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

— Bāpu Deva Śāstrī (1819-90)

**ĀDARŚA**

A supplement to *Pūrṇimā*, the journal of the Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala

No. 2
A Historical Gloss on
the Kauṭaliya Arthasastra
No. 2'

– Bholanath Paudel, Dhanavajra Vajra Carya
and Gyan Mani Nepal

nītisātramṛtam śrimān arthaśāstramahodadheḥ
ya uddadhre namas tasmai viṣṇuguptāya vedhase

Kāmandaka1

‘Honour be to Kuṭalya [as unto] the Creator; who from the ocean of the
arthaśāstra churned out the nectar at the nītisāstra.’2

Kuṭalya’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 svāmisanpa (‘necessary kingly
quality’), and in whom there is the wish to conquer new countries is called
a viṣvīgīṣu. The viṣvīgīṣu conquers new countries by means of his mantraśakti
(‘power arising from learning’) and by the prabhāvāśakti (‘strength of wealth
and an army’) and by the uṣṭāhaśakti (‘willingness to act’). Many kings, as
they fall under his increasing influence, will come under his protection.
Then the viṣvīgīṣu will have to make provisions to administer countries that

* Translated from Paudel, Vajra Carya and Nepal 1953 by Philip H. Pierce.
1. Kāmandakīyaśāstra I.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 vijīgu’s danda and have come to seek sanctuary under it, they are called the dāndopanata. As the vijīgu must make the dāndopanata always bow down by [the might of] his danda, the vijīgu is called the dāndopanāyin. The prakaraṇa which tells of what rules of conduct the dāndopanāyin king is to follow towards the dāndopanata is called the dāndopanāyivṛtta. In the dāndopanāyivṛtta, in the process of telling what sort of conduct on the part of the dāndopanāyin towards those dāndopanata-s is profitable and what sort of conduct is undesirable, Acārya Kaṭṭāiyā states as follows:

upakāriṇām upakāraśaktyā toṣayet | prayāsatas cārthamānau kuryāt

(Kaṭṭāiyā Arthaśāstra VII.16.121.35-36)

'[The vijīgu] 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.

paribhavāpaghātakutsātvādāmā caiśu na prayuṣjita | datvā cābhayām pītevānuṣṭhitāy | yaśasyāpakuryād taddoṣam abhi-vikhyāpayā prakāśam enam ghatayet | paro dvēga va kāraṇād vā ndāndakarmikavac ceṣṭetā | na ca ātasya bhūmidrayaupatradārān abhinanyetā | kulyaṇ apy asya sveṣu pātreṣu sthāpayet | karmani mṛṣasya putreṣu rāye sthāpayet | evam asya dāndopanatāḥ putrapauṇḍrān anuvartante

(Kaṭṭāiyā Arthaśāstra VII.16.121.38-45)

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

sence of security [in them] and show compassion for them. He should proclaim to all the guilt of whoever does him (vijīgu) 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 dāndakarmika (means related in the dāndakarmika (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 vijīgu] 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 dāndopanata kings will obey from generation to generation.'

It is best for the vijīgu to conduct himself as far as possible in a conciliatory manner towards dependent (dāndopanata) 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 vijīgu. 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 vijīgu’s good in mind. Dependent kings will display circumspection within themselves and faith towards the vijīgu on the strength of the feeling that it is right, when someone practises evil against the vijīgu’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 vijīgu, who is attempting to keep the realm on its feet, performing upāṃsvavada (‘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 vijīgu. 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, Kautilya says:

\[
yas upanatan hatva baddhva va bhūmidravyaputradarān abhimanyeta, tasyodvignam maṇḍalam abhāvāyatītathāy eva cāyāmātāy svabhūmisv ayātāśa tasyodvignā maṇḍalam āśrayante i svayam rājyam prānān vāsābhīmīnyaṃ \]

(Kautilya Arthaśāstra VII.16.121.46-48)

'The maṇḍala provoked by [the viśiṣṭa] 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 [viśiṣṭa], will join the maṇḍala, or by themselves will make attempts upon the kingdom or life of the viśiṣṭa.'

If the viśiṣṭa 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 viśiṣṭa. 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 viśiṣṭa who did their master in, or else they will try to kill him. Peace cannot endure under these circumstances in the viśiṣṭa's empire. Once some weakness of his manifests itself, it will not be long before his kingdom is forfeited.

Kautilya, having understood this matter, now says the following in the way his manifests itself, it will not

\[
svabhūmisv ca rājānas tasmāt sāmnānapālitāḥ i bhavantya anugunā rājīnaḥ putraprātānvarvartināḥ ii \]

(Kautilya Arthaśāstra VII.16.121.49)

'Therefore the dependent kings dwelling each in his own territory ('realm') and protected by the conciliation of the viśiṣṭa 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 Prithvinarayan 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' 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 danḍopananata-s. Prince Bahadur Shah assumed a policy of acting towards these dependent kings in a spirit of conciliation, as Kautilya had said. The court priest Saktivallabha set forth this matter in 1793 in his Jayaratnākaraṇātaka:

\[
tatah samjāte prabhāte divākare hy udte punah sa rājā rājaputra ca rahasyam cakratāh i rājan parajanapadāpaharanām svārītan-bhūmipalapālanām sannyāyen ārajan eka ... cāsmākutā paramparādharmo stī i \]

(Jayaratnākaraṇātaka, kolla 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 danḍopanata king of Palpa, Mahadatta Sen, helped Nepal in war. In accordance with the Ācārya’s saying: upakāriṇam upakāraśakto hiśat, prayātatas cārthamānum kuryā, 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 Jayaratnākaraṇātaka set forth this matter in the following way:

\[
rājaputraḥ ... tatah samarasahāyanam pālpadeśādhipatīm śrimahā-dattaśyanābhidhām rājānam kanakacchhatrādīsakalarājajhāmī kanakasamkalitehāiśrākādīnavaratanakānakane mukātunkale mukāhāram uṣṇīśādakalaparidhānādiyastraṇi ekottarasatākunjārān \]

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

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. People bound up the corpse, dragged it through the city and gave it to the jackals, dogs, and vultures. Pandit Sundarînanda Bilâo, author of the Triratnasaudaryaâgâthâ, gives the following description of the incident:

As the poet hyperbolically describes Bahadur Shah’s generosity toward the Palpa king, it is not altogether improbable that he uses the bhâra not in the ordinary sense of ‘load’ as our authors have understood, but in the meaning of 20 tulâ-s or 2,000 pala-s.

Translated from the original Nepali, as cited by the authors. — Translator

An untouchable Newar sweater caste which, in caste hierarchy only above the Cýâmâ (for Cýâmâ, see fn. 14), performed the job of public executioner as well. — Translator

In the original the authors have dropped saundarya. — Translator

9. Quotations from the Triratnasaudaryaâgâthâ 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 Triratnasaudaryaâgâthâ 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
It was ignorance of politics on the part of Bhimsen Thapa to have killed those who were envious of the venerable Swami, the backstage opponents of service to the king, to have beenhead, and their wealth and families looted; they were led to the fords by Pulkasa-s, 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.

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

18. In the original the above passage in Nepali is cited from Surya Vikram Gewali’s Amarasinha 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

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 Acarya’s saying: "yas ti‘panatān hatvā baddhva vā bhūmīdravyapatrādān abhimanyeta tasyovdvignam mandalam abhāvāyottithathē. 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 Rajas of Kumool and the Takhoorae...[...] All the Rajahs, Ranas, and Takhoorae, have joined the enemy....

(Papers respecting the Nepaul War, p. 556)²

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 Kuṭalāya’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 Aurangzib, the provincial rulers, taking advantage of strife in the ruler’s...
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 rājasyasana, 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 rājasyasana 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 diwānī (‘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.¹⁹

Later, by dint of their increasing use of śādgunya, 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 daṇḍopanāta-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 daṇḍopanāta-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 1851,²⁰ 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.²¹

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-pravēśa, 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’.

²¹ 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.


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 government 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. Grabbing the state in this manner, Dalhousie put Wajid Ali Shah into confinement in Calcutta.

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.

The Company also abolished the titles of nawab of the Carnatic and rajah of Tanjore.

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 svesu pātresu 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 dandopanata-s: it seized the states of kings who had come to be dandopanata-s, continually laid hands on their land, material wealth, wives and children and, putting them in jail, tormented them 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 dandopanata 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 Bahadoor, and the king of Jalaun.

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. Nana Sahib, his minister Ajimulla and the envoy of the state of Satara, Rango Bapuj, 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

22. A New History of India, pp. 443-444.
23. Itihāsa-praveśa, p. 503.
25. A New History of India, p. 442.
minded soldiers. This added much fuel to the fire of displeasure that Governor-General Dalhousie had ignited by following the Company's instructions.

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's 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 svabhūmiṣyā yātattāḥ te cāsyodvignā māṇḍalāṃ āṣrayante' 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 tūpanaṭān hatvā vaddhivā vā bhumidravyaputrādārān abhimaneyata, tasyodvignō māṇḍalām abhavyottishtate ye cāsyāmātyāḥ svabhūmiṣyā yātattāḥ te cāsyodvignā māṇḍalāṃ āṣrayante, svamyām rājyaṃ prāṇāṃ vāsyābhimaneyante' 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 dandopanāta 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 labdhiprāśamana ('preserving the status quo'):

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....

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)

Even though the British did not treat the dandopanāta 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.

27. Itihāśa-pravēśa, pp. 503-504.

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 dandapanata 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 dandapanata kings after the revolt of 1857 confirmed this sentence of the Ácārya’s:

svabhūmīṣu ca rājānas tasmāt sāmānupālītāh
bhavanty anugunā rājāḥ putraputrānurvartināh

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A Few Remarks on An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles

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-īka, p. 1639, and reads through to an-ānuviddha, 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 kṛṣṇa-kalakāni) 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-cīhna and adhirāja-tva are translated as ‘son of the emperor’, ‘insignium of an emperor’ and ‘the state of being an emperor’...


Both this and the following reviews were written more than one decade ago, but now appearing for the first time.
One entry, adhitādyāpitā, translated as ‘(first) learnt and (then) taught’, points out another area requiring caution. To illustrate its use the dictionary offers the sole quotation: mayadhitādyāpitā kartavyaṁ kṛto mayaṁ sarvavrīthāvagāhāṁ, which comes from the Skanda-purāṇa. 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 adhitā and adhyāpitāṁ.

This well-printed dictionary is virtually free from printing mistakes. A few errors, however, can be found: प्रत्येके for प्रत्येके (s.v. adhi-mukutam, line 1) अवनि for अवनि (s.v. adhi-vacana line 2), गाद्याऋतु for गाद्याऋतु (s.v. anādādāśvādi 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 Gaṅgāśāstra (GS) and an anonymous author’s Gandhavāda (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 Rājḍi 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.’ 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 Cosmetology’ (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.

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 Gandhasāstra, 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, Ganeśa and Sarasvati 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 Purānic trinity of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, together with Gaṇapati, Sarasvati, 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 millennium [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. Since Bhattacharyya assigns Gayadāsa to 'about 1000 A.D.', 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 Gandhasāstra, 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 cosmetology. But there are not too many things in Vyas's presentation which are missing in the brilliant studies either of Girija Prasanna Majumdar or of Parshuram Krishna Gode.

In this section Vyas begins by citing references from the Rg- 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 Arthasāstra (p. 30), but he translates not only a verse of the Pañcataṅtara but also quotes and translates a modern Sanskrit commentary on it (pp. 30-31)! Oddly, while citing the Śukra-nītī, he omits the text and gives only the translation (pp. 29-30). He provides the quotations from the Śārīrīgharaparaddhāti, Nāvanītaka and Bṛhatamāhītā 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 Bhaṣajya-ratnadāvali, he omits the translation for the first quotation (p. 54).

5. Ibid.
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, Vyākaranācārya Vyas uses lipikāra to express ‘a scribe’ (fn. 5-6) oblivious of the fact that when the affix ta 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’hami, which on the principle of the lectio difficilior does not look like a clerical error, into the grammatical saptaṭham (p. 73 = GV, Gandharāju section, passage 2, verse 4). But he does not correct the gerunds dhūpya (p. 4 = GS I.454; p. 32 = GS, Uddhūlana section, verse 4) and sampiśta (p. 35 = GS Gandhasamkramana section, verse 1), 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 vardhitaḥ (p. 27 = GS, Dhūpa section, verses 344, 386), 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, Paribhāṣa 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 nighantu, 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 hypermetrical verses (verses 3, 11, 17, 23, 26, 28, 29, 36, 52, 68, 97), verses lacking one or more aksara-s (verses 14, 115) or about other kinds of metrical irregularities (verses 37, 96). He changes the well-known hattavilāsini to hrdavilāsini (verse 73), and in the process seems to have forgotten the simple fact that the word hrd does not end in a! He corrects dharāνisamparkāt 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 dharāṇi into dharāṇi.

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, Kastūrīparikṣā) is a case in point. As the verse is in Sragdhāri, every pāda needs 21 syllables, but Vyas does not delete the unnecessary co 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 gandhaketakināṁ to stand, which involves not only a metrical but also a grammatical problem. But as a Sragdhāri opens with ma, so that the third syllable should be long, yā gandham would have been the obvious correction. This also solves the grammatical problem, since the line now reads yā gandham ketakināṁ vahatit.... It may be noted that Vyas has quoted the very same verse in its correct form in his introduction (p. 56) from the Bhaisajyaratīvalī 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 kūṣṭha, 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, *sajja* 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 Vyāsa’s unacknowledged borrowings from his predecessors and his own confusion over the right equivalents, and only baffle the serious reader.

Vyāsa 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-e-Akbari* [sic], which is referred to (p. 15), is not listed in the bibliography. Likewise, Vyāsa uses a special edition of the *Atharvavedasamhitā* (p. 18), reference to which or the *samhitā* itself is missing in the bibliography. He quotes Shāma Sastrī’s 1924 edition of the *Arihasāstra* 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.

Vyāsa 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, Vyāsa seems to be not quite familiar with the transliteration system of Sanskrit into roman letters. He writes *asvins* (p. 16), *aranyani* (p. 18), *rohini* (p. 19), *trifalā* (p. 36), *jātīfala* (pp. 40, 50, 51, 60), Bhatt Utpal (p. 44), *nighntu* (p. 44), *nighntu* (p. 44), Bhatt Utpala (p. 44), *lavanga* (pp. 45, 46, 60), *truti* (p. 46), *vimśati* (p. 48), *lakṣṇīvīlaṇa* (p. 57) and *jātīfala* (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.

* 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.
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 Gopālrajāvanmāvatī. 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.

Rana gives the date of the earliest earthquake known from historical sources as Monday, the 3rd of the waxing moon of the month of Āśāḍha, when the asterism was Punarvasu and the yoga was Dhrūva, the Vikramaśaṃvat (V.S.) year was 1310 and the Nepālaṃvat (N.S.) year 374. As the N.S. epoch begins the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Kārttikeya 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 Vaishākha, the N.S. year corresponding to Āśāḍha V.S. 1310 should show a difference of 937 years. Thus Āśāḍha 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 of the waxing moon of the month of Āśāḍha in the year N.S. 375 when the asterism was Punarvasu and the yoga was Dhrūva. 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.

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.

Rana describes another earthquake which struck Nepal with 21 tremors in the third prahara on the day of Daśāhara, 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 Daśāhara, 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 may 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 Samśodhana-mandala, 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 गला (galla), which derives from Sanskrit गला (galā). 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 ghati-s and 15 pala-s had elapsed from sunrise. As a full day comprises 60 ghati-s, and 1 ghati 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.

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.

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 वास्तवम् (vamsāvalī), i.e. traditional chronicle, since he confesses that 'owing to the dearth of the vamsāvalī-s and histories in our country, no description [of the earthquakes] of much earlier times can be offered.'

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 Gopālarājavamsāvalī (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
waxing moon of the month of Pauṣa in N.S. 344, corresponding to 24 December 1223.⁴ As some letters are defaced and some words are not adequately understood in this passage, what the chronicler wrote about it remains unclear.⁵ However, it can definitely be concluded that this is the earliest earthquake so far known from an authentic historical source.⁶

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 Vikramasāṃvat (V.S.) 1310 (Nepālasāṃvat (N.S.) 374) is the earliest one. That earthquake took place on Monday, the 3rd of the waxing moon of Āsāḍha when the asterism was Pūnarvasu and the yoga was Dhruva. Temples and houses collapsed and many people died. The incumbent king, Abhaya Mallava, too, was killed due to the same earthquake. The earth shook frequently for 15 days.⁷

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. 396, 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 Caima, and according to the solar calendar, on the 1st of the month of Vaiśākha, the N.S. year corresponding to Āsāḍha V.S. 1310 should show a difference of 937 years. Thus Āsāḍha 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.

8. The translation basically follows D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Mallava 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. Mallava (D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Mallava 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: ... vijaya-raja śrīabhaya-mallava devasa ādina praṇā śīka tribhāgasa chaḥbāga. 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 vijaya-raja. A Historical Seismicity of Nepal

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:⁸

There was a big earthquake on Monday, the 3rd of the waxing moon of Āsāḍha in the year 375 when the asterism was Pūnarvasu and the yoga was Dhruva. Between a fortnight to a month [people] had to leave the country and live outside. Very many temples and houses⁹ collapsed during the victorious reign of the venerable Abhaya Mallava. One-third of the subjects, from [the king]¹⁰ on down, died.¹¹

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 subjects¹² during his reign. The tremor [began] on Monday, the 2nd of...
the waxing moon of Āśāḍha in the year 375, when the asterism was
Punarvasu etc., [and the aftershocks lasted] four months.\footnote{13}

(6 September and 13 September 1999), I read the first aksa as yya. 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 y, for meaning’s sake, and so I have revised
my old reading to yya, which stands for kṣaya, i.e. ‘loss’. In the revised
version of his above-mentioned paper, which has been incorporated into a
lecture of his articles, G.M. Nepal (1998/99:217) reads the same word as
kṣaya 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

while the Sanskrit chronicle he replaces his earlier version’s
cāramahināṣaṁma (sic), i.e. ‘for four months’ in his revised version (G.M. Nepal 1998/99:217) with
mahināuṣaṁma, 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
cāramahināṣaṁma, i.e. ‘for four months’, into 1 mahināuṣaṁma, 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
developed. 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.

\footnote{14 It is astonishing to note that Petech, who always discusses a date’s
verity astronomically, has nothing to say about this problem, and simply remarks
that...}
As an astronomical verification of dates confirms, the earthquake took place on the 2nd of the waxing moon of the month of Asāḍha, in N.S. 375.\footnote{To be precise, on the day in question sunrise occurred during pratipad, while dvitiya began after a lapse of four ghati-s and 58 pala-s following sunrise and lasted up to two ghati-s two pala-s into the next day.}

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: *tr [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 Asāḍha 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 Nepal 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 \[^16\] other towns were utterly destroyed and thousands of their inhabitants killed; the modern capital Kathmandu did not then exist.\footnote{16. As quoted from Campbell 1833:565 in Bilhuun 1995: 126.}

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,\footnote{17. M.R. Pant 1986:39-40.} if not his own son.\footnote{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 first child of his father [sic].’} The last document so far discovered of Abhaya

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\[^{15}\] To be precise, on the day in question sunrise occurred during pratipad, while dvitiya began after a lapse of four ghati-s and 58 pala-s following sunrise and lasted up to two ghati-s two pala-s into the next day.

\[^{16}\] 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 Asāḍha s. [sic] 3° as ‘Friday, 19 June, 1254’. Needless to say, among other mistakes he adds 879 (instead of 880 for Asāḍha) and changes without comment the original’s Monday into a Friday.


son of Abhayamalla; he died at the age of 54 in Māghaṃ.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 Vē against Lhereading of Petech, and places five dashes after K.P. Malia takes the passage as registering the dates of the former. Abhayamalla’s (mother’s] dynasty. Unfortunately the relevant passage in ms. colophons. But his name and his father’s name cannot be deciphered in the text of Vē. With extreme difficulty I can make out Abhaya [Abhayamalla]. 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 Vē 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 Abhayamalla’s birth and death. 1 (M.R. Pant 1986:38-39) has previously questioned their interpretation of the passage, pointing out that since the chronicle elsewhere (GRV: fol. 35b, ll. 3-4) records that Abhayamalla was born in N.S. 303, D. Vajrācārya and K.P. Malla, who take the person born in N.S. 324 to be Abhayamalla, 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 Abhayamalla 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. 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. 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 in the aftermath of the earthquake of 1June 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.

21. The GRV (fol. 35b, l. 3-4) says that Abhaya Malla’s death occurred on the 8th of the waxing moon of Aśālagha 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 Malia but Jayadeva is styled as the king when the earthquake took place on 7 June 1255?

Interestingly enough, the Newari chronicle records that the *pattabandha* ceremony for Jayadeva was held four times in three different years, the first of these taking place on the 2nd of the waning moon of the month of Āśvina N.S. 374.23

*Pattabandha* 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. Varāhamihira in his encyclopaedic *Bṛhatamsāhitā* devotes a separate chapter (49) to this ritual, treating five types of the *pattabandha* in detail, namely those performed on a king, queen, prince, general and a person whom the king wishes to honour.

The second *pattabandha* ceremony for Jayadeva was held on the 12th of the waxing moon of the intercalary month of Āśādha N.S. 376.24 The third one was solemnised on the 12th of the waxing moon of the month of Śrāvaṇa of the same year, while the fourth and last one was performed on the full moon day of the month of Mārga N.S. 377.27

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 Malia but rather about his father, Ari Malia – 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, l. 2-fol. 39b, l. 1.
23. *ibid.*: fol. 39a, l. 3-fol. 39b, l. 1.
25. GRV: fol. 39a:ll. 2-3.
26. *ibid.*: fol. 39a, l. 3.
27. *ibid.*: fol. 37b.

D. Vajrācarya (1975:6) cites from the GRV only the three earlier *pattabandha* 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 pattabhishekās listed for King Jayadeva....’ Following G. Vajracharya, Witzel (1987:431) says that ‘King Jayadeva ... performed three *pattabhishekās*...’ 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 Malia being the incumbent king at least up to the 12th of the waning moon of the month of Caitra N.S. 375. The *pattabandha* 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 *Bṛhatamsāhitā*.

As we have seen above all, three other *pattabandha* ceremonies for Jayadeva were held after Abhaya Malia’s death. The *pattabandha* held when Abhaya Malia 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 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 Malia was still alive. Thus within a period of a bit more than 26 months than *pattabandha* 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 *pattabandha* ceremonies for Jayadeva in different places after Abhaya Malia’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 *pattabandha* but *abhiseka*.30 Similarly, the Sanskrit chronicle refers to

28. The place-name is spelt Menamāthu (GRV: fol. 39a, l. 2; *puhī* 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 Āśādha N.S. 507, the venerable king Jayasthitirāja Malladeva took water from Menamāthu.

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 *pattabandha* ceremonies. In the first case it cites also the weekday, *āśīśța* and *yoga*, and in the last, the weekday, *astīśa* 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 *puyābhiseka* (M.R. Pant 1977:102), which, along with *pattabhisēka,*
the consecration performed for five kings as pusaabhiseka. There are stray references to pusaabhiseka-s held for two other kings and (for the same kings in other versions of the Sanskrit chronicle) while a copperplate inscription mentions the pusaabhiseka performed for the predecessor of Sthitirajya Malla, whom the latter managed to dethrone.\(^\text{61}\) We thus have references to investitures held only for nine other kings\(^\text{32}\) among the 17 kings\(^\text{33}\) 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.\(^\text{34}\) 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.\(^\text{35}\) It is not unlikely that the consecration of Jayadeva as king on the 2nd of the waning moon of the month of Asvina 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.

Incidentally, the last patta bandha ceremony held for Jayadeva was perhaps not meant to relegalitise 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 patta bandha, that the mourning for the deceased king was observed in Rajavasa.\(^\text{36}\)

\(\text{36. GRV: fol. 37b, l. 5.}\)

D. Vajravigya (D. Vajravigya and K.P. Malla 1985:93) translates Newari patta chuka rajasa sitaka comhe rajavasa u rajasa totvadhana jukale 'prajana hluye gotradana juro', (GRV:ibid.) into Nepali as 'pattanaka (deputanaka) jati rajavasamāra rajako āsauca bāri base i rāja kālt hūdā prajāharulā śāna gare; gotradana gariyā', i.e. 'all from Pātana (Deopatan) observed mourning for the king in Rajavasa. The subjects bathed while the vacancy in the kingship occurred; gotradana was performed'; and K.P. Malla (ibid.:141) as 'the occupants of the royal residence in Pātana (Deopatan?) were observing the mourning period. People bathed while the throne was unoccupied [due to the death of the late king] -- KPM. The gotradana 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. chuka) (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 patta), and 'The 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. rajabāsa); and the second as: 'The people consecrated the King when the King was relieved [sic] from ritual pollution' (ibid.: s.v. tota vadhā); cf. the two different parts of the second sentence, translated separately: rajasa totvadhana jukale, as 'When the throne was unoccupied' (ibid.: s.v. jukale), and prajana hluye gotradana juro, as 'The people donated to perform the gotradana ceremony' (ibid.: s.v. hluye).

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 rajavasa [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 Petch 1984:113 interprets the word. However, there are two more references to rajavasa in the GRV (fol. 43b, 1.5-fol. 44a, 1.1; fol. 44b, II. 2-4), and these reveal the fact that at least in N.S. 439 there existed
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 Mallá, died the day after the catastrophe, in Deopatan.37

A fort named Rājavāsa within the Tripura palace in Bhaktapur. The first reference to Rājavāsa reads in English translation as: Rudra Malla deva had the Rājavāsa fort erected on the 7th of the waning moon of Āśvina in the year 439 (GRV: fol. 43b.1-5 fol. 44a.1-1). K.P. Malla, however, does not appear to think that it was newly constructed then, since he (D. Vajracārya and K.P. Malla 1985: 146) translates the Newari दम्नाः 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.1-5 fol. 51a.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 Mallá ‘died in Deopātan 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 (1966: 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.
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 Samṣodhana-mandala. 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 Samṣodhana-mandala 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 Samṣodhana-mandala do not cite the month, fortnight and day as such, only mentioning the day of Dasāharā, but this conveys the same information compactly. The other manuscript in Lévi's collection is more elaborate and cites all three elements together with Dasāharā.

The earlier manuscript in Lévi's collection has the word bandha after the form machindra, and the other one in the same collection bandha after śrimachindranātha. The manuscript belonging to the Samṣodhana-mandala which covers events up to 1891 has the letter dha in the same place after śrimachindranātha — which may be a clerical error for bandha/bandhana.

The incomplete manuscript in the Samṣodhana-mandala reads padma, i.e. 'fifteen', after śrimachindranātha instead of the word expressive of 'tying': padma pala yekāvasi 21 paryenta, i.e. 'up to fifteen palo-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. Girvāνyuddhabhaktrana Sāha), 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 palo-s. Nothing happened anywhere to the temple of the venerable Paśupatinātha, the temple of the venerable Taleju and [other] big temples. There was a great catastrophe in Bhaktapur [and resultantly] living beings died.

As we have seen, the Wright vamsāvāli 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 vamsāvāli and corrects it in the following way: 'altered into 928 (A.D. 1808).’43 This change requires justification, which exists, but which Wright himself has not supplied. For there is another manuscript of the vamsāvāli in Kathmandu in the collection of the Samṣodhana-mandala44 which differs radically from its cognates:

nesīsambat 928 sālako vaisaśa mahināmā machindranāthakā
rathajārā gārā rathamā basyākā machindranāthakā maṣa sabai phut
śi ca jasto bhagaya. machindranāthakā bugmati layāko 4 dina jyeṣṭha
dasami saniśarabārakā teṣā praharamā bado upātā bhukampa bhai
21 palasamana bhaičalo gayo ra dherai ghara parsāl devālaye asamṣya
bhau bhakti dherai jyeṣṭhaṃt nāsa bhagaya.45

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

42. Wright 1877:265, fn. 2.
43. In this manuscript a few leaves towards the end are missing, and the last available page carries an event of 1885.
44. In contradiction to the vamsāvāli passage quoted above, the present vamsāvāli has praharamā instead of praharamadye. 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 and Srivastava 1962:95).
45. 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.

The year of the earthquake in the above vamsāvali differs from that of others 
but is the same as what we find in Wright’s correction. In contrast to other 
vamsāvali manuscripts, whereas the same lunar day falls on a Tuesday two 
years later, the year that is given in the present vamsāvali manuscript and 
what Wright has corrected to is chronometrically sound.

Still another striking difference is that all manuscripts of the vamsāvali 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 vamsāvali 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—साल (pala)—and a fraction of 
time—पलो (palā), which derives from Sanskrit पल (pala). Interestingly

47. Interestingly enough, one of the various versions of the Nepali-language 
vamsāvali, named Rājavamsāvali and abruptly ending with an event of 1886, 
contains a passage almost identical with the one just quoted above (Rājavamsāvali, 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 cyājastha bhaṅgaya, i.e. ‘became like a mushroom’, with ‘cāuri parīgaya’, i.e. ‘became wrinkled’.

48. A longer version of the Nepali-language vamsāvali, named Nepāla deśako tithāsa sangraḥa, which carries events up to 1890, while wrongly giving the year of this earthquake (like most versions of the vamsāvali), supplies a week 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 tithāsa sangraḥa, July 1973:15).

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 vamsāvali with the correct year.

Barring Wright’s, all manuscripts of the vamsāvali 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 vamsāvali. 
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 vamsāvali just quoted above is confirmed by two other contemporary 
works which I published not long ago in the journal Pūrṇimā.50 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]

Nepālasaṃvat 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.51 [Nepali]

It is to be noted that the narrative just quoted goes one step further than the 
vamsāvali with the correct date of the tremor by also citing the asterism. On 
that day the asterism Hasta lasted 12 ghati-s and 12 pala-s, as the pañcāṅga, 
i.e. traditional almanac, states.52 As the above narrative gives the asterism 
Citrā while citing the time, and as a full day comprises 60 ghati-s, and a 
ghati 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 bhūkampā (i.e. ‘an earthquake at
15 pala-s past 24 ghaṭi-s') and is added in the same line where the five chronometrical and related elements of the Indic calendar are given.\textsuperscript{53}

As we have seen, all the vamsāvalī manuscripts considered up to now which record the earthquake, barring one, erred in the year.\textsuperscript{54}

The reference in the vamsāvalī 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 vamsāvalī manuscripts too, albeit cryptically, associate the earthquake with the deity.

Basing myself on the vamsāvalī 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 ghaṭi-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 vamsāvalī 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 vamsāvalī 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.

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{54} The Padmaśri Vamsāvalī (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 pala 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 vamsāvalī 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 vamsāvalī 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 Śrīgāraśatāka, copied by one Pūrṇānanda in 1811 for a Nepalese military officer.\textsuperscript{55} The leaf contains both the Sanskrit verse and a Nepali commentary on them in the form of a quasi-historical 19th-century text entitled Triratnasaudanyāyagāthā by Sundarānanda\textsuperscript{56} which, given its mixture of languages, one holy and one profane, is typical of this Newar poetaster,\textsuperscript{57} who was the elder brother of the scribe who copied the Śrīgāraśatāka.\textsuperscript{58}

The vamsāvalī edited by Wright in English designates two persons as translators from the Nepali. One of them is Pandit Shri Guṇānanda. 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\textsuperscript{59} Pandit Amṛtānanda. Though Guṇānanda is credited with being one of the two translators of a Nepali-

\textsuperscript{55} M.R. Pant 1998:51.

\textsuperscript{56} See D. Vajraçārya 1963 for the edition of Triratnasaudanyāyagāthā.

\textsuperscript{57} See N.R. Pant's introduction to D. Vajraçārya (1963:15-34) for Sundarānanda's imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit, Nepali and āśtra-s.

\textsuperscript{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 Jīrinānda. There there is an epithet, namely mahabuddhopāśaka (i.e. 'the worshipper of Mahābuddha'), at the beginning of a compound which is followed by the words which describes the scribe as the son of Pūrṇānanda.\textsuperscript{60} We know that Sundarānanda bears the same title (Naraharināth 1953:12) - if one ignores buddha vs. buddha - because his remote but direct ancestor Abhayarāja is credited with the pious task of having consecrated the famous temple of Mahābuddha 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).

\textsuperscript{59} Both the unpublished pedigree of the family written by Yagyananda Gubhaju and K.P. Mall 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.
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, Gubhaju Gunananda.

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

language *vamsavali* 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.\(^{60}\) It is more logical to argue that the man who translated the *vamsavali* into English in its entirety was Śivasāṅkara Sinha, 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 *munshi*, 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.\(^{61}\) The same Guṇānanda and whose grandfather Amrītānanda reportedly wrote a history of Nepal in Sanskrit, Nepali and Newari,\(^{62}\) and whose grandfather's brother Sundarananda wrote the *Trirānasaudaryagāthā*, in all likelihood was largely instrumental in making the *munshi* understand the *vamsavali* written in Nepali by explaining it in Hindi,\(^{63}\) and in the process corrected the date of the earthquake discussed above.

\(^{60}\) Wright (1877:31) writes in 1877 that 'Sir Jung Bahadur and some of the wealthier class have tutors, either Europeans or Bengali 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 *durbār* 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 Āsvina V.S. 1910, which corresponds to 13 October 1853.

\(^{61}\) Michaelis (1996:313) quite erroneously takes Munshi Shew Shunker Singh to be, as Guṇānand was, a priest.


\(^{63}\) 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, Gubhaju Gunananda.'

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[Note: The list continues with additional references for historical studies, inscriptions, and notable inscriptions such as "nakāko śilāpatra' (a hitherto unpublished stone inscription of the period of Abhaya Malla which later was used to pave the plinth of Jagannātha temple in the Bhaktapur royal palace)]
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, 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 Purusārtha.\footnote{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.}

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.

Naraharinath⁶ and in a single instance his disciple⁷ thus presented editions and translations of one dozen such documents.⁸ 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,⁹ and sometimes the translations were even versified,¹⁰ no doubt the effort was directed towards attracting the Sanskrit-educated public to the discipline of history.¹¹ 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 Vajracārya 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 Sansādodhana-manḍala), 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.¹²

8. Altogether they are eleven. However, it should be noted that D. Vajracārya 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.
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 Tripuresvar 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, Itihāsaprakāśāṇā sandhipatrastāgraha, 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 documents¹³ 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 Liechavi, 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. 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.

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

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 7.5.2 (the facsimile of the latter does not cover the whole document), respectively.


16. For example, a royal decree from Kathmandu issued on Saturday, the new moon of the month of Magha, V.S. 1876 to the sde-pa Hinda Sans-rgyas of dGe-luň divests him a dastür of Lāmgukhōlal and the bheti salāmi 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 dastür of Lāmgukhōlal 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.

17. Karmacharya (1996:20, NGPHMA 7.5.4) 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 bheti salāmi from Manang when the former was blessed with a son or he himself ascended the throne and who customarily got the dastür of Lāmgukhōlal was no other than the rajah of Mustang.

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 Srāvana, V.S. 1856 by the central government in Kathmandu, is to divest 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.


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....

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

Whoever consults a traditional Indic almanac (pañčānga) 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 pañcānga 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’,24 a second time (doc. 7) as ‘the 30th day of the dark fortnight’25 and finally (doc. 13) ‘the 30th [sic] day of the dark fortnight’.26 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 mokkadam, 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 ‘[i]local 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:

Translation in *Ibid.*:118

Shri Durgasahaya

Swasti! Shri giriraj cakrocaramani narnarayantyadi vividha virudavalii

virajman mononat shriram maharajadhiraah shri shri shri Maharaj Pratap Singh Shah bahadur samserjang 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. And though the translation of चं चं as 'the bright fortnight' may be termed a slip of the pen, the dropping of the meaning of अस्मन 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 *Naranārāyana* (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice venerable great king, Pratāpaśimha Sāha, the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

Hail. [Our] blessing upon the venerable Hem Caudhari, who is capable of [lifting] the weight of [the government].

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 (moglānā, 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 jimidāri 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 Mārgaśirṣa, 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. 28

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, Licchavikālikā abhilekha*, 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 inscrptional texts in their originals, the task of sifting through the errors became a near impossible task for us. Besides, the

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27. The original drops the न् which should come before शन.

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. 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. 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 Phāt (Records Section) of the Department of Land Revenue in the Finance Ministry of His Majesty’s Government of Nepal. 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.


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 Phāt. 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 Phāt. 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 (1971:220) that ‘the archival records of the Lagat Phāt ... 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 कप्तान सुरेशराज vs कप्तार सुरा in doc. 5, मौली vs महली in doc. 6, हन्ता vs हनुमा in doc. 11 of the present corpus and वाम vs घर in M.R. Pant forthcoming: doc. 18.


35. Doc. 5 of the present corpus and M.R. Pant forthcoming: doc. 25.

others with a praśasti. Barring two instances, 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 documents 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 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. 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

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

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.
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 nalāgāko) will be [considered] a rebel (aphsarīvā) [and] will receive punishment (damddi). Have seals affixed (chāp lāuna deu). The subjects (duniṇā) should feed those who [come to] seal (chāp mārnyākana). [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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>For</th>
<th>1 pāthī</th>
<th>rate</th>
<th>8 [written out] eight annas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>1 mānā</td>
<td>rate</td>
<td>4 [written out] four annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>1 scale</td>
<td>rate</td>
<td>4 [written out] four annas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>1 weight [weighing]</td>
<td>1 dhārnī</td>
<td>rate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dated Thursday, the 12th of the waxing moon of Śrāvana, 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**

आग्रे सक्तीराम पीडिलके  
तेरो बाबुलाई हाम्रा भाभालाई लीबुङ्टु पठाउदा लीबुङ्टु मारीमायाङ्ग। तिमिहु बनाल हुन्ता भाभालाई जोवान महिनाक बाहमायाङ्गका बेतम्यो खाला आम्बोकुट्याख  
खेत मुङ्ग असी ८० द्वारायाङ्गको रेख रहेछ, सो खेत लगापातस्त धर घडकारी पायापारी भएको अरकसमेत हामिले पृङ्ग बालीबस्ती। आफना बालीम्यासम्यो धोय पय। यस खेतमा अमालीको लाग नाटी।  

c2. For दियाको।
This summary errs partially in dating the document, since it gives the month as Srāvana instead of Aṣāḍha, and the lunar day as 11 for 2. This occurs under the

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Date of payment</th>
<th>1849-50</th>
<th>1850-51</th>
<th>1851-52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kartik</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falgun</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashadh</td>
<td>1,501</td>
<td>2,001</td>
<td>2,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,001</td>
<td>8,001</td>
<td>8,001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shrawan Sudi 11, 1849
We hereby execute a triennial contract (ijāra) from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āśāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1849 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āśāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1852, [which contract stipulates that the contractor] not be divested for 3 years of the copper mine, lead mine, cobalt mine and iron mine within the country (eti mutuk) which was previously held (khādāī) by Kāśīrām Thapaliyā west of the Cepe and Marsyāndi, and east of the Thuli Bheri, but not the mine in Thuni, the villages where each of the mines and their curtilage lie, the rakam which has prevailed (calīyāko) since Kāśīrām Thapaliyā enjoyed (lit., eaten = khādāī) it previously (lit., yesterday), [and which also stipulates that] the fields which had been enjoyed (lit., eaten = khādāī) by the miners of each of the mines, who work the mines and 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] Rumā. Realise (linu) the dasī̀ on the rakam which the dvārīyā enjoys (lit., eats = khādāī), [taxes on the use of] streams (kholā) and pastures (kharak), [such taxes as] kācho sīrto, khāupiyyā, bhiēgābhār, mahasāsi, pagari, darsanī and all kinds of rājāiīka-whatever has been prevalent from olden times-[levies collected from] danda kūnta, moro aputali and paṭıcakhat and [the right to collect] all three valak-s together with [levies collected for] the maṇḍāṭī in the āgri villages [and for] the amāṭi-s. The mahasāsi for this contract is fixed for the first yearat rupaiinā-s 7,001 [written out] seven thousand one - [and] for all three years in aggregate rupaiinā-s 23,003. Present (dākhīl) the annual [mahasāl] in accordance with [the below fixed] instalments to the Tośākhānā. Annually take the clearance (phārkhaṭī) after paying (bujiḥā) the remainder outstanding (basīlbākī). Collect (calāu) now (lit., today) the rakam which was collected (calīyāko) in previous times (lit., yesterday). We shall institute (calībaksiya) 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 (tapsī)***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>asāmī</th>
<th>Rupaiinā</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Instalment to be paid on</th>
<th>Instalment to be paid in</th>
<th>Instalment to be paid on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in [instalment] aggregate</td>
<td>on the 5th of the waxing month of Phālguna</td>
<td>on the 1st of the waxing month of Kārttika</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āśāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1849 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āśāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1850

| 7001 | 2000 | 1500 | 2000 | 1501 |

From Saṃvat Year 1850 to full moon of Saṃvat Year 1851


From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āśāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1851


14. This sentence lacks an object and resultantly is incomplete. It is a literal translation of the original दाताकृति चमत्कारिकृताय. What is omitted is known from an almost identically worded document (doc. 6 of the present corpus): त्यद्यद्यमको रकम्, which can be translated as ‘any rakam that has not been collected customarily’.
Document no. 4
The first version in the RRC
Vol. 5
No. 587
p. 232
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

To Dhanaraj Rana
[With regard to] the lead mine and the cobalt mine in Dhurko, the lead mine in Rukum [and] Thalâvâ and the iron mine in Dârmu, we have come to learn that the lead and iron of these places (yâti jâgâhako) were brought and bullets and muskets were manufactured during the time of Phauyâ.

TRANSLATION

To Dhanaraj Rana
[With regard to] the lead mine and the cobalt mine in Dhurko, the lead mine in Rukum [and] Thalâvâ and the iron mine in Dârmu, bring lead and iron from these places (yâti jâgâhako) and run the musket and bullet factory [with them].

Wednesday, the full moon of Mârga, Sañvat Year 1849.
[Let it be] auspicious.
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 कप्तान सुबेदार बाबूँ 19 लापका छिद्वै जातीप्रजति

सम्बत १८४९ सालमा सुभान साही जुमलामा पसी कुल गाँव जुमलीले रणजीत
कर्मबाबूको कबीला जस्तो केहीले स्वामी लेखायको छ. घर चारों
पुर्खायका बाटमा लेखाउँदा देशीलाई उठायाका जाहि छ. हामीले कबीलामा लुँ।
हुकुम करिन्दो दीयको छैन. जो मास्ताका छनं फिटा गरिएको. जो फिटा गरिएको
अपसारिया हो।

इति सम्बत १८५० जेष्ठबारी ९ रोज ३ सु

TRANSLATION

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

In 1849 Subbān Sāhi entered Jumla and stirred up a rebellion (kul) [so that] the Jumlis rebelled against Ranajit Kavar. [At that time] whoever of you brought members of their (i.e. Jumlis') families (kabila) as slaves to [your respective] homes [or] on the way abducted (lit., lifted) for the desī-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 (apsāriyā).

Tuesday, the 9th of the waning moon of Jyeṣṭha, Samvat [Year] 1850.
[Let it be] auspicious.

The second version in the RRC
Vol. 36
No. 155
p. 50-51
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2441/2

TEXT

आगे काजी सरदार कप्तान 21 सुभान सुबेदार बाबूँ 22 लापका छिद्वै जातीप्रजति

सम्बत १८४९ सालमा सुभान साही जुमलामा पसी कुल गाँव जुमलीले रणजीत
कर्मबाबूको कबीला जस्तो केहीले स्वामी लेखायको छ. घर चारों
पुर्खायका बाटमा लेखाउँदा देशीलाई उठायाका जाहि छ. हामीले कबीलामा
लुँ। हुकुम करिन्दो दीयको छैन. जो मास्ताका छनं फिटा गरिएको. जो फिटा
गरिएको अपसारिया हो।

इति सम्बत १८५० साल जेष्ठबारी ११ रोज ३ सु

TRANSLATION

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

In Samvat Year 1849 Subhān Sahi entered Jumla and stirred up a rebellion (kul) [so that] the Jumlis rebelled against Ranajit Kavar. [At that time] whoever of you brought members of their (i.e. Jumlis') families (kabila) as slaves to [your respective] homes [or] on the way abducted (lit., lifted) for the desī-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 (apsāriyā).

Tuesday, Jeshtha Badi II, 1850 (May 1793).
whoever of you brought members of their (i.e. Jumlis') families (kabilā) as slaves to [your respective] homes [or] on the way abducted (lit., lifted) for the dešīs [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 (apsāri). 

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

Adarśa No. 2:86

Mahes Raj Pant

TRANSLATION

We [hereby] execute a triennial contract (ijārā) from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Aṣāḍha, Saṃvat [Year] 1851 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Aṣāḍha, 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 (yeti māluk) which was previously held (khāyel) by Jitāram Nevār west of the Cepe and Marsyāndi, and east of the Thuli Bheri, but not the mine in Thuni, the villages where each of the mines and their curtilage lie, the rakaṃ which has prevailed (całāyako) since Kasirām Thapaliya enjoyed (lit., ate=khādi) it previously (lit., yesterday), [and which also stipulates that] the fields which had been enjoyed (lit., eaten = khāyilā) 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

[Mentioned 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 bādi for śūdi. 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.

28. For कार्तिक.
29. For चराउँ।
Wednesday, the 11th of the waxing moon of Śrāvana, Samvat 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**

have held hammer (ghan) and tūgā from the past (lit., from yesterday) to the present times (lit., to today) be retained for the mine [in] Rūmaṭī. Realise (linū) the destār on the rakam which the dvāryā enjoys (lit., eats = khāyāko), [taxes on the use of] streams (kholā) and pastures (kharak). [such taxes as] kācho sītro, khamāpniyā, bhēdābhar, mahasūl, pagari, darśani and all kinds of rājaśāka—whatever has been prevalent from olden times—[levies collected from] dandakunda, moroaputāli and pañcakhat and [the right to collect] all three valak-s together with [levies collected for] the mauli in the āgrī villages [and for] the amālt-s. The mahasūl for this [contract is fixed] for the first year...31—and all three years in aggregate rupainā-s 23,003. Present (dākhil) the annual [mahasūl] in accordance with [the below fixed] instalments to the Tośakhamā. Annually take the clearance (phärkhati) after paying (bujhal) the remainder outstanding (vāsilbāki). Collect (calāū) now (lit., today) the rakam which was collected (calyako) in previous times (lit., yesterday). Any rakam that has not been collected [customarily] (acalyako) we shall institute (caliiibaksa/llii) from the palace. In case of natural disasters (ooivl parya) we shall send [someone] to investigate (lit., to see) and exempt [whatever amount] is decided.

#### Particulars (tapsiļ)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>asāmi</th>
<th>Rupainā</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Kārttika</th>
<th>Phālguna</th>
<th>Āśādha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instalment</td>
<td>instalment</td>
<td>instalment</td>
<td>instalment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aggregate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āśādha, 1851 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āśādha, [18]52</td>
<td>7001</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>1675</td>
<td>1651</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (tapsiļ) of both versions.

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

33. The document does not repeat the month, fortnight and lunar day but reads ति.
We [hereby] execute a triennial contract (ijārā) from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āśādha, Saṃvat Year 1851 to the 1st of the waxing moon of Āśādha, 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 (yeti muluk) which was previously held (khāyel) by Jitāram Newar west of the Cepe and Marsyāndī, and east of the Thuli Bherī, but not (bāhek) the mine in Thūnlī, the villages where each of the mines and their curtilage lie, the rakam which has prevailed (calāyāko) since Kāsirām Thapaliya enjoyed (lit., ate = sādā) it previously (lit., yesterday), [and which also stipulates] the fields which had been enjoyed (lit., eaten = sāyāko) by the miners of each of the mines, who work the mines and have held hammer (ghan) and tāgā from the past (lit., from yesterday) to the present times (lit., today) be retained for the mine [in] Rūmā. Realise (linu) the dasūr on the rakam which the dvāryā enjoys (lit., eats = sāyāko), [taxes on the use of] streams (kholā) and pastures (khārak), [such taxes as] kāko sitro, khaḍapūjā, bhēdabhār, mahāsāl, pagari, daršānī and all kinds of rājānāka — whatsoever has been prevalent from olden times — [levies collected from] danākunā, moroaputāli and pañcakhat and [the right to collect] all three valak-s together with [levies collected for] the manjāli in the āgri villages [and for] the amālī-s. The mahāsāl for this [contract is fixed] for the first year... — for three years in aggregate rupālī-ā-23,003 [written out] twenty three thousand and three. Present (dākhil) the annual (sālbasāl) [mahāsāl] in accordance with [the below fixed] instalments to the Tosiikhān. Annually take the clearance (phārkāi) after paying (bujhāi) the remainder outstanding (vāsīl-bākī). Collect (calāt̴ now (lit., today) the rakam which was collected (calāyāko) in previous times (lit., yesterday). Any rakam that has not been collected [customarily] (nacalāyāko) we shall institute (calābaksamāla) from the palace. In case of natural disasters (davī paryā) we shall send [someone] to investigate (lit., to see) and exempt [whatever amount is decided).

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

37. On a lacuna here see supra, fn. 31.
Document no. 7

The first version in the RRC

Vol. 5
No. 61
p. 283

NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

To the Subā of Pyūṭhānā

[We] have granted all the mines within the country (yetī muluk) west of the Cepe and Marsyāndi and east of the Šhu Bheri to Jānakīra. Therefore have the rakam collected (caḷādeu) on the four mines, [namely] the Gajuri mine, Aipyan mine, Bhimdhungā mine and Dhaiwa mine. If you do not have the rakam collected (nacalādyā) [and] the [necessary] authority (ambal) 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 दिदो, 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 इती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती भावसुदी 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 jigaradār previously in the Chepe-Marsyangdi-Bheri region. Accordingly, the Subba of Pyuthan was instructed to help Jitaram Newar take over the Gajuri, Aipyan, Bhim dhunga and Dhaiwa mines.

Shrawan Sudi 11, 1851
**TRANSLATION**

To all the Mukhiyā-s of each mine

[We] have settled and granted from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Āṣāḍha, Samvat Year 1851 all the mines to Jānakirām Newār on the monopoly contract. On how the date for the present document is derived, see supra. fn. 35.

40. The first letter is written over. At best it can be read as र.
41. The scribe does not provide the date but simply concludes with इती मीती सत.
42. M.C. Regmi 1978a:113:

Royal order to the mukhiyas of mines: “Jānakiram Newar has been granted an ijara for all mines from Ashadh sudi 2, 1851. Hand over all supplies of copper to the ijadar. 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 ijadar, 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 Jānakirām.
(yekahaṭ gari ijārā). Be present (hājjir ruju) there and hand over copper to the ijārādār. In case you sell [copper] to others you will be [considered] rebels (apsariyā).

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

[Let it be] auspicious.

Document no. 9
Vol. 24
No. 49
p. 307
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

TEXT

To the SuM-s, Umara-s, Dvarya-s, Ijaria-s and all the Amliudar-s
[We] have granted a mining contract (ijara) to Janakiram Nevār from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Asāḍha, Samvat Year 1851. Have the rakam collected (rakam calāideu) on the mine there. Do not cause trouble (tāntā nagara) there. If you cause trouble and do not allow (calna nadiyā) [his] authority (ambal), you will be [considered] rebels (apsariyā), and punishment (damḍa) will be inflicted (parlā) [on you].

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

[Let it be] auspicious.

TRANSLATION

To the Subā-s, Umarā-s, Dvāryā-s, Ijārādār-s and all the Amālīdār-s
[We] have granted a mining contract (ijārā) to Jānakiram Nevār from the 2nd of the waxing moon of Asāḍha, Samvat Year 1851. Have the rakam collected (rakam calāideu) on the mine there. Do not cause trouble (tāntā nagara) there. If you cause trouble and do not allow (calna nadiyā) [his] authority (ambal), you will be [considered] rebels (apsariyā), and punishment (damḍa) will be inflicted (parlā) [on you].

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

[Let it be] auspicious.

46. The scribe does not provide the date but simply concludes with ईश्वरी सत्ता राय. On how the date for the present document is derived, see supra, fn. 35.
Document no. 11

Vol. 24
No number
p. 369
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2431/2

TEXT

To the Umārā-s and Duṣṭā-s of each of the thum-s to the west of the Gandā and east of the Cepe and Marsyāndī.

It has been found that the Darāūdī [in] the lowland (byāsi) of Gorkhā broke the bhakārī dam. If [the latter] is not repaired (lit., not made = nabanāyā) quickly, [the overflow] will affect (dhakā lagyāchā) the palace. Therefore have all the 36 jāts of your respective territories (ambal) do (garā) jhārā [labour], and with the consent of Śrīdhara Jaisi and Śrīdhara Pantha construct (hāla) the bhakārī dam on the Darāūdī durably and solidly (baliyo pako garī).

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

To the Umārā-s and Duṣṭā-s of each of the thum-s to the west of the Gandā and east of the Cepe and Marsyāndī.

It has been found that the Darāūdī [in] the lowland (byāsi) of Gorkhā broke the bhakārī dam. If [the latter] is not repaired (lit., not made = nabanāyā) quickly, [the overflow] will affect (dhakā lagyāchā) the palace. Therefore have all the 36 jāts of your respective territories (ambal) do (garā) jhārā [labour], and with the consent of Śrīdhara Jaisi and Śrīdhara Pantha construct (hāla) the bhakārī dam on the Darāūdī durably and solidly (baliyo pako garī).

Dated the 1st of the waxing moon of Bhādra. [Saṃvat] Year 1851.
[Let it be] auspicious.

later hand supplies the date for the first of them as

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

Note that doc. 10 of the present corpus has भोटा प्रजा.
For the Brahmins, **thar-s**, Hitān-s and **braj bhuyā-s** living throughout Jumlā, which belongs to us.

Five years have passed since we took that country (muluk). You caused (garray) a lot of trouble (upadra). 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 (tami garaulā) [them] in accordance with [their] crime (birān). Understand this much. We will favour (meher) those who act honestly (sojha). We retain what four Brahmins petitioned properly (sīh). Provide (calāva) management (rasti) and establish (basāva) settlement. Remain (ruju rahu) in [our] service (takal).

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

**TRANSLATION**

For the Brahmins, **thar-s**, Hitān-s and **braj bhuyā-s** living throughout Jumlā, which belongs to us.

Five years have passed since we took that country (muluk). You caused (garray) a lot of trouble (upadra). 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 (tami garaulā) [them] in accordance with [their] crime (birān). Understand this much. We will favour (meher) those who act honestly (sojha). We retain what four Brahmins petitioned properly (sīh). Provide (calāva) management (rasti) and establish (basāva) settlement. Remain (ruju rahu) in [our] service (takal).

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 हुमलाजुमलामरा ब्राह्मण चर राइता प्रजा मोटाखाने

त्यो मुलुक हामीले तीयाको पान वर्ष भयो, तीमाले छने देह उपर्यो गयो, गयो

54. For सुमुक.
55. Though the scribe does not provide the year but simply writes इती कालीकरी ५ रेष ९, 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 इती सम्बत १८५१ साल मीती कालीकरी ५ रेष, I have taken the document to be from 1851.
TRANSLATION

For the Brahmans, thar-s, Hitāns and prajā bhotoyā-s living throughout Humlā and Jumlā.

Five years have passed since we took that country (muluk). You caused (gāryau) a lot of trouble (upadra). Though you caused [trouble], we tolerated and forgave [you] for five years. Now if you revolt or intrigue (kukkapat) we shall deprive the Brahmans [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 (tami garaudā) [them] in accordance with [their] crime (birāu). We shall favour (mehar) those who understand this and act honestly (sojha). We retain what four Brahmans petitioned properly (sahī). Provide (calāva) management (kastī) and get establish (basāva) settlement. Remain (ruju rahu) in [our] service (tahāf).

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

1851. The document preceding the latter and numbered 352, which is copied on the preceding page, closes with हिंदी मीती सर. The document preceding the one just mentioned is numbered 351 and copied on the same page; it concludes with हिंदी मीती सर. The next preceding document, numbered 350 and copied on the same page, terminates with मीती कातिकवद्रेक्ष ग्रे, 5. The document before it, numbered 349 and copied on the preceding page, closes with a more हिंदी मीती सर, but a later hand dates it to कातिकवद्रेक्ष, 1851. The previous document, numbered 348 and copied on the same page, concludes with मीती सर. The document numbered 347 and copied on the preceding page terminates with हिंदी मीती सर, but a later hand dates it to कातिकवद्रेक्ष, 1851. 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 तस्य सरसद, i.e. 'particulars are confirmed' and वेष शय, i.e. 'the contents are confirmed', respectively. The scribe closes the document numbered 344, copied on the same page, with हिंदी मीती सर. The preceding document, numbered 343 and copied on pp. 415-416, closes with हिंदी मीती सर, and a later hand dates it to कातिकवद्रेक्ष, 1851. Similarly, two preceding documents, numbered 341-342 and copied on p. 415, end with हिंदी मीती सर. The next preceding document, numbered 340 and copied on the preceding page, concludes with हिंदी मीती कातिकवद्रेक्ष ग्रे, 5. The year is derived from the preceding document, numbered 339 and copied on pp. 413-414, which closes with हिंदी साल 1851 माहापुरी 1ग्रे 6.

TEXT

As you are the guru-s of the Nepalese king, your property was confiscated when we entered Kāthmāda. The act of confiscation [or] killing is performed only once. Therefore we have released (phoibaksyaum) whatever residual [property of yours] - houses, fields, mortgaged (bādhā), birāu and guth [lands] - was taken possession of (lit., eaten = khāyāko) by anyone surreptitiously (lukā), stealthily (chapāi) and furtively (dabāi), or by force (bal mici) - except for what falls to us (hāmrā hajar lāgyābhāhik). Search out and take control of (ughāi) and enjoy (lit., eat = khāu) [them] to your

59. The scribe does not provide the year but simply writes हिंदी कातिकवद्रेक्ष ग्रे, 5. The preceding document, numbered 540 and copied on p. 296, concludes with हिंदी ऐ ए. The next two previous documents, numbered 527 and 530 and copied on pp. 295-296, close with हिंदी कातिकवद्रेक्ष ग्रे, 5. The document preceding them, which is numbered 423 and copied on p. 295, ends with हिंदी कातिकवद्रेक्ष 5 ग्रे, 5. The document written before it, numbered 363 and copied on p. 295, concludes with हिंदी ऐ कातिकवद्रेक्ष ग्रे, 5. The next earlier document is numbered 342 and copied on the same page; it closes with हिंदी ऐ ए, 5. 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.
Adarsa No. 2: 104

Mahes Raj Pant

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

Dated the 5th of the waxing moon of Kārttiaka, Śaṅvat Year 1851.

Document no. 14

Vol. 5
No. 565
p. 298
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

आये राशिवल्लभ धिमिन्याके

महादेव पाथ्यको बाथेल पाथो वर्ष 1 को 5.0 धानी मासु, तिन्तु गरी कूल बाधिकस्योऽ

माध्यमा शी 5 जिज्ञेसाबाबा आधुपोथु चुङ्खी गरी जगाको भोज गर.

1851 साल कार्तिकूस्ति 5 रोज 6 सु

TRANSLATION

For Rādha-vallabh Ghimiryā

[With respect to] the pākho [land] which was previously held (khīyel) by Mahādeva Pādhyā, we [hereby] establish (bādhābaksyaun) a kut of 50 dhāmī-ś of meat to be paid (tirmu garī) per year. Settle (cukti garī) [the kut] in [the month of] Māgha during the śrāddha of [our] five times venerable (śrī 5) Grandfather and enjoy (bhogyā gara) the land (jāgā).

Friday, the 5th of the waxing moon of Kārttiaka, [Śaṅvat] Year 1851.

[Let it be] auspicious.

60. For भाद्र. A distinct misreading.

61. Most probably this refers to the śrāddha to be performed annually on the death anniversary of King Prthvinārayaṇ Śāha, grandfather of the reigning king, Ranabhadār Śāha, who issued the present decree. It is to be noted that Prthvinārayaṇ 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 Prthvinārayaṇ's death as Māgha even after a thorough verification of the date - which again, due to oversight, is not corrected in the errata.)

62. For भाद्र.

63. For दिनाग.

64. The scribe does not copy the date but writes मीठी 5 रोज. The month, fortnight and lunar day are based on the preceding document, numbered 722 and copied on the same page, which concludes with मीठी 5 रोज. Likewise, the preceding document, which is numbered 718 and copied on pp. 301-302, has no year, ending with मीठी पौषवी 5 रोज. The document preceding it, numbered 712 and copied on p. 301, terminates with मीठी पौषवी 5 रोज. The document copied before it, numbered 710 on the same page, closes with मीठी 6 रोज. The preceding document, numbered 642 and copied on p. 300, ends with मीठी 6 रोज. The year is derived from the next earlier document, numbered 632 and copied on the same page; it concludes with मीठी सम्बत 1851 साल मीठी पौषवी 5 रोज.
TRANSLATION

To the Jāgīrīya-s, Dhākryā-s, and all the tharthok of the town of Gorkhā.

It is reported that the Daraundi has cut into (sepi-roadhecha) the palace in the lowland (byāśi). Therefore [the people] from all the four varṇa-s and 36 jāts there should become jhārā [labourers]; the jāgīrīya-s attached to (lit., of) the two khet-s should reconstruct (ghālnu) one bhakāri, and the ten households [of] dhākryā-s should construct one bhakāri. In this way (yas hisābīta) construct the bhakāri-s nicely and durably (bes bāliyo gari) by holding consultations (mato mili) [and] allotting sections (bodā bādi). If you delay and do not construct (nabanāvā) [bhakāri-s] quickly, punishment (danda) will be inflicted (parā). 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

To the Jāgīrya-s, Dhākrya-s, and all the tharthok of the town of Gorkhā.

It is reported that the Daraundi has cut into (sepi-roadhecha) the palace in the lowland (byāśi). Therefore [the people] from all the four varṇa-s and 36 jāts there should become jhārā [labourers]; the jāgīrīya-s attached to (lit., of) the two khet-s should reconstruct (ghālnu) one bhakāri, and the ten households [of] dhākryā-s should construct one bhakāri. In this way (yas hisābīta) construct the bhakāri-s nicely and durably (bes bāliyo gari) by holding consultations (mato mili) [and] allotting sections (bodā bādi). If you delay and do not construct (nabanāvā) [bhakāri-s] quickly, punishment (danda) will be inflicted (parā). 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

To the Jāgīrīya-s, Dhākrya-s, and all the tharthok of the town of Gorkhā.

It is reported that the Daraundi has cut into (sepi-roadhecha) the palace in the lowland (byāśi). Therefore [the people] from all the four varṇa-s and 36 jāts there should become jhārā [labourers]; the jāgīrīya-s attached to (lit., of) the two khet-s should reconstruct (ghālnu) one bhakāri, and the ten households [of] dhākryā-s should construct one bhakāri. In this way (yas hisābīta) construct the bhakāri-s nicely and durably (bes bāliyo gari) by holding consultations (mato mili) [and] allotting sections (bodā bādi). If you delay and do not construct (nabanāvā) [bhakāri-s] quickly, punishment (danda) will be inflicted (parā). 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.
70. The scribe simply concludes with इंसी समबत मित करता है। However, a later hand gives the year as 1843. Similarly, four preceding documents numbered 731-734, which are copied on pp. 187-188, close with इंसी समबत मित करता है। Since the next earlier document has the same contents, except for the addressees, as the document that precedes it, the copyst does not copy it but lists it on p. 187 as no. 730 together with the titles of the addressees, and concludes with बेसर कर। Three preceding documents, numbered 727-729, which are copied on pp. 186-187, terminates simply with इंसी समबत मित करता है। The document that precedes them, numbered 726 on the previous page, provides only the year: इंसी समबत 1843 साल मित करता है। The next preceding document, numbered 725 and copied on the same page, simply ends with इंसी समबत मित करता है। The document that precedes it is numbered 724 and copied on pp. 184-185, but simply concludes with इंसी समबत। The next earlier document, numbered 723 and copied on p. 184, closes with इंसी समबत। The preceding document, numbered 722 and copied on the same page, concludes with इंसी समबत मित करता है। The document numbered 721 and copied on the preceding page closes with इंसी समबत मित करता है, but a later hand dates it to माणकी 11, 1843. The next four previous documents numbered 718-720 (plus one without a number) and copied on pp. 182-183 terminate with इंसी समबत मित करता है। 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 इंसी। The next preceding document, numbered 717 and copied on the same page, concludes with इंसी मित कर। Four preceding documents numbered 713-716 and copied on pp. 180-181 close with इंसी समबत मित कर। 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 addressees, as the one before it, the copyst does not copy it but lists it on p. 179 as no. 711 together with the name of the addressee, and concludes with बेसर कर। The next earlier document, numbered 710 and copied on the same page, simply ends with इंसी समबत मित कर। The document before it is numbered 709 and copied on pp. 178-179, closes with a mere इंसी। The preceding document, numbered 708 and copied on p. 178, terminates with इंसी मित कर। The date is derived from the preceding document, numbered 707 and copied on the same page, which closes with इंसी समबत 1843 साल मित करता है। Thus the lunar day supplied by a later hand as 11 in the document numbered 721 is incorrect.
TRANSLATION

To the Bitalapyii-s of Lakān, Bhirkoṭ, Gāikhur and Dubhār and Umarā-s, Dvāryā-s and Bitalapyii-s of Cyaṅāli, Dhuvākoṭ and Deurāli.

Subedār Bākāsim Khavās has been sent together with the Bātuḍal Company in order to construct (ghālnu) bhakārī-s along the Daraūḍī on the lowland (byāśi) [around] the palace of the village of Gorkhā. The jāgirā-s, dhākriā-s, sepoys and bīrabitalapyii-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 should be the ḫhārā [labourers], and take tools (sarājām) for constructing (ghālnyā) a bhakārī, [including] axes (bancarā), kukris and khurpā-s, [and] a sufficient amount of (lit., strongly = baliya garī) provisions (sātusāmal) and go to (lit., reach) the lowland of Gorkhā together with the umarā-s, dvāryā-s, bitalapyii-s, mukhiyā-s and ċitiḍhā-s. In accordance with the scheme (cājā) devised by the subedār and thārīhok, reconstruct the bhakārī [in the section (vādā) assigned to you [and] do the job of repairing (lit., constructing = banāuṇyā) the palace. He who runs away without accomplishing what is assigned to him [or] without taking leave will be [considered] a rebel (apsariyā).

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

TRANSLATION

To the Dvāryā-s and Jethābudhā-s of Śyārtān.

All the 36 jāt-s [representing] each of the households in your territory (ambal) should be ḫhārā [labourers]. Take a sufficient amount of (lit., strongly = baliya garī) provisions (sātusāmal) and the tools (sarājām) for constructing (ghālnyā) a bhakārī, [including] axes (bancarā), kukris and khurpā-s, and go to (lit., reach) the Daraūḍī in the lowland (byāśi) of Gorkhā in order to construct the bhakārī together with (bhais) the dvāryā-s, jethābudhā-s and ċitiḍhā-s. In accordance with the scheme (cājā) devised by the subedār and thārīhok, accomplish quickly [the construction of] the bhakārī-s in a good, durable manner (bes baliya garī) in the area (jaṅgā) assigned to you. He who runs away without accomplishing the section (bodžā) assigned to him will receive punishment (daṃḍāi). Quickly go (lit., reach) [there] as (bhais) ḫhārā [labourers] from each household once you see the [lāl]mohar.

Dated the 5th of the waxing moon of Mārgaśīrṣa, Saṃvat Year 1853.
Document no. 20

Vol. 5
No. 269
p. 379
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

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

The full moon of Caitra, Samvat Year 1859.

[Let it be] auspicious.

To Kapardar Rághausimha Khadka

May the venerable (śri) 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 Naranaraya (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice venerable great king, Girvâyuddhakramadeva, the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

We [hereby] grant Baltyām to the rajah of Gulmī, the venerable Śakti-pracandadeva. We have come to learn that the plains (madhyes) of Baltyām belonged to Gulmī previously [and] from old times. Having known that, we now (lit., today) take (jhikī) [Baltyām] from the Pālpā [pālpāi] [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 Bhaṭṭājya. We have retained [the territory] accordingly. Knowing that the territory (lit., place = jagaha) belongs to you, enjoy [it] happily (suṣabhogya gara) to your content (śatirjmā).

75. From नात्र to the end is in a different hand.
Dated Kântipur, Thursday, the 8th of the waxing moon of Bhâdrapada, Sâmvat Year 1860.

[Let it be] auspicious.

The RRC version
Vol. 5
No. 121
p. 435
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

आगे गुनमीका राजा श्रीसतीप्रचंद साहकन बन्त्या बक्सी। अर्थ पसी परापुर्वकी बन्त्याको मध्यस्तु गुनमीके रहेछ। सो जानी आज धातीवालीबाट हिंदी तीमिलाई बक्सी। परापुर्वका सीमाना मध्यस्तु कट्टासार गोला पाहिङ्गो सीमादी मेंवाह्य सीमाना रहेछ, सोहीबमोजिम धामीबक्सी। आपना जगह जानी खातारमार्गीसु बुधमाय पर।

ईसी मीति १५६० आस्विन र १ रोज ६ नु।

TRANSLATION

We hereby grant Balti-a to the rajah of Galmi, the venerable (śri) Saktipracandha Saha. We have come to learn that the plains (madhyas) of Balti-a belonged to Galmi previously [and] from olden times. Having known that, we now (lit., today) take (jīkha) [Balti-a] from the Pālpā (pālpā) [king] and cede (lit., give) [it] to you. We have [also] come to learn that the boundary of olden times was the Kattasakar River in the plains, and the boundary in the hills (pahād) was Somādi Bahājyā. We have retained [the territory] accordingly. Knowing that the territory (lit., place = jagaha) belongs to you, enjoy [it] happily (sukhabhogyā gara) to your content (khaśīrīmā).

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

[Let it be] auspicious.

80. The scribe does not copy the date but writes ईसी मीति सरर, though a later hand dates it to आस्विन र १, १५६०. 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 ईसी मीति १५६० आस्विन र १ रोज ६ नु।

81. The original document is in the possession of Rajaram Joshi, great-grandson of the grantee.
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 sam and the last two letters are not visible in the original.
as] ‘The venerable crest-jewel of the multitude of mountain kings’ and Naraṇārayaṇa (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thice venerable great king, Girvāṇayudhavikrama Sāha, the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

For brother-in-law Śivasarma Jaisi Seḍhāi and younger sister Śivapriyā Brāhmaṇī.

84. The word javānī literally means ‘son-in-law’ which derives from the Sanskrit jāmātī. The same word is applied to ‘one’s younger sister’s husband’ as well.

85. Swami Maharajā Ranañahādur Sāha, ex-king but de facto ruler, offered a kanyādāna to Śivasarma Jaisi 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 Śivasarma, was adopted by Ranañahādur as his own daughter for her marriage with Śivasarma. That is why the reigning king, Ranañahādur’s son Girvāṇayudhavikrama, addressed the wife as ‘younger sister’ and her husband as ‘brother-in-law’. There exists a rukkā issued by the reigning king Girvāṇa and dated Wednesday, the 8th of the waxing moon of the month of Jyeṣṭha, V.S. 1862, which makes the tax-collector aware of the fact that a birā offered to brother-in-law Śivasarma and younger sister Śivapriyā is exempted from all forms of tax (ibid.:11, doc. 1). According to the chronicle of Śivasarma’s clan, which was authored by his own son Khiḷaśārma, Śivasarma was born in Śaka era 1717, i.e. V.S. 1852 as the younger son of Dāmodar Josī (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 Maharajā gave Lilāvatī, daughter of one Yajñavallabh (spelt in the chronicle as Jagayā) Vaidya, in marriage to Śivasarma 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 Lilāvatī 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 Lilāvatī (ibid.: App. 11, doc. 9). As King Girvāṇa 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 Śivasarma and Śivapriyā took place. Since he addresses Śivapriyā as ‘younger sister’, there is no doubt that she was born after Girvāṇa.

It is interesting to note that in a document issued by the administrators sometime in the month of Māgha* in V.S. 1864, Śivasarma is called javānī, 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 agnidanda which was previously held (sāyāl) by Dharmāgad Panḍit,⁸⁶ to hold (sānu gari) as long as you live. Take one-seventh share of the produce (paidāvār) out of the income from the prāyaścītta, and enjoy (bhogyā gara) [it]. Keep on (didai rahu) your blessings [to us].

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

[Let it be] auspicious.

Through Prāṇ Śāha Attested⁸⁷ by Sherbahādur Śāha
Through Bhimsen Thāpā Through Raṇajit Pāde Through Ajambarsinha
Through Narsinха Attested by Tribhuvan Through Bakhbatvārṣinha

The first version in the RRC

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No. 175
p. 578
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2392/1

TEXT

86. Two documents, dated Saturday, the 4th of the waning moon of the month of Ādara, V.S. 1862 (D.R. Pant 2000:app. 8) and the waning moon* of the month of Pausā, V.S. 1863 (id.:1966:45-46), refer to the kanyādāna offered by King Prthvīnāraṇa Śāha to Dharmāgad Panḍit. We have a rukkā issued by Prthvīnāraṇa Śāha on Monday, the 5th of the waxing moon of the month of Kārtika, V.S. 1828, in which he exempts the tax named kusāhi-bisāhi on the fields belonging to the sons of Dharmāgad Panḍit Phalāhari (N.R. Pant, et al. 1969: pp.1077-1078 = doc. 45). Interestingly, Lakṣmaṇa in his Kaviśānīkātāśopala mentions Dharmāgad as one of the indigenous poets in the court of Prthvīnāraṇa 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 rukkā, 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.
TRANSLATION

For brother-in-law Śivasarma Jaisi Sēdhāī and younger sister Śivapriyā Brāhmaṇī

We [hereby] grant [you] the āgnidanda which was previously held (khaÿel) by Dharmagat Pañdit, to hold (sānu gari) as long as you live. Take one-seventh share of the produce (pātāvār) out of the income from the prāyascticca, 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

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No. 476
p. 415
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

TEXT

आये जिताराम नेवारप्रति

90. The scribe concludes with ४५१ मौनिष सह. Other particulars, except the year, are derived from the preceding document, numbered 475 and copied on the same page, which closes with ४५५ मौनिष सह आपाधकुः १ रोज २ शु. The next preceding document, numbered 474 and copied on the preceding page, simply ends with ४५१ मौनिष सह. 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 वेदव्र अख. However, the next three earlier documents, numbered 471-473 and copied on the same page, again close with ४५५ मौनिष सह आपाधकुः १ रोज २ शु.
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 Benś mint. Relinquish (uṭhāṇ) your authority (amabāl) 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 Āśāḍha, Saṃvat Year 1864.

[Let it be] auspicious.

Document no. 24

Vol. 20
No. 502
pp. 418-419

TRANSLATION

Praśasti [of the king]

For Harinārāyaṇ Nevār

We [hereby] execute (garibaksyaum) a triennial contract (ijārā) [to mint] coins (paisa) in the Benś 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 (khīyyā behoryāko) by Jitārām Nevār. Present (dākhil) the 'pailii-s' annually.

91. For ग. 92. The scribe concludes with हैरी मीति रोज आवासुरिः १ 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 हैरी मीति स्वर आवासुरिः १ रोज ५, 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 हैरी मीति स्वर. The next earlier document, numbered 479 and copied on pp. 416-417, ends with हैरी मीति स्वर आवासुरिः १ रोज ५. The document numbered 478 and copied on pp. 415-416 closes with हैरी मीति स्वर, and a later hand dates it to आवासुरिः १ १८६४। The document copied before this one is numbered 477 and was copied on p. 415; it terminates with हैरी स्वर. 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 (vāsilbāki), and take the clearance (phārkhati) for that. If you do not deliver (napuryātā) the rupaiñā-s in instalments, pay (tirnu) the mahājanī interest (sud) [for] the rupaiñā-s not so paid. According to the particulars (tapsīl), the total rupaiñā-s for three years is seventeen thousand one hundred.

### Particulars (tapsīl)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>asāmi</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>[Instalment] in [Instalment]</th>
<th>[Instalment] in [Instalment]</th>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>[Instalment] in [Instalment]</th>
<th>[Instalment] in [Instalment]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>month of Bhādra</td>
<td>month of Pauṣa</td>
<td></td>
<td>month of Vaiśākha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samvat Year 1864</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samvat Year 1865</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samvat Year 1866</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Document no. 25

Vol. 20  
No. 541  
p. 427  
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

**TEXT**

 '|' To Ījarrādār Harinarāyaṇa

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

93. The scribe does not write the year but concludes with Īṭī mīti svar Ājāvāsvari 9 ṛg 2 s. The next earlier document, numbered 539 and copied on the preceding page, ends simply with Īṭī mīti svar, but a later hand dates it to Ājāvāsvari 13.
on adulterated (kații) copper, [your] hands will be cut off (kalam). Whoever, except the mint, buys [or] sells the copper, monopolised since previous times, furtively (dabäi) and stealthily (chapäi) - seize [such copper] and bring and deposit (hulnu) it in the mint.

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

[Let it be] auspicious.

Document no. 26

Vol. 20
No. 550
p. 427
NGMPP Microfilm reel-no. E 2426/3

TEXT

आणे भवानिदत्त थापायरी

दातिरात जैसी सुहा दसरथ प्रकाशी कीमा लायो. ताहाबाट तेरा मानीसां साथ लाई मक्वानपुर दसरथ प्रकाशी मानीसा कीमा गरी दे. बाताहाटमा उमक्या तेरा सिर रर्हः.

इती सम्बत १८६४ साल ब्राह्मणवद्री १ रोज २ सुः

TRANSLATION

To Bhavānīdatta Thāpā

Dāmodar Jaisi95 is [hereby] placed under the charge (jimnā lāgyo) of Subā Daśāratth Khāтри. Deliver (lit., give) him, accompanied by your people

94. The scribe simply concludes with इती मौली भवानिदत्त थापायरी. The preceding pages, which lead to the proper date, are described in fns. 90, 92 and 93.

95. This Dāmodar Jaisi is the father of Śivasārman Jaisi Seśhā, to whom document no. 22 of the present corpus was issued. The chronicle of Dāmodar’s clan was written by his grandson and later updated (D.R. Pant 2000: pp. 1) starts with Dāmodar’s grandfather Śatānanda Jośi. According to the chronicle, Śatānanda, a Brahmīn well versed not only in jyañita (astronomy cum astrology) but also in diplomacy (vakklii), left Jihjaudh Gaon in Kumaon because of a breach of conduct on the part of the British and came to Lamjūn in V.S. 1721 when Viramārdan Śāha was reigning; he settled in Rāginās, where he received a

birtibitalap and a house from the king for practising the profession of jyañita in the royal court (ibid.: app. 1 = pp. 12, 14). D.R. Pant conclusively points out that there is no doubt that the name of the Lamjūn king given in the chronicle is not correct, since it is in fact the name of the last king of Lamjūn during whose reign in V.S. 1839 the Gorkhāi-s conquered Lamjūn. Further, he says that in V.S. 1741, i.e. 20 years after Śatānanda’s migration to Lamjūn, Keharinarayar Sāha, Viramārdan’s great-grandfather, was on the Lamjūn 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 Angiras gotra with five rśi pravara-s, namely, Aṅgiras, Āṅgiras, Māṇḍavya, Māṇḍavya and Pārāśara (ibid.: app. 1 = pp. 12, 14). As the clan traditionally practised jyañita, they are called in documents either Jaisi (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), Jośi (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 Jośi (appendices 13 and 17), all derivatives of jyotisī. As document no. 22 of the present corpus and the Jōsi chronicle (for the latter, see ibid.: app. 1 = p. 14) state, the clan’s surname (thar) is Seśhā.

We do not know when Dāmodar was born. According to the chronicle, he left Rāginās for Gorkhā when he was just 11 years old. He is referred to again in the chronicle when he came to Kathmandu together with King Prthvinārava 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 Prthvinārava J within year of his birth, see D.R. Pant 2000:8.

Though we know that he was imprisoned in V.S. 1851 (ibid.: app. 1, 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 Bahadur Śāha whose grip on power became weaker after the coming of age of his nephew, King Ranabahadur.
We do not know when Dāmodar was freed. It appears that later he was restored to the good graces of King Ranabahadur, 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-Ranabahadur party during the last part of the Swami Maharajah’s exile, i.e. in V.S. 1860. It seems that Dāmodar contributed much to Ranabahadur’s return to Nepal. In order to repay what Dāmodar did for him, Ranabahadur 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 Girvāna’s birthday, four khet-s were donated to the Jośi 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 ropani-s of ghadyāri, one house, one bāri and a village, named Buduṃculi, were exempted from all taxes on Sunday, the 1st of the waxing moon of the month of Bhadra, V.S. 1862, through the issuance of a copperplate. Earlier that year, on Thursday, the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Vaiṣākha, Śivaśarma and his wife were authorised to draw the revenue coming from the agnidāṇḍa,* a one-seventh portion of the proceeds exacted for the expiation for impurity or loss of caste (prāyaścittā) (doc. 22 of the present corpus). Dāmodar himself was granted large estates in the jurisdiction of Thimi 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 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 Rājguhaṇi in Pāṭān 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 Ranajit Pāde and Naraiṣinha [Gurun], both holding the ministerial title of kājī.

It seems that Dāmodar had good relations also with Bhāmsen 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 Vaiṣākha, V.S. 1863,* because on Friday, the 10th of the waning moon of the month of Śrīvāna, 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 Ranabahadur’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.

This seems to be a mistake for Āsvina (see supra, fn. 85).

* The copperplate issued by King Girvāna which certifies all the grants mentioned above is addressed to Śivaśarma Jaisi and Hariśarma Jaisi. 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 Agnidanda’ in the present volume.
Document no. 27

To Subā Daśarath Khatri

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

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

[Let it be] auspicious.

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GLOSSARY*

agniṇḍa a portion of the fine exacted from the observance of prāyaścitta and going to some Brahmin other than a Pāde, Pantha, Arjyāl and Khanāl (22)
āgri a miner (3, 6)
amāli functionary of a regional administrative unit (2, 6)
amāliśdār see amāli (9, 10)
asāmī details (3, 6, 24)
bhakāri curved stone embankment on the bank of a river made to keep water back (11, 16, 18, 19)
bhārādār a generic term for high-level functionaries (2)
Bhāṭi an offspring born from the union of a Brahmin father and a virgin or widow from one of the ascetic castes (Jogi) (18)
bhēḍābhār a levy collected from a sheep-borne load (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 (or the translation.

1. See ‘On Agniṇḍa’ in the present volume.

2. Based on Muluki aīna: 664 § 6. See also Höfer 1979:133.

Interestingly, a royal decree dated 1846 mentions two types of the Bhāṭi one in hierarchy of caste equal to Brahmins (bāhunasarāhakā bhāṭi) and the other equal to sepoys (stāhiserāhakā bhāṭi). (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 Bhāṭi that is equated with sepoys.

Note still further definitions of Bhāṭi:
Satya 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. Karnacharya 1996: facsimile NGPHMA 7.5.5):
‘...सायाक पञ्ञा दोहायाँ दर्शन बेदारो भरीया घाने यह भाग भिलुतायाँ मानीय राज दिशको हातसाथ भिलुतायाँ दिन पार भाग भिलीबने पानु.’
4. Note the mention of Bhikṣuś along with other caste names in a document issued on behalf of the then dhamūlíkiś in order to extract the fee for prājāsūta in 1871, in which, as in our documents, Bhikṣuk is placed after Bhaṭṭa. This document has been published in D. Vajracarya and T.e Shrestha 1974 as doc. 97.

J.e. 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 Pañḍitā Raṅganāth Pañḍit (Pauḍela) as dānādhyakṣa (chief of ritual gifts) specifies one of his duties as examining both foreign and indigenous Pañḍit-s and Bhikṣuk-s, and honouring them in accordance with their abilities.


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

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

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


interest (sūd) and perhaps it connotes a very high rate of interest (24)

manḍalī chief? (3, 6)

mānā a volumetric unit equivalent to 0.568 litres, or 1/8 of a pāthī (1, 17)

mauli a corruption for manḍalī (3 and second version of 6)

moroapatāli escheatable property (3, 6)

mukhiyā a village-level revenue functionary (8, 18)

muri a volumetric unit equivalent to 90.919 litres, comprising 20 pāthī-s (2)

pāṅcakhat 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' (3, 6)


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

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

12. As the word occurs together with Bhāṭ, 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 Sagunbhāṭ, perhaps the same as Bhāṭ, 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).

subedar  
the commander of a military company consisting of 100 soldiers,\textsuperscript{14} often placed in charge of a district\textsuperscript{15} (5, 18, 19)

tāgā  
tool for cutting stone or metal (3, 6)

thar  
representatives of six families, viz. Pāde, Pantha, Arjyāl, Khanāl, Rānā and Bohara (12)

tharthok  
representatives of six families, viz. Pāde, Pantha, Arjyāl, Khanāl, Rānā and Bohara, and those of additional families, such as Basnyāt, which rose to power later\textsuperscript{16} (16, 18, 19)

thum  
a subdivision comprising a number of villages in the hills (11)

Toṣākhānā  
the central royal treasury, located in Kathmandu in the royal palace (3, 6, 24)

umaran  
a commander of a military post (9, 11, 18)

umara  
see: umaran (11)

valak  
‘[h]omestead levies collected in the hill districts, including Kathmandu Valley. They were of three kinds: (i) sāune phāgu valak, collected during the months of Sravaṇa and Phālguna every year, (ii) harṣabismātāko valak, collected on occasions of national celebration or mourning, and (iii) kājīkāvaiko valak, collected on festive and ceremonial occasions’\textsuperscript{17} (3, 6)

varṇa  
the four principal classes, namely Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra (16, 18)

\textsuperscript{15} This is seen from M.R. Pant forthcoming: doc. 25.
\textsuperscript{16} For the inclusion of the Basnyāt family into the tharthok, see D.R. Pant 1968: doc. 10.
\textsuperscript{17} M.C. Regmi 1971:230 with my own standarised transliterations.

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1968 Śrī 5 baḍāmahārājādhirāja prthvīnārāyanā śāha (samāsptā jivānī) (\textit{i.sam.} 1723-75) [His Majesty the Great King Prthvīnārāyaṇ Śāha (a concise biography) (A.D. 1723-75)]. Pt. 3, Kathmandu: Principal Press Secretariat, Royal Palace, V.S. 2025 Vijayādāśaṁi.

1969 Śrī 5 baḍāmahārājādhirāja prthvīnārāyanā śāha (samāsptā jivānī) (\textit{i.sam.} 1723-75) Pt. 4, Kathmandu: Principal Press Secretariat, Royal Palace, V.S. 2026 Vijayādāśaṁi.


Acharya, Baburam and Naya Raj Pant


Acharya, Dī[xti], Keshav Mani

1954 ‘\textit{Candraśekharapatrānuvadā}’ [Translation of Candraśekhar
4. The article itself does not have any title; what is given above is cited from the Table of Contents.

5. Caitrašūklaikādaśi of this year falls on the 1st of Vaisākha, i.e. the new year day of V.S. 2011.

6. I must apologise to my readers being unable to provide all the necessary bibliographical information, since I do not have at present the volumes at my disposal.

Hutt, Michael and Abhi Subedi


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Karmacharya (Hada), Ganga

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Lambaiko parivarta tālikā [Tables for the conversion of lengths]. Kathmandu: Department of Mint, Ministry of Finance, V.S. 2025 [1968/69].
Lamichane, Janardan Raj

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Mulukī aina
Śrī 5 surendra viṅkrama sāhadevakā sāsanakālamā baneko mulukī aina [The civil legal code enacted during the reign of His Majesty the King Surendravikrama Sāhadev]. Kathmandu: Śrī 5 ko Sārakāra Kānūna tathā Nyāya Mantrālāya, Kānūna Kitāba Vyavasthā Samiti, V.S. 2022 Jyeṣṭha [1965].

Naraharinath

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


Nepal, Gyan Mani


Pandey, Badaridatta

Pant, Dinesh Raj
1968 ‘Vi.saṃ. 1832 dekhi vi.saṃ. 1858 samma ko nepālako itihaśamā nayā prakāśa pārne kehi patrahāru’ [Some documents shedding new light on Nepalese history from 1775 to 1802]. *Pūrṇimā* 17 (V.S. 2025 Bhādra):27-51.

8. The article does not have any title. In its first instalment it is referred to in the Table of Contents as *Tripuresvarastambhalekhaḥ kānaḥ*. From the second instalment onwards *śilā* has been changed into *stambha*. 

Pant, Mahes Raj


1966  ‘Nepāla-amgrejayuddhako dūrī hunubhandā 1 varsaagādi amarasimha thāpākā chorā ra ochterlonkyā chorāle miterī laete’ [The sons of Amarasimha Thāpā and Ochterlony entered upon a formal friendship one year before the beginning of the Nepal-English war]. Pūrṇimā 8 (V.S. 2022 Māgha):41-49.


1972a  ‘Bama sāhāle kṛṣṇa pānditaḷi vi sam. 1869 maṁsāra 29 gate lekheko cīṭhī’ [A letter from Bām Sāhā to Kṛṣṇa Pandit, dated Friday, the 8th of the waxing moon of Mārga, V.S. 1869]. Pūrṇimā 26:88-94.

1972b  ‘Bama sāhāle sri 5 gīrvaṇayuddhāvibhakramā sāhālāi vi sam. 1870 māgha 27 gate lekheko cīṭhī’ [A letter from Bām Sāhā to King Gīrvaṇayuddhākramā Sāhā, dated Monday, the 3rd of the waxing moon of Phāḷguna, V.S. 1870]. Pūrṇimā 26:94-100.


1983  ‘Tanahūkā rājā kāmāridatta senāka dui aprakāśita patra’ [Two
unpublished documents of the Tanahu king Kāmāridatta Sen].


1983a  'Tanahūkā rajā harakūmāradatta senakā sātavatā aprakāśita patra' [Seven unpublished documents of the Tanahu king Harakūmāradatta Sen].


1983b  'Tanahūkā guñānanda pantalāli lekhikā 4 vaṭā aprakāśita patra' [Four unpublished letters addressed to Guñānanda Panta of Tanahu].


1984  'Būdhākāji amarasiṅgha thāpā para loka bhaekō kurā parekā, pācavatā tātkālikā aprakāśita patra' [Five unpublished contemporary letters containing the news of the death of Būdhākāji Amarasiṅgha Thāpā].

Pūrṇima 58 (V.S. 2040 Caitra):45-61.

1984a  'Bhaktavāra thāpāle kājī rānadhavja thāpālāi vi. saṃ. 1872 bhadau 2 gate lekheko cītā' [A letter from Bhaktavāra Thāpā to Rānadhavaj Thāpā, dated Wednesday, the 12th of the waxing moon of Śrāvana, V.S. 1872].

Pūrṇima 58:58-60.

1984b  'Ja. bhūmasena thāpā ra kājī rānadhavja thāpāle karnelā bhaktavāra thāpālāi vi. saṃ. 1873 vaisākhā 4 gate lekheko aprakāśita cītā' [An unpublished letter from Gen. Bhūmasen Thāpā and Kājī Rānadhavaj Thāpā to Col. Bhaktavāra Thāpā, dated Sunday, the 2nd of the waning moon of Vaiśākhā, V.S. 1873].

Pūrṇima 58:60-61.

1984c  'Śrī vīrgāvako svargavāsa bhaekō kurā parekā tātkālikā aprakāśita patra' [An unpublished contemporary letter containing the news of King Girvāka's death].


1985  'Prthvīnārāyaṇa śāhako aprakāśita rūkā' [An unpublished rūkā of Prthvīnārāyaṇa Śāh].

Pūrṇima 59 (V.S. 2041 Māgha):41-42.

1986  'Pālpāi rājī mahādatra senale ranamārdana senalai kajīyā bhārā dii vi. saṃ. 1845 mā garidieko tāmprapatra' [A copperplate, dated V.S. 1845, of the Palpa king Mahādatra Sen, concerning the conferment of kajīship upon Ranamārdana Sen].


1987  'Prthvīnārāyaṇa śāhale māṇeśvariko gūthiko potā māpa garidieko lālomohara' [A lālomohar of Prthvīnārāyaṇa Śāh exempting the potā (tax on the land) belonging to the gūthi for Māneśvar].

Pūrṇima 72 (V.S. 2044 Vaiśākhā):68.

1988  'Prthvīnārāyaṇa śāhale nūvakātobhairavāvāi gūthi rākhi vyavasthā bādhidieko, ahiḷesamā prakāśamā naēekā patra' [A hitherto unpublished document in which Prthvīnārāyaṇa Śāh formalises the establishment of a gūthi for the Nuwakot Bhairav].

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

1990e  'Prthvinārayana sāhale bādhideoke sthitī thāmīeko kūrā pareko, ahi leukasamā naaeko patra' [A hitherto unpublished document bearing on a regulation made by Prthvinārayan Sāha continuing to be observed]. Purnimā 77:20.


1991b  'Vi sam. 1901 mā pānī nacalne jāta bhanī thāhāriekā jātako, ahi leukasamā prakāsamā naaeko sōci' [A hitherto unpublished list of the castes from which a member of a high caste is not supposed to take water, dated 1844]. Purnimā 79:43-44.


1996a  'A Late-Nineteenth-Century Deed from the Nepalese Part of Tirhut Recording the Purchase of a Slave'. Journal of the Nepal Research Centre 10:105-120.


1998a  'Vi sam. 1871 Kārttika 23 gatekā 17 vaṭā lālomohara' [Seventeen lālomohar-s issued on Sunday, the 9th of the waxing moon of Kārttika, V.S. 1871]. Purnimā 95:53-58.


1999  'Vi sam. 1871 maśśira 6 gatekā 25 vaṭā lālomohara' [Twenty-five lālomohar-s issued on Saturday, the 7th of the waxing moon of Kārttika, V.S. 1871]. Purnimā 96 (V.S. 2055 Caṭtra):44-51.


forthcoming  'Documents from the Regmi Research Collections II'.


Pant, Naya Raj 1953  'Rājāñ ca raṇabahadurena manrīne dāmodarāya prahitarāna' [A letter sent by King Raṇabahadur (Sāha) to Minister Dāmodar (Fāle)]. Sanskrita-sandesā, vol. 1, no. 5 (V.S. 2010 Bādhrasuklaśīkāsā):36-41.


10. The article itself does not have any title; what is given above is cited from the Table of Contents.
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1964 ‘Vi. sam. 1843 ma bhaeka kehi mukhya ghatana’ [Some important events that happened in 1786]. Pār̥nāma 2 (V.S. 2021 Śrāvaṇa):61-68.

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1982 ‘Bhaṣajyā behorna napāi ne sambandhi sthiti bādhieko 1903 vi. sam. ko rukkā’ [A rukkā of 1846 bearing the regulation prohibiting taking the wife of one’s elder brother as one’s own]. *Voice of History*, vol. 8, no. 1:1-3.


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1999 *Madhyakalakā abhilekha* [Inscriptions of the Medieval period]. With a foreword by Prayag Raj Sharma (pp. i-IV). Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, V.S. 2056 Āśādha.

Vajracārya, Dhanavajra and Gyan Mani Nepal

12. The epithet mahārajaḥdhirājāya is replaced in the second instalment with mahārajaḥ and in the third with rājā.
On Agnidanāda

Mahes Raj Pant

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

There were two kinds of fines; Prayāschitta 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 Agnidanda. 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; Agnidanāda can hardly be accepted as the family name of a Brahmin. One Nepalese historian’s uneasiness in taking Agnidanāda for a surname is reflected in his putting a question mark before the word when he deals with Hamilton’s above statement. However, the form continues to be taken at face value.²

A document of 1805 grants the income from the agnidanāda previously enjoyed by Dharmāṅgad Paṇḍit to Śivasarma. From the same source we learn that the agnidanāda forms one-seventh of the revenue from the prāyaścitta (i.e. an expiative fine imposed for recovering caste after ‘doing

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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.4) Though we do not know whether Dharmāṅgad was a Brahmin having a surname Pandit5 or was simply called Pandit because he was a Brahmin, we do know that the grantee who succeeded Dharmāṅgad was from the Śeṣāṅga 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 agnidanda, 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 agnidanda 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 Śivasarma, who thus became entitled to enjoy the revenue from the agnidanda. The conventional meaning of paidāvār is the ‘produce of a field or estate’.6 But this fits well with the present context, given that the income from 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 agnidanda revenue to take one-seventh of the paidāvār from the prāyaścitta, it stands in contradiction to Hamilton’s statement that the fine from prāyaścitta is divided into eight shares.

I do not know why the stipulated portion of the fine was called agnidanda. It does not seem to be related to the identical Arthāśāstraic term having the meaning of ‘fine for (kindling) fire at a prohibited place or hour’.7 Nor is it related to two other meanings of the same word given in the most comprehensive dictionary of Sanskrit.8

Perhaps one should mention in this context the term brahmānda. As one Marathi encyclopaedia defines it, it is the danda which one gives to Brahmans 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.9 In Maharashtra, we are told, the term brahmānda was employed to denote any kind of expiatory fee.10 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 Brahmans.11

One newly published Sanskrit dictionary from Nepal records another meaning of brahmānda, one of more immediate relevance. One of the six meanings of the word offered in the dictionary is ‘fire manifested in a prohibited place or hour’.12

In two middle quarters of the day, one-eighth (of a panca) is the fine for (kindling) fire.

Kangle 1972:186)

11. D.R. Pant 1986:514-515. Pant writes that because the amount thus received was given to the dharmādikārī, who was invariably from the Brahmin caste, it was called brahmānda. However, as far as the said account-book is concerned, there is no hint of to whom the amount called brahmānda 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, and to substantiate this the compiler quotes a classical text. Perhaps because of the purifying quality of fire, the fine exacted for the prāyaścitta was called brahmadanda by an extended application of the word. Thus it seems that agnidanḍa expressed the same meaning as brahmadanda.

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12. My translation of the original Nepali.

Pandey quotes a half-verse: ब्रह्मादंदनस्य व्यास स्वल्प हिन्दीमतिण्युभया and names his source in an abbreviated form as प्रायः, which I do not find in his list of abbreviations.

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