the city and gave it to the jackals, dogs and vultures. Pandit Sundarānanda Bāḍā, author of the *Triratnasaundaryagāthā*,<sup>8</sup> gives the following description of the incident:

rājā pālpiyo vidursāhasera-  
bāhādursāho 'py amātyo nṛsiṃhaḥ ।

5. As the poet hyperbolically describes Bahadur Shah's generosity toward the Palpa king, it is not altogether improbable that he uses the *bhāra* not in the ordinary sense of 'load' as our authors have understood, but in the meaning of 20 *tulā*-s or 2,000 *pala*-s. – Translator
6. Translated from the original Nepali, as cited by the authors. – Translator
7. An untouchable Newar sweeper caste which, in caste hierarchy only above the *Cyāmā* (for *Cyāmā*, see fn. 14), performed the job of public executioner as well. – Translator
8. In the original the authors have dropped *saundarya*. – Translator

dāmnaikenānitavanto niṣādair

ullūnās te karmaṇe vai namo'stu ॥ 186 ॥<sup>9</sup>

[...] pāl-pākā pṛthvipālasena nāma rājā vaimātrka bhāi sera-  
bahādūra sāha vidura sāha cautarā 2 guruṇā kājī narasiṃha  
mahāullū ṭhahariyā. ṭāuko kaṭāi kabamḍha tulyāi dāmlāle bādhi  
caṅḍālaharūle āphālanu lai gayākā sabai duniñālāi deṣyā. estā  
bhavitavyatākana praṇāma cha. ॥ 186 ॥

'The Palpa king, Vidur Shah, Sherbahadur Shah and Minister Narsingh were beheaded and brought by the Niṣāda-s<sup>10</sup> bound by a single rope. Obeisance be to *karman*.'<sup>11</sup>

'[...] The king of Palpa, named Prithvipal Sen, the step-brothers Sherbahadur Shah and Vidur Shah, the two *cautarā*-s, and the Gurung Kaji Narsingh, were regarded as great fools. Their heads being chopped off, they were reduced to trunks, bound with a rope and taken away by *Cāṅḍāla*-s for disposal, and were displayed to all the people. Obeisance to such a fate.'<sup>12</sup>

śrīsvāmidrohiṇo ye dharaṇipapāricaryāpratīpāḥ parokṣā  
ullūnās te viluṅṭhadvibhavaparijanāḥ pulkaśānītātīrthāḥ ।  
āsūr dātyūhadākṣāyavṛkabhaṣakagomāyusaṃvāhitāṅgāḥ  
śryabde 'gnyaṅgāṣṭarūpe hy ahaha sukṛtino ye 'vaśiṣṭāḥ kṛtajñāḥ ॥187॥

śrīsvāmijyūkā anugrahale ārjana garyākā lāṣauṃ daulatha  
aiśvarya sarvasvakana luṭāi pariāra gaihra kamārākamāri-  
sametakana kujāti sārki nagārci poḍhyā ityādi cyāmākharakalāi  
saumpāi pulkaśa bhannu cāṅḍālajātile viṣṇumatīrthakā pāri  
puryāi ullūnā bhannu śira kaṭi kabamḍha tulyāyākā śarira jo chan.  
masānakā gṛdhra masānakukura śyāla gaihra cākarale cākarī

9. Quotations from the *Triratnasaundaryagāthā* are in accordance with its edition (p. 193). – Translator
10. Used here in the sense of outcaste in general. – Translator
11. A translation of the Sanskrit verses from the *Triratnasaundaryagāthā* into Nepali is not given by the authors, since the Nepali autocommentary thereon more or less fulfills this purpose. – Translator
12. This and the following section of the autocommentary are translated from the original Nepali. – Translator

*gariyā jhaim cāraitarapha gheri hāta pāū bhūḍī āṃdrā gaihra jyā pāyo tyo ghisāri laigikana māsuṣāi tṛpta bhayā. śrīsaṃvat 1863 sālāmā jo bācyā so duniyāmā kriajña nūnako sojho garnyā thahariyā. [...]* 187

'Those who were envious of the venerable Swami, the backstage opponents of service to the king, were beheaded, and their wealth and families looted; they were led to the fords by Pulkaśa-s,<sup>13</sup> and their limbs were dragged away by crows, vultures, wolves, dogs and jackals. Alas! in the venerable year 1863 pious persons were grateful for having survived.'

'Their millions in wealth and fortune and all their property which they had acquired by the grace of the venerable Swami were looted, and all their families together with their male and female slaves handed over to the Cyāmā-s,<sup>14</sup> including the despised castes of Sārki-s,<sup>15</sup> Nagārci-s<sup>16</sup> and Poḍhyā-s,<sup>17</sup> and to the caste of Cāṇḍāla-s called Pulkaśa-s, to be borne across the ford of the Viṣṇumatī, where the vultures and dogs of the burning grounds and the jackals, like servants performing a service, surrounded on all sides the bodies which had been made trunks by decapitation, and dragging away what they found—hands, feet, bellies, intestines etc.—they had their fill from eating the flesh. Those who survived in the venerable Saṃvat Year 1863 were grateful for it, [and] remained true to their salt in the world.'

It was ignorance of politics on the part of Bhimsen Thapa to have killed them and to have seized upon their family and wealth so mercilessly. In accordance with Kauṭalya's words: *yaś cāsyāpakuryāt taddoṣam abhivikhyāpya prakāśam enam ghātayet, na ca hatasya bhūmidravyaputradārān abhimanyeta*, he killed Prithvipal for being an accomplice to the murder to Ranabhadur, but he should not have used force upon his realm, landed property, material wealth, wives, children etc. Indeed, Chief Minister Bhimsen Thapa had his own father, Amar Singh Thapa, seize Palpa. And having easily seized it, he annexed it to the kingdom of Nepal. From this it

13. Used here in the sense of outcastes in general. — Translator

14. An untouchable Newar sweeper caste, the lowest in the caste hierarchy.

— Translator

15. An untouchable Nepali-speaking caste of leather-workers. — Translator

16. An untouchable Nepali-speaking caste of tailors—cum—musicians. — Translator

17. An archaic spelling for Poḍe (for Poḍe, see fn. 7). — Translator

was seen that the murder of Prithvipal Sen was only an artifice to that end. Such being the case, victory over Palpa was therefore no bringer of good fortune to Nepal. When the latter had broken faith in this way with the king who was its own friend, many dependent kings, listening to the words of the enemy, took fright. The British provoked the royal family of Palpa, too, in various ways.

Many of the country's dependent kings living in the western territories of Nepal—the twelve Thakurai-s, Kahalur and others—also took fright at such a policy on the part of Nepal, and seeing that it was not in their own interest to support Nepal, they joined with the British in the war of 1814-16 and set out to destroy the country, in accordance with the Ācārya's saying: *yas tūpanatān hatvā baddhvā vā bhūmidravyaputradārān abhimanyeta tasyodvignaṃ maṇḍalam abhāvāyottiṣṭhate*. This is clear from a letter that the commander in the west, Amar Singh Thapa, sent to the king Girvanayuddhavikram:

The enemy ... has reduced under his subjection all the western Zemindars, the Ranas and Rajahs of Kurnoul and the Takhoorae.... [...] All the Rajahs, Ranas, and Takhoorae, have joined the enemy....

(*Papers respecting the Nepaul War*, p. 556)<sup>18</sup>

Thus Bhimsen Thapa pursued a policy of keeping dependent kings in tow by the use of force, but when the time came when he himself got into trouble, the dependent kings joined forces with the enemy. This came to be one of the main reasons for defeat in the war of 1814-16.

An even better application of these *sūtra*-s of Ācārya Kauṭalya's can be made with the Indian Mutiny of 1857, that example from history being offered in the following.

In 1600 the East India Company was formed in England with the aim of conducting trade in India. Thereafter the British entered India as traders. During that time the Moguls firmly ruled India. Consequently the British remained traders. In 1707, following the death of the strong Mogul emperor Aurangzīb, the provincial rulers, taking advantage of strife in the ruler's

18. In the original the above passage in Nepali is cited from Surya Vikram Gewali's *Amarasiṃha Thāpā*, pp. 128-129. In it on pp. 119-129 is offered a Nepali translation of this letter. The English translation is published in *Papers respecting the Nepaul War*, pp. 553-556. — Translator

family, began to make themselves independent. In the end it was as though India had been divided up into many pieces. And taking advantage of this *rājavyasana*, the foreign traders slowly dipped their hands into politics.

In the beginning the traders of the East India Company had opened up their own depots in Surat, Bengal and other places on Indian shores. Taking advantage of a situation in which, given the *rājavyasana* in India, a free-for-all had broken out, the British traders went on extending their power. In 1757 the British, following their victory in the battle of Plassey, laid hands upon millions of rupees and some districts in the form of freehold estates. Their victory in the battle of Buxar in 1764 firmly consolidated their power in India. The British made the nawab of Oudh give 5,000,000 rupees as compensation for the battle. Also, the Mogul emperor Shah Alam was forced to hand over the *diwāni* ('right to collect taxes') of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the British. In return, the British agreed to give him an allowance of merely 2,600,000 rupees. After all this, a strong desire to establish the British Empire in India fed upon the British.

By 1772 the British had in hand the control over the *koṣa* and *daṇḍa* of Bihar and Bengal.<sup>19</sup>

Later, by dint of their increasing use of *śāḍgunya*, the British became the rulers of larger provinces, such as Bihar, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Afterwards, they further reinforced their victory campaigns. The more of India they swallowed, the stronger became their power. Many other kings throughout the great expanse of India fell under this increasing influence of the British and came to be their *daṇḍopanata*-s ('dependents'). In the end the British East India Company became all in all in India.

In 1834 the Company government, falling prey to greed, made the decision to annex the whole of India to the British Empire and to administer it directly themselves. In order to accomplish this the Company government was forced to break the treaties they had made with the kings who had been their *daṇḍopanata*-s and to take over their realms. In accordance with this policy, they began taking over some states and incorporating them into the British Empire. To complete this task the Company government, sent out Dalhousie

as governor-general in 1848. As soon as he arrived he set about annexing the whole of India to the British Empire. In accordance with this policy, he began seizing states of those kings who had died without issue, using this as a pretext, and annexing them to the British Empire.

In 1849 Dalhousie took over the state of Panjab and annexed it to the British Empire. He made appointments and conducted the affairs of state there on his own.

In Maharashtra, an *inām* commission held an investigation and, of 35,000 freehold estates, had 21,000 turned into land leased by the government. Dalhousie, seizing upon this as a pretext, took over by force the states of Satara in the province of Maharashtra, Jaitpur in Bundelkhand and Sambalpur in the province of Orissa, and annexed them to the British Empire.

The Peshwa of Bithur, Baji Rao, had no offspring. Therefore he raised Nana Sahib as an adopted son. In 1851,<sup>20</sup> when Baji Rao died, Dalhousie denied his pension to Nana Sahib.

In 1853 Dalhousie snatched away the province of Berar from Hyderabad and annexed it to the British Empire. In the same year the king of Jhansi died. Dalhousie did not turn over the throne to his widow, Queen Lakshmi Bai, who was nursing their adopted son. Some days after this a similar situation arose in Nagpur. All the jewellery, horses and elephants, and other such wealth, was put up for auction by the Company government.<sup>21</sup>

20. In the original the year of Baji Rao's death in V.S. has been given as 1908, which the authors, arrived by adding 57 years to A.D. 1851, the year given, without any other chronometrical particulars, by Jay Chandra Vidyalankar in his *Itihāsa-praveśa*, on which the above statement is based. The same year of death is given in Sundarlal (1970:812). But as the most reputed reference book for Indian history (Majumdar 1977: 507) says that Baji Rao died on 14 January 1851, this falls not in V.S. 1908 but 1907. This date is supported by Sen (1958:122-123) who says that 'Baji Rao [...] survived till January 1851'.

In the books on Indian history there are no less than three other different years given for the same occurrence, viz.: 1850, 1852 and 1853.

1850 – Basu (1931:699).

December 1852 – Burgess (1972:356).

1853 – Thompson (1918:370-371), Ishwari Prasad (1948:443), Roberts (1955:269), Majumdar, *et al.* (1974:762).

– Translator

21. *Itihāsa-praveśa*, pp. 500-502.

19. Cf. Jay Candra Vidyalankar, *Itihāsa-praveśa*, and Ishwari Prasad, *A New History of India*.

This and the following references are given in the original in the body of the text.

– Translator



The state of Oudh had concluded a subsidiary treaty in 1801 with the Company government. In accordance with this treaty the Company had assumed responsibility for the defence of the state of Oudh. The state of Oudh itself assumed responsibility for the affairs of state. In 1856 Dalhousie, finding an excuse to force the nawab of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah, to accept a yearly pension of 1,200,000 rupees, seized control of the state of Oudh by force.<sup>22</sup> Grabbing the state in this manner, Dalhousie put Wajid Ali Shah into confinement in Calcutta.<sup>23</sup>

The Company had already annulled most of the customary rights of the Mogul emperor of Delhi. He was the emperor now in name only, having become something of a Company pensioner. Still, he remained on the throne of Delhi and had his imperial honours. For a long time the Company had accepted these honours and title of his. As their power increased, however, the Company slowly began to curtail them and to show disrespect towards the emperor, and after the death of the emperor Bahadur Shah they even decided not to confer the imperial title on his successors and to deprive them of the Delhi throne.<sup>24</sup>

The Company also abolished the titles of nawab of the Carnatic and rajah of Tanjore.<sup>25</sup>

These acts of the Company government, which looked only to its own interests, were nothing if not in direct contradiction to the *sūtra*-s of Ācārya Kauṭalya.

When the Company seized a throne and took over a country, the kinsmen and officers associated with the king of that country who remained in the kingdom and went about their business, with their titles and rights, were dismissed by the Company, contrary to the words of the Ācārya: *kulyān api sveṣu pātreṣu sthāpayet*'. New British controllers and officers were enrolled in their place.

Thus the rapacious Company government did the very things the Ācārya had said not to against *daṇḍopanata*-s: it seized the states of kings who had come to be *daṇḍopanata*-s, continually laid hands on their land, material wealth, wives and children and, putting them in jail, tormented them

22. *A New History of India*, pp. 443-444.

23. *Itihāsa-praveśa*, p. 503.

24. Cf. Veni Prasad, *San 57 kā viplava*.

25. *A New History of India*, p. 442.

exceedingly, and by this behaviour greatly roused against themselves the noblemen who had been dependent upon these kings. Thus it was natural that these noblemen, whom the British had sorely dissatisfied by their cruelty, should, in accordance with the Ācārya-s saying, try to destroy the Company government.

Then the kings and nawabs of other states that had not been seized, seeing such conduct on the part of the Company, became afraid, lest their own titles and rights should be taken away in the same manner. The result of this, in accordance with the saying of the Ācārya, was that these *daṇḍopanata* kings also set to work to destroy the Company government. Famous among them are the rajah of Jagadishpore, Kunwar Singh, the nawab of Banda, Ali Bahadur, and the king of Jalaun.<sup>26</sup>

The Peshwa of Bithur, Nana Sahib, whose realm had been seized, and the queen of Jhansi, Lakshmi Bai, along with their ministers, being utterly displeased with the British, began thinking of ways to do it in. Nana Sahib, his minister Ajimulla and the envoy of the state of Satara, Rango Bapuji, sent out invitations to all the kings of India to take part in a revolt against the British. The emperor of Delhi, Bahadur Shah, his queen, Jinnat Mahal, Hazrat Mahal, the begum of the Nawab of Oudh Wajid Ali Shah (who was in Calcutta), the nawab's minister Ali Naki Khan and others joined in this action of theirs.

They fixed a day in the month of May of 1857 for all of India to revolt together. This was known only to the Indian officers of every barracks. The others had promised to obey their command. In order to prepare for the revolt, Nana Sahib and his minister Ajimulla set out on the pretext of making a pilgrimage and did their organising while passing through Delhi, Ambala, Lucknow, Kalpi and other places. They sent messengers from afar to announce themselves. They also included most of the servants and policemen of the Company government, and cooks and litter bearers to the English, in their scheme.

Since 1853 the British had been issuing a new kind of cartridge to their Indian soldiers. One had only to press its stopper in one's teeth to make it dischargeable. In the cold season of 1857 the rumour got about that the fat of cows and pigs was used in this cartridge. This rumour – that the British were endeavouring to make Hindus lose caste by putting in cow fat and the Moslems by putting in pig fat – spread great dissatisfaction among religiously

26. Cf. Avadhavihari, *Bhārata kā itihāsa*, and *Itihāsa-praveśa*.

minded soldiers. This added much fuel to the fire of displeasure that Governor-General Dalhousie had ignited by following the Company's instructions.<sup>27</sup>

The mutiny began in Barrackpur in the same cold season of 1857. This mutiny then spread immediately in all directions from there. The mutiny was raised in force against the British in Oudh, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Central India and other such places. Everywhere the Company's Indian soldiers were roused and began working against the British. Those leading the mutiny were principally the Mogul emperor, Bahadur Shah, his queen Jinnat Mahal, the begum of Wajid Ali Shah, Hazrat Mahal, Nana Sahib and Queen Lakshmi Bai, among others. They fought with all their might against the white man's battalions. Causing the Ācārya's saying 'ye cāsyāmātyāḥ svabhūmiṣv āyattās te cāsyodvignā maṇḍalam āśrayante' to be fulfilled, Nana Sahib's minister Ajimulla, General Tantia Topi, Nana's brothers and nephews, Bahadur Shah's sons (Firoz Shah etc.), Wajid Ali Shah's minister Ali Naki Khan, Rango Bapuji of the state of Satara, his son and others risked their lives to take part in the revolt and held their ground in the battle with the Company government. Thus the revolt which they had set in motion spread to many parts of India. Raised with the participation of many Indian kings, subjects and noblemen, it expended its energies in putting an end to the British empire.

Due to the lack of good organisation, this revolt was unable to be carried out at the same time in all of India. It continued sporadically for one year. For this reason it was easy for the British government to suppress the revolt. In the end, for many such reasons, the revolt failed. But even though it failed, the Ācārya's saying 'yas tūpanatān hatvā vaddhvā vā bhūmidravaya-putradārān abhimanyeta, tasyodvignam maṇḍalam abhavayottiṣṭhate ye cāsyāmātyāḥ svabhūmiṣv āyattās te cāsyodvignā maṇḍalam āśrayante, svayaṃ rājyaṃ prāṇān vāsyābhimanyante' was fulfilled.

The result of this revolt was the end of the Company government in India. The British Parliament took the administration of India directly into its own hands. The British government, jolted awake by the revolt, ceased its policy of taking over the countries of *daṇḍopanata* kings still in existence and incorporating them into the British Empire. In October 1858 the empress Victoria made the following proclamation, with the sole purpose of *labdhaprasāmana* ('preserving the status quo'):

27. *Itihāsa-praveśa*, pp. 503-504.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained....

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions ... we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes as our own.... [...]

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors....<sup>28</sup>

With this speech the dependent kings received in clear terms a charter of rights from the British government. After it the British did not lay hands on any state. The result of this was that thereafter the six hundred or so large and small kingdoms dependent on the British remained steadfast.

The British, then, having made these kingdoms steadfast, saw their future in rosy terms. India's first viceroy, Lord Canning, said this clearly in 1860:

Sir John Malcolm said long ago: 'If we divide the whole of India into British districts, there is no probability of our empire lasting more than 50 years. But if we retain many principalities, deprive them of political authority and use them as royal armament, we may remain in India for as long as the authority of our navy is not undermined.'

I have no doubt whatsoever of the truth of this opinion. Recent events are cause to make us consider very carefully; they did not occur all that long ago.

(Louis Fisher's *The Great Challenge*, p. 176)<sup>29</sup>

Even though the British did not treat the *daṇḍopanata* kings with the nobility the Ācārya called for, they did give up their earlier viciousness and act somewhat in accordance with his words, so that the dependent kings, on account of the British government's conciliatory behaviour, remained faithful to them even on into the future.

28. In the original, the above passage is cited in Nepali abstract. Quoted from Ishwari Prasad 1948: app. A, pp. i-ii. – Translator

29. These quotations from Fisher above and in the following follow the Nepali translation given by the authors basing themselves on the Hindi translation of the original English. – Translator

And many subjects, though they opposed the British government, later worked with it and were no longer intent on forsaking the protection it offered. Corroboration of this comes from the following sentence:

The nawab of Hyderabad said, '... in any case, how can the British depart India and leave us unprotected ?'

(*The Great Challenge*, p. 180)

With what solemnity the Indian *daṇḍopanata* kings of the British government viewed the dependency treaties they made with it can also be understood from the following sentence of the king of Bikaner:

... I have completely upheld the conditions of this treaty (of dependency upon the British government) and have given military aid to the British government. I myself have fought on the battlefield for the Emperor.

(*ibid.*, p. 172)

Thus the result of the policy the British government conducted towards the Indian *daṇḍopanata* kings after the revolt of 1857 confirmed this sentence of the Ācārya's:

*svabhūmiṣu ca rājānas tasmāt sāmnanupālitaḥ |  
bhavanty anuḡaṇā rājñāḥ putrapautrānuvartinaḥ ||*

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## A Few Remarks on *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles\**

– Mahes Raj Pant

The scholastically oriented city of Poona has already earned a place in the annals for its numerous contributions to the advancement of Indology. One of them is *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*, which Deccan College began preparing in 1948. This is a profoundly ambitious project, and it is no wonder that it has taken nearly three decades for the College to start issuing this enormous dictionary in parts.

The portion under review starts with *adhimās-ika*, p. 1639, and reads through to *an-anuviddha*, p. 1958: this is 320 large closely printed pages, as compared with roughly 18 columns in the Petersburger Wörterbuch. More than anything else, these bare figures show the scope of the project and its advancement. However, they also show that the project has just begun its journey and has an unbelievably long path yet to tread.

Nominal compounds are included in this dictionary in a more than generous selection, even from the later stages of Sanskrit, where the conceptual unification of its members (not every black bird is a *kṛṣṇaśakuni*) was no longer deemed indispensable. On matters of principle, one might of course question this editorial decision, but there will be few to quarrel with it when the editors' policy provides us with so many additional attestations.

Occasionally the standardisation of English equivalents is still open to improvement. The entries for *adhi-rāj* and *adhi-rājan*, for example, both contain *inter alia* the gloss 'emperor', while *adhi-rāja* does not. But *adhirāja-kumāra*, *adhirāja-cihna* and *adhirāja-tva* are translated as 'son of the emperor', 'insignium of an emperor' and 'the state of being an emperor...'

\* S.D. Joshi (gen. ed.): *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles*. Vol. 3, pts. 2-3. Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1988 and 1989. Each part 160 pp.

Both this and the following reviews were written more than one decade ago, but now appearing for the first time.

One entry, *adhītādhyāpitā*, translated as '(first) learnt and (then) taught', points out another area requiring caution. To illustrate its use the dictionary offers the sole quotation: *mayādhītādhyāpitāḥ sarvavidyāḥ kṛto mayā sarvatīrthāvagāhaḥ*, which comes from the *Skandapurāna*. As Purāṇic literature is a notorious repository of irregular *sandhi*-s and the line quoted is in verse, one is irresistibly tempted to dissolve the word in question into *adhītāḥ* and *adhīyāpitāḥ*.

This well-printed dictionary is virtually free from printing mistakes. A few errors, however, can be found: प्रणमे° for प्रणम्ये° (s.v. *adhi-mukutaṃ*, line 1) °वचनं for °वचनं (s.v. *adhi-vacana* line 2), गवश्वादी for गवाश्वादी (s.v. *anaḍudaśvādi* line 1).

As epigraphical materials are also being tapped for the dictionary, the editorial staff might profitably look into the large number of Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Nepal. Though a selection of Nepalese inscriptions was first published in 1880 in India, and a handful of others in England in 1886 and still others in France in 1908, the research did not gain momentum thanks mainly to the autocratic and isolationistic Rana rule, which hindered both indigenous and foreign scholars. Only after the collapse of the Rana regime in 1951 was it possible for local scholars to play a leading role in epigraphical studies. The outcome of this still ongoing research, scattered throughout various volumes and several periodicals, goes practically unnoticed outside Nepal, partly due to poor circulation of the Nepalese publications but mainly owing to the language barrier, since nationalist-minded Nepali scholars mostly express themselves in their own little-known language.

It will be a long time until we see the publication of regional dictionaries of Sanskrit, comparable with those prepared for Mediaeval Latin. *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles* will remain the standard thesaurus for many decades; one would of course like to see it as exhaustive as possible.

## On Reading Two Edited Texts on the Gandhaśāstra\*

– Mahes Raj Pant

The late Parashuram Krishna Gode (1891-1961) wrote scores of papers on many diverse subjects of Indology which unfortunately generally failed to attract the attention of the average Indologist. One of these disciplines enriched by Gode's research was the history of the Gandhaśāstra, the science of cosmetics and perfumery, on which he authored no less than one dozen articles. Two of them, published in 1945, are on two separate texts of the Gandhaśāstra, namely Gaṅgādhara's *Gandhasāra*<sup>1</sup> (GS) and an anonymous author's *Gandhavāda*<sup>2</sup> (GV). Both texts are contained in a single manuscript, written by a single hand, and for which no other copy exists. This manuscript Gode discovered in the Raḍḍi collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona. 'Subsequent to my discovery of these two treatises', Gode writes, 'several Indian scholars have taken from me copies of these Sanskrit treatises with a view to editing them.'<sup>3</sup> The actual credit for bringing out the editions goes to Dr Ramkrishna Tuljaram Vyas; he has thereby performed a commendable service to a little-known branch of Indology.

The editor's elaborate introduction to the texts extends over 74 pages and deals with (1) the 'Description of Manuscript' (pp. 1-7); (2) 'About the Authors' (pp. 7-15); (3) 'Genesis and Development of Cosmeticology' (pp. 15-67); and finally, there is a 'Critical [*sic*] Appraisal of the Contents' (pp. 68-74). Two plates reproducing eleven *yantra*-s are added to this section (between pages 68 and 69).

The edition is preceded by a specimen photograph of each text. The textual part begins with new pagination. The first text (GS) covers the first 51 pages,

\* Ramkrishna Tuljaram Vyas (ed.): *Gaṅgādhara's Gandhasāra and an Unknown Author's Gandhavāda (with Marathi Commentary)*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 173. Vadodara: Oriental Institute, 1989. 74+193 pp. Rs. 128.00.

1. Gode 1956:1-12.
2. Gode 1961:43-52.
3. *Ibid.*:3.

while the GV extends over 37 pages (pp. 52-88). Following the presentation of the text a longish series of appendices (nos. 1-12) is offered over 85 pages (pp. 89-173). These appendices are excerpts from 12 classical texts more or less related to this field of study. Then follows an 'Index of the aromatic substances occurring [*sic*] in the *Gandhasāra*, together with their equivalent Botanical terms' (pp. 175-184). Finally, there is a bibliography (pp. 185-188).

At first glance this appears to be a solid, well-prepared edition. However, we are left with some grave reservations about it once we start reading it carefully. The description of the manuscript hardly touches on the knotty problem of textual criticism, and the conclusion: 'The present manuscript is not the *ur-text* but appears to be a transcription probably from the autographs of the two different authors by *secundā-manu* [*sic*]....' (p.4) remains a mere assertion: the introduction nowhere offers a single piece of evidence to corroborate the conclusion.

Vyas's chronology for Gaṅgādhara, the author of the GS, rests on the flimsiest grounds. As Gaṅgādhara pays homage not only to Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Sarasvatī but also to Gandhayakṣa, Vyas takes this as a vital clue for fixing the author's date. To Vyas, this homage to Gandhayakṣa 'reflects [*sic*] the transitional period of the Indian society in which the Vedic deities ... were yielding ground to the popular Purāṇic trinity of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, together with Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī, Yakṣas and other local deities' (p. 8). To him 'it indicates a time when they (i.e. Yakṣas) had lost their high rank but still were not degraded to a lower position' (p. 9). Such being the case, he ventures 'to suggest that roughly this happened at the beginning of the second millenium [*sic*] after Christ.... The author Gaṅgādhara, therefore, may have flourished either in eleventh or twelfth century A.D.' (*ibid.*). This kind of argumentation, needless to say, is a far cry from what one usually resorts to in determining the chronology of a work or of an author. A few pages later, Vyas narrows down the date and assigns Gaṅgādhara to the latter half of the 12th century, since the source of a certain statement in the GS appears to be Niścalakara's *Ratnaprabhā*, whose date has been determined by Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya to be 1120 (pp. 12-13). Without questioning the validity of Vyas's revised date for Gaṅgādhara, I hasten to add that he inadequately understood the passage quoted by Bhattacharyya from the *Ratnaprabhā* in spite of the latter's clear comment upon it. To be precise, the passage in question is not from Niścalakara himself but rather is a quote

from Gayadāsa, as Niścalakara explicitly states.<sup>4</sup> Since Bhattacharyya assigns Gayadāsa to 'about 1000 A.D.',<sup>5</sup> there is no harm in fixing Gaṅgādhara's date in the earlier part of the 11th century and thus making him anterior to Niścalakara by about one hundred years, using the same easy method practised by our editor.

To those who are not acquainted with the pioneering research on the Gandhaśāstra, the third section of the introduction will seem impressive, since Vyas draws on various passages from the extensive Sanskrit literature to trace the history of cosmeticology. But there are not too many things in Vyas's presentation which are missing in the brilliant studies either of Girija Prasanna Majumdar<sup>6</sup> or of Parshuram Krishna Gode.<sup>7</sup>

In this section Vyas begins by citing references from the Ṛg- and *Atharvaveda*-s and the *Sūtra* texts, for which he provides translations. Vyas's gleanings from standard books on Indus civilisation are quite interesting, though he seems to be unsure of himself in proposing a chronology for that period. Following the mainstream of historians, he places the civilisation in the pre-Vedic age (p. 24), yet he deals with the civilisation after dealing with the Vedic and *Sūtra* texts. Quotations from various texts are quite illuminating, but one can notice everywhere in his presentation a total lack of methodology. For instance, Vyas offers no translation of the *Itihāsa* (pp. 24-27) and Buddhist texts (pp. 27-28), nor of the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 30), but he translates not only a verse of the *Pañcatantra* but also quotes and translates a modern Sanskrit commentary on it (pp. 30-31)! Oddly, while citing the *Śukranīti*, he omits the text and gives only the translation (pp. 29-30). He provides the quotations from the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, *Nāvanītaka* and *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* with translations (pp. 32-43), while his quotations from the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* are not always accompanied by ones (pp. 44-46). Similarly, of the 16 passages quoted from the *Mānasollāsa* (pp. 48-53), only five (the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th passages) are accompanied by translations. Again, while citing an Āyurvedic text, the *Bhaiṣajya-ratnāvalī*, he omits the translation for the first quotation (p. 54).

4. Bhattacharyya 1947:154.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Majumdar 1938:82-106.

7. Gode 1956:1-12. *Id.* 1961:3-8, 43-109.

In a standard edition, needless to say, clerical errors are normally relegated to footnotes and correct readings are restored to the body of the text. However, Vyas offers both errors and corrections in the body of the text, inserting the correct reading between brackets. Though he says he reserves the square brackets – in his language ‘angular parenthesis’ – for the correction of haplographical errors, and employs the parentheses – in his language ‘semi-circular parenthesis’ – for the correction of other types of errors (introduction, p. 5), one can easily notice the usage of square brackets also for the correction of lipography. It is also clear from his example for a haplographical error that he mixed up these two terminologies and resultantly corrected the lipographical errors under the guise of haplographical ones.

The footnotes in this edition are very sparse – only seven – and are reserved for the comments on hypermetrical errors, errors on the numbering of the verses and other editorial comments, all written in Sanskrit. However, it is to be noted that the Sanskrit is not always correct: for example, Vyākaraṇācārya Vyas uses *lipikāra* to express ‘a scribe’ (fns. 5-6) oblivious of the fact that when the affix *ṭa* comes after the verb *kr* and is compounded with *lipi*, the result is *lipikara* (cf. Pāṇini III.2.21).

The editor’s principles for emending his text seem erratic. For example, he corrects *sapte’hni*, which on the principle of the *lectio difficilior* does not look like a clerical error, into the grammatical *saptāhaṃ* (p. 73 = GV, Gandharāju section, passage 2, verse 4<sup>c</sup>). But he does not correct the gerunds *dhūpya* (p. 4 = GS I.45<sup>d</sup>; p. 32 = GS, Uddhūlana section, verse 4<sup>d</sup>) and *saṃpiṣṭvā* (p. 35 = GS Gandhasaṃkramaṇa section, verse 1<sup>b</sup>), both of which seem not to be scribal errors even though they go against the grammatical norm.

I do not understand why Vyas changes the manuscript reading *kramād vṛddhaiḥ*, which is both metrically and grammatically correct, into *kramād vardhitaiḥ* (p. 27 = GS, Dhūpa section, verses 34<sup>d</sup>, 38<sup>d</sup>), since the correction itself is hypermetrical. The repetition of the verse number for the first *pāda* and the accommodation of the last three *pāda*-s of the same and the two first *pāda*-s of the following verse into the subsequent verse number only shows how carelessly he has edited the text (p. 4 = GS, Paribhāṣā section, verses 39-40). His corrections sometimes show a limited vocabulary on his part, as when he replaces the attested *melaka* with *melana* (p. 41, line 1).

It seems that the portion of the GS least attended to by the editor is the third *prakaraṇa*. This *prakaraṇa*, dealing with *nighanṭu*, provides in most cases a sort of caption for *vanaspati*-s, either in the shape of Sanskrit words generally known, or in vernacular terms. In the manuscript, the unlearned scribe repeatedly inserts the caption within the verse itself. In such a case Vyas does not care to remove it from the verse line and place it in the right-hand margin, which he has usually reserved for the captions. Glaring examples of this carelessness can be found in verses 19, 21, 27, 39, 54 and 61. Vyas does not care much about hypermetric verses (verses 3, 11, 17, 23, 26, 28, 29, 36, 52, 68, 97), verses lacking one or more *akṣara*-s (verses 14, 115) or about other kinds of metrical irregularities (verses 37, 96). He changes the well-known *haṭṭavilāsinī* to *hṛdavidāsinī* (verse 73), and in the process seems to have forgotten the simple fact that the word *hṛd* does not end in *a*! He corrects *dharāṇīsamparkāt* to *dharābhisamparkāt* (verse 118), which is not only far-fetched but also violates the metre by making the *pāda* too short. Needless to say, it could be corrected very simply by changing *dharāṇī* into *dharāṇī*.

I will not say much about the editing of the less accurately preserved GV. However, a few remarks will be necessary to demonstrate the editor’s habitual carelessness. The first verse dealing with the testing of musk (p. 59, Kastūriparīkṣā) is a case in point. As the verse is in Sragdharā, every *pāda* needs 21 syllables, but Vyas does not delete the unnecessary *ca* which makes the first *pāda* hypermetrical, and an emendation also makes the second *pāda* hypermetrical. In the same verse in the first *pāda*, he allows *yā gandhaketakīnām* to stand, which involves not only a metrical but also a grammatical problem. But as a Sragdharā opens with *ma*, so that the third syllable should be long, *yā gandhaṃ* would have been the obvious correction. This also solves the grammatical problem, since the line now reads *yā gandhaṃ ketakīnām vahati*.... It may be noted that Vyas has quoted the very same verse in its correct form in his introduction (p. 56) from the *Bhaiṣajyaratnāvalī* and knows that the author of the GV had taken the verse *verbatim* from the text just referred to.

Vyas’s appendices are a great help for those who are interested in the *Gandhaśāstra*. In the main, however, they, like his introduction, rest heavily on the research of his predecessors, namely Majumdar and Gode.

Vyas has performed a commendable service by adding an index of the aromatic substances referred to in the GS, together with their scientific equivalents. However, one can notice that his equivalents of the herbs in his

introduction do not always tally with those of the same herbs in his index. To begin with, I cite *karpūra*, which is *Camphora officinarum*, as the introduction (p. 3) says, although the same substance is translated as *Cinnamomum camphora* in the index. Similarly, I can cite *kuṣṭha*, which has been translated as *Costus speciosus* (pp. 18, 19, 32, 33, 34, 40, 60), whereas the index tells us that it is *Saussurea lappa*. Likewise, *sarja* has been translated as *Shorea robusta* (pp. 33, 34, 35), but the index offers its meaning as *Vateria indica*. These inconsistencies and others like them, no doubt, stem from Vyas's unacknowledged borrowings from his predecessors and his own confusion over the right equivalents, and only baffle the serious reader.

Vyas has subjoined a bibliography divided into two parts, namely books and journals. It is again sad to note that the bibliography is far from perfect. For example, he refers to an article published in *The Indian Historical Quarterly* in his introduction (p. 12), but the name of the journal is nowhere cited in his bibliography, not to mention the fact that both the name of the author and the title of the article are misspelt, and the volume of the *Quarterly* is numbered incorrectly. Similarly, *Ain-é-Akbari* [sic], which is referred to (p. 15), is not listed in the bibliography. Likewise, Vyas uses a special edition of the *Atharvavedasamhitā* (p. 18), reference to which or the *samhitā* itself is missing in the bibliography. He quotes Shāma Śāstry's 1924 edition of the *Arthaśāstra* in his introduction (p. 30), but he refers to Shamasastri's 1961 edition of the same text in the bibliography. This list could easily be lengthened.

Vyas acknowledges in his foreword the help he received from his three colleagues in reading the proofs and preparing the errata. I am sorry to state that even the errata, covering four and half pages, do not correct all the mistakes, either in the introduction or in the text. On top of that, Vyas seems to be not quite familiar with the transliteration system of Sanskrit into roman letters. He writes *aṣvins* (p. 16), *araṇyani* (p. 18), *rohini* (p. 19), *triḥalā* (p. 36), *jāṭifala* (pp. 40, 50, 51, 60), Bhatt Utpal (p. 44), *nighntu* (p. 44), *nighantu* (p. 44), Bhatt Utpala (p. 44), *lavanga* (pp. 45, 46, 60), *truti* (p. 46), *vimśati* (p. 48), *laxmivilāsa* (p. 57) and *jāṭifala* (p. 59), to cite a few instances.

All of the foregoing criticism is surely enough to show that the two important texts on Indian perfumery have not yet been adequately edited and presented, and still await an abler hand.

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# A Step towards a Historical Seismicity of Nepal\*

– Mahes Raj Pant

## Summary\*

The devastating earthquake of 15 January 1934 was appalling enough in its consequences to prompt a number of Nepalese to chronicle the catastrophe in detail. The outstanding account is from the pen of Brahma Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana. His book, written in Nepali and first published 14 months after the earthquake occurred, comprises 13 chapters, and has in its penultimate chapter a description of earthquakes that struck in earlier times. Thus the book serves as a basic text for those working on the historical seismicity of Nepal.

Basing myself on historical sources, I am mainly concerned in this paper with supplying descriptions of two more earthquakes not recorded by Rana and with correcting the dates of two treated by him.

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\* This paper is mainly the result of my stay of three months in Paris during September-November 1999 in the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique under the programme entitled 'Himalayan Landscapes Observed from Different Perspectives – Historical, Geographical, Ethnographical and Ecological Data', headed by Joëlle Smadja of UPR 299 – Milieux, Sociétés et Cultures en Himalaya of the same centre. I carried out additional research for this paper on my own in the subsequent year both in Leipzig and Kathmandu. I am grateful to Marie Lecomte-Tilouine for her comments on the very first draft of this paper. Philip H. Pierce, who patiently went through this paper with critical acumen and suggested improvements, has also earned my gratitude.

\* This summary is meant for those whose main interest is in having the bare facts concerning individual earthquakes. An earlier version of it was presented on 20 April 2000 in Kathmandu during the Franco-Nepalese Conference on People, Environment, and Landscapes of the Himalayas. As I could not come from Leipzig to participate in the conference personally, Marie Lecomte-Tilouine was kind enough to read it out on my behalf.

### 24 December 1223

There exists a collection of two late-fourteenth-century chronicles – one written in a debased type of Sanskrit and the other in Newari – joined together into a single manuscript and commonly known nowadays as the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī*. The Newari chronicle refers to an earthquake which occurred a bit more than seven and three-quarters centuries ago. Rana is unaware of this earthquake, which took place on the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Pauṣa in N.S. 344, corresponding to 24 December 1223. Though some letters are defaced and some words are not adequately understood in this passage of the chronicle, it can be definitely concluded that this is the earliest earthquake so far known from an authentic historical source.

### 7 June 1255

Rana gives the date of the earliest earthquake known from historical sources as Monday, the 3rd of the waxing moon of the month of Āṣāḍha, when the asterism was Punarvasu and the *yoga* was Dhruva, the Vikramasamvat (V.S.) year was 1310 and the Nepālasamvat (N.S.) year 374. As the N.S. epoch begins the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Kārttika V.S. 936, and the new year in V.S. in Nepal, according to the lunar reckoning, is on the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Caitra, and according to the solar calendar, on the 1st of the month of Vaiśākha, the N.S. year corresponding to Āṣāḍha V.S. 1310 should show a difference of 937 years. Thus Āṣāḍha V.S. 1310 corresponds to N.S. 373 not, as Rana would have it, to 374. It was customary in the Newar kingdoms to cite dates in N.S. The source Rana used was no doubt so dated, and his mistake occurred when he converted N.S. into V.S.

For the present purpose an earthquake registered in both above-mentioned chronicles is interesting. Taken together the chronicles contain the following facts:

A violent earthquake struck on Monday, the 2nd<sup>1</sup> of the waxing moon of the month of Āṣāḍha in the year N.S. 375 when the asterism was Punarvasu and the *yoga* was Dhruva. The earthquake toppled very many houses and temples. It claimed the lives of one-third of the whole population, and the king himself died eight days later as a result. People left their houses and lived outside for a period of a fortnight to a month after the earthquake, while aftershocks were felt for the succeeding four months.

1. According to the Newari chronicle, the earthquake took place on the 3rd, while the Sanskrit chronicle says that it occurred on the 2nd. An evaluation of all chronometrical elements in the two chronicles proves that the tremor struck on the 2nd.

Though Rana does not specify his source, his description of the earthquake closely corresponds to the description of it in the Newari-language chronicle. Similarly, there is no doubt that the discrepancy in the year given by Rana (374) stems from his confusion over a Newari numeral in the Newari chronicle. He appears not to have used the Sanskrit chronicle, which cites the year not in figures but in words.

### 14 September 1344

The Newari chronicle records one additional earthquake that occurred on the 7th of the waxing moon of the month of Āśvina N.S. 464, corresponding to 14 September 1344. Rana is silent about this earthquake as well. The chronicle describes the earthquake as big and, unlike in the previous two cases, tells us the time of day when it occurred: in the third *prahara*. As a complete day consists of eight *prahara*-s, one *prahara* is equivalent to three hours. When taking into account the time of sunrise in the Kathmandu Valley during that period of the year, we may deduce that the tremor occurred sometime between a quarter to twelve in the morning and a quarter to three in the afternoon. This earthquake, like the one of 1255, claimed the king's life. But this time the king died the day after the catastrophe.

### 4 June 1808

Rana describes another earthquake which struck Nepal with 21 tremors in the third *prahara* on the day of Daśaharā, V.S. 1866/N.S. 930. As in the case of the earthquake that took place in 1255, here an error in the conversion of the year has again crept in. The day of Daśaharā, namely the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha V.S. 1866 would correspond to N.S. 929 not N.S. 930, and the same day in N.S. 930 would not fall in V.S. 1866 but V.S. 1867.

Though we do not know Rana's source for his description of the earthquake, it more or less corresponds to the nineteenth-century Nepali-language chronicle. According to this chronicle the earthquake occurred in the third *prahara* on the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha N.S. 930, which corresponds to V.S. 1867 or C.E. 1810.

Daniel Wright, who edited the translation of a version of the Nepali-language chronicle and got it published in 1877, does not agree, however, with the year of the earthquake given in his version and corrects it to N.S. 928 or C.E. 1808.

There is another version of the chronicle, still in manuscript form, in the collection of the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala, Kathmandu, which differs from its cognates in dating the earthquake to the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha N.S. 928, the year Wright has corrected to. All manuscripts of the chronicle except Wright's tell how long the earthquake lasted, namely 21 *pala*-s. A *pala* is equivalent to 24 seconds, and 21 *pala*-s thus amount to 8 minutes and 24 seconds – indeed a very long duration. Wright's version does not say anything about the duration but quotes the same figure, 21, as the number of times the earth was struck by the tremor. It seems that the frequency of the seismic shock was later interpreted by ill-educated scribes as the duration of the earthquake, thanks to the graphical similarity between the words expressing frequency – पल (pala) – and a standard length of time – in Nepali called पला (palā), which derives from Sanskrit पल (pala). Interestingly enough, though Rana cites the year incorrectly, his statement that the earthquake consisted of 21 tremors is in accordance with what we find in the version of the chronicle with the correct year.

Two other contemporary sources confirm Wright's date. One is a bilingual – Sanskrit and Nepali – document which describes the earthquake poetically, and the other is an almanac of V.S. 1865 in which a note is added recording the earthquake on the day specified above.

Barring Wright's, all manuscripts of the chronicle cite the time when the catastrophe took place: in the third *prahara*. As we have seen above, Rana has the same information as we find in the manuscripts of the chronicle. Taking into account the time of sunrise on that day, we may conclude that the Kathmandu Valley was visited by an earthquake sometime between eleven minutes past eleven in the morning and eleven minutes past two in the afternoon. However, thanks to the note in the almanac we are in a position to know the exact time of this catastrophe: it occurred when 24 *ghaṭī*-s and 15 *pala*-s had elapsed from sunrise. As a full day comprises 60 *ghaṭī*-s, and 1 *ghaṭī* 60 *pala*-s, we may, by taking into consideration the time of sunrise, reckon that the tremor shook the valley at seven minutes to three in the afternoon. Needless to point out, this proves that the time of the earthquake stated in the manuscripts of the chronicle not only is somewhat vague, but also inaccurate, more than the one-sixth of the fourth *prahara* having already elapsed. Perhaps what the manuscripts of the chronicle mean is that when the earthquake occurred the third *prahara* in its entirety was over.

## Full Text

The devastating earthquake of 15 January 1934 was appalling enough in its consequences to prompt a number of Nepalese to chronicle the catastrophe in detail.<sup>1</sup> The outstanding account is from the pen of Brahma Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana. His book, written in Nepali and first published 14 months after the earthquake occurred, comprises 13 chapters and has in its penultimate chapter a description of earthquakes that struck in earlier times. Thus the book serves as a basic text for those working on the historical seismicity of Nepal.

Basing myself on historical sources, I am mainly concerned in this paper with supplying descriptions of two more earthquakes not recorded by Rana and with correcting the dates of two treated by him.

At the outset it is interesting to note that though the author does not mention his sources for the earthquakes of earlier periods, it may be obviously concluded that his descriptions are based on some sort of *vaṃśāvalī*, i.e. traditional chronicle, since he confesses that '[o]wing to the dearth of the *vaṃśāvalī*-s and histories in our country, no description [of the earthquakes] of much earlier times can be offered.'<sup>2</sup>

### I

24 December 1223

There exists a collection of two late-fourteenth-century chronicles – one written in a debased type of Sanskrit and the other in Newari – which are joined together into a single manuscript and commonly known nowadays as the *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*<sup>3</sup> (GRV). The Newari chronicle refers to an earthquake which occurred a bit more than seven and three-quarters centuries ago. Rana is silent about this earthquake, which took place on the 1st of the

1. The published catalogue of the biggest repository of Nepali-language publications registers 11 books on the 1934 earthquake (*Madana-saurabha*: 135, 152, 158, 259, 263).
2. Rana 1935:182. My own translation of his Nepali is offered in this and the following quotes.
3. For this title, see M.R. Pant 1993:22.

waxing moon of the month of Pauṣa in N.S. 344, corresponding to 24 December 1223.<sup>4</sup> As some letters are defaced and some words are not adequately understood in this passage, what the chronicler wrote about it remains unclear.<sup>5</sup> However, it can definitely be concluded that this is the earliest earthquake so far known from an authentic historical source.<sup>6</sup>

## II

7 June 1255

Rana has the following to say about the first recorded earthquake from his sources:

The document which deals with the earthquake that occurred almost six and three-quarters centuries ago in Vikramasamvat (V.S.) 1310 (Nepālasamvat (N.S.) 374) is the earliest one. That earthquake took place on Monday, the 3rd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha when the asterism was Punarvasu and the *yoga* was Dhruva. Temples and houses collapsed and many people died. The incumbent king, Abhaya Malla, too, was killed due to the same earthquake. The earth shook frequently for 15 days.<sup>7</sup>

Obviously, there is a mistake in this citation of the year of the earthquake. As the N.S. epoch begins the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Kārttika V.S. 936, and the new year in V.S. in Nepal, according to the lunar reckoning, is on the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Caitra, and according to the solar calendar, on the 1st of the month of Vaiśākha, the N.S. year corresponding to Āṣāḍha V.S. 1310 should show a difference of 937 years. Thus Āṣāḍha V.S. 1310 corresponds to N.S. 373 not, as Rana would have it, to 374. It was customary in the Newar kingdoms to cite dates in N.S. The source Rana used was no doubt so dated, and his mistake occurred when he converted N.S. into V.S.

4. I am indebted to Diwakar Acharya for the verification of dates not found in other secondary sources.

5. GRV: fol. 34a, ll. 2-3.

6. Of the three book-length studies of the period, those of Regmi (1965), Petech (1984) and G.M. Nepal (1997), only the latter's (1997:118) mentions this earthquake.

7. Rana 1935:182-183.

It is in the same Newari chronicle that we find the source of what Rana wrote on the earthquake discussed above. This I shall proceed to quote in English translation:<sup>8</sup>

There was a big earthquake on Monday, the 3rd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha in the year 375 when the asterism was Punarvasu and the *yoga* was Dhruva. Between a fortnight to a month [people] had to leave the country and live outside. Very many temples and houses<sup>9</sup> collapsed during the victorious reign of the venerable Abhaya Malladeva. One-third of the subjects, from [the king]<sup>10</sup> on down, died.<sup>11</sup>

Interestingly, this earthquake is also registered in the Sanskrit chronicle amalgamated into the GRV:

The venerable king Jayadeva [ruled] for two years and eight months. There was a great earthquake, much grief, an epidemic, famine and loss of subjects<sup>12</sup> during his reign. The tremor [began] on Monday, the 2nd of

8. The translation basically follows D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla 1985, in which the former offers a Nepali and the latter an English translation of the text. As this paper is in English, I follow the latter. When my translation differs from it it is due to my insistence on being literal. In a few cases, however, his translation has had to be revised.
9. K.P. Malla (D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla 1985:141) omits the translation of *chem*, i.e. 'house', though D. Vajrācārya's translation into Nepali (*ibid.*:94) is faithful to the original.
10. The original at this point reads: ... *vijayarāja śrīabhayamalla devasa ādina prajā śikva tribhāgasa chabhāga*. The chronicler did not bother to repeat the name of the king or to indicate him otherwise after mentioning him as the incumbent. But note the strange position of *vijayarāja*.
11. GRV: fol. 38 a, ll. 2-4.
12. What has been rendered as 'loss of subjects' reads in the text presented by D. Vajrācārya as *prajā śyeścā* (D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla 1985:33). This is translated by D. Vajrācārya into Nepali as *prajāksaya* (*ibid.*:81), i.e. 'loss of subjects' and by K.P. Malla as 'loss of people' (*ibid.*:129). How they determined this meaning from their reading is not clear to me, given the obscurity of *śyeścā*. The facsimile in the same book does not help here because a prominent part of the letter read by D. Vajrācārya as *śye* is effaced. However, it can be said with certainty that the second *akṣara* is not a conjunct plus *ā* but a simple consonant with *o*. I (M.R. Pant 1987:19) read the *akṣara*-s in question as *pāpo*, when I reviewed the edition by D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla. G.M. Nepal (1988:627) later read the word in question as *dinā* without, however, commenting upon the readings of his predecessors. Now, after discussions with Kashinath Tamot

the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha in the year 375, when the asterism was Punarvasu etc., [and the aftershocks lasted] four months.<sup>13</sup>

(6 September and 13 September 1999), I read the first *akṣara* as *ṣya*. As we know, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a letter is *y* or *p* until we can form some idea how the complete word can be read, and consequently the last letter must be *ya*, for meaning's sake, and so I have revised my old reading to *ṣyayo*, which stands for *kṣayo*, i.e. 'loss'. In the revised version of his above-mentioned paper, which has been incorporated into a collection of his articles, G.M. Nepal (1998/99:217) reads the same word as *kṣyayo* and adds a note to his revised reading (*ibid.*:220, fn. 5) in which he refutes D. Vajrācārya's and my own earlier reading and claims that the revision made by him results from his own decipherment of the original manuscript. In passing it may be added that though G.M. Nepal's book is dated V.S. 2055, i.e. 1998/99, it was not released before the beginning of Caitra, V.S. 2056, i.e. the middle of March 2000, following the circulation of an earlier version of my present paper among a limited circle of friends. To go back to the beginning, Petech (1958:222) read the word under discussion as *socā*. Naraharinath (1959:12) left the word undeciphered, placing two dashes to denote this, though he offered within parentheses a tentative reading *śocā*, merely changing Petech's dental sibilant into the palatal. Regmi (1966: pt. 1, 121) has the same reading as Naraharinath.

In this context it may be interesting to note that the reading which we discussed just above is attested in its correct version, i.e. *prajākṣaya*, in other versions of the Sanskrit chronicle, which attribute all the calamities not in Jayadeva's reign but his predecessor Abhaya Malla (*Kaisher Vaṃśāvalī*:p. 9, ll. 2-4; *Abridged Vaṃśāvalī*:p. 9, ll. 3-5; *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*: fol. 9b, l. 8-fol. 10a, ll. 1-2).

GRV: fol. 25b, l. 5-fol. 26 a, l. 1.

The last sentence in the translation needs some justification. The chronicler writes *somavāsaretyādi cālana caturmāsā* after the citation of the year, month, fortnight, lunar day and asterism. In the first component of the first word the chronicler gives the weekday, and both D. Vajrācārya (D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla 1985:82) and K.P. Malla (*ibid.*:129) translate it, but they omit the meaning of the second, i.e. *ityādi*, which perhaps refers to further chronometrical details such as the *yoga* mentioned in the Newari version translated above. D. Vajrācārya translates *cālana caturmāsā* as *cālana caturmāsako dina*, i.e. 'on the day of *cālana caturmāsā*', and K.P. Malla follows suit, writing the same as my rendering of D. Vajrācārya's Nepali into English, with the first letters of the two Sanskrit words in capitals. But it must be noted that there is no day known by the name of *cālana caturmāsā*. The period of four months beginning with the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Āṣāḍha and ending with the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Kārttika, and known as *caturmāsā*, was still more than a week away when the earthquake struck.

Failing to recognise *cālana* as expressive of earthquake in the second sentence of the original, D. Vajrācārya resorts to the preceding sentence in the text, which

It is evident that of the descriptions given in the two different chronicles, the one in the Newari chronicle corresponds more closely to what we find in Rana's account.

It may be noted that the two chronicles provide two different lunar days for the same earthquake. In both chronicles the lunar days are given in words, not figures – *dvitīyā* vs. *trītyā* – so there is little chance that this is not so.<sup>14</sup>

refers to several calamities, including the earthquake, and supplies within parentheses the words *ukta bhūkampa bhaeko ho*, i.e. 'the aforesaid earthquake took place'. K.P. Malla, however, is not quite as hesitant and simply takes the date as that of the earthquake.

Previously, G.M. Nepal (1988:627) interpreted the sentence in question as I have done. However, it is to be noted that in the translation of the passage from the Sanskrit chronicle he replaces his earlier version's *cāramahīnāsamma* [sic], i.e. 'for four months' in his revised version (G.M. Nepal 1998/99:217) with *mahīnaumsamma*, i.e. 'for months', but does not explain what to do with *catur*, i.e. 'four'. While commenting upon the text, he changes his earlier version's *cāramahīnāsamma*, i.e. 'for four months', into 1 *mahīnāsamma*, i.e. 'for one month'. The juxtaposition of these two interpretations of the duration of aftershocks in his revised version of the article reveals his own uncertainty over how to read the text. In order to lend plausibility to the fact that the aftershocks of the 1255 earthquake were experienced for an extraordinarily long period, G.M. Nepal, in both his versions, further refers to survivors of the earthquake of 15 January 1934 who felt the aftershocks for four succeeding months.

The Newari chronicle tells of the devastating aftermath of this earthquake: one-third of the whole population fell victim to it, so that it was obviously of enormous magnitude. There are examples in history that show that when the Richter value goes beyond 7.0 the aftershocks may be felt for more than four months (personal communication with Laurent Bollinger, a French seismologist, 4 October 1999). During the monsoon, then, an earthquake of such a magnitude could well generate seismic activity up to the month of October (personal communication with the same, September 1999).

In order to strengthen my argument a reference to the earthquake of 26 August 1833 will not be out of place: 'On 4 October 1833, a strong aftershock was felt simultaneously at Kathmandu, Allahabad, Berhampore, Malda, Purneah and Bhagalpore, and another on 18 October at Goruckpore, Kathmandu and Allahabad' (Bilham 1995:111).

To sum up, what the chronicler tells us is that aftershocks of this earthquake were felt for four succeeding months.

14. It is astonishing to note that Petech, who always discusses a date's veracity astronomically, has nothing to say about this problem, and simply remarks that

'[t]he worst earthquakes happened at the end of this reign, in N.S. 375 Āṣāḍha śukla 2, Punarvasu nakṣatra, somadina; the date is verified for Monday, June 7th, 1255' (Petech 1958:90). This, needless to say, shows that he takes the lunar day given in the Sanskrit chronicle as correct, though he cites the folio number of the Newari chronicle in which the 3rd lunar day is given (*ibid.*:90, fn. 1). In addition, Petech commits a minor mistake by citing as verbatim *somadina*, which is not attested in either of the chronicles. To be specific, the Sanskrit chronicle employs *somavāsara*, and the Newari *somavāra*. In his second edition, Petech (1984:88) even drops the indigenous date and gives the corresponding date in the Christian reckoning.

Regmi (1965:212), overlooking the two different lunar days, says that '[t]he Sanskrit chronicle also gives the same date for the event' and makes an additional mistake by stating that '[the Sanskrit chronicle] adds that Rājā Abhayamalla breathed his last due to an accident during the earthquake'. As seen above, this version of the death of Abhaya Malla is recorded in the Newari chronicle.

Regmi elsewhere in the same book (*ibid.*:220) mentions an earthquake of N.S. 374 on the basis of the GRV: fol. 39b. However, the folio cited by him makes no mention of the earthquake but a famine which did not take place in N.S. 374 but in N.S. 352.

G.M. Nepal (1988:627-628=1998/99:217) simply cites the relevant portions from both chronicles without pointing out the two different lunar days given in them, though he regards the earthquake as having occurred on *trīṅyā* – a view he states again in 1997:122.

Shrestha (2000:3) cites the folio numbers of both references from both chronicles, but just writes that the earthquake struck on *trīṅyā*.

It is interesting to note that other versions of the Sanskrit chronicle (*Kaisher Vaṃśāvalī*:p. 9, ll. 2-4; *Abridged Vaṃśāvalī*:p. 9, ll. 3-5; *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*: fol. 9b, l. 8-fol. 10a, ll. 1-2) give the same day as found in the Sanskrit chronicle quoted above. In contrast to the earliest chronicle, these versions cite the lunar day in figures. Though they enumerate several calamities in a single sentence, as the earliest chronicle does, they add two more, namely drought and *chatrabhaṅga* (lit., 'the breaking of the [royal] parasol'), and drop 'much grief'. Moreover, in contrast to the earliest chronicle they cite the date in the same sentence, and this gives the impression that all these catastrophes occurred on the same day. Further, the earliest chronicle places these disasters in the reign of Jayadeva, whereas according to the later versions they took place when Abhaya Malla was on the throne.

K.P. Malla (1985:99) translates the passage of the *Nepālavaṃśāvalī* more or less freely, and oddly enough, interprets the date as being the day of Jayadeva's coronation.

As an astronomical verification of dates confirms, the earthquake took place on the 2nd of the waxing moon of the month of Āṣāḍha, in N.S. 375.<sup>15</sup>

There is no doubt, then, that the N.S. year given by Rana as 374 is erroneous, reflecting his confusion over the Newari numeral in the Newari chronicle. It is to be noted that in the Sanskrit chronicle the same year has been given in words: *trī [sic] sapta pañca*, i.e. 'three-seven-five'.

Therefore the first earthquake in Nepal recorded by Rana did not take place in N.S. 374 but one year later in 375; to be exact, on Monday, the 2nd of the waxing moon of the month of Āṣāḍha N.S. 375/V.S. 1312, corresponding to 7 June 1255.

Interestingly enough, a certain section of the Nepalese population had still not totally forgotten in 1833 the occurrence and the aftermath of this disastrous earthquake even almost six centuries had already elapsed:

The brahmans of Nipal say (and it is believed with truth) that the occurrence of a more violent earthquake than this is recorded in their histories. It was about 600 years ago, and then the cities of Mangah, Patan and innumerable [sic] other towns were utterly destroyed and thousands of their inhabitants killed: the modern capital Kathmandu did not then exist.<sup>16</sup>

One will have noticed earlier two different kings being mentioned in the two different chronicles when they refer to the earthquake, the Sanskrit chronicle stating that the disaster struck during the reign of Jayadeva, whereas the Newari chronicle claims that Abhaya Malla was king.

We know for certain that Jayadeva was Abhaya Malla's successor to the throne,<sup>17</sup> if not his own son.<sup>18</sup> The last document so far discovered of Abhaya

15. To be precise, on the day in question sunrise occurred during *pratipad*, while *dviṅyā* began after a lapse of four *ghaṭī*-s and 58 *pala*-s following sunrise and lasted up to two *ghaṭī*-s two *pala*-s into the next day.

Mistakenly, Regmi (1966a: Verifications of the Dates Occurring in the Text, 18) gives the corresponding date in the Christian reckoning 'of the great earthquake' of '375 Āsāḍha s. [sic] 3' as 'Friday, 19 June, 1254'. Needless to say, among other mistakes he adds 879 (instead of 880 for Āṣāḍha) and changes without comment the original's Monday into a Friday.

16. As quoted from Campbell 1833:565 in Bilham 1995:126.

17. M.R. Pant 1986:39-40.

18. Petech (1958:90) states that 'Abhayamalla was succeeded by his son Jayadeva.... [...] Jayadeva was born in 324 Kārtika *kṛṣṇa* 11 (=November 1st, 1203) as the

son of Abhayamalla; he died at the age of 54 in Māgha śukla 5 (evidently of NS 378; = January 11th, 1258)' and cites the GRV: fol. 34, as his source.

Regmi (1965:221-222) weighs the evidence for Jayadeva being Abhaya Malla's son and tentatively accepts Petech's position:

The next ruler [after Abhayamalla] was Jayadeva. But the name-ending Malla has disappeared with Jayadeva as far as the ancient chronicles are concerned. [...] Because the name-ending Malla is absent also in Jayadeva's case it can be suggested that he did not belong to Arimalla's [i.e. Abhayamalla's father's] dynasty. Unfortunately the relevant passage in V<sup>ii</sup> giving the date of birth is not complete on account of a large number of letters having faded. However, the dates of birth and death as well as the regnal years completely agree as we apply them to Jayadeva. This is sustained also in the light of ms. colophons. But his name and his father's name cannot be deciphered in the text of V<sup>ii</sup>. With extreme difficulty I can make out Abhaya (अभय). But the faint trace of letters makes it open to different reading. Therefore we are unable to say with a measure of certainty if it was really meant for Abhayamalla. But it may be that the chronicler of V<sup>ii</sup> had written so. Petech calls Jayadeva a son of Abhayamalla following the later chronicles. Until a positive proof is forthcoming to contradict our suggestion we shall regard him as the son of Abhayamalla.

Since then Petech has had nothing more to say about this problem; in the thoroughly revised edition of his book (1984:89) what he wrote a bit over a quarter of a century ago reappears *verbatim et literatim*.

D. Vajrācārya (D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla 1985:42) reads the year as 354 against the reading of Petech, and places five dashes after *śrīabhaya* to indicate the number of letters that the defacement in the original palm leaf has rendered illegible. But in the translation of the passage into Nepali (*ibid.*:90), he goes against his own reading by giving the year as 324 without any further comment. K.P. Malla (*ibid.*:137) for his part retains the same reading of the year as given by D. Vajrācārya in the text but doubts its veracity; he emends it to 321, which he furnishes with a question mark and puts within parentheses. Both D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla take the passage as registering the dates of Abhaya Malla's birth and death. I (M.R. Pant 1986:38-39) have previously questioned their interpretation of the passage, pointing out that since the chronicle elsewhere (GRV: fol. 35b, ll. 3-4) records that Abhaya Malla was born in N.S. 303, D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla, who take the person born in N.S. 324 to be Abhaya Malla, should differentiate the latter as a namesake of the former.

G.M. Nepal (1997:136, fn. 5) takes the year in question as 354, the same as D. Vajrācārya published in his text of the GRV, and commits an additional error when he concludes that on the basis of the text only the following may be asserted: a son was born to Abhaya Malla in N.S. 354, though the name of the son is not specified. Against this, it may be noted that what remains after

Malla as a king is dated the 12th of the waning moon of the month of Caitra N.S. 375, corresponding to 5 April 1255.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the first document thus far found mentioning Jayadeva as king is from the full moon day of the month of Jyeṣṭha N.S. 377, corresponding to 29 May 1257.<sup>20</sup> Thus there is a gap of nearly 26 months between the last document of Abhaya Malla and the first one of his successor.

Abhaya Malla died on 13 June 1255<sup>21</sup> in the aftermath of the earthquake of 7 June of the same year.

the defacement in the original manuscript bears no trace of a word which denotes 'son'.

Nevertheless, one point raised by G.M. Nepal (*ibid.*:128-129) bears consideration, namely that the Newari chronicle's description of Jayadeva's coronation performed when Abhaya Malla was still living includes the fact that on that occasion a banner was hoisted in the temple of the goddess of Bhonta, i.e. Banepa (GRV: fol. 39a, l. 3-fol. 39b, l.1). This suggests that Jayadeva was not the son of Abhaya Malla but rather a scion of the Bhonta dynasty which contended against the Mallas.

Naraharinath (1959:15) read the year as 329 when he published the entire text of the GRV for the first time. G.M. Nepal (1997:136, fn.5) quotes him as giving the year 239, which is obviously a printing mistake. Naraharinath's reading of the figure which expresses the unit most probably originates in a similarity between the figure in the manuscript and one of the two forms for 9 in Devanagari. Regmi (1966: pt. 1, 128-129) has the same reading of the year as Petech, namely 324.

19. Petech 1984:85-86, doc. 25.

20. *Ibid.*:89, doc. 1.

21. The GRV (fol. 35b, ll. 3-4) says that Abhaya Malla's death occurred on the 8th of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha but makes no mention of the year, though the year can be reconstructed from the same source. As the GRV in the same place tells us that Abhaya Malla was born in N.S. 303 — only the lunar day (10th) is clearly stated in the chronicle, the month and the fortnight being shrouded in the obscurity of the word *tama* — and lived up to the age of 72 years and seven months, Petech (1984:86) rightly reconstructed that his death occurred in N.S. 375.

Petech (*ibid.*) gives the corresponding date in the Christian reckoning as 'June 13th, 1255'. Later in the same book (*ibid.*:89), he converts the same date into 'June 7th, 1255'. These two different dates for the same indigenous date are simply copied from his earlier edition (Petech 1958:89, 91).

The question arises why in the Sanskrit chronicle not Abhaya Malla but Jayadeva is styled as the king when the earthquake took place on 7 June 1255?

Interestingly enough, the Newari chronicle records that the *paṭṭabandha* ceremony for Jayadeva was held four times in three different years,<sup>22</sup> the first of these taking place on the 2nd of the waning moon of the month of Āśvina N.S. 374.<sup>23</sup>

*Paṭṭabandha* literally means 'binding with a diadem', and the ritual in which the forehead is encircled with a diadem is still practised in the coronation ceremonies of Hindu kings.<sup>24</sup> Varāhamihira in his encyclopaedic *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* devotes a separate chapter (49) to this ritual, treating five types of the *paṭṭabandha* in detail, namely those performed on a king, queen, prince, general and a person whom the king wishes to honour.

The second *paṭṭabandha* ceremony for Jayadeva was held on the 12th of the waxing moon of the intercalary month of Āṣāḍha N.S. 376.<sup>25</sup> The third one was solemnised on the 12th of the waxing moon of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the same year,<sup>26</sup> while the fourth and last one was performed on the full moon day of the month of Mārga N.S. 377.<sup>27</sup>

Petech (1984:86) cites as his source fols. 32b and 35b of the GRV. However, it is to be noted that the first-mentioned folio does not speak about Abhaya Malla but rather about his father, Ari Malla – information Petech (1958:84, fn. 4 = 1984:82) himself used while dealing with the latter. This mistake is blindly copied from his earlier edition (Petech 1958:89, fn. 2).

22. GRV: fol. 37b; fol. 39a, ll. 2-fol. 39b, l.1.

23. *Ibid.*: fol. 39a, ll. 3-fol. 39b, l.1.

24. See N.R. Pant 1975:54-55.

25. GRV: fol. 39a:ll. 2-3.

26. *Ibid.*: fol. 39a, l. 3.

27. *Ibid.*: fol. 37b.

D. Vajrācārya (1975:6) cites from the GRV only the three earlier *paṭṭabandha* ceremonies held for Jayadeva and makes no mention of the last ceremony. Similarly, G. Vajracharya (1975:5) says that '... there are at least three differently dated pattaḥśekas listed for King Jayadeva....' Following G. Vajracharya, Witzel (1987:431) says that 'King Jayadeva ... performed three *paṭṭābhiṣekas*....' and, as G. Vajracharya did not cite his source, confesses (*ibid.*:fn. 16) that 'I could not find this description in the chronicles', though he was aware that the book-length edition of the GRV which he describes was 'not without mistakes and misprints....' (*ibid.*:fn. 15).

As has been noted already, we have evidence for Abhaya Malla being the incumbent king at least up to the 12th of the waning moon of the month of Caitra N.S. 375. The *paṭṭabandha* ceremony held for Jayadeva on the 2nd of the waning moon of the month of Āśvina in N.S. 374 may therefore be interpreted as his investiture with the title of heir-apparent in accordance with an injunction recorded in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.

As we have seen above all, three other *paṭṭabandha* ceremonies for Jayadeva were held after Abhaya Malla's death. The *paṭṭabandha* held when Abhaya Malla was still alive was organised by the people of Gvalam (i.e. Deopatan) with grand celebrations. The first such ceremony following his death transpired in a place named after a well<sup>28</sup> but unidentified as yet. The third one was performed in a place likewise unidentified. The last one was solemnised in Deopatan in a style similar to the one celebrated when Abhaya Malla was still alive.<sup>29</sup> Thus within a period of a bit more than 26 months than *paṭṭabandha* was held for Jayadeva for four times and except the first the remaining three were solemnised after the death of his predecessor.

Given the repeatedly held *paṭṭabandha* ceremonies for Jayadeva in different places after Abhaya Malla's death, one is tempted to conclude that it was the need to legitimise his enthronement that occasioned them after he already once had undergone such a consecration when his predecessor was alive. Perhaps, too, the first consecration labelled above as an investiture with the title of heir-apparent was not one.

It is interesting to note that the Newari chronicle refers to the coronation of one more monarch other than Jayadeva, but this time terms the coronation not *paṭṭabandha* but *abhiṣeka*.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the Sanskrit chronicle refers to

28. The place-name is spelt Menamṭuṭhi (GRV: fol. 39a, l.2; *tuṭhi* in Newari means 'well'). The same place is mentioned in the same chronicle (GRV: fol. 63b, l.2) again, with a change of *m* to *n*. This second reference reads in English translation as: On the 12th of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha N.S. 507, the venerable king Jayasthitirāja Malladeva took water from Menamṭuṭhi.

These two references no doubt hint at some intimate association the well and its surroundings had with the royalty.

29. The chronicle gives more chronometrical details for the first and last *paṭṭabandha* ceremonies. In the first case it cites also the weekday, asterism and *yoga*, and in the last, the weekday, asterism and *lagna*, and in both cases tells us the time of day when the ceremony was held.

30. GRV: fol. 44a, l. 2. The same king's consecration in the Sanskrit chronicle is termed *puṣyābhiṣeka* (M.R. Pant 1977:102), which, along with *paṭṭābhiṣeka*,



the consecration performed for five kings as *puṣyābhiṣeka*. There are stray references to *puṣyābhiṣeka*-s held for two other kings (and for the same kings in other versions of the Sanskrit chronicle), while a copperplate inscription mentions the *puṣyābhiṣeka* performed for the predecessor of Sthitirāja Malla, whom the latter managed to dethrone.<sup>31</sup> We thus have references to investitures held only for nine other kings<sup>32</sup> among the 17 kings<sup>33</sup> who reigned in the period between 1167 and 1395. This certainly does not mean that the remaining seven kings dispensed with any kind of ritual when they assumed office. On the contrary, they all surely underwent some type of consecration, elaborate or otherwise, when they were enthroned, even if their consecrations are not registered in extant historical records.<sup>34</sup> Therefore the references to consecrations of the nine kings and the four consecrations of the tenth are, no doubt, indicative of special circumstances.

We know from the same Newari chronicle that the nation was torn by political strife when Abhaya Malla was on the throne.<sup>35</sup> It is not unlikely that the consecration of Jayadeva as king on the 2nd of the waning moon of the month of Āśvina N.S. 374 was engineered by those who challenged the authority of the incumbent king Abhaya Malla. This is why, it seems, the two different versions of the chronicle cite two different persons as king when the earthquake struck.

was one of the two types of royal consecration current in the 12th to 14th centuries in the Newar kingdom of Nepal (*ibid.*:93-109). For the *puṣyābhiṣeka* rite's sacramental connotations, see Kane 1977:792-799. See also Witzel 1987:423, 426-428, 429, 430, 431.

31. M.R. Pant 1977:98-102; *Abridged Vaṃśāvalī*:p. 8, l. 9-p. 9, l. 1, p. 9, ll. 8-9; *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*: fol. 9b, ll. 1-2, fol. 9b, ll. 3-4, fol. 10b, ll. 2-3.
32. 1. Rudradeva, 2. Someśvaradeva, 3. Guṇakāmadeva, 4. Bhīmādeva, 5. Siha Malla, 6. Ananta Malla, 7. Ari Malla, 8. Arjunadeva, 9. Sthitirāja Malla.
33. 1. Rudradeva, 2. Amṛtadeva, 3. Someśvaradeva, 4. Guṇakāmadeva, 5. Lakṣmīkāmadeva, 6. Vijayakāmadeva, 7. Ari Malla I, 8. Abhaya Malla, 9. Jayadeva, 10. Bhīmādeva, 11. Siha Malla, 12. Ananta Malla, 13. Ānandadeva, 14. Ari Malla II, 15. Rājadeva, 16. Arjunadeva, 17. Sthitirāja Malla.
- Raṇaśūrādeva, attested as a king in a single document in a period overlapping with that of Abhaya Malla but otherwise unknown in other historical sources (Petech 1984:86), does not appear in the list.
34. The Sanskrit chronicle (GRV: fol. 24b, l.4-fol. 25a, l.1) and two of its versions (*Kaisher Vaṃśāvalī*:p. 6, ll. 3-6; *Nepālavaṃśāvalī*: fol. 9a, ll. 2-4) refer to the date of Ānandadeva's accession to the throne, but they do not specify the type of consecration he was accorded.
35. GRV: fol. 38b, l. 3 - fol. 39a, l. 1. See also Petech 1984:87, M.R. Pant 1986: 35-37 and G.M. Nepal 1997:119-121.

Incidentally, the last *paṭṭabandha* ceremony held for Jayadeva was perhaps not meant to relegitimise Jayadeva's claim to the throne but to reinstall him on it after it became vacant due to the death of someone else who had usurped authority by dethroning him. This may be deduced from the chronicle itself, which states, during its detailed account of the *paṭṭabandha*, that the mourning for the deceased king was observed in Rājāvāsa.<sup>36</sup>

36. GRV: fol. 37b, l. 5.

D. Vajrācārya (D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla 1985:93) translates Newari *pāṭana chukva rājāsa sūtaka coṃṇe rājāvāsasa* || *rājāsa toṭavādha jukāle* \ *prajāna hluye gotradāna juro*, (GRV:*ibid.*) into Nepali as '*pāṭanakā* (*deupāṭanakā*) *jati rājāvāsamā rājako āsauca bārī base* \ *rājā khāli hūdā prajāharūle snāna gare*; *gotradāna gariyo*', i.e. 'all from Pāṭana (Deopatan) observed mourning for the king in Rājāvāsa. The subjects bathed while the vacancy in the kingship occurred; *gotradāna* was performed'; and K.P. Malla (*ibid.*:141) as 'the occupants of the royal residence in Pātan (Devpātan?) were observing the mourning period. People bathed while the throne was unoccupied [due to the death of the late king -- KPM]. The *gotradāna* ceremony was performed by people.'

A dictionary of Old Newari published under the chief-editorship of K.P. Malla translates the first sentence on one occasion as such: 'The sons and the daughters of the consecrated kings (with tiara on their heads) stayed in mourning in the Royal Palace' (K.P. Malla, *et al.* 2000: s.v. *chukva*) (the meaning of the same sentence is given in two other places in the same dictionary, each time with a slight difference in diction: 'The sons and the daughters of the consecrated kings with tiara on the head stayed in mourning at the Royal Palace' (*ibid.*: s.v. (1st entry) *pāṭa*), and '[t]he sons and the daughters of the consecrated kings (with silken turban and tiara on their heads) stayed in the Royal Palace to observe the mourning of the dead king' (*ibid.*: s.v. *rājabāsa*)); and the second as: 'The people consecrated the King when the King was relived [*sic*] from ritual pollution' (*ibid.*: s.v. *toṭa vādha*); cf. the two different parts of the second sentence, translated separately: *rājāsa toṭavādha jukāle*, as 'When the throne was unoccupied' (*ibid.*: s.v. *jukāle*), and *prajāna hluye gotradāna juro*, as 'The people donated to perform the *gotradāna* ceremony' (*ibid.*: s.v. *lhuye*).

All these citations of translations show that the earlier version has been revised, but even then the same word is not always assigned the same meaning in various parts of the dictionary. Needless to say, in the original there are no words suggestive of 'the sons and daughters'.

K.P. Malla's translation of *rājāvāsa* [*sic*] as 'the royal residence', and the translation of the same word in the dictionary as 'Royal Palace' no doubt is literal and in accordance with how Petech 1984:113 interprets the word. However, there are two more references to *rājāvāsa* in the GRV (fol. 43b, l.5-fol. 44a, l.1; fol. 44b, ll. 2-4), and these reveal the fact that at least in N.S. 439 there existed

## III

14 September 1344

The Newari chronicle refers to an earthquake that occurred almost nine decades later than the one just discussed above. Rana is unaware of this earthquake, which hit Nepal on the 7th of the waxing moon of the month of Āśvina N.S. 464, corresponding to 14 September 1344. The chronicle describes the earthquake as big and, unlike in the previous two cases, tells us the time of day when it occurred: in the third *prahara*. As a complete day consists of eight *prahara*-s, one *prahara* is equivalent to three hours. When taking into account the time of sunrise in the Kathmandu Valley during that period of the year, we may deduce that the tremor occurred sometime between a quarter to twelve in the morning and a quarter to three in the afternoon. This earthquake, like the one of 1255, claimed the king's life. But this time the king, Ari Malla, died the day after the catastrophe, in Deopatan.<sup>37</sup>

a fort named Rājāvāsa within the Tripura palace in Bhaktapur. The first reference to Rājāvāsa reads in English translation as: Rudra Malladeva had the Rājāvāsa fort erected on the 7th of the waning moon of Āśvina in the year 439 (GRV: fol. 43b, l.5-fol. 44a, l.1). K.P. Malla, however, does not appear to think that it was newly constructed then, since he (D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla 1985:146) translates the Newari *ḍamñā* as 'repaired/rebuilt'.

G.M. Nepal (1997:130) wrongly gives the year of Jayadeva's last consecration as N.S. 375, and further mistakenly adds 937 (instead of 936 for Mārga) to derive the V.S. year. In addition, he fails to notice that the mourning for the deceased king cannot be for Abhaya Malla, and resultantly confines his efforts to paraphrasing the chronicle.

37. GRV: fol. 50b, l.5-fol. 51a, l.1.

Strangely enough, Petech (1958:110) makes no mention of this earthquake and instead cites the day when the earthquake took place as the day of Ari Malla's death, even though he is quoting the above chronicle. While Regmi (1965:305) is right in saying that Ari Malla 'died in Deopāṭan the next day after a violent earthquake', he repeats the same mistake committed by Petech by taking the actual day of the earthquake as the day of Ari Malla's death. Regmi in another publication of his (1966a: Verifications of the Dates Occurring in the Text, 20) gives the date of Ari Malla's death as 'Wednesday, 15 September, 1344'. Petech (1984:112) fails to rectify the mistake in the thoroughly revised edition of his book. G.M. Nepal (1988:34=1998/1999:218) cites both the dates correctly. However, he in another publication of his (G.M. Nepal 1997:171) mistakenly writes that the earthquake occurred on the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Āśvina. But he is right in saying that the king died next day after the tremor.

## IV

4 June 1808

Rana has the following to say about the fifth earthquake on his list:

In the Saṃvat year 1866 (N.S. 930) on the day of *Daśaharā* in the third *prahara* there occurred 21 earthquakes. Houses collapsed and some people and animals perished. Nothing happened to the temple of Paśupatinātha. The Five Times Venerable Supreme King of Kings Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha was on the royal throne. Since a revolt had spread in the region of Punjab (nowadays Simla district), Gorkhalese troops were engaged in subduing it and strengthening the rule. It appears that the earthquake posed no obstacle to the task of that struggle.<sup>38</sup>

As in the case of the earthquake that occurred in 1255, here also an error has been made in the conversion of the year. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>39</sup> the day of *Daśaharā*, namely the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha, in V.S. 1866 corresponds to N.S. 929 not N.S. 930, as Rana would have it, so that the day of *Daśaharā* in N.S. 930 does not fall in V.S. 1866 but V.S. 1867.

The above description of the earthquake quoted from Rana more or less corresponds to the description given in the famous *vaṃśāvalī* edited by Wright:

On the 10th of Jēth Sudi, N.S. 930 (A.D. 1810), a violent earthquake occurred, and many houses fell down. The great temples, such as Pashupati and Taleju, escaped injury. In Bhatgaon numerous lives were lost.<sup>40</sup>

Needless to say, what Wright edited is only one of the several versions of the *vaṃśāvalī* originally written in Nepali. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>41</sup> the work was updated many a time, the earliest known one having been written in 1834. It is prudent in this case to go back to the original:

38. Rana 1935:184.

39. M.R. Pant 1998:52.

40. Wright 1877:265.

41. M.R. Pant 1974:163-165.

*i rājākā pālāmā nepālasamvat 930 sālā miti jyeṣṭhasudi 10 daśaharākā dinamā ṛṭīya praharamadhye baḍo utpāta bhūkampa jīvāntugharanāśa śrīmachimdranāthabandhana. palā ekaviṃśatiparyamta vasumdhara-cāraṇa bhaigayo ra śrīpaśupatināthakā devala śrītalejyūkā devala baḍo baḍo devālaya kāhi pani kehi bhayena. bhaktapuraviṣaya ṭhulo utpāta jīvamaraṇa bhaigayā.*<sup>42</sup>

42. The text given above is based on four manuscripts. Two of them are in Paris in Sylvain Lévi's collection in the Institut de Civilisation Indienne, and the other two in Kathmandu in the collection of the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala. One of the two in Lévi's collection was written in 1834 (for this manuscript see Lévi 1905:193-194), and this happens to be the oldest version so far discovered (M.R. Pant 1974:163, fn. 7). The other one that belonged to Lévi carries events up to 1838/39. In one of the manuscripts from the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala a few pages towards the end are missing, the last available page reporting an event of 1881, while the other one from the same institute extends coverage up to 1891 (for the latter manuscript see *ibid.*:166, fn. 8).

In the 1834 manuscript the above portion is on fol. 80b, ll. 1-4; in the manuscript which carries events up to 1838/39, on fol. 73b, ll. 1-6; in the manuscript which reports the event of 1881, on p. 157, ll. 1-5; and in the manuscript covering events up to 1891, on p. 349, ll. 7-11.

Barring differences in spelling here and there, all four more or less contain the same reading of the current passage, but for two points:

The 1834 manuscript and both the manuscripts from the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala do not cite the month, fortnight and day as such, only mentioning the day of *Daśaharā*, but this conveys the same information compactly. The other manuscript in Lévi's collection is more elaborate and cites all three elements together with *Daśaharā*.

The earlier manuscript in Lévi's collection has the word *baṃdha* after the form *machimdra*, and the other one in the same collection *baṃdhana* after *śrīmachimdranātha*. The manuscript belonging to the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala which covers events up to 1891 has the letter *dha* in the same place after *śrīmachimdranātha* — which may be a clerical error for *baṃdha/baṃdhana*.

The incomplete manuscript in the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala reads *paṃdhra*, i.e. 'fifteen', after *śrīmachimdranātha* instead of the word expressive of 'tying': *paṃdhra palā yekaviṃśati 21 paryyemta*, i.e. 'up to fifteen *pala*-s twenty-one 21', where the unit that the number 21 measures is apparently missing. To judge by similar cases, the phrase is describing how long the seismic shock was felt. One may argue, therefore, that the missing word is *vipala*. Given the other three manuscripts, however, this seems to be a case of incorrect emendation.

The following is my translation of the above:

During the reign of this king (i.e. Gīrvāṇayuddhavikrama Śāha), in the third *prahara*, on the day of *Daśaharā*, the 10th of the waxing moon of Jyeṣṭha, in N.S. 930, there was a big catastrophe [in the form of] an earthquake [and resultantly] living beings and houses succumbed [and] the tying of the venerable Machindranātha [occurred]. The earth shook for 21 *pala*-s. Nothing happened anywhere to the temple of the venerable Paśupatinātha, the temple of the venerable Talejyu and [other] big temples. There was a great catastrophe in Bhaktapur [and resultantly] living beings died.

As we have seen, the Wright *vaṃśāvalī* more or less says the same thing as other manuscripts in Nepali, if we ignore the duration of the earthquake and the phrase concerning Matsyendranātha. But Wright does not agree with the year of the earthquake given in his *vaṃśāvalī* and corrects it in the following way: 'altered into 928 (A.D. 1808).'<sup>43</sup> This change requires justification, which exists, but which Wright himself has not supplied. For there is another manuscript of the *vaṃśāvalī* in Kathmandu in the collection of the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala<sup>44</sup> which differs radically from its cognates:

*nepālsambat 928 sālako vaisāṣa mahināmā machindranāthakā rathajātrā gardā rathamā basyākā machimdranāthakā muṣa sabai phuṭi cyāu jasto bhaigayo. machimdranātha bugmati lagyāko 4 dina jeṣṭhasudi dasami śaniścarabārakā teśrā praharamā<sup>45</sup> baḍo utpāta bhūkampa bhāi 21 paltasamma bhāicālo gayo ra dherai ghara paṣāl devālaye asaṃṣya bhāi bhatkī dherai jīvājamtu nāsa bhaigayā.*<sup>46</sup>

The following is my translation of the above:

While the chariot procession of Machindranātha was being marshalled in the month of Vaiśākha of N.S. 928, the face of Machindranātha, who was sitting in the chariot, was completely broken and became like a mushroom. On the fourth day after Machindranātha had been taken to Bungmati, in

43. Wright 1877:265, fn. 2.

44. In this manuscript a few leaves towards the end are missing, and the last available page carries an event of 1885.

45. In contradistinction to the *vaṃśāvalī* passage quoted above, the present *vaṃśāvalī* has *praharamā* instead of *praharamadhye*. I do not take *madhye* in the sense of 'in the middle' but simply as a postposition denoting the locative case, i.e. *mā*. To support this, I may point out the fact that the Nepali locative *mā* derives from the Sanskrit *madhya* (Turner:1931 s.v. *mā*<sup>3</sup> and Srivastava 1962:95).

46. Fol. 136a, ll. 4-7.

the 3rd *prahara* of Saturday, the 10th of the waxing moon of Jyeṣṭha, a big catastrophe [in the form of] a seismic tremor occurred; the earthquake struck up to 21 times, and innumerable houses, walls and temples were completely destroyed, and many beings perished.<sup>47</sup>

The year of the earthquake in the above *vaṃśāvalī* differs from that of others but is the same as what we find in Wright's correction. In contrast to other *vaṃśāvalī*-s, this one supplies the weekday, which helps in checking the veracity of the date. As the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha falls on a Saturday in V.S. 1865/N.S. 928, as specified in the present *vaṃśāvalī* manuscript, whereas the same lunar day falls on a Tuesday two years later,<sup>48</sup> the year that is given in the present *vaṃśāvalī* manuscript and what Wright has corrected to is chronometrically sound.<sup>49</sup>

Still another striking difference is that all manuscripts of the *vaṃśāvalī* with the incorrect year except for the one Wright published tell how long the earthquake lasted, namely 21 *pala*-s. A *pala* is equivalent to 24 seconds, and 21 *pala*-s thus amount to 8 minutes and 24 seconds – indeed a very long duration. The *vaṃśāvalī* just quoted above has the same figure, but one signifying how many times the earth was struck by the tremor. It seems that the frequency of the seismic shock was later interpreted by ill-educated scribes as the duration of the earthquake, thanks to the graphical similarity between the words expressing frequency – पल (pala) – and a fraction of time – पला (palā), which derives from Sanskrit पल (pala). Interestingly

47. Interestingly enough, one of the various versions of the Nepali-language *vaṃśāvalī*, named *Rājavaṃśāvalī* and abruptly ending with an event of 1886, contains a passage almost identical with the one just quoted above (*Rājavaṃśāvalī*, January 1969:19). However, it differs from the above passage in three crucial respects: it reads the year 938 instead of 928; in conformity with most of the versions of the chronicle, it tells that the earth shook for 21 *pala*-s; furthermore, it says that the earthquake occurred on the fifth day after Matsyendranātha had been taken to Bungmati. While describing the broken face of Matsyendranātha, it replaces *cyāu'jasto bhaigayo*, i.e. 'became like a mushroom', with '*cāurī parigayo*', i.e. 'became wrinkled'.

48. A longer version of the Nepali-language *vaṃśāvalī*, named *Nepāla deśako itihāsa saṃgraha*, which carries events up to 1890, while wrongly giving the year of this earthquake (like most versions of the *vaṃśāvalī*), supplies a weekday in contrast to them. It says that the earthquake occurred in the third *prahara* on Sunday, the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha in N.S. 930 (*Nepāla deśako itihāsa saṃgraha*, July 1973:15).

49. This was verified by consulting the relevant *pañcāṅga*-s, i.e. traditional almanacs in manuscript form, in my family collection.

enough, though Rana cites the year incorrectly, his statement that the earthquake consisted of 21 tremors is in accordance with what we find in the version of the *vaṃśāvalī* with the correct year.

Barring Wright's, all manuscripts of the *vaṃśāvalī* cite the time when the catastrophe took place: in the third *prahara*. As we have seen above, Rana has the same information as we find in various manuscripts of the *vaṃśāvalī*. Taking into account the time of sunrise on that day, we may conclude that the Kathmandu Valley was visited by an earthquake sometime between eleven minutes past eleven in the morning and eleven minutes past two in the afternoon.

The date of the earthquake in Wright's correction and what we find in the present *vaṃśāvalī* just quoted above is confirmed by two other contemporary sources which I published not long ago in the journal *Pūrṇimā*.<sup>50</sup> First I cite, in my translation, a bilingual Sanskrit and Nepali document recording the earthquake under discussion:

In the year 928, on Saturday, the lunar day named *Daśaharā*, when the asterism was named Citrā, the earth shook vehemently [and] many temples collapsed. Ah! The amazing death-administering [earthquake originates in the] body of the Lotus-Handed One. [Sanskrit]

Nepālasamvat 928, the lunar day *Daśaharā*, the Citrā asterism, a Saturday, was the day of the greatly terrifying earthquake. This earthquake, which was amazing, originated in the body of Matsyendranātha, who is known as Kamalapāṇi, i.e. the Lotus-Handed One – which calamity occurred in his own body during the chariot procession of the Supreme Lord.<sup>51</sup> [Nepali]

It is to be noted that the narrative just quoted goes one step further than the *vaṃśāvalī* with the correct date of the tremor by also citing the asterism. On that day the asterism Hasta lasted 12 *ghaṭī*-s and 12 *pala*-s, as the *pañcāṅga*, i.e. traditional almanac, states.<sup>52</sup> As the above narrative gives the asterism Citrā while citing the time, and as a full day comprises 60 *ghaṭī*-s, and a *ghaṭī* 60 *pala*-s, we may conclude that the moon entered into conjunction with the asterism Citrā at four minutes past ten in the morning.

In a *pañcāṅga* of V.S. 1865, there is a note which records an earthquake on the day specified above. It reads *24/15 bhūkampaḥ* (i.e. 'an earthquake at

50. M.R. Pant 1998:51-53.

51. *Ibid.*:51.

52. *Ibid.*:52.

15 *pala*-s past 24 *ghaṭī*-s') and is added in the same line where the five chronometrical and related elements of the Indic calendar are given.<sup>53</sup>

As we have seen, all the *vaṃśāvalī* manuscripts considered up to now which record the earthquake, barring one, erred in the year.<sup>54</sup>

The reference in the *vaṃśāvalī* manuscript with the correct year to the total breakage of the face of Matsyendra's image during the chariot procession bears all the signs of a bad omen preceding the imminent earthquake. As seen above, the bilingual text states that the earthquake originated in the body of Matsyendra, and other *vaṃśāvalī* manuscripts too, albeit cryptically, associate the earthquake with the deity.

Basing myself on the *vaṃśāvalī* which states that the earthquake took place in the third *prahara*, I concluded above that the tremor shook the Kathmandu Valley sometime between eleven minutes past eleven in the morning and eleven minutes past two in the afternoon. However, thanks to the note in the *pañcāṅga* referred to above we are in a position to know the exact time of this catastrophe: it occurred when 24 *ghaṭī*-s and 15 *pala*-s had elapsed from sunrise. We may reckon that the tremor shook the Kathmandu Valley at seven minutes to three in the afternoon. Needless to point out, this proves that the time of the earthquake stated in the manuscripts of the *vaṃśāvalī* not only is somewhat vague, but also inaccurate, more than the one-sixth of the fourth *prahara* having already elapsed. Perhaps what the manuscripts of the *vaṃśāvalī* mean is that when the earthquake occurred the third *prahara* in its entirety was over.

Thus, the earthquake recorded by Rana as the fifth in chronological order did not take place on the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha in N.S. 930 but exactly two years earlier in N.S. 928, on the day that corresponds to 4 June 1808.

53. *Ibid.*

54. The *Padmagiri Vaṃśāvalī* (Hasrat 1970:97) also gives the correct year, but it misidentifies the lunar day and has the same long duration of the earthquake as four other manuscripts: 'In 928 of the Nepal era, on the first day of light of May, a severe earthquake was felt in the country which lasted 21 *pals* and destroyed many lives and houses'. The mistake in the lunar day, in all probability, is a clerical one involving the omission of a cipher. Note the change of Jyeṣṭha into May.

A *vaṃśāvalī* manuscript at the University Library Cambridge, England (Class-Mark MS. Add. 1952(a) ULC 165) originally has a reading identical with the one which carries events up to 1838/39 (fol. 169a, ll. 2-5), but the last two digits, i.e. 30, have been retouched into 28. According to Michaels (1996:313, fn. 10), this is the original Nepali manuscript underlying Wright's *History of Nepal*.

That the majority of the *vaṃśāvalī* manuscripts erred in dating the earthquake raises the question of what prompted Wright to correct the date.

The bilingual text quoted above in translation is written on a loose leaf and placed together with a *pothi* manuscript of Bhartṛhari's famous one hundred verses of erotica, the *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, copied by one Pūrṇānanda in 1811 for a Nepalese military officer.<sup>55</sup> The leaf contains both the Sanskrit verse and a Nepali commentary on them in the form of a quasi-historical 19th-century text entitled *Triratnasaundaryagāthā* by Sundarānanda<sup>56</sup> which, given its mixture of languages, one holy and one profane, is typical of this Newar poetaster,<sup>57</sup> who was the elder brother of the scribe who copied the *Śṛṅgāraśataka*.<sup>58</sup>

The *vaṃśāvalī* edited by Wright in English designates two persons as translators from the Nepali. One of them is Pandit Shri Guṇānand. This pandit and the Guṇānanda employed as the pandit in the British Residency in Kathmandu are one and the same, his family having been attached to the Residency since the time of his grandfather<sup>59</sup> Pandit Amṛtānanda. Though Guṇānanda is credited with being one of the two translators of a Nepali-

55. M.R. Pant 1998:51.

56. See D. Vajrācārya 1963 for the edition of *Triratnasaundaryagāthā*.

57. See N.R. Pant's introduction to D. Vajrācārya (1963:15-34) for Sundarānanda's imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit, Nepali and *sāstra*-s.

58. An unpublished pedigree of the family written by Yagyananda Gubhaju, the son of Sundarānanda's great-grandson.

In this regard I may point out a post-colophon statement in a manuscript of the *Himavatkhanda* (Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project microfilm reel-no. E 75/9) which was copied by one Jivānanda. There there is an epithet, namely *mahabauddhopāsaka* (i.e. 'the worshipper of Mahābauddha'), at the beginning of a compound which is followed by the words which describes the scribe as the son of Pūrṇānanda.\* We know that Sundarānanda bears the same title (Naraharinath 1953:12) – if one ignores *bauddha* vs. *buddha* – because his remote but direct ancestor Abhayarāja is credited with the pious task of having consecrated the famous temple of Mahābauddha in Patan, a shrine this family is still associated with.

Oddly enough, both Pūrṇānanda's and his son's names are absent in the published genealogy of the family (see Joshi 1993:7).

59. Both the unpublished pedigree of the family written by Yagyananda Gubhaju and K.P. Malla 1980:43 identify Guṇānanda as Amṛtānanda's grandson. However, the published genealogy of the family (Joshi 1993:7) shows Guṇānanda to be the son of Amṛtānanda's younger brother Sundarānanda.

\* *likhitam mahābauddhopāsakapūrṇānandasutajivānandeneti samāptas cāyam nepālamāhātmyam śubham bhūyāt sarvajagatām*

language *vaṃśāvalī* into English, it is scarcely plausible that a priestly Buddhist Newar could have accomplished this almost impossible 'feat' in a period when the history of English education in Nepal was not even twenty-five years old, and was confined, too, to the male progeny of the ruling class.<sup>60</sup> It is more logical to argue that the man who translated the *vaṃśāvalī* into English in its entirety was Śivaśaṅkara Siṃha, who preferred to spell his own name in an Anglicised form – a quite common phenomenon among the English-educated 'natives' – as Shew Shunker Singh. As his title suggests, he was a *munshī*, an Arabic word meaning 'a person who interprets another language', and was employed in the Residency in Kathmandu to translate to and from Persian, then the lingua franca of the Indian subcontinent.<sup>61</sup> The same Guṇānanda and whose grandfather Amṛtānanda reportedly wrote a history of Nepal in Sanskrit, Nepali and Newari,<sup>62</sup> and whose grandfather's brother Sundarānanda wrote the *Triratnasaundarya-gāthā*, in all likelihood was largely instrumental in making the *munshi* understand the *vaṃśāvalī* written in Nepali by explaining it in Hindi,<sup>63</sup> and in the process corrected the date of the earthquake discussed above.

60. Wright (1877:31) writes in 1877 that 'Sir Jung Bahādūr and some of the wealthier class have tutors, either Europeans or Bengālī Bābūs, to teach their children English....' According to G.N. Sharma (1990:3) '... after his trip to Europe Jung Bahadur realized the importance of English for communication with the outside world and felt that his sons should be given a "western" education. He brought two teachers from England and established an elementary English school at his residence in 1853. Other teachers were recruited for the school from Bengal, India. Jang [*sic*] Bahadur's school was later named Durbar School as it was shifted from one Rana *darbar* or palace to another. During this time only the ruling Ranas and their nobles' sons could attend the school. This school represents the beginning of modern education in Nepal. No other school was opened during Jang [*sic*] Bahadur Rana's tenure from 1846 to 1877.' Sharma in another publication of his (1993/94:44) gives the exact date of the opening of the school as 27 Āśvina V.S. 1910, which corresponds to 13 October 1853.

61. Michaels (1996:313) quite erroneously takes Munshī Shew Shunker Singh to be, as Guṇānanda was, a priest.

62. K.P. Malla 1980:43.

63. In this regard the following remark by Shaha (1992:3) is worth mentioning: 'The chronicle used by Wright was initially translated for him into English by Munshi Shewasankar [*sic*] of the British Residency with the help of a local Nepali, Gubhāju Gunananda.'

It is interesting to note that Sundarānanda, Guṇānanda's grandfather's brother, even wrote some poems in Hindi (N.R. Pant's introduction to D. Vajrācārya 1963:9, [D. Vajrācārya, *et al.*] 1967:204-208).

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## Documents from the Regmi Research Collections

### I

– Mahes Raj Pant

### Preface

The transformation of the small territory of Gorkha to a mighty empire is one of the truly colourful chapters in the modern history of the Indian subcontinent. Barring a few attempts on the part of the British Indian government,<sup>1</sup> no effort was made to publish the host of correspondence shedding light on the formation of the empire and thereafter in either governmental or private collections in Nepal and abroad until 1949/50, when the late Baburam Acharya (1888-1972) initiated the publication of such Nepali-language documents in a little-known Kathmandu monthly entitled *Puruṣārtha*.<sup>2</sup>

As the British publications were meant for consultation by British Indian administrators, the translations were given without the original. What Acharya presented were the original texts together with his own historical comments.

In 1953 Naraharinath started a Sanskrit monthly entitled *Samskṛta-sandēśa* for the diffusion of research on Nepalese antiquities. It mainly carried notices of Nepalese manuscripts available in different collections in Nepal, the editing of newly discovered or already published Nepalese epigraphs with or without Nepali-language translations, and also editions and Sanskrit translations of the administrative documents of the Shah period. Baburam Acharya together with Naya Raj Pant,<sup>3</sup> the latter alone<sup>4</sup> and his students,<sup>5</sup>

1. See *Papers respecting the Nepal War*, pp. 97-98, 292, 325, 337-341, 342-344, 362-363, 376-386, 553-557, 586-590, 796-798, 805-806, 825-826, 845 and different volumes of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*.
2. B. Acharya 1949/50:11-13, 1950:52-53, 1950a:113-115, 1950b:143-144, 1950c:184-187. For an English translation of the second article, see B. Acharya 1972:94-96.
3. B. Acharya and N.R. Pant 1953:20-25, 1954:5-10.
4. N.R. Pant 1953:36-41, 1953a:44-46.
5. A[charya] Di[xit] 1954:38-43, 1954a:37-41.  
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G. Vajracharya 1954:20-22.

Naraharinath<sup>6</sup> and in a single instance his disciple<sup>7</sup> thus presented editions and translations of one dozen such documents.<sup>8</sup> This endeavour not only shed light on Nepalese history, but also set a precedent for the rendering from a modern language into chaste Sanskrit. Since in most of the instances the Sanskrit translation was placed before the text itself,<sup>9</sup> and sometimes the translations were even versified,<sup>10</sup> no doubt the effort was directed towards attracting the Sanskrit-educated public to the discipline of history.<sup>11</sup> This journal ran only for 18 months, but later it was replaced with the four-volume *Itihāsa-prakāśa*, in which mainly Naraharinath and his collaborators published a multitude of such documents without caring much for their faithful reproduction and proper chronological order. In 1957/58, Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Gyan Mani Nepal, two of the foremost students of Naya Raj Pant, published a book containing 24 such original documents together with their own historical comments. This was followed by a host of such publications from many quarters, such as Naya Raj Pant and his group (known as the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala), Naraharinath and his, and other institutes and individuals. The trend of such publications still continues. However, it should be noted that their standard differs considerably, the quality depending upon individual ability. Among those who publish historical documents, Naraharinath is the most well known in and outside Nepal, not because he presented documents scientifically but because he covered a vast range and managed to release fat volumes.<sup>12</sup>

6. Naraharinath 1953:28-32, 1954:5-7.

7. Devinath 1954:35-37.

8. Altogether they are eleven. However, it should be noted that D. Vajrācārya 1953-54 is incomplete. Beyond these eleven documents, there is a similar one appearing in the same journal without a Sanskrit translation and the name of the person who edited it. This is referred to in Bibliography under Anonymous.

9. The exceptions to this are Naraharinath 1953 and 1954, in which texts precede the translations.

10. N.R. Pant 1953, D. Vajrācārya 1953-54 and G. Vajracharya 1954.

11. One may mention that G.M. Nepal 1953-54 similarly presents first his versified Sanskrit rendering before giving part of the text of the Tripureśvar stone pillar inscription of Jung Bahadur. But he later discontinued this task and left both translation and text incomplete.

12. Even Naraharinath's *magnum opus*, *Itihāsaprakāśamā sandhipatrasaṃgraha*, is not free from such blemishes. As the title itself proclaims, its aim was to reproduce treaties and engagements. However, besides such documents it contains an immense quantity of irrelevant documents published or known

In late 1969, Mahesh C. Regmi started a monthly journal, *Regmi Research Series* (RRS), in mimeographic form. It continued for two decades and two months, and mostly carried English translations of Nepali-language documents and English translations of some of the noteworthy Nepali-language publications on Nepalese history. To some extent, it was thus useful for those whose inability to understand Nepali had put them at a disadvantage in researching Nepal's past. Since most of the documents published in the *Series* saw the light of day for the first time, they were equally interesting for scholars who knew Nepali. However, as the *Series* provided only the English translation but not the original, no one was in a position to check the fidelity of the former when doubt arose.

It was only in 1989-90, when the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) was allowed to microfilm them, that Regmi's materials, formally known as the Regmi Research Collections (RRC), became accessible to the public.

In 1989 I, together with Philip H. Pierce, compiled a series of texts, facsimiles and English translations of 22 hitherto unpublished documents<sup>13</sup> concerning Mustang from the Shah dynasty under a project sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. In it, we classified the contents of the documents, in translation, after the fashion of classical diplomatics. This, needless to say, was only a first step towards an edition of the documents together with English translations of them.

Another group of 90 documents concerning Mustang prepared by Madhav Lal Karmacharya under the same project appeared under the same series in 1996. Unlike its predecessor, it neither provides the text nor a translation of the included documents. It merely catalogues the documents subjectwise and provides a summary of their content. It also offers facsimiles of 71 documents, those, namely, for which the cataloguer states that no transliterations and translations will be or have been published in separate volumes.

by 1966 when this book was released. Surprisingly enough, one can find in this book even Licchavi, Malla and later inscriptions and chronicles, which are hardly treaties and engagements. The utter absence of chronological order and regional subdivisions is glaring. Furthermore, for already published documents, he hardly mentions sources; and it is quite trying to winnow documents that were previously unpublished from the mass of published ones.

13. To be particular, we included an appended facsimile of a copperplate the text of which had already been published (see D.R. Pant 1965:54-55).

Astonishingly enough, Karmacharya nowhere mentions the preceding volume of the same series in his book and includes the contents and facsimiles of four of the documents featured in it.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, an earlier publication in which almost 100 documents from the area are incorporated is not referred to in, though the two documents published in it find a place in his book.<sup>15</sup>

Karmacharya's comprehension of the contents of the documents is at times faulty,<sup>16</sup> sometimes even when it comes to a colloquial word.<sup>17</sup> It is not rare for him to omit the crux of a document and focus on ancillary matters.<sup>18</sup>

14. Cf. M.R. Pant and P.H. Pierce 1989: docs. 6,11,13 and 19 with Karmacharya 1996:41, Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology (NGPHMA) 7.5.1; 42, NGPHMA 7.5.4; 42-43, NGPHMA 7.5.6 and 16, NGPHMA 2.3 (the facsimile of the latter does not cover the whole document), respectively.
15. Cf. Kshetri 1987:201-202 and 254 with Karmacharya 1996:41, NGPHMA 7.5.2 and 29-30, NGPHMA 7.1.3, respectively.
16. For example, a royal decree from Kathmandu issued on Saturday, the new moon of the month of Māgha, V.S. 1876 to the sde-pa Hinda Sañs-rgyas of dGe-luñ divests him a *dastūr*\* of Lāmḡukholā and the *bheṭī salāmī* to be given by Manang when a son is born or a king ascends the throne, and restores both to the Mustangi rajah. But Karmacharya (1996:42, NGPHMA 7.5.4) takes the *dastūr* of Lāmḡukholā as customarily paid by Manang. Cf. Karmacharya 1996:42, NGPHMA 7.5.4 with the facsimile provided by him. For a better understanding of the contents, see M.R. Pant and P.H. Pierce 1989: doc. 11.

The picture is now much clearer thanks to a document the facsimile of which Karmacharya (1996:NGPHMA 7.5.5) himself has provided. This is a royal decree issued to the Mustangi rajah on the same day when the decree referred to above was issued. From this we know precisely that the king who traditionally received the *bheṭī salāmī* from Manang when the former was blessed with a son or he himself ascended the throne and who customarily got the *dastūr* of Lāmḡukholā was no other than the rajah of Mustang.

Though Karmacharya published the facsimiles of both documents, he failed to perceive this. Strangely enough, he (*ibid.*:42, NGPHMA 7.5.5) makes no mention of this at all when he summarises the second document.

17. Karmacharya (1996:42, NGPHMA 7.5.4 and 7.5.5) translates *saṃkrānti*, the first day of a solar month, as the last day.
18. As an example, we may point out *ibid.*:41, NGPHMA 7.5.2. The focal concern of this document, issued on Friday, the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Śrāvāṇa, V.S. 1856 by the central government in Kathmandu, is to divest

\* On the nature and name of this *dastūr* see M.R. Pant and P. H. Pierce 1989:51, fn. 2.

In 2000 a monograph on the Tharu tribe edited jointly by Gisèle Krauskopff and Pamela Deuel Meyer was released, in which are included 50 documents of the Sen and Shah periods concerning the Tharu-s. It has superb facsimiles but no transcriptions or transliterations of the documents. Though the 'Note on the Translation' in it gives the impression that the translators have tried hard to make their translations true to the original, the situation is quite the opposite, and one need not strive hard to locate imperfections in this book.

To illustrate this I pick document no. 41 of the Tharu monograph. It was issued to exempt the ryots of Nawalpur from a tax of 600 rupees they had complained about which was traditionally imposed on them in years when the government did not do any tracking of elephants. As, in accordance with the practice current at the time, pertinent passages have been cited in the document *verbatim* from the original letter when replying to them, we know that the reason given by the people for complaining that the area had become desolate is that some ryots went to Ramnagar and some others to beyond the boundary pillar, i.e. across the border, being distressed at having to pay 600 rupees when the government did not do the tracking of elephants. *Laṭṭhāpār*, which means 'beyond the pillar', is taken by the translators as a place-name: 'Some villagers fled to Ramnagar, others to Latthepar....'<sup>19</sup>

We come across no less than six times (docs. 7, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21) the word *majkur* in the Tharu documents. For most scholars dealing with Shah-period documents this word is familiar, and simply to be translated as the Arabic word for *उपयुक्त*, i.e. 'aforesaid'.<sup>20</sup> Here, this word, for which no translation was found,<sup>21</sup> is explained as follows:

The lands of Hem Chaudhari, situated in Khalisa in Saptari, are defined as *majkur*, whose meaning remains unclear. It is possibly a land grade in use in the eastern Tarai, since *kur* usually refers to a share in tenancy contract, and *maj* could be a type of land grade. At this period the eastern

the Mustangi rajah of additional territory he was allowed to occupy in V.S. 1851, and to instruct him to occupy only territory which traditionally belonged to Mustang. No mention is made of this and other important facts, only the taxes to be paid annually by the rajah to Kathmandu.

19. Krauskopff and Meyer 2000:167.
20. D. Vajrācārya and G. M. Nepal:1954:8, fn.2; 1957/58:104, fn.6. M.R. Pant 1972:90, fn. 11.
21. Krauskopff and Meyer 2000:111.

Tarai was longitudinally divided into three types of land, the northern area called *sir*, the middle one *majh*, and the southern one *bhata*, the last two being treated on an equal footing....<sup>22</sup>

This was a problem that could have been solved by consulting a Nepali-language dictionary.<sup>23</sup>

Whoever consults a traditional Indic almanac (*pañcāṅga*) still in vogue knows that the new moon in that system of chronometry is expressed in figures by '30'. This is perhaps in line with the system of reckoning that begins a month on the first day of the bright fortnight and ends with the new moon (*amānta*), though contemporary *pañcāṅga* normally follows the lunar month starting on the first day of the dark fortnight and terminating on the full moon (*pūrṇānta*). There are three documents in the corpus of the Tharu documents which were issued on the new moon, which fact is expressed in them by this figure. In the first case (doc. 4) the translators render this as the '3rd day of the dark fortnight',<sup>24</sup> a second time (doc. 7) as 'the 30th day of the dark fortnight'<sup>25</sup> and finally (doc. 13) 'the 30th [sic] day of the dark fortnight'.<sup>26</sup> In the first case they ignore the cipher, in the second do not take into account the simple fact that a fortnight does not exceed 15 days, and in the last, while likewise offering a literal meaning, place a *sic* in a proper expression, as if to castigate the system of chronometry still in vogue.

Sometimes the translations of a technical term given in the body of the text and in the Glossary drastically differ. To illustrate this, I cite the *mokkadā*, which, in the translation of one document (doc. 33 = p. 155) is described as a 'village headman' and in the Glossary (p. 184) as a '[l]ocal official who assisted in tax collection'.

I close this section by offering the reading of the first Shah document in the monograph, then the translation of it offered there and finally my own translation of the same:

22. *Ibid.*:123.

23. Pokhrel, *et al.* 1984: s.v.

24. Krauskopff and Meyer 2000:120.

25. *Ibid.*:123.

26. *Ibid.*:130.

## Text based on Krauskopff and Meyer 2000: facsimile no. 2

श्रीदुर्गा सहाय



1. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिरनारायणेत्यादिविधिविरूदावली-
2. विराजमानमानोन्नतश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीमहाराजेप्रता-
3. पसिंहसाहबहादूरसम्सेरजङ्देवानाम् सदा समरविजयिनाम्
4. स्वस्ति श्रीभारासामर्थ श्रीहेम चौधरिके आसिष. इहा कुशल. ताहा क-
5. शल चाहिय. आगे तैले हिजो मकवानिको निमक षायाको थियो
6. र त्यो मुलुक हाम्रो अम्बल हुदा निमकहलालि गर्नानिमित्त्य मो-
7. गलाना गयाको थियिस्. आज हाम्रा सुबाका बोलाउदा आफनु
8. बुनियादि जग्गह हाम्रो कदम समजिकन आइस्. बहोत बनाइ-
9. छस्. षातिरजामासित सुबाका मार्फत् आफना बुनियादि ज-
10. गहको जिमिदारी गर. जसो गरि मुलुक अबाद असुल हुंछ सोही
11. गर. तेरो गौर गरीबकसौला. इति सम्बत् १८३३ साल मार्गसिर्षब-
12. दि १३ रोज १ मोकाम काठमाडौं शुभम्

### Translation in *Ibid.*:118

*Shri Durgasahaya*

*Swasti! Shri giriraj cakracuramani narnarayantyadi vividha virudavali virajman manonnat shriman maharajadhiraj shri shri shri Maharaj Pratap Singh Shah bahadur samser jang devanam sada samar vijaynam.*

To *shri* Hem Chaudhari: Greetings. Everything is well with us and we wish the same to you. Previously you served the king of Makwanpur (ate the salt of the king). To show your loyalty to Makwanpur after our victory over him, you fled to Muglan. When summoned by our district

official (*subba*), you returned to your homeland, kneeling before us. We therefore bestow upon you the position of village revenue collector (*jimidar*) on the land on which you lived before. Do your best to make the land as productive as possible. If you do so, we will reward you. Let it be propitious (*subham*). November-December, 1776 (v.s. 1833, Sunday the 13th day of the bright fortnight of *Marga*) in Kathmandu.

By comparing the translation against the original, one can conclude that the translation on the whole conveys the substance of the original but is not literal. In addition, there are some fundamental mistakes and omissions. In no way can 'kneeling before us' be derived from the original हाम्रो कदम समजिकन. And though the translation of बदि as 'the bright fortnight' may be termed a slip of the pen, the dropping of the meaning of असुल is hardly excusable.

### My own translation of the above document

May the venerable Durgā be a help

The venerable Durgā, wife of Bhava (i.e. Śiva)

Hail. [A decree] of him who is shining with manifold rows of eulogy [such as] 'The venerable crest-jewel of the multitude of mountain kings' and *Naranārāyaṇa* (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice venerable great king, Pratāpsīṃha Sāha, the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

Hail. [Our] blessing upon the venerable Hem Caudharī, who is capable of [lifting] the weight of [the government].<sup>27</sup>

We are in good health (lit., Here [is] good health). We wish you good health (lit., Good health is needed there).

Moreover, you previously (lit., yesterday) ate the salt of the Makvānī, and when that country came under our control, you went to the Mogul country (*moglanā*, i.e. India) to be true to [your] salt. Now (lit., today) when our *subā* summoned you, you came, remembering your own place of origin [and] our feet. You did [a] great [thing]. Manage to your content the *jimidārī* of your own place of origin through the intermediacy of the

*subā*. Do whatever it takes to populate the country and collect [taxes]. We shall take care of your [interests].

Kathmandu, Sunday, the 13th of the waning moon of Mārgaśīrṣa, Saṃvat Year 1833.

[Let it be] auspicious.

This deficiency in quality is typical not only in the studies of Shah period documents, but also in the whole sphere of research on source materials. I shall dwell elsewhere upon this poor status of Nepalese studies.<sup>28</sup>

28. Though I have reserved as a subject for future the poor standard of source material studies in general, I cannot help now saying something about two recent epigraphical publications of the Centre of Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), Tribhuvan University.

Dhanavajra Vajrācārya died on 4 July 1994 after serving some 24 years in CNAS. CNAS published two tomes exclusively devoted to epigraphs\* along with several other of his works during his life.

His *magnum opus*, *Licchavikālakā bhilekha*, was posthumously reprinted by CNAS in 1996. It includes as an appendix the texts of eight new inscriptions compiled by a reputed historian from several sources. The standard of the readings of those inscriptions is so poor that they are embarrassingly in contradiction with those of other inscriptions which Vajrācārya himself edited.

CNAS published a monograph of the mediaeval inscriptions by Vajrācārya in 1999. Its standard is so inexcusably low that a reader who is familiar with his other works is unwilling to accept it as his.

This significant deficiency in quality arose for the following reasons, as the CNAS administration confesses:

Checking on the texts of these inscriptions can become quite tricky to anyone due to the errors accumulating from several sources of different time layers in them. In the time these inscriptions were made, faulty and ungrammatical Sanskrit was widely in use. Nor was the *desa bhasa* or the Newari language standardized in terms of its grammar, so that even simple words were rendered diversely and in different orthography. The person who composed the inscription, and the scribe who actually carved it on stone or copper sheet, and who was an illiterate fellow, generally, both could commit mistakes. The epigraphist, of course, is obliged to reproduce these errors just as they appear in their original. But, as these inscriptions have to go through the press in the process of their printing, new errors tend to get added again from the side of the 'printer's devil'. In the absence of the epigraphist-author and without any easy means of consulting the inscriptional texts in their originals, the task of sifting through the errors became a near impossible task for us. Besides, the

\* D. Vajrācārya 1973 and D. Vajrācārya and T.B. Shrestha 1980.

27. The original drops the राज which should come before भास.

I have been publishing and analysing such documents since 1964 when my papers on the Anglo-Nepal War based on hitherto unpublished Nepalese documents started appearing.<sup>29</sup> Over five years and a half after the first such publication of mine Mahes C. Regmi started his RRS, and I subsequently utilised his materials in my writings.<sup>30</sup> Though the entire RRC became accessible to the public in 1990, I started seriously leafing through the pages of the RRC only in 1998 when I became associated with a programme entitled 'Himalayan Landscapes Observed from Different Perspectives – Historical, Geographical, Ethnographical and Ecological Data', sponsored by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Some of the documents presented below were translated by me under this programme. Involvement with such documents has made me increasingly interested in them, and this has led me to translate more on my own, the total number of translated documents amounting so far to four score or so. As it was not possible for me to publish now all these documents together, I have selected only 27 for the first part.

The documents incorporated in the RRC were copied from the official copies kept in the Lagat Phāṭ (Records Section) of the Department of Land Revenue in the Finance Ministry of His Majesty's Government of Nepal.<sup>31</sup> I know

Centre did not want to lose any more time in bringing this work out. In fact, Dhana Vajra had been asked to undertake the compiling and editing of the mediaeval inscriptions of Kathmandu Valley soon after his Licchavi inscriptions came out. An enormous delay has already happened, and, hence, this publication had to be hurried through.

(P.R. Sharma's Foreword, p. ii to D. Vajrācārya 1999)

29. See Bibliography under M.R. Pant, M.R. Pant and P. H. Pierce and Bernhard Kölver and M.R. Pant at the end of this article.
30. M.R. Pant 1971b:6-7, 1972:71-72 and 1972b:98. See also M.R. Pant and P. H. Pierce 1989:28-29, 41, 51, 55, 66-67, 76 and 95-96.
31. We know this from M.C. Regmi's *magnum opus*, *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal* (p. 869), though he used archival materials kept in ten other collections. His other publications (1971:220, 1976:237, 1979:78, 1984:231, 1988:273) mainly draw on the materials kept in the same Lagat Phāṭ. Two later publications (1995:78, 1999:141) mention the same department as the repository of the unpublished materials he used, but in them no mention is made of the Lagat Phāṭ. Both these publications tell us that 'copies of these materials are in the personal possession of the author in the form of the *Regmi Research Collections (RRC)*.'\* Regmi had noted in one of his publications

\* It should be noted that in M.C. Regmi 1999:141 the full form of the last word of the RRC has been spelt as *Collection*.

from my own long experience in collating the 'official' copies of the *gūṭhī* documents under the research project sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft with whatever original documents are available how badly the scribes prepared copies. It is not likely that the official copies kept in the Lagat Phāṭ should be an exception.

The copies in Regmi's possession do indeed seem to have been hastily prepared, the writing in many an instance being quite difficult to decipher. There is no doubt that the scribes – either those who copied from the original or those who copied for Regmi – made little effort to reproduce the text faithfully, and the result is material of questionable use for philological studies. In confirmation of this, one may compare the two versions of the same document – one copied from the original and the other copied for the RRC – published below as no. 21. Of the 27 documents presented below we come across no less than six times<sup>32</sup> two versions of the same document in the RRC. A comparison of these two versions proves how carelessly the scribes dealt with historical documents.<sup>33</sup> As the scribes are most of the time reluctant to copy the date in cases where a document wholly or fractionally has the same date as the preceding one. We sometimes can derive two different dates for two versions of the same document by going back to earlier documents.<sup>34</sup> At times the date given in the body of the text differs with the date of another version of the same document acquired by pursuing the previously copied documents.<sup>35</sup> We have at least one instance of condensing the contents.<sup>36</sup> In the whole corpus presented below, if the sender is the incumbent king they invariably drop the line which tells us who issued the document. As is well known, the documents issued by the king can be divided broadly into two categories: those called *rukkā* and

(1971:220) that 'the archival records of the Lagat Phant ... consist of official copies of orders, notifications, regulations, etc. issued by the government of Nepal', so that it is quite clear that he had no access to original documents but only to official copies of them.

32. Docs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 12 and 22 of the present corpus.
33. For example, compare कपतान सुबेदार vs कपरदार सुबा सुबेदार in doc. 5, मौली vs मंडली in doc. 6, हाम्रा vs हमला in doc. 11 of the present corpus and घाट vs घर in M.R. Pant forthcoming: doc. 18.
34. M.R. Pant forthcoming: docs. 7, 9, 18 and 19.
35. Doc. 5 of the present corpus and M.R. Pant forthcoming: doc. 25.
36. M.R. Pant forthcoming: the first version of doc. 25.

others with a *praśasti*. Barring two instances,<sup>37</sup> our scribes nowhere indicate this, at least for the documents presented below. In all the cases the name of the place from where the document was issued is omitted. It was a matter of whim, too, to the scribes whether to copy or not a weekday contained in the document, though invariably they write *roj*, meaning 'a day', which customarily is placed before the figure expressing the weekday.

In spite of all these shortcomings, the documents incorporated into the RRC are irreplaceable because in most of the cases we have no access to their originals.

The documents presented below are selected from different volumes of the RRC. As the preceding and the following numbers of the documents in most of the cases are not consecutive, it is clear that Regmi's scribes did not copy everything on which they laid their hands.

The following documents are true copies of what appear in the RRC. No attempt has been made to correct even obvious mistakes; these are retained in the body of the text. In cases where mistakes need to be rectified for a proper understanding of the text, corrections are relegated to footnotes. Regmi's scribes distinguish *va* from *ba* by placing a traditional dot below the circle, and I have faithfully differentiated these two letters in the text accordingly. However, it should be stressed that in the passage which is entirely in Sanskrit, or in a Sanskrit word where other components are correctly spelt, I have followed the standard orthography, even though the scribes do not place a dot below the circle. I have not copied all the dots scattered throughout the texts – the equivalents of present-day full stops, theoretically to be placed at the end of what I have taken to be a sentence or a division of a sentence. I have supplied punctuation as called for.

Though this may seem redundant, I have included the different versions of the same document and translations of each of them, for a proper understanding of the contents of a given text, and also to demonstrate how badly the texts have been transmitted.

In translating the documents, I have tried to be as literal as possible. In cases where I think a literal translation may not convey the intended meaning, I deviate from it and give the literal translation within parentheses, sometimes

37. The second version of doc. 22 and also doc. 24 in the present corpus.

together with the Nepali word(s). Similarly, when an addition of one or more words was occasionally required for smooth diction, I have supplied them within square brackets. Whenever I thought it necessary, I have added indigenous words in parentheses after their translation, merely to show how they are expressed in the original. At times I have not been able to understand some points in the documents owing to the unsatisfactory textual transmission, and this is reflected in my translation.

Of the 27 documents given below one may find seven already translated or summarised in the RRS.<sup>38</sup> In order to facilitate a comparison of my translation with Regmi's, I have reproduced each of his translations or summaries as a footnote to the relevant translation of mine.

We do not know exactly when the Nepali language began to drop final vowels and the *a* started becoming quiescent. However, there is no doubt that this practice was evident centuries before the present documents were issued. Such being the case, I have dropped the final *a* in my translation regardless of its presence or absence in personal, ethnic and caste names, place-names and titles of rank in the documents. Irrespective of the spelling found in the documents included in the RRC, I have given the standard or current forms of such names, with the appropriate diacritics. I have also omitted the final *a* in transliterated Nepali words.

One may come across a sprinkling of non-English words in my translation without any hint about what they mean. As no simple but exact English equivalents of these terms can be found, I have retained them without explanation in my translation and defined them in a glossary at the end. In addition, I have tried in the glossary to define non-English titles of rank and little-known ethnic, professional and caste names as well. However, I have not been able to explain all the terms; a few appear without any kind of annotation. The study of the terms to be met with in contemporary documents is an independent theme of its own and still in its infancy. It is not rare to come across contradictory definitions for a given word being offered by the same author in different publications. At this point I would like to clarify that what I offer in the glossary as meanings may not be always felicitous.

As the contemporary Nepalese administration was heavily modelled after the system of the Mogul emperors and the practice of creating neologisms

38. Docs. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 and 16 of the present corpus.

had yet to be developed, it was natural that the flow of foreign words from such languages as Arabic, Persian and Turkish into the Nepali language accelerated. As no exact translation of such administrative terms into simple language is possible, I have let them too stand in my translation and explained them in the glossary. Since the Nepali of those days had no standardised system of orthography, I originally thought of transliterating such words in accordance with how they are spelt in the Persian language, then the lingua franca of the Indian subcontinent, but later decided not to overburden modern readers not acquainted with the Arabic system of orthography; instead they are spelt as in modern Nepali.

Though I know that the documents incorporated into the RRC were not carefully copied and harbour some doubts about the toponyms as spelt therein, I should confess that I have not done the job of verifying them but reserve this for the future. Similarly, I have not tried to verify two different dates given in two different versions of the same document.

Finally, readers will often encounter lengthy footnotes meant only to establish the date of a document when the scribe drops it when occurs in one or more earlier documents. Their presence is necessary for accuracy.

## Document no. 1

Vol. 5

No. 78

pp. 12-13

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

## TEXT

आगे कासीराम पाध्या थपलीयाके

चेप्यामस्यार्न्दीपश्चीम ठुला भेरीपुर्ब थाक थींनस्मेत येती हाम्रा मुलुकभित्रका माना पाथी तुला ढक छाप मारी बाकी रहचाको छाप मान खानी ईजाराभीत्र बक्स्यौ. येती मुलकभीत्रका खस बामन बाधा बीर्ता बीतलप जागीच्या ढाक्या सब छतीसै जातले आफ्ना ना आफ्ना<sup>1</sup> घरका जसजसछेउ छाप लाउन देउ अधीका रीतसंग दस्तुर देउ. छाप नलाग्याको माना पाथी ढकले जो चलन गरौला सो अफसरीया हौला डंडाई पाउला. छाप लाउन देउ. दुनीत्राले छाप मान्याकन खान दिनु. पाथीमा दस्तुर आना एक् ५/ तेसै हीसाबले दिनु. दस्तुर लीनु.

## तपसिल

पाथी १	दर	आना आठ ॥
माना १	दर	आना चार ।
तुला १	दर	आना चार ।
ढक धार्नी १	दर	आना आठ ॥

ईती सम्बत १८४८ साल मीति श्रावणसुदी १२ रोज ५ सु

## TRANSLATION

For Kāsīrām Pādhyā Thapaliyā

We [hereby] grant [you] under contract (*ijārā*) [rights on] mining within the country (*yetī muluk*) of ours west of the Cepe and Marsyāñdī and east of the Ṭhulī Bherī together with Thāk and Thīn in order to seal (*chāp māna*) the *mānā*-s, *pāthī*-s, scales (*tulā*) and weights (*ḍhak*) which remain to be sealed (*chāp māri bākī rahyāko*). [You] the Khas-es, the Brahmins, [the holders] of mortgaged (*bādhā*), *birtā* and *bitalap* [lands], and *jāgīryā*-s and *ḍhākryā*-s, [and] all [the people belonging to] the 36 *jāt*-s [living] within the

1. For आफ्ना आफ्ना.



country, give *dastūr* in accordance with the previous custom to whomever you let fix the seal (*chāp lāuna*) [on the *mānā*-s, *pāthī*-s, scales and weights] of your respective households. Whoever of you uses a *mānā*, *pāthī* [or] weight that is not sealed (*chāp nalāgyāko*) will be [considered] a rebel (*aphsariyā*) [and] will receive punishment (*ḍaṃḍāi*). Have seals affixed (*chāp lāuna deu*). The subjects (*duniñā*) should feed those who [come to] seal (*chāp mārmāyākanā*). [They] should pay (lit., give) *dastūr* at the rate (*hisāb*) of 1 [written out] one anna per *pāthī*. [Those who come to seal] should take the *dastūr*.

#### Particulars (*tapsil*)

[For] 1 <i>pāthī</i>	rate	8 [written out] eight annas
[For] 1 <i>mānā</i>	rate	4 [written out] four annas
[For] 1 scale	rate	4 [written out] four annas
[For] 1 weight [weighing] 1 <i>dhārnī</i>	rate	8 [written out] eight annas

Dated Thursday, the 12th of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1848.

[Let it be] auspicious.

#### Document no. 2

Vol. 5

No. 108

p. 15-16

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

#### TEXT

आगे सक्तीराम पौडेलके

तेरो बाबुलाई हाम्रा भारदारले लीबुछेउ पठाउदा लीबुले मारीदीयाछन. तिमिहरु बालक हुदा भारदारले जीउनी भनीकन खीकामाछ्का खेतमध्ये खावा आमबोटचा खेत मुरी असी ८० दीआयाको<sup>२</sup> रहेछ. सो खेत लगापातस्मेत घर घडचारी पायापानी भन्याको खरकस्मेत हामीले पनि थामीबकस्यौं. आफ्ना खातीरज्मासंग भोग्य गर. येस खेतमा अमालीको लाग नास्ती.

ईती सम्बत १८४८ साल मीती भाद्रबदी १२ रोज ६ सु

मार्फत काजी रणजीत पाडे

2. For दीयाको.

#### TRANSLATION

For Śaktirām Pauḍel

We have come to learn that when our *bhārādār*-s sent your father to the *Limbū*-s, the *Limbū*-s killed<sup>3</sup> [him]. It has been found that as you were children, the *bhārādār*-s granted<sup>4</sup> [you] the *Āmbotyā* field [measuring] 80 [written out] eighty *muri*-s [of land] from (*madhye*) the fields in *Khikāmāchā* as a *jiunī* [for] a limited period (*khāvā*). That field, the house together with its curtilage, [and] the *ghaḍyārī* and the pasture (*kharak*), named *Pāyāpānī*, we too [hereby] retain [for you]. Enjoy (*bhogya gara*) [it] to your content (*khātīrjmā*). The *amālī* has no right (*lāg*) over this field.

Dated Friday, the 12th of the waning moon of *Bhādra*, Saṃvat Year 1848.

[Let it be] auspicious.

Through<sup>5</sup> *Kājī* Raṇajit Pāḍe

#### Document no. 3

Vol. 25

No. 12/164

pp. 219-220

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2432/2

- As English has no exact equivalent of the second perfect tense of Nepali, which expresses the sense of realisation, I have started the sentence with '[w]e have come to learn that', in the process of giving the meaning of the compound verb, *māriḍiyāchan*, made up of two verbs, the first being in the form of the absolutive participle, and the second in that of the second perfect participle terminating in the affirmative form of the paradigm *cha*. In order to elucidate the meaning of an identical verbal form, i.e. *sepirāṣecha* (doc. 16 of the present corpus), with the particle *gare* indicating that the information is derived at second hand, I have started the sentence quite differently. We come across a similar verbal form but with a single verb, i.e. *phorecha*, in the document numbered 11 of the present corpus.
- This sentence in the original ends with *rahecha*, a second perfect tense of the verb *rahanu* having the lexical meaning 'to remain' and again implying the sense of realisation. In the present corpus, we come across the same verb in three other documents (first version of no. 4 and also nos. 15 and 21).
- On the explanation of the word *mārphat*, which has been translated here as 'through', see M.R. Pant and P.H. Pierce 1989:12.

## TEXT

आग्ये जीताराम नेवारके

कासीराम थपलीयाको खाएल् चेष्यामसादिंपसिम ठुलो भेरीपुर्ब एती मुलुकभीत्रका ताबाखानि सिसाषानी सोभीताखानी फाला<sup>6</sup>षानीमध्ये थुनीका खानीबाहीक खानीखानीका गाउ तसको लागपात<sup>7</sup> हीजो कासीराम थपलीयाले खादा जली<sup>8</sup>आयाको रकम हीजोदेषी आजसम्म खानी कमाउन्या घन टागा समाउन्या खानीका खनीबारहरुले खाआको खेत रुमटा खानीलाई थामीदे. द्वा-न्याले खाआको रकमको डस्तुर खोला खरक काछो सीरतो षउपुजा भेडाभार महसुल पगरी दरसनी पारापुर्ब<sup>9</sup>देषीको राजअंक जो जो हो अधी सो लीनु. डंडकुंड मोरोअपताल पंचखत तीनै ओलक आगरी गाउममंडली<sup>10</sup> अमालसमेत वर्ष तीनी ३ सम्म नखोसनु गरी ईस्तक सम्बत १८४९ साल् आषाढसुदी २ सौ लागार्इत सम्बत १८५२ साल् आषाढसुदी १ तक त्रीसाला ईजारा गरीबक्यौँ. तस्को महसुल वर्ष १ को रुपैया सात हजार एक ७००१ तिनै वर्षको ज्मा रुपैया २३००३ किस्तिबमोजिम साल्बसाल् तोसाखाना दाषीलार. साल्बसाल्का बासीलबाकी बुभाई फारखती लीनु. हीजो चल्याको रकम आज चलाउ. दर्बर<sup>11</sup>बाट चलाईबक्सौला. दैवी पन्या हेर्न पठाई ठहरीयाको मीनहा बक्सौला.

## तपसिल

असामी ज्मा रुपैया मुहडा कातीकसुदी फागुन् आषाढ-  
५ रो मैना सुदी १

सम्बत १८४९ साल्

आषाढसुदी २ सौ

संवत १८५० साल्

आषाढसुदी १ तक ७००१ २००० १५०० २००० १५०१

सम्बत १८५० साल्-

सौ लागार्इ सम्बत

१८५१ साल् आषाढ-

सुदी १५ तक ८००१ २००० २००० २००० २००१

6. For फलाम°. 7. For लगापात. 8. For चली°. 9. For परापुर्ब°.

10. For गाउमंडली. A case of dittography.

11. For दर्बर°.

सम्बत १८५१ साल्

आषाढसुदी २ सौ

लगाई सम्बत १८५२

साल् आषाढसुदी

१ तक ८००१ २००० २००० २००० २००१

सम्बत १८४९ साल् आषाढसुदी २ रोज ५

TRANSLATION<sup>12</sup>

For Jitārām Nevār

12. M.C. Regmi 1980:97:

The ijara for the management of copper, lead, cinnabar, and iron mines in the Chepe-Marsyangdi-Bheri region, as mentioned above, was subsequently granted to Kashiram Thapaliya. On Shrawan Sudi 11, 1849, it was granted to Jitaram Newar, with the exception of mines in the village of Thuni.

Jitaram Newar was granted authority under the ijara to reconfirm the rice-land allotments made to mineworkers; and appropriate payments made customarily to the dware. He was also permitted to appropriate payments made by the mineworkers in the form of ore (Kachho-Sirto), and collect the *khanda-Puja*, *bhedabhara*, *mahsul*, *pagari*, *darshani* and other levies from them, as well as *rajanka* levies, judicial fines and penalties (*danda-kunda*), escheat property (*maryoaputali*), fines and penalties collected from persons guilty of major (*panchakhat*) crimes, *walak* levies of all the three categories, and levies collected from mining villages for ritual sacrifices (*maulo*) and for the *amali*.

The ijara was valid for a three-year period from Ashadh Sudi 2, 1849 to Ashadh Sudi 1, 1852, the total amount due for the entire period being Rs 23,003, payable in installments as follows to the Tosakhana:

Date of payment	1849-50	1850-51	1851-52
Initial payment	Rs 2,000	Rs 2,000	Rs 2,000
Kartik	Rs 1,500	Rs 2,000	Rs 2,000
Falgun	Rs 2,000	Rs 2,000	Rs 2,000
Ashadh	Rs 1,501	Rs 2,001	Rs 2,001
Total	Rs 7,001	Rs 8,001	Rs 8,001

Shrawan Sudi 11, 1849

This summary errs partially in dating the document, since it gives the month as Śrāvaṇa instead of Āṣāḍha, and the lunar day as 11 for 2. This occurs under the

We [hereby] execute a triennial contract (*ijārā*) from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1849<sup>13</sup> to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1852, [which contract stipulates that the contractor] not be divested for 3 [written out] three years of the copper mine, lead mine, cobalt mine and iron mine within the country (*etī muluk*) which was previously held (*khāail*) by Kāśīrām Thapaliyā west of the Cepe and Marsyāndī, and east of the Ṭhulī Bherī, but not the mine in Thunī, the villages where each of the mines and their curtilage lie, the *rakam* which has prevailed (*calīāyāko*) since Kāśīrām Thapaliyā enjoyed (lit., ate = *khādā*) it previously (lit., yesterday), [and which also stipulates that] the fields which had been enjoyed (lit., eaten = *khāāko*) by the miners of each of the mines, who work the mines and have held hammer (*ghan*) and *ṭāgā* from the past (lit., from yesterday) to the present times (lit., to today) be retained for the mine [in] Rumṭā. Realise (*līnu*) the *dastūr* on the *rakam* which the *dvāryā* enjoys (lit., eats = *khāāko*), [taxes on the use of] streams (*kholā*) and pastures (*kharak*), [such taxes as] *kācho sirto*, *khāupūjā*, *bhēḍābhār*, *mahasul*, *pagarī*, *darśanī* and all kinds of *rājañka*—whatsoever has been prevalent from olden times – [levies collected from] *daṇḍakuṇḍa*, *moroaputālī* and *pañcakhat* and [the right to collect] all three *valak*-s together with [levies collected for] the *maṇḍalī* in the *āgrī* villages [and for] the *amālī*-s. The *mahasul* for this [contract is fixed] for the first year at *rupaiñā*-s 7,001 [written out] seven

influence of an almost identically worded document of a similar nature (first version of doc. 6 in the present corpus) which M.C. Regmi (1980:98) records immediately after the above document (quoted by me below under fn. 30). In the present document, Regmi reads *maulo* for *maṇḍalī*, and translates it as 'ritual sacrifices'. This, too, stems from the same influence, *maulī* standing in place of the present document's *maṇḍalī*. It seems that being uncertain of what to do with the unknown form *maulī*, Regmi changed it into *maulo*, meaning a 'post to which an animal is tied before being sacrificed',\* and translated it as 'religious post'.

It should be noted that my translation of a mineralogical term, namely, *sobhitā*, differs from Regmi's. My source is *Mecīdekhi mahākālī* (pt. 3:722), a kind of gazetteer of Nepal published by His Majesty's Government. As the dictionaries define them, cobalt is '[a] metal of a greyish colour inclining to red, brittle, slightly magnetic; in many respects resembling nickel ...' (Little, *et al.* 1985: s.v., 1) and cinnabar '[t]he red or crystalline form of mercuric sulphide ...' (*ibid.*: s.v., 1). I leave the problem of what *sobhitā* is actually called in English to Nepalese mineralogists.

13. I have omitted a translation of the unknown form *istak*, which always comes before *saṃvat*. See also docs. 6, 23 and 24 of the present corpus.

\* Turner 1931:s.v.

thousand one – [and] for all three years in aggregate *rupaiñā*-s 23,003. Present (*dākhil*) the annual [*mahasul*] in accordance with [the below fixed] instalments to the Tośākhānā. Annually take the clearance (*phārkhātī*) after paying (*bujhāi*) the remainder outstanding (*bāsīlbākī*). Collect (*calāu*) now (lit., today) the *rakam* which was collected (*calyāko*) in previous times (lit., yesterday). We shall institute (*calāibaksaulā*) from the palace...<sup>14</sup> In case of natural disasters (*daivī paryā*) we shall send [someone] to investigate (lit., to see) and exempt [whatever amount] is decided.

Particulars (*tapsil*)

<i>asāmī</i>	<i>Rupaiñā</i> in aggregate	Initial [instalment]	[Instalment to be paid on] the 5th of the waxing month of Kārttika	[Instalment to be paid in] the month of Phālguna	[Instalment to be paid on] the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha
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From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1849 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat 1850

7001      2000      1500      2000      1501

From Saṃvat Year 1850 to full moon of Saṃvat Year 1851

8001      2000      2000      2000      2001

From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year

14. This sentence lacks an object and resultantly is incomplete. It is a literal translation of the original दबाँबाट चलाईबकीला. What is omitted is known from an almost identically worded document (doc. 6 of the present corpus): नचल्याको रकम, which can be translated as 'any *rakam* that has not been collected customarily'.

1851 to the 1st  
of the waxing  
moon of Āṣāḍha,  
Saṃvat Year

1852                      8001                      2000                      2000                      2000                      2001

Thursday, the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1849.

### Document no. 4

#### The first version in the RRC

Vol. 5

No. 587

p. 232

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

#### TEXT

आगे धनराज रानाप्रती

धुरकोटको सीसाखानी सोभीताखानी रुगुम थलावाङ्को सीसाखानी दार्सुको<sup>15</sup> फलामखानी येती जगहको सीसा फलाम ल्याई फौड्याको पालामा गोली बन्दुक बनाउन्दो रहेछ। आजथौं पनि ताहाका सीसा फलाम ल्याई बन्दुकगोलीको कारखाना चला।

ईती सम्बत १८४९ साल मार्गसुदी १५ रोज ४ सु<sup>16</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

To Dhanarāj Rānā

[With regard to] the lead mine and the cobalt mine in Dhurkoṭ, the lead mine in Rukum [and] Thalāvaṅ and the iron mine in Dārmu, we have come to learn that the lead and iron of these places (*yetī jagahako*) were brought and bullets and muskets were manufactured during the time of Phauḍyā.

15. For दार्सुको.

16. The scribe does not provide the year but simply writes ईती मार्गसुदी १५ रोज ४ सु, though a later hand gives the year as १८४९. Similarly, the preceding document, numbered 579 and copied on pp. 231-232, concludes with ईती पौखवदी ६ रोज सु. As the document preceding it, numbered 544 and copied on p. 231, closes with the full date, ईती सम्बत १८४९ साल मार्गसुदी १० रोज, I have taken the document to be from 1849.

Now (lit., today) too bring lead and iron from there and run the musket and bullet factory [with them].

Wednesday, the full moon of Mārga, Saṃvat Year 1849.

[Let it be] auspicious.

### The second version in the RRC

Vol. 25

No. 19/264

p. 241

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2432/2

#### TEXT

आगे धनराज रानाप्रती

धुरकोटको<sup>17</sup> सीसाखानी सोभीताखानी रुगुम थलावाङ्को सीसाखानी दार्सुको फलामखानी येती जगहको सीसा फलाम ल्याई बन्दुकगोलीको कारखाना चला।

ईती सम्बत १८४९ साल मार्गसुदी १५ रोज ४ सुभं<sup>18</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

To Dhanarāj Rānā

[With regard to] the lead mine and the cobalt mine in Dhurkoṭ, the lead mine in Rukum [and] Thalāvaṅ and the iron mine in Dārmu, bring lead and iron from these places (*yetī jagahako*) and run the musket and bullet factory [with them].

Wednesday, the full moon of Mārga, Saṃvat Year 1849.

[Let it be] auspicious.

17. For धुरकोटको.

18. The scribe does not provide the year but simply writes ईती मार्गसुदी १५ रोज ४ सुभं. The preceding document, numbered 19/263 and copied on the same page, concludes likewise. The next earlier document, numbered 18/257 and copied on pp. 240-241, terminates as the two later documents do. As the previous document, numbered 18/256 and copied on p. 240, closes with the full date, ईती सम्बत १८४९ साल मार्गसुदी १५ रोज ४ सुभं, I have taken the document to be from 1849.

**Document no. 5****The first version in the RRC**

Vol. 5

No. 155

p. 275

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

**TEXT**

आगे काजी सरदार कपतान सुबेदार बाबं<sup>19</sup> लाषका छतिसै जातीप्रती सम्बत १८४९ सालमा सुभान साही जुमालामा पसी कुल गर्दा जुमलीले रणजीत कवरमाथी कुल गर्दामा तीनका कबीला जसजसले मासी लेआयाको छ. घर ल्याई पुन्यायाका बाटमा लेआउदा देसीलाई उठायाका जाहा छन. हामीले कबीलामा लु<sup>20</sup> हुकुम कसैलाई दीयाको छैन. जो मास्याका छन फिर्ता गरीदेउ. जो फीर्ता गरोईन अपसरीया हौला.

ईती सम्बत् १८५० जेष्टबदी ९ रोज ३ सु

**TRANSLATION**

To the *Kāji-s*, *Sardār-s*, Captains, *Subedār-s* and all the 36 *jāti-s* from [the population of] 5,200,000.

In Saṃvat Year 1849 Subhān Sāhī entered Jumlā and stirred up a rebellion (*kul*), [so that] the Jumlīs rebelled against Raṇajit Kavar. [At that time] whoever of you brought members of their (i.e. Jumlīs') families (*kabilā*) as slaves to [your respective] homes [or] on the way abducted (lit., lifted) for the *deṣī-s* [should know that] wherever they are we have commanded no one to abduct (lit., plunder) family members. Send back whoever are enslaved. Whoever of you does not send [them] back will be [considered] a rebel (*apsariyā*).

Tuesday, the 9th of the waning moon of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃvat [Year] 1850.

[Let it be] auspicious.

19. For बाबं. 20. For लुदन.

**The second version in the RRC**

Vol. 36

No. 155

p. 50-51

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2441/2

**TEXT**

आगे काजी सरदार कपरदान<sup>21</sup> सुबा सुबेदार बाबंद<sup>22</sup> लाखका छतिसै जातीप्रति सम्बत १८४९ सालमा सुभान साही जुमिलामा पसी कुल गर्दा जुमलीले रनूजित कवरमाथी कुल गर्दामा तिनका कबीला जसजसले मासी लेआयाको छ. घर ल्याई पुन्यायाका बाटामा लेआउदा देसीलाई उठायाका जाहा छन. हामीले कबीलामा लु<sup>23</sup> लु<sup>24</sup> हुकुम कसैलाई दियाको छैन. जो मास्याका छन फिर्ता गरीदेउ. जो फिता<sup>25</sup> गरौन अपसरिआ हौला.

ईती सम्बत १८५० साल जेष्टबदी ११ रोज ३ सु<sup>26</sup>

**TRANSLATION<sup>27</sup>**

To the *Kāji-s*, *Sardār-s*, *Kapardār-s*, *Subā-s*, *Subedār-s* and all the 36 *jāti-s* from [the population of] 5,200,000.

In Saṃvat Year 1849 Subhān Sāhī entered Jumlā and stirred up a rebellion (*kul*) [so that] the Jumlīs rebelled against Raṇajit Kavar. [At that time]

21. For कपरदार. 22. For बाबं. 23. For कबीलामा. 24. For लुदन. 25. For फिता.

26. The scribe simply concludes with ईती सम्बत ऐ, i.e. 'the year is ditto'. The date is derived from the preceding document, numbered 154 and copied on p. 50, which closes with ईती सम्बत १८५० साल जेष्टबदी ११ रोज ३ सु.

27. M.C. Regmi 1987:9:

Royal order to Kaji, Sardar, Kapardar, Subba, Subedar, and the entire 52 lakh people belonging to the 36 castes: "In the Vikrama year 1849 (A.D. 1792), Sobhan Shahi entered into Jumla and started a rebellion there. The inhabitants of Jumla then rebelled against Ranajit Kanwar. Their families were, consequently enslaved. Since we have not granted authority over them to any one, return all persons who have been enslaved in this manner, irrespective of whether you have brought them to your homes, or sold them to others. Any person who does not return such enslaved persons shall be deemed to have committed an offense."

Tuesday, Jestha Badi 11, 1850 (May 1793).

whoever of you brought members of their (i.e. Jumli's) families (*kabilā*) as slaves to [your respective] homes [or] on the way abducted (lit., lifted) for the *deśi*-s [should know that] wherever they are we have commanded no one to abduct (lit., plunder) family members. Send back whoever are enslaved. Whoever of you does not send [them] back will be [considered] a rebel (*apsariā*).

Tuesday, the 11th of the waning moon of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃvat Year 1850.

[Let it be] auspicious.

### Document no. 6

The first version in the RRC

Vol. 5

No. 65

pp. 283-284

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

### TEXT

आगे जानकीराम नेवारके

जीताराम नेवारको खायेल चेष्यामर्साडिदीपश्चीं ठुला भेरीपुर्व येती मुलुकभीत्रका तामाखानी सीसाखानी सोभीतखानी फलामखानीमध्ये थुनीका खानीवाहेक खानीखानीका गाउ तस्को लगापात हीजो कासीराम थपलीयाले खादा चलीआयाको रकम हीजोदेखी आजसंम खानी कमाउन्या घन टागा समाउन्या खानीखानीका खनीवारहरुले खायाको खेत रुमटा खानीलाई थामीदे. द्वान्याले खायाको रकमको दस्तुर खोला खरक काछो सीतो खंडपुजा भेडाभार महसुल पगरी दर्सनी परापुर्वदेखीको राजअंक जो जो हो सो लीनु. दंदकुड मोरोअपुताली पंचखत तीनै वलक आग्री गाउमौली अमालीस्मेत बर्ख ३ सम्म नखोस्नु गरी ईस्तक सम्बत् १८५१ आखाडसुदी २ सौ लागाईत् सम्बत् १८५४ साल आखाडसुदी १ तक त्रीसाला ईजारा गरीबक्यौं.<sup>28</sup> तस्को महसुल बर्ख १ को रुपैत्रा तीनै बर्खको ज्मा रुपैत्रा २३००३ कीस्तवमोजीं सालबसाल तोषाखाना दाखील गर. सालबसालका वासीलबाकी बुभाई फारखती लीनु. हीजो चल्याको रकं आज चबाउ.<sup>29</sup> नचल्याको रकम दरबारवाट चलाईबक्सौला. दैवी पय्या हेर्न पठाई ठहरीयाको मीन्हा बक्सौला.

28. For °बक्यौं. 29. For चलाउ.

असामी	तपसील				
	ज्मा रुपैत्रा	मुहडा	कार्तिक- कीस्ता	फागुं- कीस्ता	आखाड- कीस्ता
१८५१ आखाडसुदी २ देखी ५२ आखाडसुदी १ संम	७००१	२०००	१६७५	१६७५	१६५१
१८५२ ऐदेखी ५३ आखाड- सुदी १ तक	८००१	२०००	२०००	२०००	२००१
१८५३ ऐदेखी १८५४ आखाडसुदी १ सम्म	८००१	२०००	२०००	२०००	२००१
ईती सम्बत् १८५१ साल श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सु					

### TRANSLATION<sup>30</sup>

For Jānakīrām Nevār

We [hereby] execute a triennial contract (*ijārā*) from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat [Year] 1851 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1854, [which contract stipulates that the contractor] not be divested for three years of the copper mine, lead mine, cobalt mine and iron mine within the country (*yetī muluk*) which was previously held (*khāyel*) by Jitārām Nevār west of the Cepe and Marsyāndī, and east of the Ṭhulī Bherī, but not the mine in Thunī, the villages where each of the mines and their curtilage lie, the *rakam* which has prevailed (*caliāyāko*) since Kāśīrām Thapaliyā enjoyed (lit., ate = *khādā*) it previously (lit., yesterday), [and which also stipulates that] the fields which had been enjoyed (lit., eaten = *khāyāko*) by the miners of each of the mines, who work the mines and

30. M.C. Regmi 1980:98:

On Shrawan Badi 11, 1851, the *ijara* was granted on the same terms and conditions as those mentioned above to Janakiram Newar.

Shrawan Badi 11, 1851

'[M]entioned above' is in reference to the document (doc. 3 of the present corpus) the translation of which is published by Regmi on the preceding page (quoted above by me under fn. 12).

It should be noted that inadvertently Regmi writes *badi* for *śudi*. He (M.C. Regmi 1978a:113) has summarised the same document more completely on the basis of the second version (quoted below by me under fn. 36), where the date is cited precisely.

have held hammer (*ghan*) and *tāgā* from the past (lit., from yesterday) to the present times (lit., to today) be retained for the mine [in] Rumtā. Realise (*linu*) the *dastūr* on the *rakam* which the *dvāryā* enjoys (lit., eats = *khāyāko*), [taxes on the use of] streams (*kholā*) and pastures (*kharak*), [such taxes as] *kācho sirto*, *khamḍapūjā*, *bhēḍābhār*, *mahasūl*, *pagarī*, *darśanī* and all kinds of *rājaānka* – whatsoever has been prevalent from olden times – [levies collected from] *daṇḍakuṇḍa*, *moroaputālī* and *pañcakhat* and [the right to collect] all three *valak*-s together with [levies collected for] the *maulī* in the *āgrī* villages [and for] the *amālī*-s. The *mahasūl* for this [contract is fixed] for the first year...<sup>31</sup> – [and] for all three years in aggregate *rupaiñā*-s 23,003. Present (*dākhīl*) the annual [*mahasūl*] in accordance with [the below fixed] instalments to the Tośākhānā. Annually take the clearance (*phārkhātī*) after paying (*bujhāī*) the remainder outstanding (*vāsīlbākī*). Collect (*calāu*) now (lit., today) the *rakam* which was collected (*calyāko*) in previous times (lit., yesterday). Any *rakam* that has not been collected [customarily] (*nacalyāko*) we shall institute (*calāibaksaulā*) from the palace. In case of natural disasters (*daivī paryā*) we shall send [someone] to investigate (lit., to see) and exempt [whatever amount] is decided.

#### Particulars (*tapsīl*)

<i>asāmī</i>	<i>Rupaiñā</i> in aggregate	Initial [instalment]	Kārttika instalment	Phālguna instalment	Āṣāḍha instalment
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From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, 1851 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, [18]52

7001	2000	1675	1675	1651
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From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha,<sup>32</sup> 1852 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha [18]53

8001	2000	2000	2000	2001
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31. The amount to be paid for the first year is missing in both versions of this document. However, it can be retrieved from a similarly worded document (doc. 3 of the present corpus) and the particulars (*tapsīl*) of both versions.

32. The document does not repeat the month, fortnight and lunar day but reads ऐ, i.e. 'ditto'.

From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha,<sup>33</sup> 1853 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, 1854

8001	2000	2000	2000	2001
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Wednesday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

#### The second version in the RRC

Vol. 24

No. 50

pp. 307-309

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

#### TEXT

आगे जानकीराम नेवारके

जीताराम् नेवारको षायेल चेष्यामस्यादीपसीं ठुलो भेरीपुर्ब येती मुलुकभीत्रका ताम्बाषानी सीसाषानी सोभीताषानी फलांषानीमधे थुनीका षानीबाहेक षानीषानीका गाउ तस्को लगापात हीजो कासीरां थपलीयाले षाँदा चलीआयाको रकं हीजोदेषी आजसम्म षानी कमाउन्या घन टागा समाउन्या षानीका षानीबारहरुले षायाको षेत् रुम्टा षानीलाई थामीदे. द्वाय्याले षायाको रकंको दस्तुर षोला षरक काछो सीतो षडपुजा भेडाभार महसुल पगरी दरसनी परापुर्बदेषीको राजअंक जो जो हो सो लीनु. डंडकुड मोय्यो-अपुताली पंचषत तीनै वलक आग्री गाउमंडली अमालीस्मेत् वर्ष ३ सम्म नषोसनु गरी ईस्तक संवत् १८५१ साल मीती आषाडसुदी २ सौ लागाईत संवत् १८५४ साल आषाडसुदी १ तक त्रीसाला ईजारा गरीबकस्यौ. तेसको महसुल वर्ष १ को रुपैत्रा तीनै वर्षको जम्मा रुपैत्रा तेईस हजार तीन २३००३ कीस्तीबमोजीं सालबसाल तोसाषाना दाषील गर. सालबसालका वासीलबाकी बुभाई फारकती लीनु. हीजो चल्याको रकं आज चलाउ. नचल्याको रकं दर्बारबाट चलाईबकसौला. दैवी पय्या हेर्न पठाई ठहरीयाको मीन्हा बकसौला.

33. The document does not repeat the month, fortnight and lunar day but reads ऐ.

## तपसील

असामी	जम्मा रु	मुहुडा	कार्तिक- कीस्ता	फागुं	आषाढ
ईस्तक संवत् १८५१ साल आषाढसुदि २ सौ लगाईत संवत् <sup>34</sup> १८५२ साल आषाढसुदी १ सम्म	७००१	२०००	१६७५	१६७५	१६५१
ईस्तक संवत् १८५२ साल आषाढसुदी २ सौ लागाईत संवत् १८५३ साल आषाढसुदी १ सम्म	८००१	२०००	२०००	२०००	२०००
ईस्तक संवत् १८५३ साल आषाढसुदी २ सौ लागाईत संवत् १८५४ साल आषाढसुदी १ सम्म	८००१	२०००	२०००	२०००	२०००
ईती सं १८५१ साल मीती श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सुभं <sup>35</sup>					

TRANSLATION<sup>36</sup>

For Jānakīrām Nevār

34. For संवत्.
35. The scribe does not provide the month, fortnight and lunar day but simply writes ईती मीती १८५१ साल मीती. He concludes the preceding five documents numbered 45-49 (among them those numbered 46, 48 and 49 being respectively the second version of no. 7, and nos. 8 and 9 of the present corpus), which he copied on pp. 305-307, simply with ईती मीती सदर, i.e. 'the date is confirmed'. The date is derived from the next preceding document, numbered 44, and copied on p. 305; it closes with ईती सं १८५१ साल मीती श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सुभं.

36. M.C. Regmi 1978a:113:

On Shrawan sudi 11, 1851, Janakiram Newar was granted a three-year contract (ijara) to operate copper, lead, iron, and other mines in the region situated west of the Chape [sic] and Marsyangdi rivers and east of the Thulo-Bheri river. The ijara was previously held by Jitaram Newar. It had been held by

We [hereby] execute a triennial contract (*ijārā*) from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1851 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1854 [stipulating that the contractor] not be divested for three years of the copper mine, lead mine, cobalt mine and iron mine within the country (*yeṭī muluk*) which was previously held (*khāyel*) by Jitārām Nevār west of the Cepe and Marsyāndī, and east of the Ṭhulī Bherī, but not (*bāhek*) the mine in Thunī, the villages where each of the mines and their curtilage lie, the *rakam* which has prevailed (*calīāyāko*) since Kāśīrām Thapaliyā enjoyed (lit., ate = *ṣādā*) it previously (lit., yesterday), [and which also stipulates that] the fields which had been enjoyed (lit., eaten = *ṣāyāko*) by the miners of each of the mines, who work the mines and have held hammer (*ghan*) and *ṭāgā* from the past (lit., from yesterday) to the present times (lit., to today) be retained for the mine [in] Rumṭā. Realise (*līnu*) the *dastūr* on the *rakam* which the *dvāryā* enjoys (lit., eats = *ṣāyāko*), [taxes on the use of] streams (*kholā*) and pastures (*kharak*), [such taxes as] *kācho sirto*, *khāḍapūjā*, *bhēḍābhār*, *mahasūl*, *pagarī*, *darśanī* and all kinds of *rājañika* – whatsoever has been prevalent from olden times – [levies collected from] *daṇḍakuṇḍa*, *moroaputālī* and *pañcakhat* and [the right to collect] all three *valak*-s together with [levies collected for] the *maṇḍalī* in the *āgrī* villages [and for] the *amālī*-s. The *mahasūl* for this [contract is fixed] for the first year...<sup>37</sup> – for three years in aggregate *rupaiñā*-s 23,003 [written out] twenty three thousand and three. Present (*dākhīl*) the annual (*sālbasāl*) [*mahasūl*] in accordance with [the below fixed] instalments to the Tośākhānā. Annually take the clearance (*phārkātī*) after paying (*bujhāī*) the remainder outstanding (*vāsīl-bākī*). Collect (*calāu*) now (lit., today) the *rakam* which was collected (*calyāko*) in previous times (lit., yesterday). Any *rakam* that has not been collected [customarily] (*nacalyāko*) we shall institute (*calāibaksauṃlā*) from the palace. In case of natural disasters (*daivī paryā*) we shall send [someone] to investigate (lit., to see) and exempt [whatever amount] is decided.

Kashiram Thapaliya also at one time. The ijaradar was permitted to appropriate income from all taxes and levies customarily collected in the mining areas, and also exercise judicial authority over mineworkers and other inhabitants. The annual payment stipulated under the ijara was Rs 7,001 for the year 1851 and Rs 8,001 each for 1852 and 1853.

37. On a lacuna here see *supra*, fn. 31.



asāmī	Particulars ( <i>tapsīl</i> )				
	Rupaiñā in aggregate	Initial [instalment]	Kārttika instalment	Phālguna [instalment]	Āṣāḍha [instalment]

From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1851 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1852

7001	2000	1675	1675	1651
------	------	------	------	------

From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1852 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1853

8001	2000	2000	2000	2001
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From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1853 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1854

8001	2000	2000	2000	2001
------	------	------	------	------

Dated Wednesday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

### Document no. 7

The first version in the RRC

Vol. 5

No. 61

p. 283

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

### TEXT

आगे पीउठानाका सुबाप्रती

चेप्यामस्याडीपश्चीं ठुलो भेरीपुर्ब येती मुलुकभीत्रको खानी सबै जानकीरामलाई बक्स्याको हो. तसर्थ गजुरी खानी १ आईप्यां खानी १ भीदुंगा खानी १ धाईवा खानी १ यी चार खानीमा रकम चलाईदेउ. रकम नचलाया अंबल नदीआ अपसरीया हौला.

ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सु<sup>38</sup>

### TRANSLATION<sup>39</sup>

To the *Subā* of *Pyūṭhānā*

[We] have granted all the mines within the country (*yeṭī muluk*) west of the Cepe and Marsyāñdī and east of the Ṭhulī Bherī to Jānakīrām. Therefore have the *rakam* collected (*calāideu*) on the four mines, [namely] the Gajurī mine, Aipyāṃ mine, Bhīmḍhuṅgā mine and Dhāibā mine. If you do not have the *rakam* collected (*nacalāyā*) [and] the [necessary] authority (*aṃbal*) given, you will be [considered] a rebel (*apsariyā*).

Dated Wednesday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

38. As the scribe does not provide the date but simply writes मीती ऐं, i.e. 'the date is ditto', the date is reconstructed on the basis of two documents copied on earlier pages. The year is derived from a document numbered 21 and copied on pp. 280-281, which concludes with ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती श्रावणसुदी ३ रोज ३ सु. The same date without the year and weekday, मीती श्रावणसुदी ३ रोज, is given in the two following documents, numbered 26 and 34, on p. 282. Other particulars are derived from the next document, preceding the present one, numbered 60 and copied on the same page, which closes with श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सु.

39. M.C. Regmi 1980:98:

The royal order mentioned above also state that the government would help Jitaram Newar to take over mines which had not been brought under this control of the ijaradar previously in the Chepe-Marsyangdi-Bheri region. Accordingly, the Subba of Pyuthan was instructed to help Jitaram Newar take over the Gajuri, Aipyān, Bhim dhunga and Dhaiwa mines.

Shrawan Sudi 11, 1851

## The second version in the RRC

Vol. 24

No. 46

p. 306

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

## TEXT

आगे पीउठानाका सुबाप्रती

चेप्यामस्यार्डीपसी ठुलो भेरीपुर्व येती मुलुकभीत्रको पानी सबै जानकीरामलाई बकस्याको हो. तसर्थ गजुरी पानी १ आईप्या पानी १ भीमदुगो पानी १ धाईबां पानी १ ई चार पानीमा रकं चलाईदेउ. रकं नचलीया<sup>40</sup> अंबल नदीया अपसरीया हौला.

ईती सं १८५१ साल मीती श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सुभ<sup>41</sup>TRANSLATION<sup>42</sup>To the *Subā* of Pyūṭhānā

[We] have granted all the mines within the country (*yeti muluk*) to the west of the Cepe and Marsyāndī and east of the Ṭhulī Bherī to Jānakīrām. Therefore have the *rakam* collected (*calāideu*) on the four mines, [namely] the Gajurī mine, Aipyā mine, Bhīmḍhuṅgo mine and Dhāibām mine. If you do not have the *rakam* collected (*nacalāyā*) [and] the [necessary] responsibility (*aṃbal*) given, you will be [considered] a rebel (*apsarīyā*).

Dated Wednesday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

40. For नचलाया.

41. The scribe does not provide the date but simply concludes with ईती मीती सदर. On how the date for the present document is derived, see *supra*, fn. 35.

42. M.C. Regmi 1978a:113:

Royal order to the subba of Pyuthan: "All mines in the area situated west of the Chape [*sic*] and Marsyangdi rivers and east of the Thulo-Bheri river have been placed under the authority of Janakiram. You are hereby ordered to let him take possession of the Gajuri, Aite, Bhundhunga, and Dhaiban mines. You shall be held guilty if you do not do so."

Shrawan sudi 11, 1851.

## Document no. 8

Vol. 24

No. 48

p. 306

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

## TEXT

आगे पानीपानीका सब मुषीयाप्रती

संवत् १८५१ साल आषाड्सुदी २ रोज सौ सभ पानी जानकीराम् नेवारलाई येकहटी गरी ईजारा चुकाये बकस्याको छ. ताही तीमीहरु हाजीर रु<sup>43</sup>जु भै तामो ईजारादारलाई सौपीदेउ. अरुवमा बेच्या अपसरीया हौला.

ईती सं १८५१ साल मीती श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सुभ<sup>44</sup>TRANSLATION<sup>45</sup>To all the *Mukhiyā*-s of each mine

[We] have settled and granted from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1851 all the mines to Jānakīrām Nevār on the monopoly contract

43. The first letter is written over. At best it can be read as रु.

44. The scribe does not provide the date but simply concludes with ईती मीती सदर. On how the date for the present document is derived, see *supra*, fn. 35.

45. M.C. Regmi 1978a:113:

Royal order to the mukhiyas of mines: "Janakiram Newar has been granted an ijara for all mines from Ashadh sudi 2, 1851. Hand over all supplies of copper to the ijaradar. You shall be held guilty if you sell copper to others."

Shrawan sudi 11, 1851.

M.C. Regmi (1980:98) gives a summary of the second version of the same document as copied in RRC, vol. IA, p. 2 as such:

The mukhiyas of all mines were also informed about the ijara granted to Jitaram Newar, as well as the monopoly granted to him in the trade in copper. They were ordered to hand over their entire production of copper to the ijaradar, and not to sell the metal elsewhere.

Shrawan Sudi 11, 1851

I could not locate this volume among the NGMPP microfilms. It seems that Jitārām, who was the predecessor of the present *ijārādār*, is a slip of the pen for Jānakīrām.

(*yekahaṭī garī ijārā*). Be present (*hājīr ruju*) there and hand over copper to the *ijārādār*. In case you sell [copper] to others you will be [considered] rebels (*apsarīyā*).

Dated Wednesday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

### Document no. 9

Vol. 24

No. 49

p. 307

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

#### TEXT

आगे चेष्यामस्यार्दीपसीं ठुलो भेरीपुर्बका सुबा उम्मा द्वाच्या ईजारदार सबै अमालीदारप्रती षानीको ईजारा जानकीरां नेवारलाई संवत् १८५१ साल आषाड्सुदी २ रोजदेषी ईजारा गरीबकस्याको छ. तांहां षानीमा रकं चलाईदेउ. ताहा कसैले टंटा नगर. टंटा गच्या अंबल चलन नदीया अपसरीया हौला डंड पनी पर्ला.

ईती सं १८५१ साल मीती श्रावणसुदी ११ रोज ४ सुभ<sup>46</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

To the *Subā-s*, *Umarā-s*, *Dvāryā-s*, *Ijārādār-s* and all the *Amālidār-s* [We] have granted a mining contract (*ijārā*) to Jānakīrām Nevār from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1851. Have the *rakam* collected (*rakam calāideu*) on the mine there. Do not cause trouble (*taṃṭā nagara*) there. If you cause trouble and do not allow (*calna nadīyā*) [his] authority (*aṃbal*), you will be [considered] rebels (*apsarīyā*), and punishment (*ḍaṃḍa*) will be inflicted (*parlā*) [on you].

Dated Wednesday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

46. The scribe does not provide the date but simply concludes with ईती मीती सदर. On how the date for the present document is derived, see *supra*, fn. 35.

### Document no. 10

Vol. 5

No. 172

p. 288

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

#### TEXT

आगे त्रीसुलगंगापश्चीं मानी<sup>47</sup>पुर्वका अमालीदारप्रती

आफ्ना आफ्ना अंबलका भोट्या प्रजा सीकार खेलन्या सीनु खान्या जातले घरही येकयेक छाला डागा भैसी मृग बाघ भालु येती जातका छाला तहसील गरी दिनु. छाला दीन नसकन्याले छालाको साटो घरही दुई दुई आना ५ // दाम दीनु. सार्कीका घरही २।२ छाला दिनु. छाला दिन नसकन्या सार्कीको घरही चार आना दाम दिनु. आफ्ना आफ्ना अंबलका प्रजा भारा गरी छाला बोकाई मेगजींमा पुन्याई सालबसाल पहुचनामा पुर्जा ली जान्या गर्नु. जा पुन्याउन<sup>48</sup> अपसरीआ हौला.

१८५१ साल भाद्रसुदी १ रोज

#### TRANSLATION

To the *Amālidār-s* to the west of the Trīsūl Gaṅgā and east of the Mādī

From your respective territories (*aṃbal*) collect and deliver (*tahasīl garī dinu*) hides of male buffaloes, deer, tigers and bears – these species only (*yeti jātkā*) – one each from every household of the *bhotyā prajā-s* who go hunting and who belong to a caste (*jāt*) that may eat [the meat from] carcasses. Those who cannot give a hide should, instead of hides, give 2 [written out] two annas in coin (*dām*) per household. Each *sārki* household should give two hides. Those *sārki-s* who cannot give hides should give four annas in coin per household. Have the subjects (*prajā*) of your respective territories (*aṃbal*) do (*garī*) *jhārā* [labour], making them carry and transport the hides to the magazine and get a receipt of delivery (*pahucnāmā purjī*) every year and go (*jānyā garnu*). Whoever does not deliver (*purīāunna*) [their share] will be [considered] a rebel (*apsarīā*).

The 1st of the waxing moon of Bhādrā, [Saṃvat] Year 1851.<sup>49</sup>

47. For मादी. 48. For जो पुन्याउन.

49. The following page, i.e. 289, records three documents of the same date and states that their contents are the same as those here, which he indicates in the first of them by बेहोरा सदर, i.e. 'the contents are confirmed', and in the following

**Document no. 11**

Vol. 24

No number

p. 369

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

**TEXT**

आगे गदी<sup>50</sup>पसीं चेष्यामस्यादीपुर्वका थुंथुमका उमराव द्वाच्याप्रती  
गोर्षा व्यासी दर्मदीले बाँध भकारी फोरेछ. चाडो नवनाया दर्बारलाई धका  
लगन्याछ. तेस अर्थ आफना आफना अंबलका सबै छतीसै जात झारा गराई श्रीधर  
जैसी श्रीधर पंथका सम्मतले दरमदीमा बलीयो पको गरी भकारी बाँध हाल.  
इती १८५१ साल मीती भाद्रसुदी १ रोज सु<sup>51</sup>

two by ऐ. The first of them, numbered 173, is addressed to the *amālidār-s*, *dvāryā-s* and *ijārādār-s* of each village in the region to the east of the Triśūl Gaṅgā and the west of Dumjā. The next one, numbered 174, is addressed to the authorities of the same rank as in the preceding document in each village in the region to the east of Dumjā and the west of the Dūdhkośī. The last one, numbered 175, is addressed to the *amālidār-s* in the region to the east of the Kālī and the west of the Mādī.

50. For गदी.

51. Though the scribe does not provide the date but simply concludes with मीती सदर, a later hand gives the date as भाद्रसुदी १, १८५१. He closes the preceding document (numbered 206, which he copied on pp. 367-368) likewise; and the same later hand supplies the same date. Since four preceding documents have the same contents, except for the addressees, as the document that precedes them, the copyist does not copy them but lists them on p. 367 as nos. 202-205 together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with बेवरा सदर. He ends the document numbered 201 and copied on pp. 366-367 also with मीती सदर; it is dated in the same later hand likewise as भाद्रसुदी १, १८५१. The copyist terminates the previous document, numbered 199, which he copied on p. 366, with इती संत (for संबत्) मीती सदर, which may be translated as 'the year [and] the dates are confirmed'. He ends the next six preceding documents, numbered 192-197, which he copied on pp. 364-366, with मीती सदर; and the same later hand dates the documents numbered 193, 196 and 197 as भाद्रसुदी १, १८५१. The scribe employs the same phrase that is at the end of no. 199 when concluding the document numbered 191. He closes two previous documents, numbered 189 and 190, which he copied on pp. 363-364, with मीती सदर; and the same

**TRANSLATION**

To the *Umarāva-s* and *Dvāryā-s* of each of the *thum-s* to the west of the Gandī and east of the Cepe and Marsyāndī.

It has been found that the Daraūdī [in] the lowland (*byāsī*) of Gorkhā broke the *bhakārī* dam. If [the latter] is not repaired (lit., not made = *nabanāyā*) quickly, [the overflow] will affect (*dhakā lagnyācha*) the palace. Therefore have all the 36 *jāt-s* of your respective territories (*aṃbal*) do (*garāi*) *jhārā* [labour], and with the consent of Śrīdhar Jaisī and Śrīdhar Pantha construct (*hāla*) the *bhakārī* dam on the Daraūdī durably and solidly (*baliyō pako garī*).<sup>52</sup>

Dated the 1st of the waxing moon of Bhādra, [Saṃvat] Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

**Document no. 12**

The first version in the RRC

Vol. 5

No. 334

p. 293

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

**TEXT**

आगे हाम्रा जुमीलाभरका ब्राह्मण थर हीतान प्रजा भोटचा<sup>53</sup>के  
त्यो मुलुक हामीले लीयाको पाच बर्ख भयो. तीमिले धेरै धेरै उपद्रो गन्यो. गन्यौ त-  
पनि पाच बर्खसम्म हामीले साहचौ माफ गरीबकस्यौं. अब तिमिले कुलकपट गन्या  
ब्राह्मणलाई मुडौला मासन्त्या जातलाई मासौला काटन्त्या जातलाई काटौला.

later hand supplies the date for the first of them as भाद्रसुदी १, १८५१. The copyist concludes the document numbered 188, which he copied on pp. 362-363, with इती भाद्रसुदी १ रोज सु. The document numbered 187, which is copied on pp. 361-362, does not have any date; but the same later hand dates it to भाद्रवदी ६, १८५१. The year is derived from the next preceding document, numbered 186 and copied on p. 361, which closes with इती १८५१ साल मीती भाद्रवदी ६ रोज १ शु.

52. For other documents regarding the construction of dams on the Daraūdī, see nos. 16, 18 and 19 of the present corpus and D.R. Pant 1985:3-4.

53. Note that doc. 10 of the present corpus has भोटचा प्रजा.

वीराउमाफीकको तमी गरौला. येती कुरो समुभ<sup>54</sup>. सोभ गन्यालाई मेहेर राखौला. चार ब्राह्मणले बिन्ति गन्याको रही थामीबकस्यौ. रस्ती चलाव. बस्ती बसाव. टहलमा रुजु रह.

ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती कार्तीकबदी ५ रोज<sup>55</sup>

### TRANSLATION

For the Brahmins, *thar-s*, *Hitān-s* and *prajā bhotyā-s* living throughout Jumlā, which belongs to us

Five years have passed since we took that country (*muluk*). You caused (*garyau*) a lot of trouble (*upadro*). Though you caused [trouble], we tolerated and forgave [you] for five years. Now if you revolt or intrigue (*kulkapat*) we shall [deprive] the Brahmins [of their caste] by shaving their head, enslave people who belong to a caste that can be enslaved, and slay people who belong to a caste that can be slain. We shall punish (*tamī garaulā*) [them] in accordance with [their] crime (*bīrāu*). Understand this much. We will favour (*meher*) those who act honestly (*sojha*). We retain what four Brahmins petitioned properly (*shī*). Provide (*calāva*) management (*rasī*) and establish (*basāva*) settlement. Remain (*ruju rahu*) in [our] service (*tahal*).

Dated the 5th of the waning moon of Kārttika, Saṃvat Year 1851.

### The second version in the RRC

Vol. 24

No. 377

p. 430

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

### TEXT

आगे हुमलाजुमलाभरका ब्राह्मण थर हीतान प्रजा भोटचाके

त्यो मुलुक हामीले लीयाको पाच वर्ष भयो. तीमीले धेरै धेरै उपद्रो गन्यौ. गन्यौ

54. For समुभ.

55. Though the scribe does not provide the year but simply writes ईती कार्तीकबदी ५ रोज, a later hand gives the year as १८५१. As the copyist concludes the preceding document numbered 323, which he copied on pp. 292-293, with ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती कार्तीकबदी ५ रोज, I have taken the document to be from 1851.

तपनी पाच वर्षसम्म हामीले सहचौं माफ गरीबकस्यौ. अब तीमीले कुलकपट गन्या ब्राह्मणलाई मुडौला मासना जातलाई मासौला काटना जातलाई काटौला. वीराउ-माफीको<sup>56</sup> तमी गरौला. येती कुरौ<sup>57</sup> समुभी सोभ गन्यालाई मेहेर राषौला. चार ब्राह्मणले बींती गन्याको रही थामीबकस्यौ. रस्ती चलाव. बस्ती बसाव. टहलमा रुजु रह.

ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती कार्तीकबदी ५ रोज<sup>58</sup>

56. For माफीकको. 57. For कुरो.

58. The scribe concludes with ईती कार्तीकबदी ५ रोज २, without providing the year. He writes ईती मीती सदर कार्तीकबदी ५ रोज after the preceding document, numbered 376 and copied on the same page. However, a later hand gives the year as १८५१. The document numbered 375, copied on the next preceding page, ends with मीती सदर. The preceding document, numbered 374 and copied on the same page, closes with ईती मीती सदर, and a later hand gives its year as १८५१. The next preceding document, numbered 373 and copied on the preceding page, terminates with ईती. The document that precedes the latter is numbered 372 and copied on the same page, concluding with मीती सदर. The document before the latter, numbered 371 and copied on the preceding page, closes with ईती मीती सदर. The next preceding document, numbered 370 and copied on pp. 426-427, ends likewise. The document that precedes it, numbered 369 and copied on p. 426, simply closes with ईती. The next earlier document, numbered 368 and copied on the same page, terminates with मीती आसीसुदी रोज, without day. The document numbered 367, which was copied on pp. 425-426, concludes with इती मीती सदर. The preceding document, numbered 365 and copied on p. 425, simply ends with ईती, and a later hand dates it to भाद्रसुदी, १८५१, without giving the day. The next preceding document, numbered 364 and copied on pp. 424-425, similarly closes with ईती भाद्रसुदी रोज. The three preceding documents, numbered 359-361 and copied on pp. 423-424, conclude with ईती मीती सदर. The document that precedes them, numbered 358 and copied on p. 422, terminates with ईती संत (for संवत्) १८ [sic] मीती सदर. The next preceding document, numbered 357 and copied on pp. 421-422, closes with ईती कार्तीकबदी ५ रोज २. The next earlier document, numbered 356 and copied on p. 421, simply ends with ईती. The document copied before it, numbered 355 and copied on pp. 420-421, concludes with ईती मीती आसीसुदी ७ रोज. Since the next earlier document has the same contents, except for the addressees, as the document that precedes it, the copyist does not copy it but lists it on p. 420 as numbered 354 together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with बेवरा सदर. The next preceding document, numbered 353 and copied on the same page, ends with ईती मीती सदर, and a later hand dates it to कार्तीकबदी ५,

## TRANSLATION

For the Brahmins, *thar-s*, *Hitān-s* and *prajā bhotyā-s* living throughout Humlā and Jumlā

Five years have passed since we took that country (*muluk*). You caused (*garyau*) a lot of trouble (*upadro*). Though you caused [trouble], we tolerated and forgave [you] for five years. Now if you revolt or intrigue (*kulkapat*) we shall [deprive] the Brahmins [of their caste] by shaving their head, enslave people who belong to a caste that can be enslaved, and slay people who belong to a caste that can be slain. We shall punish (*tamī garaulā*) [them] in accordance with [their] crime (*bīrāu*). We will favour (*mehar*) those who understand this and act honestly (*sojha*). We retain what four Brahmins petitioned properly (*sahī*). Provide (*calāva*) management (*rastī*) and get establish (*basāva*) settlement. Remain (*ruju rahu*) in [our] service (*ṭahal*).

Dated the 5th of the waning moon of Kārttika, Saṃvat Year 1851.

१८५१. The document preceding the latter and numbered 352, which is copied on the preceding page, closes with ईती मीती सदर. The document preceding the one just mentioned is numbered 351 and copied on the same page; it concludes with ईती संबल मीती सदर. The next preceding document, numbered 350 and copied on the same page, terminates with मीती कार्तिकवदी ५ रोज २. The document before it, numbered 349 and copied on the preceding page, closes with a mere ईती मीती सदर, but a later hand dates it to कार्तिकवदी ५, १८५१. The previous document, numbered 348 and copied on the same page, concludes with मीती सदर. The document numbered 347 and copied on the preceding page terminates with ईती मीती सदर, and a later hand dates it to कार्तिकवदी ५, १८५१. Since the two earlier documents have the same contents, except for the addressees, as the document that precedes them, the copyist does not copy them but lists them on pp. 416-417 as nos. 345-346 together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with तपसील सदर, i.e. 'particulars are confirmed' and बेवरा सदर, i.e. 'the contents are confirmed', respectively. The scribe closes the document numbered 344, copied on the same page, with ईती मीती सदर. The preceding document, numbered 343 and copied on pp. 415-416, closes with ईती मीती सदर, and a later hand dates it to कार्तिकवदी ५, १८५१. Similarly, two preceding documents, numbered 341-342 and copied on p. 415, end with ईती मीती सदर. The next preceding document, numbered 340 and copied on the preceding page, concludes with ईती मीती कार्तिकवदी ५ रोज २. The year is derived from the preceding document, numbered 339 and copied on pp. 413-414, which closes with ईती सं १८५१ साल भाद्रसुदी ११ रोज ६.

## Document no. 13

Vol. 5

No. 543

pp. 296-297

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

## TEXT

आगे ललीतानंद पाध्या सीबीन्द्र पाध्याके

काठमाडौंमाहा हाम्रो प्रवेश हुदा नेपाल्या राजाका गुरुबाबत तिमिहरुको सरबश्व हरीयो. हरीनु र मारुं येकई बार हुन्छ. तसर्थ हाम्रा हजुर लाग्याबाहीक अरु कसैले लुकाई छपाई दबाई बल मीची खायाको घर खेत बाधा बीर्ता गुठ रहलपहल जो छ फोईबक्स्यौं. आफ्ना खातीरज्मासीत खोजी उघाई खाउ. हाम्रो सुभचीन्तना गरी आसीरबाद दीन्या गर.

ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती कार्तिकसुदी ५ रोज<sup>59</sup>

## TRANSLATION

For Lalitānanda Pādhyā and Śivendra Pādhyā

As you are the *guru-s* of the Nepalese king, your property was confiscated when we entered Kāthmāḍāū. The act of confiscation [or] killing is performed only once. Therefore we have released (*phoibaksyaum*) whatever residual [property of yours] – houses, fields, mortgaged (*bādhā*), *birtā* and *guth* [lands] – was taken possession of (lit., eaten = *khāyāko*) by anyone surreptitiously (*lukāī*), stealthily (*chapāī*) and furtively (*dabāī*), or by force (*bal mīcī*) – except for what falls to us (*hāmra hajur lāgyābāhik*). Search out and take control of (*ughāī*) and enjoy (lit., eat = *khāu*) [them] to your

59. The scribe does not provide the year but simply writes ईती कार्तिकसुदी ५ रोज. The preceding document, numbered 540 and copied on p. 296, concludes with मीती ऐ ऐ. The next two previous documents, numbered 527 and 530 and copied on pp. 295-296, close with ईती कार्तिकसुदी ५ रोज. The document preceding them, which is numbered 423 and copied on p. 295, ends with ईती कार्तिकवदी ११ रोज. The document written before it, numbered 363 and copied on p. 294, concludes with मीती ऐ कार्तिकवदी ५ रोज. The next earlier document is numbered 342 and copied on the same page; it closes with मीती ऐ ऐ. The document which precedes it is the first version of document no. 12 of the present corpus. The preceding pages, which lead to the proper date, are described in fn. 55.

content (*khātīrjmā*). Wish us well and keep up (*dīnyā gara*) your blessings [to us].

Dated the 5th of the waxing moon of Kārttika, Saṃvat Year 1851.

### Document no. 14

Vol. 5

No. 565

p. 298

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

आगे राधावल्लभ घिमिन्याके

महादेउ पाध्याको खायेल पाखो बर्ख १ को ५० धानि मासु तिनु गरी कुत बाधीबक्स्यौं।  
माघमा श्री ५ जिज्यूबाबाका आधु<sup>60</sup>मा चुक्ती गरी जगाको भोग्य गर.

१८५१ साल कार्तिसुदी ५ रोज ६ सु

### TRANSLATION

For Rādhāvallabh Ghimiryā

[With respect to] the *pākho* [land] which was previously held (*khāyel*) by Mahādeu Pādhyā, we [hereby] establish (*bādhibaksyaum*) a *kut* of 50 *dhārū-s* of meat to be paid (*tirnu garī*) per year. Settle (*cukṭī garī*) [the *kut*] in [the month of] Māgha during the *śrāddha* of [our] five times venerable (*śrī 5*) Grandfather<sup>61</sup> and enjoy (*bhogyā gara*) the land (*jagā*).

Friday, the 5th of the waxing moon of Kārttika, [Saṃvat] Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

60. For अद्द. A distinct misreading.

61. Most probably this refers to the *śrāddha* to be performed annually on the death anniversary of King Pṛthvinārāyaṇ Śāha, grandfather of the reigning king, Raṇabahādur Śāha, who issued the present decree. It is to be noted that Pṛthvinārāyaṇ Śāha breathed his last on the 1st of solar Māgha, the 10th of the bright half of Pauṣa, V.S. 1831. (B. Acharya 1968:635-636 and N.R. Pant, *et al.* 1969:923-926. The latter inadvertently let a mistake creep in by giving the lunar month of Pṛthvinārāyaṇ's death as Māgha even after a thorough verification of the date – which again, due to oversight, is not corrected in the errata.)

### Document no. 15

Vol. 5

No. 725

p. 302

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

आगे गुल्मीका राजाले बाने भंडारीकन लीटचाको जगा बाधा रजगती गरी दीआको रहेछ। तेहीबमोजिमले थामीबक्स्यौं। अर्कुलका<sup>62</sup> दावा धर्का<sup>63</sup> नास्ती। हजुर मानी बाधा बिर्ता खायेलपायेल जानी आफ्ना खातीरज्मासंग भोग्य गर. सर्कार मान्दै रहु.

ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती पौखबदी ८ रोज<sup>64</sup>

### TRANSLATION

It has been found that the land of Lityā was given by the king of Gulmī to Bāne Bhaṇḍārī as a royal mortgage (*bādḥā rajagatī*). Accordingly, we [hereby] retain [it for him]. No claim of others [or] employment of force (*dhakkā*) will be entertained. Obey the King (*hajur*), know that the mortgaged (*bādḥā*) *birtā* was previously held and received (*khāyelpāyel*) [by you], and enjoy (*bhogyā gara*) [it] to your content (*khātīrjmā*). Keep on obeying the King (*sarkār*).

Dated the 8th of the waning moon of Pauṣa, Saṃvat Year 1851.

62. For अरुका. 63. For घक्का.

64. The scribe does not copy the date but writes मीती ऐ ऐ. The month, fortnight and lunar day are based on the preceding document, numbered 722 and copied on the same page, which concludes with ऐ पौखबदी ८ रोज. Likewise, the preceding document, which is numbered 718 and copied on pp. 301-302, has no year, ending with ईती पौखबदी ७ रोज. The document preceding it, numbered 712 and copied on p. 301, terminates with ईती पौखबदी ६ रोज. The document copied before it, numbered 710 on the same page, closes with ऐ पौखबदी ६ रोज. The preceding document, numbered 642 and copied on p. 300, ends with ऐ मार्गसीरसुदी ८ रोज. The year is derived from the next earlier document, numbered 632 and copied on the same page; it concludes with ईती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती मार्गसीरसुदी ६ रोज.

**Document no. 16**

Vol. 23

No. 122

p. 68

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2430/2

**TEXT**

आग्ये गोर्खा सहरका जागीन्या ढाक्या सभ थर्कोकप्रती

ब्यासिका दर्बारमा दरमदिले सेपिराषेछु गरे. तसर्थ ताहाका चार वर्ण छतीसै जात 5 को भारा भै जागीन्याले खेत 2 काले भरी<sup>65</sup> 9 घालनु. ढाक्या दस घरले भकारी 9 घालनु. यस हिसाबसित मतो मीलाई बोडा बाडि बेस बलीयो गरी भकारी घालनु. ढिल गन्या चाडो नबनाया दण्ड पर्ला. रुक्का देख त चाडो बनाईसक.

ईती सम्बत 1753 साल मिति श्रावणबदि 5 रोज सुभ<sup>66</sup>

65. For भकारी.

66. The scribe concludes his transcription with ईती समत मीती सदर. However, the year can be derived from the preceding document, numbered 121 and copied on pp. 67-68, which has at its conclusion : ईती सम्बत 1753 साल मिति सदर. It is to be noted that a later hand dates the document to श्रावणबदि, 5, 1753. The document preceding the latter and numbered 120, copied on p. 67, concludes with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. Though the document numbered 119, which is copied on the same page, ends with सम्बत 1753 साल मिति सदर, the same later hand as appears on the document numbered 121 dates it to श्रावणबदि 5, 1753. The document preceding the one just mentioned is numbered 118 and copied on pp. 66-67; it concludes with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The next preceding document, numbered 117 and copied on p. 66, terminates with ईति सम्बत 1753 साल मीती सदर. The two documents numbered 115 and 116 and copied on the preceding page close with ईती सम्बत 1753 साल मीती. The date is derived from the preceding document, numbered 114 and copied on the same page; it concludes with सम्बत 1753 साल मिति श्रावणबदि 5 रोज सुभ.

\* To be precise, in the document numbered 115, the penultimate word is correctly spelt as साल, but in the following document as साल. Henceforward I do not take notice of such variations if one of them is correctly spelt.

**TRANSLATION<sup>67</sup>**

To the *Jāgiryā-s*, *Ḍhākryā-s*, and all the *tharthok* of the town of Gorkhā.

It is reported that the Daraūdī has cut into (*sepīrākhecha*) the palace in the lowland (*byāsi*). Therefore [the people] from all the four *varṇa-s* and 36 *jāt-s* there should become *jhārā* [labourers]: the *jāgiryā-s* attached to (lit., of) the two *khet-s* should reconstruct (*ghālṇu*) one *bhakārī*, and the ten households [of] *ḍhākryā-s* should construct one *bhakārī*. In this way (*yas hisābsita*) construct the *bhakārī-s* nicely and durably (*bes baliyo garī*) by holding consultations (*mato milāi*) [and] allotting sections (*boḍā bāḍi*). If you delay and do not construct (*nabanāyā*) [*bhakārī-s*] quickly, punishment (*daṇḍa*) will be inflicted (*parlā*). Finish the construction quickly once you see the *rukkā*.

Dated the 5th of the waning moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1853.

[Let it be] auspicious.

**Document no. 17**

Vol. 23

No. 735

p. 188

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2430/2

**TEXT**

आग्ये जीताराम नेवारके

चेप्यामस्यादि<sup>68</sup>पश्चीम ठुलो भेरीपुर्व यतिभिन्नका माना पाथी तुला ढक अघि छाप

67. M.C. Regmi 1985:175, doc. 7:

Shrawan Badi 5, 1853.

Royal order to the Jagirdars, Dhakres, and Tharthoks of Gorkha town: "We have received reports that the Daraundi river is cutting into the palace in the valley. You are, therefore, ordered to organize jhara labor from all the local inhabitants. Each jagirdar who holds 2 *khets* of land, and ten *dhakre* households, shall each construct one *bhakari* (section of embankment). Allot sites for each section through consultations and construct durable embankments. If there is any delay, you shall be liable to be punished. Start work as soon as you see this order."

68. For °मस्यादि°.



लाग्याको लागी गयो. छाप नलाग्यको बाकी रहचाको माना पाथी तुला ढकमा छाप लाउन त्रीसालाको मोहर गरीबक्स्यौ. तस्को सलामी रुपैया खजानामा डापील गर्नु. आफना खातिजमा<sup>69</sup>संग परापूर्वको रीतसित लिनु. बेजाई गरी प्रजा नपीराउनु.

ईती सम्बत १८५३ साल मिति मार्गसिरबदि १२ रोज सु<sup>70</sup>

69. For खातिरजमा°.

70. The scribe simply concludes with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. However, a later hand gives the year as १८५३. Similarly, four preceding documents numbered 731-734, which are copied on pp. 187-188, close with ईति सम्बत मिति सदर. Since the next earlier document has the same contents, except for the addressees, as the document that precedes it, the copyist does not copy it but lists it on p. 187 as no. 730 together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with बेवरा सदर. Three preceding documents, numbered 727-729, which are copied on pp. 186-187, terminates simply with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The document that precedes them, numbered 726 on the previous page, provides only the year: ईती सम्बत १८५३ साल मिति सदर. The next preceding document, numbered 725 and copied on the same page, simply ends with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The document that precedes it is numbered 724 and copied on pp. 184-185, but simply concludes with ईती सदर. The next earlier document, numbered 723 and copied on p. 184, closes with ईती मिति सदर. The preceding document, numbered 722 and copied on the same page, concludes with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The document numbered 721 and copied on the preceding page closes with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर, but a later hand dates it to मार्गवदी ११, १८५३. The next four previous documents numbered 718-720 (plus one without a number) and copied on pp. 182-183 terminate with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The document that precedes them is numbered 718 (the same number as the following document) but does not contain any date and simply ends with ईती. The next preceding document, numbered 717 and copied on the same page, concludes with ईती मिति सदर. Four preceding documents numbered 713-716 and copied on pp. 180-181 close with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The document that precedes them is numbered 712 and copied on pp. 179-180, but does not contain any date. Since the next earlier document has the same contents, except for the addressee, as the one before it, the copyist does not copy it but lists it on p. 179 as no. 711 together with the name of the addressee, and concludes with बेवरा सदर. The next earlier document, numbered 710 and copied on the same page, simply ends with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The document before it is numbered 709 and copied on pp. 178-179, closes with a mere ईती सदर. The preceding document, numbered 708 and copied on p. 178, terminates with ईती मिति सदर. The date is derived from the preceding document, numbered 707 and copied on the same page, which closes with ईती सम्बत १८५३ साल मिति मार्गसिरबदि १२ रोज सु. Thus the lunar day supplied by a later hand as 11 in the document numbered 721 is incorrect.

## TRANSLATION

For Jitārām Nevār

Of the *mānā-s*, *pāthī-s*, scales (*tulā*) and weights (*dhak*) within [the region] west of the Cepe and Marsyāndī and east of the Ṭhulī Bheri, those which have already been affixed with a seal are all right. We [hereby] issue (lit., make) a [*lāl*]mohar with a three-year [validity] to affix seals on those which remain to be sealed. Present (*dākhil*) the money (lit., *rupaiñā*) which is the *salāmī* for this in the treasury (*khajānā*). Take [your due] to your content (*khātirjamā*) in accordance with the custom of olden times. Do not torment (*napīrāunu*) the *prajā-s* by doing injustice (*bejāi*).

Dated the 12th of the waning moon of Mārgasīrṣa, Saṃvat Year 1853.

[Let it be] auspicious.

## Document no. 18

Vol. 23

No. 775

p. 204

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2430/2

## TEXT

आग्ये लकाङ् भिकोट् गाईखुर दुभारका बितलप्या च्याङ्ली धुवाकोट् देउरालीका उम्मा द्वाच्या बितलप्याप्रती

गोर्खा गाउको दर्बार ब्यासी दरमदीमा भकारी घालनु बटूकदल कम्पनीसमेत सुबेदार बाकसिं खवासलाई पठायाको छ. तीम्ना अम्बलका जागच्या ढाक्या सिपाही बिर्ता-बितलप्या बाभन् सगुन भाट भिछुक चार बर्न छितिसै जात घरहि ऽ को भारा भै भकारी घालन्या साराजाम<sup>71</sup> बंचरा खुकुरी खुर्पा सातुसामल बलीव गरी ली उमरा द्वाच्या बितप्या<sup>72</sup> मुषीया डिठा भै गोर्खा ब्यासी पुग. सुबेदार थर्थोकका चाँजासित आफुलाई लाग्याको वडा भकारी घालनु दर्बार बनाउन्या काज गर. लाग्याको काज सिध नगरी बिदा नमागी जौ न्सी<sup>73</sup> भागी जाला सो अपसरीया होला.

ईती सम्बत १८५३ साल मिति मार्गसुदि ५ रोज<sup>74</sup>

71. For सराजाम. 72. For बितलप्या. 73. For नसी.

74. The scribe does not copy the date but only states ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. He writes ईती सदर after the preceding document, numbered 774 and copied on the same

## TRANSLATION

To the *Bitalapyā-s* of Lakān, Bhirkot, Gāikhur and Dubhār and *Umarā-s*, *Dvāryā-s* and *Bitalapyā-s* of Cyāñlī, Dhuvākoṭ and Deurālī.

*Subedār* Bākasim̐ Khavās has been sent together with the Baṭukdal Company in order to construct (*ghālnu*) *bhakārī-s* along the Daraūdī on the lowland (*byāsī*) [around] the palace of the village of Gorkhā. The *jāgīryā-s*, *dhākryā-s*, sepoyes and *birtābitalapyā-s*, Brahmins, Sagun-s, Bhāt-s and Bhikṣuk-s – each of the households [representing] all the four *varṇa-s* and 36 *jāt-s* – of your [respective] territories (*ambal*) should be the *jhārā* [labourers], and take tools (*sarājām*) for constructing (*ghālnyā*) a *bhakārī*, [including] axes (*baṃcarā*), kukris and *khurpā-s*, [and] a sufficient amount of (lit., strongly = *balīva garī*) provisions (*sātusāmal*) and go to (lit., reach) the lowland of Gorkhā together with the *umarā-s*, *dvāryā-s*, *bitalapyā-s*, *mukhiyā-s* and *ḍiṭṭhā-s*. In accordance with the scheme (*cājā*) devised by the *subedār* and *tharthok*, reconstruct the *bhakārī* [in] the section (*vaḍā*) assigned to you [and] do the job of repairing (lit., constructing = *banāunyā*) the palace. He who runs away without accomplishing what is assigned to him [or] without taking leave will be [considered] a rebel (*apsarīvā*).

Dated the 5th of the waxing moon of Mārḡa, Saṃvat Year 1853.

page. Four preceding documents numbered 770-773 and copied on pp. 202-203 simply end with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर.\* Since the next earlier document has the same contents, except for the addressees, as the document that precedes it, the copyist does not copy it but lists it on the same page as no. 769 together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with वेवरा सदर. The next five previous documents, numbered 764-768 and copied on pp. 200-201, terminate with ईति सम्बत मिति सदर. As the scribe concludes the document numbered 763, copied on p. 199, with ईती सम्बत १८५३ साल मिति सदर, we obtain the year but no other particulars. At the end of the five documents numbered 758-762, which are copied on pp. 198-199, he simply says ईती सम्बत मिति सदर. The date is thus derived from the preceding document, numbered 757 and copied on pp. 197-198, which closes with ईती सम्बत १८५३ साल मिति मार्गसुदी ५ रोज.

\* To be specific, doc. 771 has ईती सम्बत सदर मिति सदर. A case of transposition plus dittography.

## Document no. 19

Vol. 23

No. 780

p. 206

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2430/2

## TEXT

आग्ये स्यार्तानी द्वान्या जेठाबुढाप्रति

तिम्ना अम्बलका छतिसै जात घरहि ऽ को भारा भै द्वान्या जेठाबुढा डिठा भै सातुसामल बलीयो गरी ली भकारी घालन्या सराजाम बंचरा खुकुरी खुर्पा ली गोर्खा ब्यासी दरमदीमा भकारी घालन पुग. सुबेदार थर्कोकहरुका चाँजासित आफुलाई बोडा लाग्याको जगगा बेस बलीयो गरी भकारी चाडो सिद्ध गर. आफ्नु बोडा सिद्ध नगरी जो नसि भागी जाला डंडाई पावला. मोहर देख त घरहि ऽ को भारा भै चाडो पुग.

ईती सम्बत १८५३ साल मिति मार्गसिरसुदी ५ रोज

## TRANSLATION

To the *Dvāryā-s* and *Jeṭhābuḍhā-s* of Syārtān.

All the 36 *jāt-s* [representing] each of the households in your territory (*ambal*) should be *jhārā* [labourers]. Take a sufficient amount of (lit., strongly = *balīyo garī*) provisions (*sātusāmal*) and the tools (*sarājām*) for constructing (*ghālnyā*) a *bhakārī*, [including] axes (*baṃcarā*), kukris and *khurpā-s*, and go to (lit., reach) the Daraūdī in the lowland (*byāsī*) of Gorkhā in order to construct the *bhakārī* together with (*bhai*) the *dvāryā-s*, *jeṭhābuḍhā-s* and *ḍiṭṭhā-s*. In accordance with the scheme (*cājā*) devised by the *subedār* and *tharthok*, accomplish quickly [the construction of] the *bhakārī-s* in a good, durable manner (*bes balīyo garī*) in the area (*jaggā*) assigned to you. He who runs away without accomplishing the section (*boḍā*) assigned to him will receive punishment (*ḍaṃḍāi*). Quickly go (lit., reach) [there] as (*bhai*) *jhārā* [labourers] from each household once you see the [*lāl*]*mohar*.

Dated the 5th of the waxing moon of Mārḡasīrṣa, Saṃvat Year 1853.

## Document no. 20

Vol. 5

No. 269

p. 379

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

## TEXT

आगे कपरदार राघौसीह खडकाप्रति

हिजो श्रीजिजूवाज्याज्युका पालादेखि आजतक हाम्रा सरकारिया पुर्व पछीं दखि उत्तरका गाई भैसी भेडा राख्या गोठ जुन जुन ठाउका खरक छन कोई खडबडचाउन खडबडचाउन<sup>75</sup> पाउदैनन. हामील<sup>76</sup> खर्क थामीबकस्याकै छ. गोठ रखावन पठाव. ईति सम्बत १८५९ साल चैत्रसुदी १५ रोज सु<sup>77</sup>

## TRANSLATION

To *Kapardār Rāghausiṃha Khaḍkā*

No one is entitled to disturb what has been under our government (*hāmrā sarkāriyā*) from the period of our venerable (*śrī*) Great-grandfather down to today: the sheds (*goṭh*) in the east, west, north or south where are kept cows, buffaloes and sheep, [or] the pasture lands (*kharkā*) in any place. We have retained the pastures. Send [people] to keep the sheds.

The full moon of Caitra, Saṃvat Year 1859.

[Let it be] auspicious.

## Document no. 21

Copy of the original document<sup>78</sup>

75. Read only once खडबडचाउन. A clear case of dittography.
76. For हामीले.
77. The scribe does not copy the date but only writes ईती मीती सदर. I have derived the date from the preceding document, numbered 265 and copied on p. 378, which closes with ईति सम्बत १८५९ साल चैत्रसुदी १५ रोज सु.
78. Reproduced from D.R. Pant 1985a: no. 41. The original document can be found in envelope no. 53 in the archives of the Ministry of External Affairs, Kathmandu.

## TEXT

श्रीदुर्गा सहाये

श्रीदुर्गा

भवानि

1. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायणेत्यादिविविधविरूदावलीविराज-
2. मानमानोन्नत्श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराजेगीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम-
3. साहबहादुरसमसेरजङ्गदेवानां सदा समरविजयिनाम् -----
4. आगे गुलमिका राजा श्रीसक्तिप्रचण्ड साहकन बल्टचां बकस्यौं. अधि पनि
5. परापुर्वदेशि बल्टचांको मध्येस गुलमिकै रहेछ. सो जानि आज पालपालिबा-
6. ट भिकि तिमिलाई बकस्यौं. परापुर्वको सिमाना मध्येसको कट्टसकार षोला प-
7. हाडको सोमादि भंज्याङ् सिमाना रहेछ. सोहिबमोजिम थामिबकस्यौं. आफ्नु ज-
8. गह जानि षातिरज्मासित सुषभोग्य गर. ईति सम्बत १८६० साल मिति भाद्रपद-
9. सुदि ८ रोज ५ मुकाम कान्तिपूर शुभम्<sup>79</sup> =====

## TRANSLATION

May the venerable (*śrī*) Durgā be a help

The venerable Durgā, wife of Bhava [i.e. Śiva]

Hail. [A decree] of him who is shining with manifold rows of eulogy [such as] 'The venerable crest-jewel of the multitude of mountain kings' and *Naranārāyaṇa* (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice venerable great king, Gīrvāṇayuddha-vikrama Sāha, the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

We [hereby] grant Baltyām to the rajah of Gulmī, the venerable Śakti-pracaṇḍa Sāha. We have come to learn that the plains (*madhyes*) of Baltyām belonged to Gulmī previously [and] from olden times. Having known that, we now (lit., today) take (*jhiki*) [Baltyām] from the Pālpā (*pālpāli*) [king] and cede (lit., give) [it] to you. We have [also] come to learn that the boundary of olden times was the Kaṭṭasakār River in the plains, and the boundary in the hills (*pahād*) was Somādī Bhañjyāñ. We have retained [the territory] accordingly. Knowing that the territory (lit., place = *jagaha*) belongs to you, enjoy [it] happily (*suṣabhogya gara*) to your content (*ṣātirjmā*).

79. From भाद्रपद to the end is in a different hand.

Dated Kāntipur, Thursday, the 8th of the waxing moon of Bhādrapada,  
Samvat Year 1860.

[Let it be] auspicious.

The RRC version

Vol. 5

No. 121

p. 435

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

आगे गुलमीका राजा श्रीसक्तीप्रचन्द्र साहकन बल्टचा बक्स्यौं. अघी पनी परापुर्वदेखी बल्टचाको मध्येस गुल्मीकै रहेछ. सो जानी आज पालपालीबाट भीकी तीमिलाई बक्स्यौं. परापुर्वका सीमाना मध्येसको कट्टसरकार खोला पाहाडको सोमादी भंज्याड सीवाना रहेछ. सोहीबमोजिम थामीबक्स्यौं. आफ्ना जगह जानी खातीरज्मासीत सुखभोग्य गर.

ईती मीती १८६० आश्वीबदी १ रोज ६ सु<sup>80</sup>

TRANSLATION

We [hereby] grant Baltyā to the rajah of Gulmī, the venerable (*śrī*) Śakti-pracaṇḍa Sāha. We have come to learn that the plains (*madhyes*) of Baltyā belonged to Gulmī previously [and] from olden times. Having known that, we now (lit., today) take (*jhikī*) [Baltyā] from the Pālpā (*pālpāli*) [king] and cede (lit., give) [it] to you. We have [also] come to learn that the boundary of olden times was the Kāṭṭasakār River in the plains, and the boundary in the hills (*pahād*) was Somādī Bhañjyāñ. We have retained [the territory] accordingly. Knowing that the territory (lit., place = *jagaha*) belongs to you, enjoy [it] happily (*sukhabhogya gara*) to your content (*khāīrjmā*).

Dated Friday, the 1st of the waning moon of Āśvina, 1860.

[Let it be] auspicious.

80. The scribe does not copy the date but writes ईती मीती सदर, though a later hand dates it to आश्विनबदी १, १८६०. The preceding document, numbered 120 and copied on the preceding page, concludes likewise. The date is derived from the next preceding document, numbered 107 and is copied on the same page, it closes with ईती मीती १८६० आश्वीबदी १ रोज ६ सु.

Document no. 22

Facsimile of the Original Document<sup>81</sup>

बाहुमहायः



स्वलिश्रागिराजवक्रुडभासिनरना रायणेत्यादिविनिधवित्त  
दावलीविराजमानमानान्तश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीश्रीमहा  
राजगीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रमसाहवहादुरसत्सेर्जुदेवानंसदाह  
मरावेजयिनाम्  
श्रीगो. त्रवादिशिवशर्मजमीसेखा इ. बहिनीशिवभियाश्री  
धुर्गाके. धर्मीगत्रपंडितकोषायलअग्निदंडजिउन्गाल  
षानुगारेवकस्यौंप्रायश्चित्तकाआमरनीकोसातभागका १  
भागकोपेदावारलिभोग्यगरुआशीवीददिदैरऊ. शतिसंवत्  
१८६०शालवैशाखसुदि ११रोज ५सुभम्

81. The original document is in the possession of Rajaram Joshi, great-grandson of the grantee.

माफतप्राणसाह  
 मारफतरणजीतपांडे  
 मारफतभीमसेनथापा  
 मारफत् नरसिंह  
 रुजुत्रिभुवन् मारफतबपतवारसिंह

Copy of the original document<sup>82</sup>

## TEXT

श्रीदुर्गा सहायः

श्रीदुर्गा

भवानि

1. स्वस्ति श्रीगिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायणेत्यादिविधविरु-
2. दावलीविराजमानमानोन्नतश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीश्रीमहा-
3. राजेगीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रमसाहबहादुरसम्सेर्ज्जङ्गदेवानां सदा स-
4. मरविजयिनाम् -----
5. आगे जवात्रि शिवशर्म जैसी सेढाइ र बहिनी शिवप्रिया ब्रा-
6. ह्मणीके

धर्मागत पंडितको षायल अग्निदंड जिउन्ज्याल

7. षानु गरि बक्स्यौं. प्रायश्चित्तका आमदनीको सात भागमा १
8. भागको पैदावार लि भोग्य गर. आशीर्वाद दिदै रह. इति सं[म्बत्]<sup>83</sup>
9. १८६२ शाल वैशाखसुदि ११ रोज ५ शुभम् =====

## On the Back Side

मारफत भीमसेन थापा	मारफत प्राण साह	रुजु सेरबहादुर शाह
मारफत् नरसिंह	मारफत रणजीत पांडे	मारफत अजम्बरसिंह

रुजु त्रिभुवन् मारफत बपतवारसिंह

## TRANSLATION

May the venerable (śrī) Durgā be a help

The venerable Durgā, wife of Bhava (i.e. Śiva)

Hail. [A decree] of him who is shining with manifold rows of eulogy [such

82. Published in D.R. Pant 2000: app. 9. Checked against the original document.

83. As the document is torn at this point, the lower part of *saṃ* and the last two letters are not visible in the original.

as] 'The venerable crest-jewel of the multitude of mountain kings' and *Naranārāyaṇa* (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice venerable great king, Gīrvāṇayuddhavikrama Sāha, the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

For brother-in-law<sup>84</sup> Śivaśarma Jaisī Sedhāi and younger sister Śivapriyā Brāhmaṇī<sup>85</sup>

84. The word *javāṇī* literally means 'son-in-law' which derives from the Sanskrit *jāmātr*. The same word is applied to 'one's younger sister's husband' as well.
85. Swami Maharajah Raṇabahādūr Śāha, ex-king but de facto ruler, offered a *kanyādāna* to Śivaśarma Jaisī on the 13th of the waxing moon of the month of Māgha, V.S. 1861 (D.R. Pant 2000, App. 11, docs. 2 and 8). This means that Śivapriyā, the girl who was given as the bride to Śivaśarma, was adopted by Raṇabahādūr as his own daughter for her marriage with Śivaśarma. That is why the reigning king, Raṇabahādūr's son Gīrvāṇayudhavikram, addressed the wife as 'younger sister' and her husband as 'brother-in-law'. There exists a *rukkā* issued by the reigning king Gīrvāṇa and dated Wednesday, the 8th of the waning moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha, V.S. 1862, which makes the tax-collector aware of the fact that a *birtā* granted to brother-in-law Śivaśarma and younger sister Śivapriyā is exempted from all forms of tax (*ibid.*: app. 11, doc. 1). According to the chronicle of Śivaśarma's clan, which was authored by his own son Khilaśarma, Śivaśarma was born in Śaka era 1717, i.e. V.S. 1852 as the younger son of Dāmodar Joṣī (*ibid.*: app. 1 = p. 12), about whom I shall speak later in connection with document no. 26 of the present corpus. According to the same chronicle, the Swami Maharajah gave Lilāvati, daughter of one Yajñavallabh (spelt in the chronicle as Jagya<sup>o</sup>) Vaidya, in marriage to Śivaśarma when he was nine years old (*ibid.*: app. 1 = p. 16). D.R. Pant (*ibid.*:5) is surely right in assuming that her name was changed from Lilāvati to Śivapriyā, which literally means 'beloved of Śiva' in order to match with the groom's name, i.e. Śiva. However, it is to be noted that she was apparently still known by her original name, since a document quoting *verbatim* her grandson's statement refers to her as Lilāvati (*ibid.*: app. 11, doc. 9). As King Gīrvāṇa was born on the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Āśvina, V.S. 1854 (*id.*:1966:49-50), he was seven years and four months old when the marriage of Śivaśarma and Śivapriyā took place. Since he addresses Śivapriyā as 'younger sister', there is no doubt that she was born after Gīrvāṇa. It is interesting to note that in a document issued by the administrators sometime in the month of Māgha\* in V.S. 1864, Śivaśarma is called *juvāṇī*, i.e. 'son-in-law' (*id.*:2000, app. 11, doc. 3), because he was recognised as a 'royal son-in-law'.

\* The document lacks the complete dating; in the edited text the omission is indicated by ellipsis marks. Most probably, this omission is due to some kind of physical damage of the original.

We [hereby] grant [you] the *agnidaṇḍa* which was previously held (*śāyal*) by Dharmāṅgad Paṇḍit,<sup>86</sup> to hold (*śānu gari*) as long as you live. Take one-seventh share of the produce (*paidāvār*) out of the income from the *prāyaścitta*, and enjoy (*bhogya gara*) [it]. Keep on (*dīdai rahu*) your blessings [to us].

Thursday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Vaiśākha, Saṃvat Year 1862.

[Let it be] auspicious.

Through Prāṇ Sāha Attested<sup>87</sup> by Sherbahādūr Sāha

Through Bhimsen Thāpā Through Raṇajit Pāḍe Through Ajambarsimha

Through Narsimha Attested by Tribhuvan Through Bakhatvārsimha

#### The first version in the RRC

Vol. 5

No. 175

p. 578

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

#### TEXT

आगे जवाई सीबसर्म जैसी सेदाई र बहीनी सिबप्रीया ब्राह्मणीके

धर्मागत पंडीतको खायेल अग्नीदंड जीउज्याल खानु गरी बकस्यौ. प्रायचीतका आमदानीको

86. Two documents, dated Saturday, the 4th of the waning moon of the month of Caitra, V.S. 1862 (D.R. Pant 2000:app. 8) and the waning moon\* of the month of Pauṣa, V.S. 1863 (*id.*:1996:45-46), refer to the *kanyādāna* offered by King Pṛthvinārāyaṇ Śāha to Dharmāṅgad Paṇḍit. We have a *rukkā* issued by Pṛthvinārāyaṇ Śāha on Monday, the 5th of the waxing moon of the month of Kārttika, V.S. 1828, in which he exempts the tax named *kuśahī-bisahī* on the fields belonging to the sons of Dharmāṅgad Paṇḍit Phalāhārin (N.R. Pant, *et al.* 1969: pp.1077-1078 = doc. 45). Interestingly, Lakṣmaṇa in his *Kavitā-nikaṣopala* mentions Dharmāṅgad as one of the indigenous poets in the court of Pṛthvinārāyaṇ Śāha and presents a verse (no. 128) composed by him (see also N.R. Pant, *et al.* 1969:477-481).

87. On the explanation of the word *ruju*, which has been translated here as 'attested by' see M.R. Pant and P.H. Pierce 1989:12.

\* Space has been left blank for the lunar day and weekday in this document.

सात भागमा १ भागको पैदावार ली भोग्य गर. आसीरबाद दिदै रह.  
ईति सम्बत १८६२ साल बैसाखसुदी ११ रोज

### TRANSLATION

For brother-in-law Śivaśarma Jaisī Sedhāi and younger sister Śivapriyā Brāhmaṇī

We [hereby] grant [you] the *agnidaṇḍa* which was previously held (*khāyel*) by Dharmāgat Paṇḍit, to hold (*khānu garī*) as long as you live. Take one-seventh share of the produce (*paidāvār*) out of the income from the *prāyaścitta*, and enjoy (*bhogyā gara*) [it]. Keep on (*didai rahu*) your blessings [to us].

The 11th of the waxing moon of Vaiśākha, Saṃvat Year 1862.

### The second version in the RRC

Vol. 20

No. 175

p. 268

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

### TEXT

प्रसरस्तिसौ<sup>88</sup>

आगे जवाई सिबसम्म जैसि सेढाई र बहिनी सिबप्रीया ब्राह्मनीके  
धर्मागत पंडीतको खायेल अग्नीडंड जीउज्याल षानु गरी बक्स्यौ. प्रयाचितका  
आमदानीको सात भागमा १ भागको पैदावार लि भोग्य गर. आसिबाद दिदै रह.

ईति समबत १८६२ साल बैसाखसुदि ११ रोज

मार्फत रंगनाथ पंडीतराज<sup>89</sup>

### TRANSLATION

*Praśasti* [of the king]

For brother-in-law Śivaśarma Jaisī Sedhāi and younger sister Śivapriyā Brāhmaṇī

88. For प्रसरस्तिसौ.

89. The scribe copies this after प्रसरस्तिसौ in the same line.

We [hereby] grant [you] the *agnidaṇḍa* which was previously held (*khāyel*) by Dharmāgat Paṇḍit, to hold (*śānu garī*) as long as you live. Take one-seventh share of the produce (*paidāvār*) out of the income from the *prāyaścitta*, and enjoy (*bhogyā gara*) [it]. Keep on (*didai rahu*) your blessings [to us].

The 11th of the waxing moon of Vaiśākha, Saṃvat Year 1862.

[Let it be] auspicious.

Through Raṅganāth Paṇḍitrāj

### Document no. 23

Vol. 20

No. 476

p. 415

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

### TEXT

आग्ये जिताराम नेवारप्रती

बेनीका टकसार ईस्तक संम्बत १८६४ सालका जेष्ठबदि १३ रोजदेखि हरीनारायेन्  
नेवारलाई ईजारा गरीबक्स्यौ. ताहा तैले आफना अम्बल उठाई ढक टक टकसारका  
ज्या तालुक केहि चिजबीज छ सबै सोपीदे. टकसारका काम गर्न्याहरुले पनी  
हरीनारायनछेउ रुजु भै ईनले अन्हायाको काम परापुर्बदेषी भैयायाको गर. यस  
मितिभीत्रको ज्या केही लीआको भया फिर्ता गरीदे.

ईती सम्बत १८६४ साल् आषाढसुदि १ रोज २ शु<sup>90</sup>

90. The scribe concludes with ईती मिति सदर. Other particulars, except the year, are derived from the preceding document, numbered 475 and copied on the same page, which closes with ईती मिति सदर आषाढसुदि १ रोज २ शु. The next preceding document, numbered 474 and copied on the preceding page, simply ends with ईती मीती सदर. Since the next two earlier documents – unnumbered – have the same contents, except for the addressees, as the one before it, the copyist does not copy them but lists them on the same page together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with बेवरा सदर. However, the next three earlier documents, numbered 471-473 and copied on the same page, again close with ईती मीती सदर. The document which precedes them, numbered 469 and copied on the same page, concludes with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी १ रोज २ सुभ.

## TRANSLATION

To Jitārām Nevār

From the 13th of the waning moon of Jyeṣṭha of Saṃvat Year 1864 onwards we have executed (*garibaksyaum*) a contract (*ijārā*) with Harinārāyaṇ Nevār [to mint coins] in the Benī mint. Relinquish (*uṭhāi*) your authority (*ambal*) there and hand over all things in your possession (*tāluk*) concerning weights (*dhak*), coins and mints. You who work in the mint, too, be present and do work as instructed by Harinārāyaṇ – which has been done since olden times. Give back whatever you have taken by this date.

Monday, the 1st of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1864.

[Let it be] auspicious.

## Document no. 24

Vol. 20

No. 502

pp. 418-419

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

## TEXT

प्रसस्तिसौ

आग्ये हरीनारायन् नेवारके

जिताराम नेवारले ६३ सालमा खायाबेहो-याको बेनीको पैसा टकसार ईस्तक सम्बत

The preceding document, numbered 468 and copied on the preceding page, ends with ईती मीती सदर. The document which precedes this one is numbered 467 and copied on the same page, and closes with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी १ रोज २ सुम. However, a later hand gives its year as १८६४. The next earlier document, copied on the same page and numbered 465, terminates with ईती सम्बत मिति सदर आषाढबदि ११ रोज ४. Since the next two preceding documents have the same contents, except for the addressees, as the document that precedes them, the copyist does not copy them but lists them on the preceding page without numbering them, together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with बेवरा सदर. The preceding document, also unnumbered, and copied on the same page, ends with ईती सम्बत मीती सदर आषाढबदि ११ रोज ४. The next preceding document, numbered 454 and copied on pp. 411-412, terminates with ईती मीती सदर. The document copied before it on p. 410 and numbered 453, concludes with ईती मीती सदर आषाढबदी १० रोज ३. The year is derived from the preceding document, numbered 452 and copied on the preceding page, which closes with ईती सम्बत १८६४ साल आषाढबदी १० रोज ३.

१८६४ साल जेष्ठबदि १३ रोजदेपी सम्बत १८६७ साल जेष्ठबदि १२ रोजसम्म त्रीसाला ईजारा गरीबकस्यौ. सालबसाल किस्तिबकिस्ति तोसाखाना दाखिला री<sup>91</sup> आषीर साल बासीलबाकी बुभाये फाखती लीनु. किस्तिमा रुपैया नपुऱ्याया किस्ति-पिलाफी रुपैया महाजनी सुद तिर्नु. वर्ष ३ को बमोजिमतपसिल् ज्मा रुपैया सत्र हजार यक सै

## तपसिल

असामी	ज्मा रुपैया	मुहुडा	भदौ मैन्हा	पौष मैन्हा	बैसाख मैन्हा चुक्ती
सम्बत १८६४ साल	५७००	१५००	१५००	१५००	१२००
सम्बत १८६५ साल	५७००	१५००	१५००	१५००	१२००
सम्बत १८६६ साल	५७००	१५००	१५००	१५००	१२००

ईती सम्बत १८६४ साल आषाढसुदि ४ रोज ५<sup>92</sup>

## TRANSLATION

*Praśasti* [of the king]

For Harinārāyaṇ Nevār

We [hereby] execute (*garibaksyaum*) a triennial contract (*ijārā*) [to mint] coins (*paisā*) in the Benī mint, from the 13th of the waning moon of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃvat Year 1864 to the 12th of the waning moon of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃvat Year 1867, which in [Saṃvat] Year 1863 was enjoyed and looked after (*khāyā-behoryāko*) by Jitātārām Nevār. Present (*dākhil*) [the *rupaiñā*-s] annually

91. For गरी.

92. The scribe concludes with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदि ४ रोज ५, without providing the year. However, a later hand gives its year as १८६४. The preceding document that is partially copied on p. 418 – unnumbered – closes with अरु बेवरा मिति सदर, i.e. 'other contents and the date are confirmed'. The document which precedes this one, numbered 480 and copied on pp. 417-418, terminates with ईती मीती सदर. The next earlier document, numbered 479 and copied on pp. 416-417, ends with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदि १ रोज २ सु. The document numbered 478 and copied on pp. 415-416 closes with ईती मीती सदर, and a later hand dates it to आषाढसुदी १, १८६४. The document copied before this one is numbered 477 and was copied on p. 415; it terminates with ईती सम्बत मीती सदर. The preceding pages, which lead to the proper date, are described in fn. 90.



in instalments to the Tosākhānā, and in the last year the remainder outstanding (*vāsīlbākī*), and take the clearance (*phārkhātī*) for that. If you do not deliver (*napuryāyā*) the *rupaiñā*-s in instalments, pay (*tirnu*) the *mahājānī* interest (*sud*) [for] the *rupaiñā*-s not so paid. According to the particulars (*tapsil*), the total *rupaiñā*-s for three years is seventeen thousand one hundred.

**Particulars (*tapsil*)**

<i>asāmī</i>	Total <i>rupaiñā</i> -s	Initial [instal- ment]	Initial [Instalment in] the month of Bhādra	Initial [Instalment in] the month of Pauṣa	Settlement [in] the month of Vaiśākha
Samvat Year 1864	5,700	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,200
Samvat Year 1865	5,700	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,200
Samvat Year 1866	5,700	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,200

Thursday, the 4th of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Samvat Year 1864.

**Document no. 25**

Vol. 20

No. 541

p. 427

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

**TEXT**

आग्ये ईजारदार हरीनारायनप्रती

बेनीटकसार मारनकन भीखानी अधीदेषी चलीआयाको र जीतारामले चलायाको यकहटी पानीको तामो जती हुन्छ खोलाको भावले कीनी टकसार मारु. कटिआ तामोमा छाप माच्या हात कलम होला. अधीदेषी चलीआयाको यकहटी तामो टकसारबाहीक जसले दबाई छपाई किन्दछ बेचछ सो तामो लुटी ल्याई टकसारमाहा हुलनु.

ईती सम्बत १८६४ साल् श्रावणबदी १ रोज २ सु<sup>93</sup>

93. The scribe does not write the year but concludes with ईती मीती सदर श्रावणबदी १ रोज २ सु. The next earlier document, numbered 539 and copied on the preceding page, ends simply with ईती मीती सदर, but a later hand dates it to आषाढसुदी १३,

**TRANSLATION**

To *Ijārādār* Harinārāyaṇ

Purchase at the *kholā* price (*bhāva*) as much copper as there is from the *Jhim* mine, which has been operating (*calīyāko*) since previous times, and also from the mine run (*calāyāko*) as a monopoly by *Jitārām* in order to mint (*mārnakana*) [coins in] the *Benī* mint. If you mint (*chāp māryā*) [coins]

१८६४. The document preceding this one is numbered 537 and copied on the same page, and closes with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी १३ रोज ६ शु. Four preceding documents numbered 533-536 and copied on the preceding page conclude with ईती मीती सदर, and a later hand gives the year of two documents, namely 533 and 536, as १८६४. The scribe terminates the document numbered 532, and is copied on the same page, with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी १० रोज ३ शु. The next earlier document, numbered 529 and copied on the preceding page, closes with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी ८ लगाई (for लगाई) ९ रोज २ शु.\* The document presented before this one is numbered 528 and copied on the same page, and ends with मीती सदर. The next earlier document, numbered 527 and copied on pp. 423-424, concludes with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी ८ रोज लगाई ९ रोज २ शु. The document appearing above it is numbered 526 and copied on p. 423; it ends with ईती मीती सदर. The preceding document, numbered 525 and copied on the same page, terminates with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी लगाई ९ रोज २ शु. The document which precedes this one is numbered 524 and copied on pp. 422-423, and concludes similarly with ईती आषाढसुदी ८ रोज लगाई ९ रोज २ शु. The two preceding documents, numbered 519-520 and copied on p. 422, close with ईती मीती सदर. The scribe makes no mention of the date when he finishes the preceding document, numbered 518, which he copied on the same page. However, he writes ईती मीती सदर when he concludes two preceding documents, numbered 512 and 517, which he copied on the same page. Three preceding documents numbered 509-511 copied on the previous page simply terminate with ईती मीती सदर. The preceding document, numbered 508 and copied on the same page, ends with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदि ८ ला. ९ रोज २ सु. Two documents which appear before them are numbered 506 and 507 and copied on pp. 420-421, and close with ईती मीती सदर आषाढसुदी ५ रोज ६. The preceding document, numbered 505 and copied on p. 420, concludes with ईती मीती सदर. The document that comes before it is numbered 504 and copied on pp. 419-420, and ends with ईती सम्बत मीती सदर आषाढसुदी ४ रोज ५. The next earlier document is numbered 503 and copied on p. 419; it terminates with ईती मीती सदर. The preceding document is no. 24 of the present corpus. The preceding pages, which lead to the proper date, are described in fns. 90 and 92.

\* The conjunctive participle लगाई expresses that the document was issued on the 9th, though at sunrise the 8th day had no. yet expired. The same holds for documents numbered 508, 524, 525 and 527, though in no. 525 the figure ८ is omitted.

on adulterated (*kaṭiā*) copper, [your] hands will be cut off (*kalam*). Whoever, except the mint, buys [or] sells the copper, monopolised since previous times, furtively (*dabāi*) and stealthily (*chapāi*) – seize [such copper] and bring and deposit (*hulnu*) it in the mint.

Monday, the 1st of the waning moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat [Year] 1864.

[Let it be] auspicious.

### Document no. 26

Vol. 20

No. 550

p. 427

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

### TEXT

आगे भवानीदत्त थापाप्रती

दामोदर जैसी सुबा दसरथ पत्रीका जीम्मा लाग्यो. ताहाबाट तेरा मानीस साथ लाई मकमानपुर दसरथ पत्रीका मानीसका जीम्मा गरी दे. बाटघाटमा उमक्या तेरा सिर पर्ला.

ईती सम्बत १८६४ साल् श्रावणबदी १ रोज २ सु<sup>94</sup>

### TRANSLATION

To Bhavānidatta Thāpā

Dāmodar Jaisī<sup>95</sup> is [hereby] placed under the charge (*jimmā lāgyo*) of Subā Daśarath Khatrī. Deliver (lit., give) him, accompanied by your people

94. The scribe simply concludes with ईती मीती सदर. The preceding pages, which lead to the proper date, are described in fns. 90, 92 and 93.
95. This Dāmodar Jaisī is the father of Śivaśarma Jaisī Sedhāi, to whom document no. 22 of the present corpus was issued. The chronicle of Dāmodar's clan written by his grandson and later updated (D.R. Pant 2000: app. 1) starts with Dāmodar's grandfather Śātānanda Joṣī. According to the chronicle, Śātānanda, a Brahmin well versed not only in *jyautiṣa* (astronomy cum astrology) but also in diplomacy (*vakkili*), left Jhijhaud Gaon in Kumaon because of a breach of conduct on the part of the British and came to Lamjuñ in V.S. 1721 when Vīramardan Śāha was reigning; he settled in Rāginās, where he received a

*birtābitalap* and a house from the king for practising the profession of *jyautiṣa* in the royal court (*ibid.*: app. 1 = pp. 12, 14).<sup>\*</sup> D.R. Pant conclusively points out that there is no doubt that the name of the Lamjuñ king given in the chronicle is not correct, since it is in fact the name of the last king of Lamjuñ during whose reign in V.S. 1839 the Gorkhāli-s conquered Lamjuñ. Further, he says that in V.S. 1741, i.e. 20 years after Śātānanda's migration to Lamjuñ, Keharinārāyaṇ Śāha, Vīramardan's great-grandfather, was on the Lamjuñ throne (*ibid.*: endnote 7). In the same context, it is worthwhile to mention that since Kumaon came under the sway of the British only on 3 May 1815 (Pandey 1937:429), after the Gorkhā rule had ceased to exist there, it is quite clear that the chronicler committed an additional mistake in the reason given for his ancestor's migration from his homeland.

Dāmodar's clan belongs to the Aṅgīrasa *gotra* with five *rṣi pravara*-s, namely, Aṅgīras, Āṅgīrasa, Maṅḍavya, Māṅḍavya and Pārāśara (*ibid.*: app. 1 = pp. 12, 14). As the clan traditionally practised *jyautiṣa*, they are called in documents either Jaisī (*ibid.*: appendices 3; 5; 11, docs. 2, 3; 16, doc. 2; 18, docs. 1-2; 19; 21; 23; 26, and the present and the following document of the present corpus), Joṣī (D.R. Pant 2000: appendices 1; 2; 4, docs. 2-8; 6-8; 10; 11, docs. 1, 4-9; 12; 14; 15; 16, docs. 1, 3-5; 20; 22; 25) or Joisī (appendices 13 and 17), all derivatives of *jyotiṣī*. As document no. 22 of the present corpus and the Joṣī chronicle (for the latter, see *ibid.*: app.1 = p. 14) state, the clan's surname (*thar*) is Sedhāi.

We do not know when Dāmodar was born. According to the chronicle, he left Rāginās for Gorkhā when he was just 11 years old.<sup>•</sup> He is referred to again in the chronicle when he came to Kathmandu together with King Pṛthvīnārāyaṇ Śāha's queen in V.S. 1826. If we can trust the chronicle, he established himself in the court of Gorkhā as a courtier before Pṛthvīnārāyaṇ died in V.S. 1831, since he received a regular allowance and land grants from the government (D.R. Pant 2000: app. 1 = pp. 12, 15).

Though we know that he was imprisoned in V.S. 1851 (*ibid.*: app. 4, doc. 4), we do not know the reason. This happened, most probably, D.R. Pant thinks (*ibid.*: 2-3), because he was on the side of Prince Bahādūr Śāha whose grip on power became weaker after the coming of age of his nephew, King Raṇabahādūr.

\* On both pages the chronicle gives the year of Śātānanda's coming to Lamjuñ in both V.S. and Śaka era. However, it is to be noted that on p. 14, the year in V.S. is 1726 and the same in the Śaka is 1586. Needless to say, the former is an error for 1721, which is in the correct form on p. 12.

• For a probable date of his year of birth, see D.R. Pant 2000:8.

We do not know when Dāmodar was freed. It appears that later he was restored to the good graces of King Raṇabahādur, with whom he maintained cordial relations even after the latter fled to Benares, where he became a swami following his abdication of the throne. The rulers in Kathmandu confiscated the entire property of Dāmodar and brought a charge against him of having been in correspondence with the rebel ex-king then living in Benares (*ibid.*: app. 5). The chronicle is more specific in this matter, though it does not offer the reason why Dāmodar's property was confiscated: Dāmodar not only lost his entire property but also was forced to leave the country. He went to Benares and met the Swami Maharajah; and as he was an astrologer, he fixed an auspicious day for the latter's departure from there and came back to Kathmandu together with him (*ibid.*: app. 1 = pp. 15-16).

Thus it is clear that Dāmodar suffered a lot at the hands of the anti-Raṇabahādur party during the last part of the Swami Maharajah's exile, i.e. in V.S. 1860. It seems that Dāmodar contributed much to Raṇabahādur's return to Nepal. In order to repay what Dāmodar did for him, Raṇabahādur showered wealth and honours upon him. On the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Kārttika,\* V.S. 1861, on the occasion of Gīrvāṇa's birthday, four *khet-s* were donated to the Joṣī family. In the same year, on the 13th of the waxing moon of the month of Māgha, the Swami Maharajah granted five *khet-s* while making over a *kanyādanā*★ (*ibid.*: app. 11, doc. 2) to Śivaśarma (see *supra*, fn. 85). All these grants, together with a donation of 35 *ropai-s* of *ghaḍyārī*, one house, one *bārī* and a village, named Buḍumculī, were exempted from all taxes on Sunday, the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Bhādra, V.S. 1862, through the issuance of a copperplate. Earlier that year, on Thursday, the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Vaiśākha, Śivaśarma and his wife were authorised to draw the revenue coming from the *agnidaṇḍa*,\* a one-seventh portion of the proceeds exacted for the expiation for impurity or loss of caste (*prāyaścitta*) (doc. 22 of the present corpus). Dāmodar himself was granted large estates in the jurisdiction of Ṭhimī on the new moon of the month of Kārttika, V.S. 1862, freeing the grant from all taxation (*ibid.*: app. 17). Dāmodar's increasing influence is manifested in a royal decree, issued on the day just mentioned, discharging him from all kinds of compulsory obligations toward the state, from one generation to the next (*ibid.*: app. 16, doc. 1). In

\* This seems to be a mistake for Āśvina (see *supra*, fn. 85).

★ The copperplate issued by King Gīrvāṇa which certifies all the grants mentioned above is addressed to Śivaśarma Jaisī and Hariśarma Jaisī. It does not refer to their father Dāmodar, and names first the younger brother, Śivaśarma, and then the elder brother, Hariśarma. The reason for this seems to me that all these grants were primarily meant for Śivaśarma.

\* For the term, see 'On *Agnidaṇḍa*' in the present volume.

(*mānis*), from where he is now (lit., from there) to the charge (*jimmā garī*) of the people of Daśarath Khatrī in Makvānpur. If he escapes on the way (*bāṭghāṭ*), you (lit., your head) will incur (*parlā*) [blame].

Monday, the 1st of the waning moon of Śrāvaṇa, Saṃvat Year 1864.

[Let it be] auspicious.

in this connection, I point out a document, dated the 5th of the waning moon of the month of Pauṣa, V.S. 1863, which reminds the tax-collector of the existence of a copperplate issued by the king to exempt Dāmodar's entire landed property from all taxes (*ibid.*: app. 16, doc. 2). Dāmodar was appointed on the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Pauṣa, V.S. 1862 as the contractor for the nine *khet-s* belonging to the Rājguṭhī in Pāṭan against an annual payment of 400 *rupaiṇā-s* (*ibid.*: app. 10). A document dated Saturday, the 4th of the waning moon of the month of Caitra of the same year (*ibid.*: app. 8) reveals the fact that during that period Dāmodar was working as an administrator together with Raṇajit Pāḍe and Narsiṃha [Guruṇ], both holding the ministerial title of *kāji*.

It seems that Dāmodar had good relations also with Bhīmsen Thāpā, who became the de facto ruler following the assassination of the Swami Maharajah on Thursday, the 7th of the waxing moon of the month of Vaiśākha, V.S. 1863,\* because on Friday, the 10th of the waning moon of the month of Śrāvaṇa, V.S. 1863, he got back all his property which had been confiscated by the anti-Swami Maharajah power (*ibid.*: app. 5).

Dāmodar acted as a functionary in the government at least till the 14th of the waxing moon of the month of Pauṣa, V.S. 1863 (*ibid.*: app. 15). However, for some unknown reason, on Tuesday, the 10th of the waxing moon of the month of Māgha, V.S. 1863, Dāmodar was punished by loss of caste status, with his head being shaved, and was banished, as a contemporary account of events tells us (*ibid.*: endnote 21). It is interesting to note that an *arjī* submitted by Śivaśarma (*ibid.*: app. 6) mentions the fact that his father's entire property was confiscated in V.S. 1863.★

This and the following document of the present corpus reveal the fact that Dāmodar was kept in Citaun and later was taken to Makvānpur and either kept there or sent on to Bārā or Parsā, to a malaria-infected area within an enclosure. This proves that the central government wished his death. However, it could not inflict capital punishment upon him, since he was a Brahmin.

\* For the date of Raṇabahādur's assassination, see M.R. Pant 1966-70, no. 12:48-49.

★ Another *arjī*, submitted by the wife of Śivaśarma's brother, refers to the date of her father-in-law's confiscation of property as V.S. 1864 (D.R. Pant 2000: app. 7). This date, no doubt, is a mistake.

## Document no. 27

Vol. 20

No. 551

p. 427

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

## TEXT

आग्ने सुबा दसरथ खत्रीप्रती

दामोदर जैसीलाई चितौन्बाट ल्याई मकमानपुर बारा पर्साका औलामा खोर बारी  
औलामा पारी राखनु. तेसलाई उमकाया धन जीअमा पर्ला.

ईती सम्बत १८६४ साल् श्रावणबदी १ रोज २ सु<sup>96</sup>

## TRANSLATION

To *Subā* Daśarath Khatrī

Bring Dāmodar Jaisī from Citaun and keep him in Makvānpur, Bārā [or] Parsā, and place [him] fenced in in an enclosure (*khōr*) in a malarial [area] [Your] wealth and body will be at stake (*parlā*) if [you] let him escape.

Monday, the 1st of the waning moon of Śrāvāṇa, Saṃvat Year 1864.

[Let it be] auspicious.

96. The scribe simply concludes with ईती मीती सदर. The preceding pages, which lead to the proper date, are described in fns. 90, 92 and 93.

## GLOSSARY\*

<i>agnidaṇḍa</i>	a portion of the fine exacted from the observance of <i>prāyaścitta</i> and going to some Brahmin other than a Pāḍe, Pantha, Arjyāl and Khanāl <sup>1</sup> (22)
<i>āgrī</i>	a miner (3, 6)
<i>amālī</i>	functionary of a regional administrative unit (2, 6)
<i>amālīdār</i>	see <i>amālī</i> (9, 10)
<i>asāmī</i>	details (3, 6, 24)
<i>bhakārī</i>	curved stone embankment on the bank of a river made to keep water back (11, 16, 18, 19)
<i>bhārādār</i>	a generic term for high-level functionaries (2)
<i>Bhāt</i>	an offspring born from the union of a Brahmin father and a virgin or widow from one of the ascetic castes ( <i>Jogī</i> ) <sup>2</sup> (18)
<i>bhēḍābhār</i>	a levy collected from a sheep-borne load <sup>3</sup> (3, 6)

\* Numbers in parentheses refer to the documents. The glossary covers only words that are in the translations of the texts and in a single case in a footnote to the translation.

1. See 'On *Agnidaṇḍa*' in the present volume.

2. Based on *Mulukī aina*: 664 § 6. See also Höfer 1979:133.

Interestingly, a royal decree dated 1846 mentions two types of the *Bhāt* one in hierarchy of caste equal to Brahmins (*bāhunasarahakā bhāt*) and the other equal to sepoy (*sipāhīsarahakā bhāt*). (See Thapa 1982:1-3 and 1984:82-84 for the original document and its English translation, respectively.) But I fail to understand what the decree means by the second category of *Bhāt* that is equated with sepoy.

Note still further definitions of *Bhāt*:

Satyāl 1938:33 – offspring born from the union of a fallen Brahmin mother and a father belonging to one of the last three *varṇa*-s.

J.L. Sharma 1983:67 – a low-caste Kṣatriya born from the union of a Brahmin mother who previously had physical contact with a Kṣatriya and of a Brahmin father.

For two more definitions of the caste, see B. Sharma 1963: s.v. and Pokharel, *et al.* 1984: s.v.

3. This is known from the following sentence of a royal decree issued to a Mustangi Rajah in 1820 (M.L. Karmacharya 1996: facsimile NGPHMA 7.5.5):

'... लासाका पर्जा ढोक्पाको दस्तुर भेडाको भारिमा पाच भागको येक भाग गिलुंग्याको मानीस राषि तिहेरुका हातबाट गिलुंग्यालाई दिनु चार भाग तिहेरुले पानु.'

Bhikṣuk	an ascetic caste ? <sup>4</sup> (18)
bhotyā prajā	subjects of Mongoloid origin (10)
birtā	a royal grant of land given freely on an inheritable basis (1, 13, 15)
birtābitalapyā	one who holds a land grant made by the state and is obliged to work for the state when called upon to do so (18)
bitalap	a land grant made by the state which obliges its beneficiary to work for the state when called upon to do so (1)
bitalapyā	see: <i>birtābitalapyā</i> (18)
daṇḍakuṇḍa	judicial fines and penalties (3, 6)
darśanī	a levy collected from state employees at the time of their appointment, reconfirmation or promotion ? (3, 6)
dastūr	a customary tax (1, 3, 6)
deśī	an inhabitant of Indian plains (5)
dhākrayā	a former state employee (1, 16, 18)
dhārnī	a measure of weight equivalent to 2.393 kg (1, 14)
ḍiṭṭhā	a high-ranking officer in the executive hierarchy (18, 19)
dvāryā	a local revenue collection official (3, 6, 9, 11, 18, 19)
ghaḍyārī	a plot of land for a building (2)
guru	priest (13)
guṭh	endowed lands or other sources of revenue for financing religious and charitable functions (13)
Hitān	a clan of Thāpā Magar-s <sup>5</sup> (12)

4. Note the mention of Bhikṣuk along with other caste names in a document issued on behalf of the then *dharmādhikār* in order to extract the fee for *prāyaścitta* in 1871, in which, as in our documents, Bhikṣuk is placed after Bhāt. This document has been published in D. Vajrācārya and T.B. Shrestha 1974 as doc. 97. J.C. Regmi (1979:27-30) has attempted an analysis of it.

However, it is to be noted that a royal decree dated 1806 (M.C. Regmi 1989:46-47), designating Guru Paṇḍitrāj Raṅganāth Paṇḍit (Paṇḍel) as *dānādhyakṣa* (chief of ritual gifts) specifies one of his duties as examining both foreign and indigenous Paṇḍit-s and Bhikṣuk-s, and honouring them in accordance with their abilities.

5. Vansittart 1992:24.

Note *hitāh*, the nominative plural of *hita*, in two copperplate inscriptions of the Khasa king Puṅya Malla dated 1336 and 1337, respectively. These persons witness the deed along with others. In all probability, this is a Sanskritised form of Hitān,

<i>ijārādār</i>	a contractor (8, 9, 25)
<i>istak</i>	(3, 6, 23, 24) <sup>6</sup>
<i>jāgīryā</i>	a state employee (1, 16, 18)
<i>jāt</i>	a caste not incorporated into the four <i>varṇa</i> -s (1, 11, 16, 18, 19)
<i>jāti</i>	see: <i>jāt</i> (5)
<i>jeṭhābuḍhā</i>	a village headman (19)
<i>jhārā</i>	unpaid labour compulsorily exacted by the government (10, 11, 16, 18, 19)
<i>jiunī</i>	a category of <i>birtā</i> grants meant to ensure subsistence (2)
<i>kācho sirto</i>	a tax payable in the form of iron or copper ore in the mining areas of the hill region (3, 6)
<i>kājī</i>	an officer of ministerial rank superintending civil and military affairs (2, 5)
<i>kapardār</i>	a high-ranking official in charge of the royal wardrobe, jewellery and kitchen <sup>7</sup> (20)
<i>khaṇḍapūjā</i>	? (first version of 6)
<i>khāupūjā</i>	same as <i>khaṇḍapūjā</i> (3)
<i>khet</i>	a measure of land in the hill region equal to 1.25 hectares (16)
<i>kholā</i>	the original place where something is produced ? (25)
<i>khurpā</i>	a kind of pruning knife (18, 19)
<i>kut</i>	a system of tenancy under which a cultivator paid a fixed quantity of produce or a fixed amount of money as rent to the owner of the field (14)
<i>lālmohar</i>	a royal document bearing the red seal (17, 19)
<i>mahasūl</i>	a certain type of tax (3, 6)
<i>mahājanī</i>	pertaining to moneylenders. The word occurs in the context of

for in the same inscriptions we find *lambapāda* for *bla-ma* (for the inscription, see Shrestha 1972:1-3).

For references to Hitān-s as inhabitants of the Tinthapaulā area of Chārkā Bhoṭ and as inhabitants of Jumlā, see M.C. Regmi 1979a:158 and 1989a:147, respectively. In the former Hitān is spelt as Hitau, which no doubt is a proof mistake.

6. See *supra*, p. 80, fn. 13.

7. Based on Kirkpatrick 1811:200. For the *kapardār*'s many more responsibilities, see J.C. Regmi 1979b:239-242, G.M. Nepal 1998/99:277, Karmacharya (Hada) 2000:48-54 and Sharma Kandel 2001:7.

	interest ( <i>sūd</i> ) and perhaps it connotes a very high rate of interest (24)
<i>maṇḍalī</i>	chief ? (3, 6)
<i>mānā</i>	a volumetric unit equivalent to 0.568 litres, or $\frac{1}{8}$ of a <i>pāthī</i> (1, 17)
<i>maulī</i>	a corruption for <i>maṇḍalī</i> (3 and second version of 6)
<i>moroaputālī</i>	escheatable property (3, 6)
<i>mukhiyā</i>	a village-level revenue functionary (8, 18)
<i>murī</i>	a volumetric unit equivalent to 90.919 litres, comprising 20 <i>pāthī</i> -s (2)
<i>pagarī</i>	an additional sum of rupees demanded from a winner of a court case in return for a turban ( <i>pagarī</i> ) accorded to him <sup>8</sup> (3, 6)
<i>pañcakhat</i>	a generic term for heinous crimes punishable by '1st, confiscation of the whole estate; 2dly, banishment of the whole family; 3dly, degradation of the whole family by delivering the members to the lowest tribes; 4thly, maiming the limbs; 5thly, death by cutting the throat' <sup>9</sup> (3, 6)

8. Stiller 1984-85:155.

9. Hamilton 1819:103.

Note that Hodgson defines the same as slightly different from the former (Stiller 1984-85:8, fn. 1):

1. Death. 2. Mutilation. 3. Banishment. 4. Enslaving or making over to some vile caste of the offender's wives and children. 5. Confiscation.

B. Acharya (1969:661) defines *pañcakhat* as such:

crimes punishable by capital punishment, life imprisonment following branding on the cheek, banishment from the district or country after being deprived of caste with the shaving of the head, degradation to a lower caste and loss of caste.

(My translation of the original Nepali)

Two of M.C. Regmi's publications offer us two slightly different meanings of the term under scrutiny:

... offenses involving capital punishment, shaving of the head, branding for degradation to a lower caste and loss of caste. (1970:223).

Crimes punishable through death, life imprisonment, shaving of the head, branding for degradation to a lower caste, and loss of caste. (1978:863)

According to B. Sharma (1963: s.v.) this term is expressive of an offence punishable by capital punishment, branding, depriving of caste by shaving the head, piercing the body after degradation to a lower caste and the complete loss

<i>pākho</i>	unirrigated highlands on which only dry crops can be grown (14)
<i>pāthī</i>	a volumetric unit equivalent to 4.546 litres, comprising of 8 <i>mānā</i> -s (1, 17)
<i>prajā</i>	subjects (17)
<i>prajā bhotyā</i>	see: <i>bhotyā prajā</i> (12)
<i>prāyaścitta</i>	a fine imposed for recovering the caste which is lost by 'doing anything from negligence, inadvertence, or licentiousness, by which loss of caste is incurred' <sup>10</sup> (22)
<i>rājāñka</i>	levies imposed on such occasions as the sacred thread ceremony of a king or crown prince, marriage of a princess and the accession to the throne (3, 6)
<i>rakam</i>	'any fixed or stipulated sum' <sup>11</sup> (3, 6, 7, 9)
<i>rupaiñā</i>	coin of the highest denomination (3, 6, 24)
<i>rukkā</i>	a short royal note (16)
<i>ṣaḍapuja</i>	same as <i>khaṇḍapūjā</i> (second version of 6)
<i>Sagun</i>	? <sup>12</sup> (18)
<i>salāmī</i>	'[f]ees levied for affixing the official seal on weights and measures' <sup>13</sup> (17)
<i>sardār</i>	a top-ranking official next in hierarchy to a <i>kājī</i> (5)
<i>Sārki</i>	the caste of leather-workers (10)
<i>śrāddha</i>	commemorative rites held annually on a death anniversary (14)
<i>subā</i>	governor of a province (7, 9, 26, 27)

of caste. Both J.C. Regmi (1979b:272) and Pokharel, *et al.* (1984: s.v. under *pañca*) copy exactly from B. Sharma (1963: s.v.).

10. Hodgson 1880:214.

11. Wilson 1855: s.v. Raḥam, Raḥm, or Rukm.

12. As the word occurs together with Bhāt, I take it as expressive of a mixed caste. Alternatively, Devi Chandra Shrestha (personal communication) suggests that it may be the first component of the compound word Sagunbhāt, perhaps the same as Bhāt, meaning one who 'procure[s] a living by proclaiming the titles of great men, and singing their praises on all public occasions' (Hamilton 1819:34), and thus expressive of a caste whose profession is to recite panegyrics in order to generate good omens (Skt. *śakuna* > *sagun*).

13. M.C. Regmi 1970:273, b under Salami.

<i>subedār</i>	the commander of a military company consisting of 100 soldiers, <sup>14</sup> often placed in charge of a district <sup>15</sup> (5, 18, 19)
<i>ṭāḡā</i>	tool for cutting stone or metal (3, 6)
<i>thar</i>	representatives of six families, viz. Pāḍe, Pantha, Arjyāl, Khanāl, Rānā and Boharā (12)
<i>tharthok</i>	representatives of six families, viz. Pāḍe, Pantha, Arjyāl, Khanāl, Rānā and Boharā, and those of additional families, such as Basnyāt, which rose to power later ? <sup>16</sup> (16, 18, 19)
<i>thum</i>	a subdivision comprising a number of villages in the hills (11)
Tośākhānā	the central royal treasury, located in Kathmandu in the royal palace (3, 6, 24)
<i>umarā</i>	a commander of a military post (9, 11, 18)
<i>umarāva</i>	see: <i>umarā</i> (11)
<i>valak</i>	'[h]omestead levies collected in the hill districts, including Kathmandu Valley. They were of three kinds: (i) <i>sāune phāgu valak</i> , collected during the months of Śrāvaṇa and Phālguna every year, (ii) <i>harṣabismātko valak</i> , collected on occasions of national celebration or mourning, and (iii) <i>kājkalyāṅko valak</i> , collected on festive and ceremonial occasions' <sup>17</sup> (3, 6)
<i>varṇa</i>	the four principal classes, namely Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra (16, 18)

14. N.R. Pant, *et al.* 1969:383.

15. This is seen from M.R. Pant forthcoming: doc. 25.

16. For the inclusion of the Basnyāt family into the *tharthok*, see D.R. Pant 1968: doc. 10.

17. M.C. Regmi 1971:230 with my own standardised transliterations.

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9. As Bhutan transformed from a theocratic to monarchical state only on 17 December 1907 (Paudel 2001:34), the paraphrase of the words *dharmākā rājā lāmā* to '*bhūṭānī rājā*, i.e. 'the Bhutanese king' in a document dated 1852 is a mistake on my part.

10. The article itself does not have any title; what is given above is cited from the Table of Contents.

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12. The epithet *mahārājādhirājāya* is replaced in the second instalment with *mahrājāya* and in the third with *rājñe*.

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## On Agnidaṇḍa

– Mahes Raj Pant

Hamilton (1819:103-104) who visited Nepal in 1802-3 states that

There were two kinds of fines; Prayaschitta for the neglect of ceremonies, and those inflicted as punishments for crimes. The latter went to the Raja, and do so still. The former went to the Dharm'adhikar, or chancellor; but having been enormously multiplied since the Gorkha government, their amount is divided into eight shares, of which the Raja takes one, the collector (Gomashtash) one, the Dharm'adhikar one, and one goes to each of five families of Brahmans, named Pangre, Pantha, Arjal, Khanal, and Agnidaṇḍa. These families divide their shares equally among their members, who have multiplied exceedingly. Besides the fine, all delinquents in matters of ceremony are compelled to entertain a certain number of these five families; the two first fattening on the wicked of the country west from the Narayani; and the other three on those east from that river. The number to be fed is restricted by the sentence, and the criminal may select those to whom he gives the entertainment, in any manner he pleases, confining himself strictly to the families entitled to participate.

No sooner does one familiar with Brahmin surnames in Nepal read the above statement than he realises that there was some confusion in identifying the clans: Agnidaṇḍa can hardly be accepted as the family name of a Brahmin. One Nepalese historian's uneasiness in taking Agnidaṇḍa for a surname is reflected in his putting a question mark before the word when he deals with Hamilton's above statement.<sup>1</sup> However, the form continues to be taken at face value.<sup>2</sup>

A document of 1805<sup>3</sup> grants the income from the *agnidaṇḍa* previously enjoyed by Dharmāṅgad Paṇḍit to Śivaśarma. From the same source we learn that the *agnidaṇḍa* forms one-seventh of the revenue from the *prāyaścitta* (i.e. an expiatory fine imposed for recovering caste after 'doing

1. J.C. Regmi 1979:4-5 and 1979a:260.

2. Michaels 2001:72.

3. See doc. 22 of 'Documents from the Regmi Research Collections I' in the present volume.

anything from negligence, inadvertence, or licentiousness, by which loss of caste is incurred<sup>4</sup>). Though we do not know whether Dharmāṅgad was a Brahmin having a surname Pandit<sup>5</sup> or was simply called Pandit because he was a Brahmin, we do know that the grantee who succeeded Dharmāṅgad was from the Sedhāi clan, and so not among the four well-known Gorkhali Brahmin families which, according to Hamilton, were entitled to a share of the revenue from *prāyaścitta*. Thus we may conclude that he was not conceded a share of the *prāyaścitta* fines traditionally divided among eight persons, including those from the four Brahmin clans.

The picture is now much clearer: one of the various shares from the *prāyaścitta* fine was called *agnidaṇḍa*, and was set aside for a Brahmin who did not represent any of the four well-known Gorkhali Brahmin clans.

From the document of 1805 referred to above we know, therefore, that the *agnidaṇḍa* forms one-seventh of the revenue coming from the *prāyaścitta*. To be specific, the document explicitly states that one-seventh of the *paidāvār* forming the income from the *prāyaścitta* went to Śivaśarma, who thus became entitled to enjoy the revenue from the *agnidaṇḍa*. The conventional meaning of *paidāvār* is the '[p]roduce of a field or estate'.<sup>6</sup> But this ill fits the present context, given that the income from the *prāyaścitta* was supposed to be in coin, not kind. Most probably, the word under discussion conveys the notion of 'proceeds'. In any case, as the document allows the one granted the *agnidaṇḍa* revenue to take one-seventh of the *paidāvār* from the *prāyaścitta*, it stands in contradiction to Hamilton's statement that the fine from the *prāyaścitta* is divided into eight shares.

I do not know why the stipulated portion of the fine was called *agnidaṇḍa*. It does not seem to be related to the identical Arthaśāstric term having the meaning of 'fine for (kindling) fire at a prohibited place or hour'.<sup>7</sup> Nor is it

4. Hodgson 1880:214.

5. For the surname Pandit, see Suvedi 1903:15, *Gorkhā tharagotravarāvalī*: 18 and Upadhyaya 1998:15.

6. Wilson 1855: s.v. Paidāvār, Paidāvārī under Paidā.

7. Ghatage 1976-1978: s.v. *agnidaṇḍa*.

मध्यमयोरह्श्चतुर्भागयोरष्टभागोऽग्निदण्डः ।

(*Arthaśāstra* II.36.16)

अग्निप्रतिषेधं ग्रीष्मे रक्षार्थं कुर्युः । तत्रापि मध्यमयोरह्श्चतुर्भागयोः प्रचण्डयोरग्निकरणे

related to two other meanings of the same word given in the most comprehensive dictionary of Sanskrit.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps one should mention in this context the term *brahmadāṇḍa*. As one Marathi encyclopaedia defines it, it is the *dāṇḍa* which one gives to Brahmins in the form of money in order to obtain the right to perform expiatory rites such as *prāyaścitta*, and also the money to be given on the occasion of *śrāddha* by the one who performs the rite.<sup>9</sup> In Maharashtra, we are told, the term *brahmadāṇḍa* was employed to denote any kind of expiatory fee.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly enough, the same term is met no less than three times in a royal account-book from Gorkha dating from the first half of the 18th century, where it denotes one-third of the fine imposed for killing a cow – and which presumably went to Brahmins.<sup>11</sup>

One newly published Sanskrit dictionary from Nepal records another meaning of *brahmadāṇḍa*, one of more immediate relevance. One of the six meanings of the word offered in the dictionary is 'fire manifested in a

पणस्याष्टभागो दण्डः । पूर्वपश्चिमयोस्तु प्रशान्तत्वान्न दोषः । तस्यामपि वेलायामवश्यकर्तव्येऽग्नी  
ग्रामाद् बहिरधिभ्रयणमुपनिपातप्रतीकारोक्तमेव कुर्युः ।\*

(*Cāṅkyaṅikā* on *Arthaśāstra* II.36.16)

अग्निप्रतिषेधं च ग्रीष्म इति कुर्युरिति वर्तते । अग्निप्रतिषेधमग्निनिषेधं ग्रीष्मे कुर्युरिति कथमित्याह  
मध्यमयोरह्श्चतुर्भागयोरित्यादि चतुर्धा विभक्तस्याहो मध्यमौ द्वौ भागौ प्रहरद्वयं तस्मिन् काले  
किञ्चिदप्यग्निकार्यं न कुर्युरिति तदानीं कुर्वतां पणाष्टभागोऽग्निदण्डोऽग्निनिमित्तो दण्डः ।

(*Pratipadapañcikā* on *Arthaśāstra* II.36.16)

In the two middle quarters of the day, one-eighth (of a *paṇa*) is the fine for (kindling) fire. (Kangle 1972:186)

8. Ghatage 1976-1978: s.v. *agnidaṇḍa*.

9. Joshi 1992: s.v. *brahmadāṇḍa*. I am indebted to Catharina Kiehle for helping me to understand the passage, written in Marathi.

10. Michaels 2001:73, fn. 22.

11. D.R. Pant 1986:514-515. Pant writes that because the amount thus received was given to the *dharmādhikārin*, who was invariably from the Brahmin caste, it was called *brahmadāṇḍa*. However, as far as the said account-book is concerned, there is no hint of to whom the amount called *brahmadāṇḍa* was given. Michaels (2001:73) does not see the problem and simply cites Pant.

\* In citing from the published Sanskrit text editions referred to in the Bibliography, I omit punctuation marks which I think unnecessary and practise the *sandhi* which became necessary by such omissions.



human form',<sup>12</sup> and to substantiate this the compiler quotes a classical text.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps because of the purifying quality of fire, the fine exacted for the *prāyaścitta* was called *brahmadāṇḍa* by an extended application of the word. Thus it seems that *agnidāṇḍa* expressed the same meaning as *brahmadāṇḍa*.

12. My translation of the original Nepali.

13. Pandeya 2000: s.v. *brahmadāṇḍa*.

Pandeya quotes a half-verse: ब्रह्मदण्ड इति ख्यातो वपुषा निर्दहन्निव and names his source in an abbreviated form as ह.व.भ.प., which I do not find in his list of abbreviations.

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## Errata

page	line	incorrect	correct
36	26	GRV	13. GRV
43	7	above all,	above, all
43	15	than <i>paṭṭabandha</i>	the <i>paṭṭabandha</i>
43	15	for four times	four times,
70	4	Mahes	Mahesh
71	18	one. We	one, we
72	20	the passage	any passage
81	24	Samvat 1850	Samvat Year 1850
127	39	date of his year of birth	year of his birth
136	5	Boharā	Boharā; and by an extended application of the word in the present context, any member of a respected family
136	26	standarised	standardised
139	24	<i>The Tharu</i>	<i>the Tharu</i>
139	29	<i>Kavitānikaṣopala</i> .	<i>Kavitānikaṣopala</i>
152	14	Upādhyāya	Upādhyāya
158	4	<i>Gorkhāko</i>	<i>Gorakhāko</i>