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रचना संक्षिप्त तर प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयको सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिनेछ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनुपर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हुनेछ ।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्त्व विभाग
रामशाहपथ
काठमाडौं, नेपाल

Contribution of original nature dealing with pre-historic and field-archaeology, epigraphy, manuscripts, numismatics, archives, art, anthropology and architecture of Nepal and museum and other techniques connected with various aspects of art work are invited to **"Ancient Nepal"**.

The contribution should be concise and well-documented and based on hitherto unpublished data, if not new interpretation of already known evidence.

The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Editor or The Department of Archaeology.

Photographs and illustrations (line drawing) may be sent. The typescript should be in double space and one side of the paper only sent to:

The Director General
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Petroglyphs And Abandoned Sites In Mustang A Unique Source For Research In Cultural History And Historical Geography¹

- PD Dr. Perdita Pohle

In the last few decades interest in the research and documentation of rock art has increased on a global scale. On the one hand, this has been due, in part, to recent technological developments and advances in scientific methods of dating, such as accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) radiocarbon dating. On the other hand, the growing interest in rock art has also been the result of the realization that petroglyphs (engravings) and pictographs (paintings) are not, as had long been presumed, simply graffiti which were created in early historic or prehistoric times by tribal peoples just to pass the time of day. Rather, they are cultural and historical documents which are a potential source of significant scientific information.

Only a few rock art sites are known to exist in the Himalayas. They are found in northern India, in Ladakh and Zaskar (see FRANCFORT et al., 1990). Considering the scarcity of known rock art

in the Himalayas, the discovery of the rock engravings of Kak Nyingba in Mustang (Nepal) was an important one, especially in view of the fact that no rock art had been documented in Nepal up until then. The petroglyphs were found during fieldwork on the history and geography of settlements in the southern Mustang district in 1993. Two further sites of rock engravings (Samar, Te) were found during field trips in 1995 to northern Mustang (see Fig. 1).

The studies carried out on the petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba occurred within the interdisciplinary German Research Council (DFG) focus programme "Settlement Processes and the Formation of States in the High Himalayas Characterized by Tibetan Culture and Tradition" (see HAFFNER & POHLE, 1993). One primary task of the geographical project was to prepare a representative documentation of the remains (abandoned sites) in the cultural landscape of present-day Mustang district. Both abandoned sites (e.g.

1. I want to thank Philip Pierce for the translation of this paper into English.

settlement ruins) and rock art are relics of past epochs and important evidence of earlier populations, their ways of life and manifestation of beliefs. The study of both in each case had historical reconstruction as its goal. Methodologically, the work thus comes under, on the one hand, the historical settlement geography (and in particular, the geographical study of abandoned sites), and on the other, the interdisciplinary rock art research. One main goal of the historical-geographical investigations was the documentation, analysis and interpretation of the various rock art motifs, styles and techniques evidenced in Kak Nyingba. Another main objective was to integrate the rock art discoveries into the local history of the cultural landscape of Mustang and the supra-regional cultural and geographical context (see POHLE, 2000).

The petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba

The petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba are located north of the main range of the Himalayas in the middle course of the Kali Gandaki river at a height of 2,770 m (see Fig. 1). The surrounding landscape is that of an arid high mountain area with oasislike farming settlements - an area populated by Tibetan peoples and dominated by Tibetan culture and traditions. The petroglyphs were carved into flat sandstone banks abutting the Kali Gandaki river. The deserted settlement of Kak Nyingba, after which the rock art site was named, lies in the vicinity.

The petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba were hammered or chiselled into the rock with simple stone tools, and partially ground and polished. In all, 1,189 petroglyphs have been identified up until now (single cup-marks were not counted). For the most part, the petroglyphs are distributed over two large areas of rock within a radius of about 200 m. An overview of the various engraved motifs and their typology is given in Fig. 2. The approximate number

of petroglyphs according to single motifs, motif categories and groups is shown in Fig. 3. The petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba are small in size and dominated by symbolic representations. Cup-marks are very common - a form typical of rock art all over the world. In addition, several human and animal figures are represented. Less common are decorative elements or patterns, and inscriptions and characters as well. The latter are, for the most part, recent Tibetan Buddhist inscriptions.

Rock art in the context of historical and geographical settlement research in the Tibetan Himalayas

The rocks of Kak Nyingba must have been used as a "writing surface" over a long period of time. This is indicated not only by the different degrees of weathering and repatination of the engraved rock surfaces, but also by the high variability in the rock art motifs, styles, and techniques represented. Indeed, further features suggest that the Kak Nyingba petroglyphs go back to prehistoric times - for example, the use of stone tools in making the pictures and the large number of superimpositions of rock art figures, signs and symbols (see POHLE, 2000).

Thus the discovery of the petroglyphs supports the thesis that the settlement and cultural history of the northern Nepal Himalayas is several thousands of years old, despite the unfavourable ecological conditions specific to this high mountainous area (see HAFFNER & POHLE, 1993). Archaeological investigations of cave systems and terrace settlements in southern Mustang provide evidence of at least three thousand years of history (see SIMONS & SCHÖN, 1998). During this time extensive migration and cultural assimilation, along with warfare and other forms of conflict, took place, as indicated by relics from previous settlements and their high concentration in Mustang (see POHLE, 2000). If one takes a look at the map (Fig. 1), the large concentration

of abandoned sites in the Mustang district is immediately apparent. Along the Kali Gandaki river and its side valleys, on a distance of about 70 km north to south, not less than 200 abandoned sites (including caves, abandoned settlements and fields, ruins of fortresses, palaces and monasteries) were documented.

One basic reason why Mustang for centuries was repeatedly the scene of military conflict is its geographical location. Being a region that stretches from north to south along the Kali Gandaki valley, it joins in a virtually ideal manner the Tibetan plateau with the foothills of the Nepalese Himalayas, and thus with India. Already in early times, therefore, the Kali Gandaki valley was a favoured trading route, on which, typically, grain from the south was transported in large caravans to Tibet, and salt from the north to Nepal (see FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, 1975). Control over such a trading route from early on signified political power, on the one hand, and economic gain on the other. If settlement remains of the most diverse type and age are massed in the region of this landscape of passes and defiles, and if all rock art sites hitherto discovered are situated there, then this is only one more indication of the special historical dynamics at work in the Himalayan transverse valley of the Kali Gandaki.

Problems of dating rock engravings

Despite all efforts, the petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba have not yet been dated absolutely. Indirect and relative dating methods, however, have yielded some results. According to the degree of weathering, for example, it is obvious that the Tibetan inscriptions containing religious mantras are the youngest, not yet repatinated engravings. A darker patina is displayed by various Buddhist symbols (e.g. svastikas, stupas, vases). From the weathering of their edges, however, it is clear that they are not the oldest

petroglyphs. The engravings of axes and the motifs connected with them, such as snakes, are even older (see Figs. 4.1 & 4.2). They can be interpreted as proof of the presence of pre-Buddhist religious ideas. For petroglyphs belonging to earlier periods, a more exact differentiation based on the degree of weathering becomes unreliable. Under these circumstances, bench marks for the antiquity of the rock art can only be derived - hesitantly - by an analysis and comparison of rock art styles, or by drawing on dated motifs at other locations.

One example of how age can be estimated by comparing styles is the engraving of the **blue sheep next to a labyrinth** (see Figs. 5.1 & 5.2). Prominent features, such as the long beaklike snout, the representation of the animal in a "warped" perspective, and the co-occurrence of a labyrinth points to the so-called "animal style" from the time of the Scythians. This specific artistic style from the middle of the first millennium BC is also known as the "Eurasian animal style", for it occurred all over Eurasia (see NOWGORODOWA, 1980). Rock art of this particular style is widely spread over Central Asia (see also JETTMAR, 1980, 1984).

One of the oldest motifs in Kak Nyingba alongside "solar discs", at least typologically, is the **hoofprint** (see Figs. 6.1 & 6.2), which figures 241 times. This motif is again common in the rock art of Central Asia (e.g. Mongolia, Inner Mongolia and Siberia), there being no parallels in Indian rock paintings or engravings. In eastern Mongolia, one rock art site (Arsaan chad) containing numerous petroglyphs of hoofprints has been described by NOWGORODOWA (1980:51). A very fortunate state of affairs for the dating of these petroglyphs came about with the discovery of one rock with hundreds of engraved pictures (including numerous hoofprints) whose lower parts were covered by a cultural layer from a Neolithic workshop. Therefore,

the petroglyphs must be older than the Neolithic settlement. The hoofprints are very similar to the petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba, not only in terms of their typology, engraving style and the technique used, but also in size and the high number of engravings, and in their combination with other motifs (e.g. squares, semicircles) as well.

For the dating of the petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba, the chronologies obtained with the aid of typological comparisons can be taken only as indications of a maximum age; that is, they may provide an idea of the span of time in which, for example, the hoof motif enjoyed its special status in the Central Asian realm. An exact date for the creation of the petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba cannot be determined on the basis of comparison (see POHLE, 2000).

Origins

The rock engravings themselves provide no direct clues as to the ethnic origin of those who created them. The variety in the groups of rock art may have been produced owing both to the differing ethnic or cultural groups responsible for them, and to cultural change occurring within a single ethnic group over time. By referring to the historical context, and with the aid of comparative regional and cultural analysis, one may, however, arrive at indications of definite source cultures.

As an analysis of the rock art and an historical-geographical interpretation of the images and their sites in Mustang have shown (see POHLE, 2000), complexes of motifs (e.g. cup-marks and bowls, connected to each other by grooves) in Kak Nyingba, Samar and Te point to a formerly unified base culture in these areas. Alongside linguistic and ethnological considerations (see RAMBLE, 1998), therefore, the studies carried out on the rock art thus offer a further piece of evidence that Kak Nyingba and Samar, nowadays Tibetan-speaking areas, were once

inhabited by a non-Tibetan population that spoke a Tibeto-Burman language (Seke), and whose religion was highly animistic. Whereas even today a Seke-speaking population is still living in the town of Te, the regions around Kak Nyingba and Samar have been Tibetanized in both language and culture, and so Buddhicized - a process that can clearly be traced in the rock art of Kak Nyingba.

At present no definite pronouncements can be made concerning the originators of other striking rock art motifs in Kak Nyingba - for example, the representations of hoofs or the axe engravings. To be sure, the groups of motifs can be assigned to certain cultural spheres, but it remains unclear whether it was concepts and ideas that were merely disseminating, or whether different population groups each manifested its own belief-based notions.

One thing may be said, however, with a great degree of probability: the producers of the petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba were less likely to have been transients such as those along the Karakorum Highway (see JETTMAR, 1980) than local inhabitants. Several features favour this assumption, such as:

- the repertoire of motifs (e.g. the hunting scenes with local prey),
- the sacred nature of the rock art site, as well as
- the great effort in terms of time and experience which was needed in order to engrave complex scenes into a sandstone whose very hard weathered surface was difficult to work on.

The petroglyph site and the deserted settlement

Although investigations into the relationship between the rock engravings and the nearby deserted settlement of Kak Nyingba have not been completed yet, we can assume that the petroglyph site was formerly used by the inhabitants of the village. A mortar hole testifies to this, along with several engraved stone game boards of *rama rildok*, a Tibetan pastime commonly played by herdsmen. In contrast

to this profane use in the more recent historical period, the original purpose of the site was of a sacred nature, and is likely to go back to prehistory. It is not possible to conclude at present, though, whether the site was being used by the local population as a ceremonial location already in pre-Buddhist times, particularly since the period of the settlement's origin is still unclear. Initial results for the cultural layers of the deserted houses, using radiocarbon dating of charcoal and thermoluminescence dating of fritted soil, indicate habitation between the 11th to 15th centuries AD (see POHLE, 2000). The local oral tradition also confirms this (see RAMBLE, 1983).

The function of the place

A great deal of evidence indicates that the rock art site was of religious significance, that it was used as a ceremonial setting, and in particular as a possible site for cult and offering activities. Some evidence of this is as follows:

- the large number of symbolic representations (see Fig. 3);
- the placement of a large number of the same motifs together (e.g. hoofprints [see Figs. 6.1 & 6.2], footprints, "solar discs", snakes), which can often be interpreted as an expression of cult or ritual activities;
- the engraving of the "sacrifice scene" (see Figs. 4.1 & 4.2) and close to it the discovery of a rock niche, covered with soot, in which fire sacrifices were presumably offered;
- the large number of cup-marks and bowls connected to each other by grooves, and which may have been used for libations, and finally
- the more recent engravings of Tibetan Buddhist symbols and inscriptions.

It is remarkable that the religious character of the site can be inferred during all periods of the rock art, and that the site had, and indeed still has, the status of a "sacred place" both in pre-Buddhist and

Buddhist times. It thus reflects a certain cultural continuity expressive of a sense of allegiance to previously consecrated sacred places.

Features relating to landscape ecology

Inferences concerning environmental conditions may often be drawn from the representation of historical fauna in rock art. In Kak Nyingba, the significance of the rock engravings of deer (see POHLE, 2000) has been heightened by archaeological discoveries in the Muktinath valley: bones of primarily forest animals - including the deer - which no longer exist in Mustang (v. d. DRIESCH, 1995). Deer are dependent on extended forest areas for their habitats. The present-day landscape of Mustang, however, may be characterized as basically high mountain semi desert. In this context, the engravings of deer could be a further indication that the area of southern Mustang used to have a more dense forest cover than it does today. This, however, should be treated with caution: since the deer is an important mythological animal in the whole of Central Asia, drawing conclusions as to its natural distribution from rock engravings may be misleading.

Economic activities

Statements about the economic activities of those who produced the petroglyphs can be made on the basis of interpretations of the rock art motifs and their groupings into scenes. The rock engravings of Kak Nyingba also contain clues regarding the economic activities of their creators, such as specific hunting practices, including the different weapons used and animals ridden, as well as the various animals hunted. In one hunting scene, for example, a dog, a blue sheep and a rider on horseback can be identified. Hunting blue sheep obviously took place as a battue with dogs. In this way, the animals were driven downhill into traps, as is confirmed by local informants. Hunting blue sheep has a long tradition

in Nepal, in the area north of Dhaulagiri and Annapurna Himal. This is confirmed in the oral tradition (see KRETSCHMAR, 1985).

In contrast to blue sheep, the hunting of **wild yaks** obviously took place on horseback, with bows and arrows, or even spears (see Figs. 7.1 & 7.2). Despite this, it is reasonable to conclude that the hunting scene of wild yaks is not a realistic one; rather, the disproportionately large arrow suggests imitative magic, according to which the result of the hunt is magically anticipated or ensured by creating the picture itself. Finally, it is remarkable that there is no information about agriculture or animal husbandry in the rock engravings of Kak Nyingba, unless the numerous hoof engravings in them be interpreted as magical symbols and the expression of a fertility cult intent on securing and increasing the number of livestock (see NOWGORODOWA, 1980; CHEN ZHAO FU, 1989)

Rock art motifs and cultural regions

The specific geographical location of the rock art in the border region between two cultural territories, the South Asian and the Central Asian, is reflected, among other things, in the art itself. Numerous motifs from the rock engravings of Kak Nyingba - examples are the hoofprints (see Figs. 6.1 & 6.2) and the blue sheep engraving next to a labyrinth (see Figs. 5.1 & 5.2) - appear to be related to Central Asian rock art, especially to what is located in Mongolia. Other common motifs in Kak Nyingba - for example, axes - have no equivalents in the rock art of Central Asia, but have been found in the rock engravings of the upper Indus valley (see JETTMAR & THEWALT, 1985), and in the rock art of central and southern India as well (see NEUMAYER, 1993). In the wider context, analogies to the axe engravings are also

found in the European rock art of the Alps and of Scandinavia.

The universality of rock art motifs

Rock art motifs of the same kind which appear in different areas very far away from each, on the one hand, may reflect large-scale exchange of information, ideas and trading goods. On the other hand, they do not necessarily imply cultural contact, but may simply be representations of universal phenomena (i.e. rock art archetypes; see ANATI, 1991). Examples of widely found patterns are motifs such as "solar discs", spirals, hand- and footprints, and cup-marks and bowls, all of which occur in the rock engravings of Kak Nyingba. Is it now the theory of a large-scale exchange of ideas, information, trading goods and products of the material culture that might fit as an approach to understanding? Or are the motifs simply representations of universal phenomena and activities that have their roots in a common human system of association? Many aspects of rock art, including some exhibited by the petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba, will necessarily remain a mystery for some time to come.

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Fig. 1: Petroglyphs and abandoned sites in Mustang (Draft: P. Pohle)

Fig. 2: Repertoire and typology of rock art motifs in Kak Nyingba (Draft: P. Pohle)

Fig. 3: Approximate number of petroglyphs in Kak Nyingba according to motif category and group

Fig. 4.1: Photograph of the "sacrifice scene" (P. Pohle)

Fig. 4.2: Drawn copy of the "sacrifice scene" showing a human with an axe in his raised hand, an anthropomorphic figure in motion (dance?), one unspecified "sacrificial animal", one dog, two snakes and four axes beside linings and cup-marks (Draft: P. Pohle)

Fig. 5.1: Photograph of the blue sheep engraving next to a labyrinth (trap?) (P. Pohle)

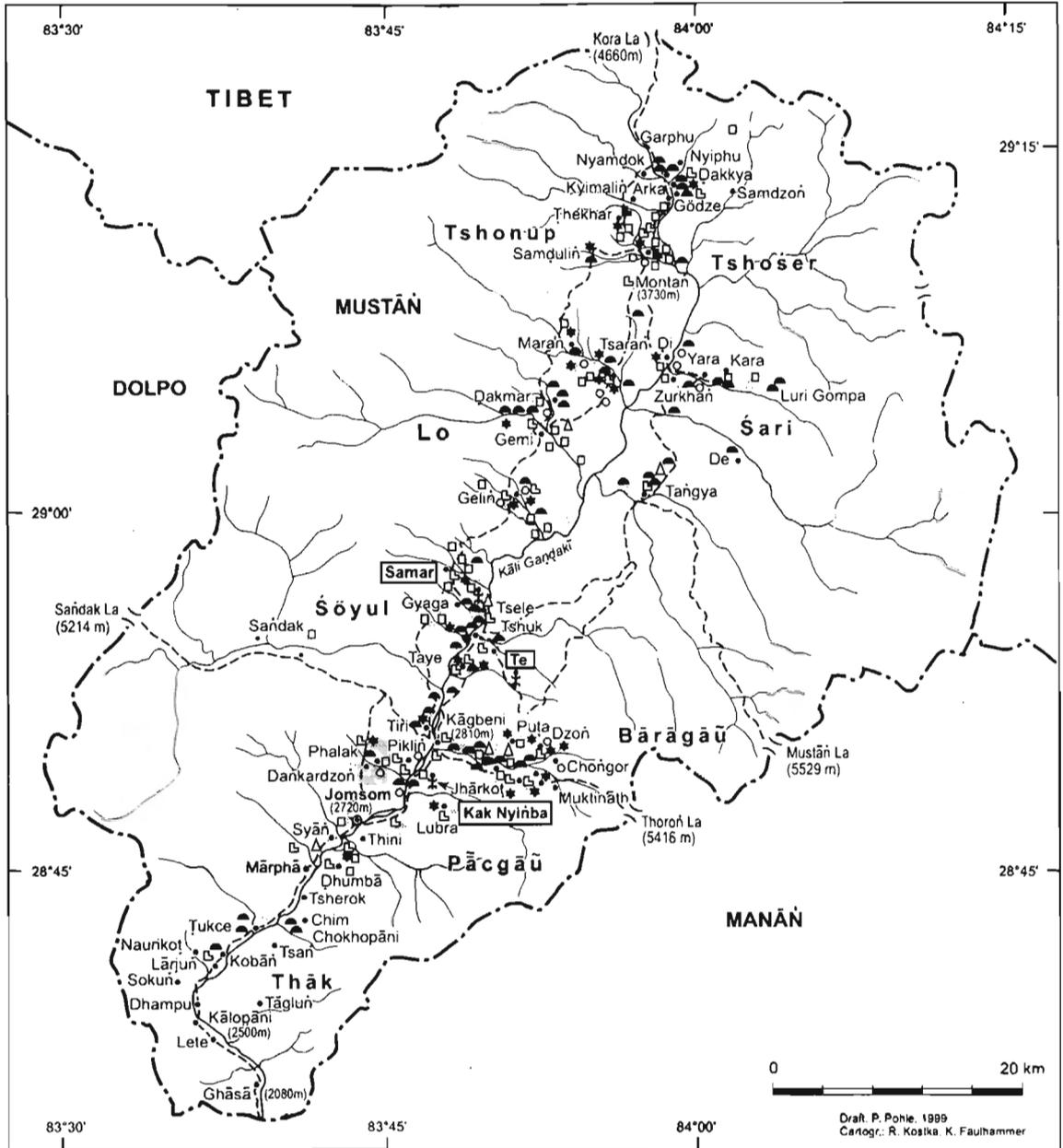
Fig. 5.2: Drawn copy of the blue sheep looking back at a labyrinth (trap?). The motif has been artistically engraved into rough sandstone (Draft: P. Pohle)

Fig. 6.1: Photograph of hoofprints together with "solar discs", lines and geometric signs (P. Pohle)

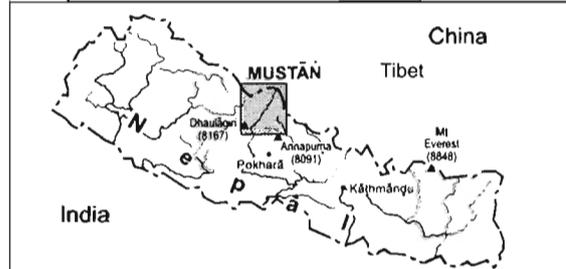
Fig. 6.2: Drawn copy of hoofprints together with "solar discs", lines and geometric signs (Draft: P. Pohle)

Fig. 7.1: Photograph of the hunting scene (P. Pohle)

Fig. 7.2: Drawn copy of the hunting scene showing five men on horseback with bows and arrows or spears hunting wild yaks (three figures). At a later point in time, an axe was engraved in superimposition to the hunting scene. In the lower part of the scene, a blue sheep can be identified. (Draft: P. Pohle)



Draft. P. Pohle. 1989
Cartogr.: R. Kosika, K. Faulhammer



Mustān District

Classification of deserted places

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|-------------------|
| ▲ | Caves, anthropogenic | ✳ | Monastery, ruin |
| □ | Settlement, abandoned | ○ | Building, ruin |
| ■ □ | Fort / castle / fortified settlement, ruin | ⊕ | Petroglyphs |
| △ | Watch-tower, ruin | ▨ | Fields, abandoned |

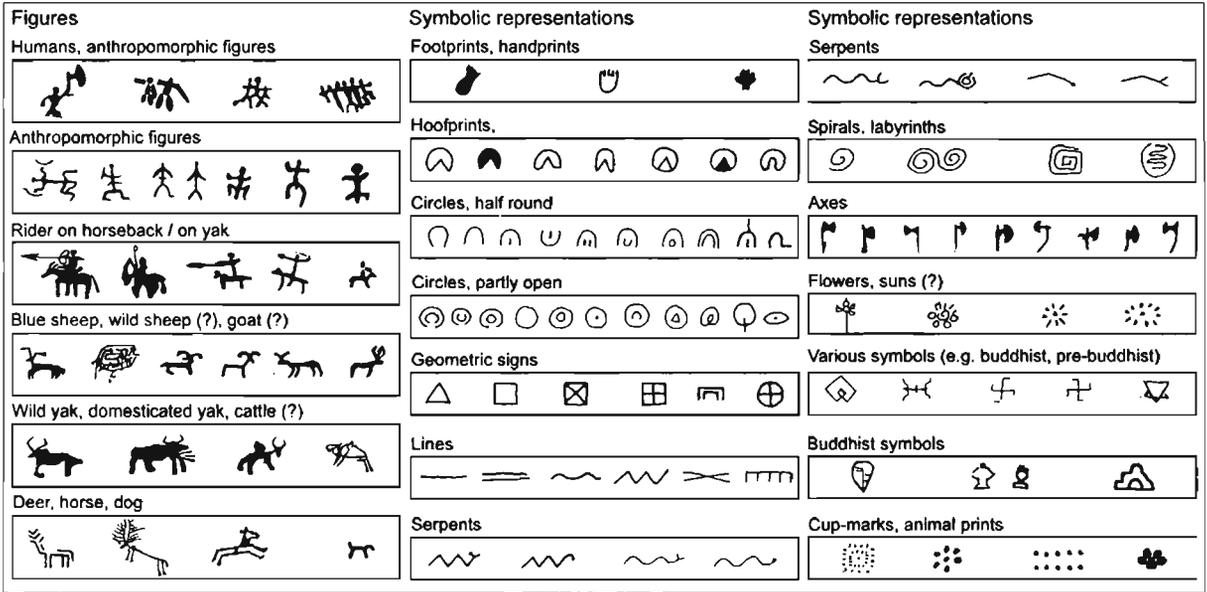


Fig.2: Repertoire and typology of rock art motifs in Kak Nyingba (Draft: P. Pohle)

Fig. 2

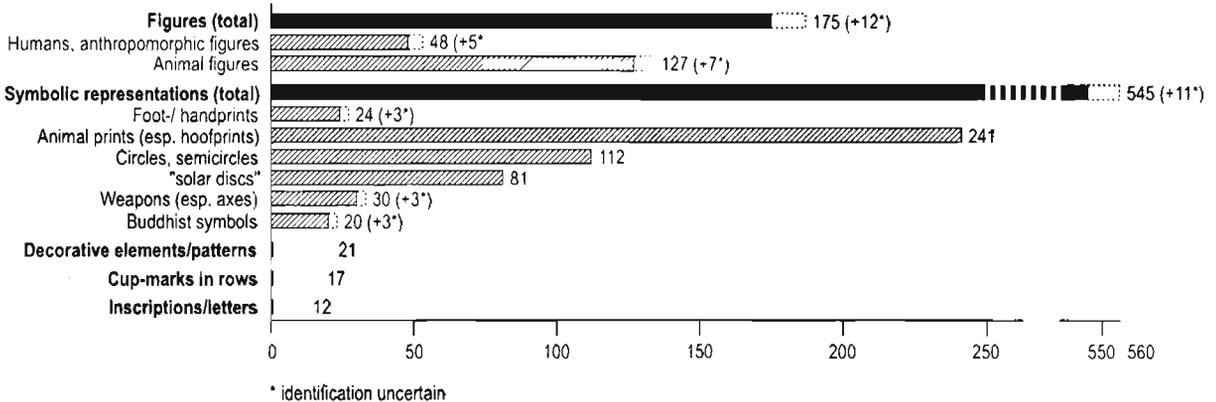


Fig. 3: Approximate number of petroglyphs of Kak Nyingba according to motif categories and groups

Fig. 3



Fig. 4.1

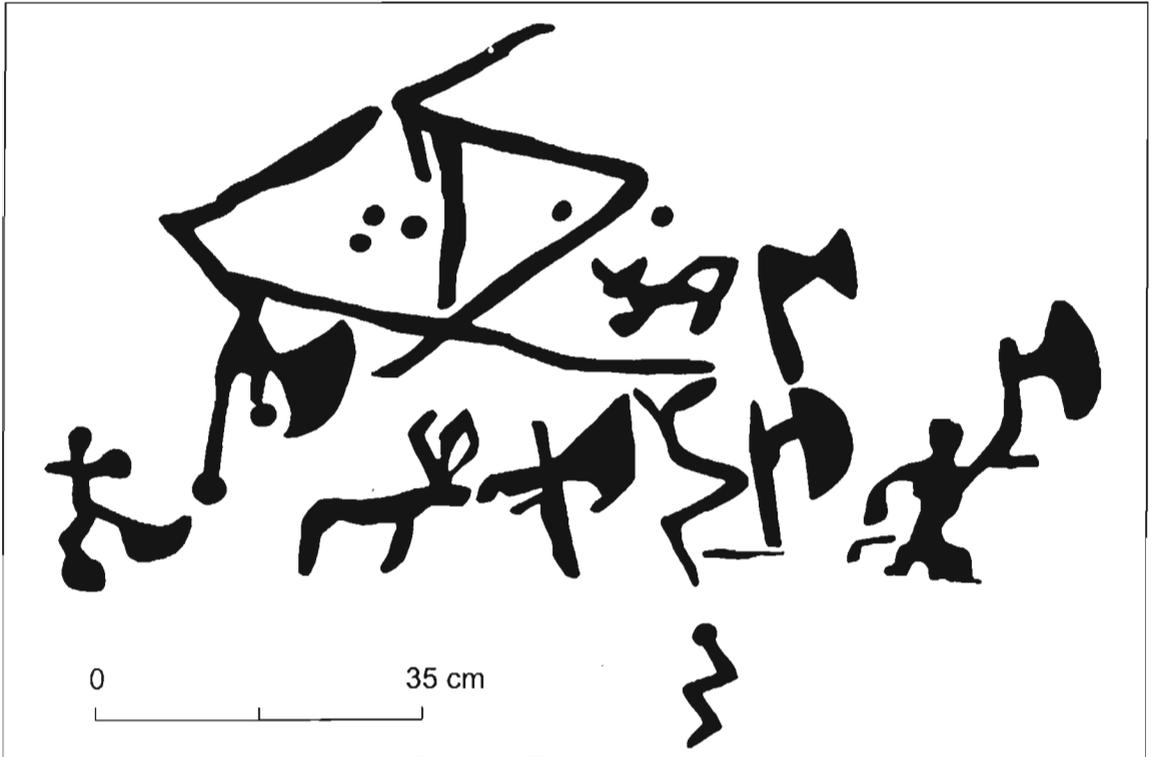




Fig. 5.1



Fig. 5.2

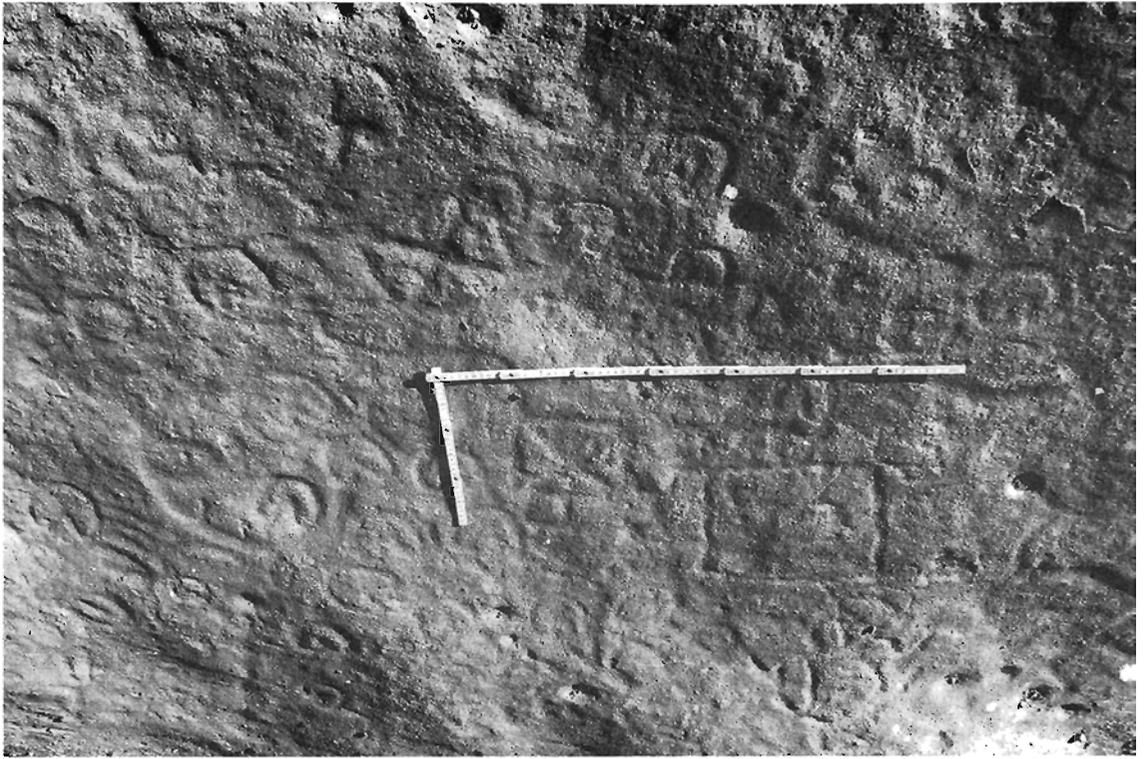


Fig.

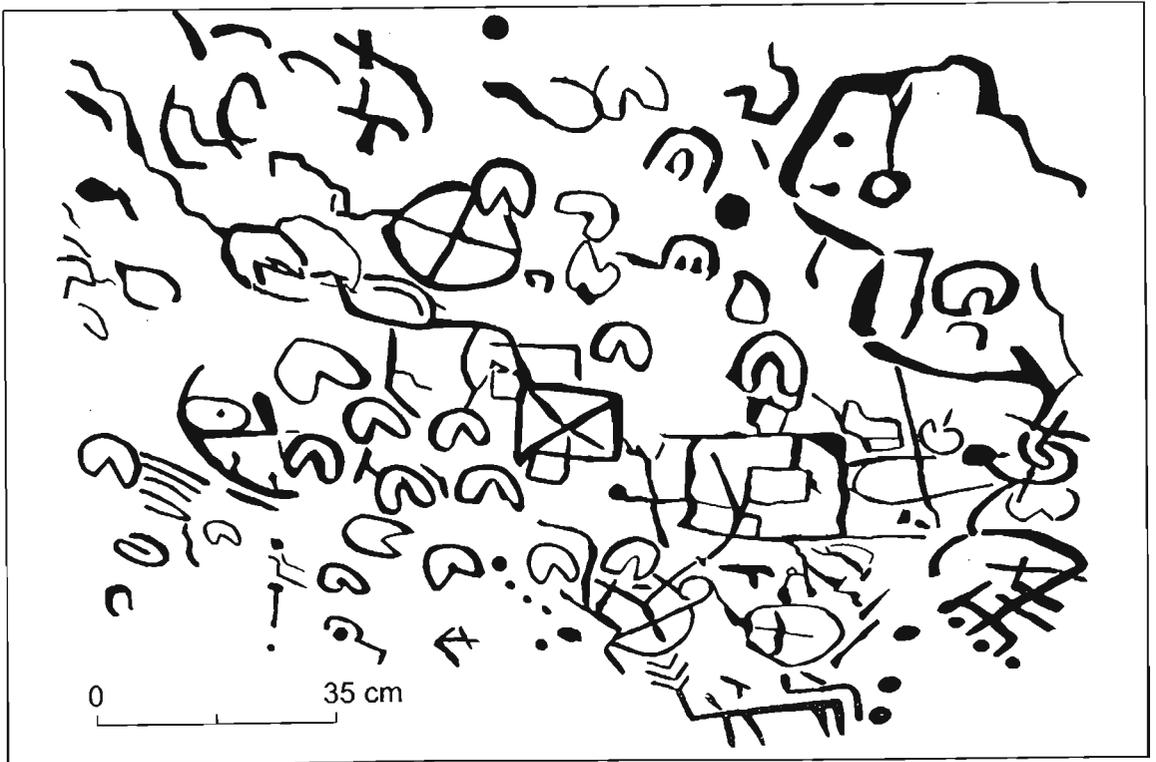


Fig. 6.2



Fig. 7.1

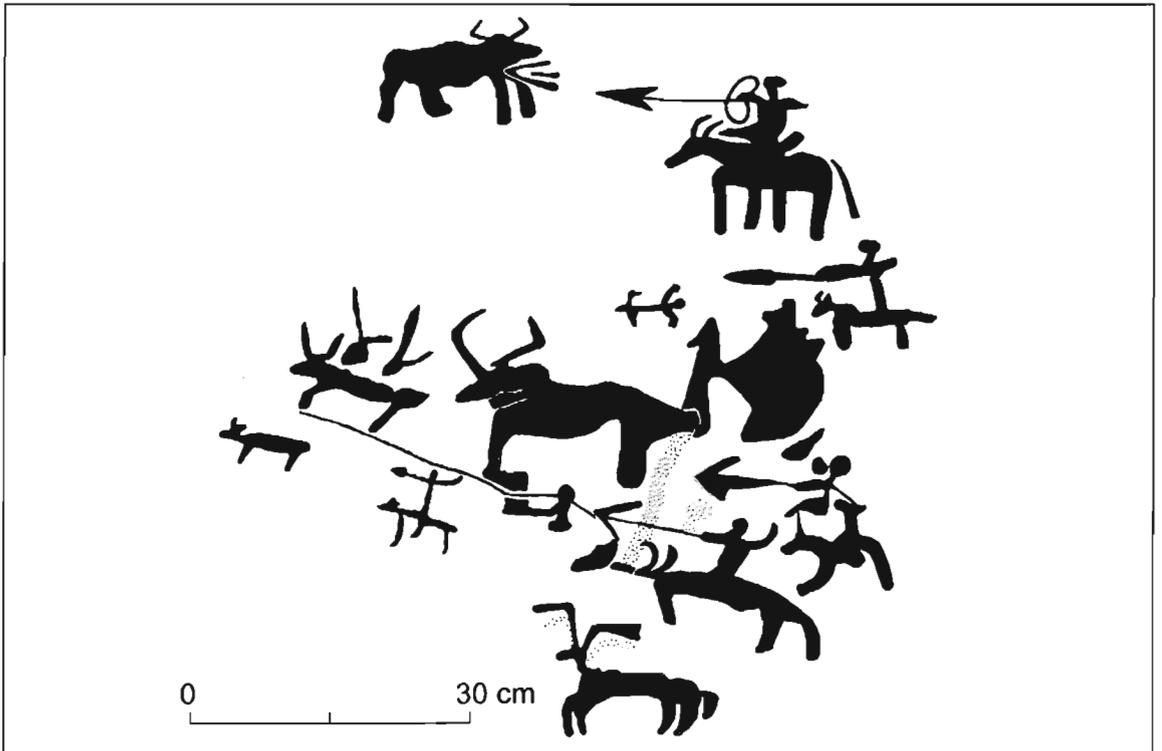


Fig. 7.2

The Sinja Valley Excavation in 2000 A.D.*

- Christopher Evans & David Gibson
with U. Acharya, T. Harward & R. Kunwar

Our brief fieldwork season in October, 2000 was primarily directed towards the testing of the main ridge-top ruins and only summary inspection could be made earlier survey findings in the wider environs. However, even in this, our programme was curtailed. Due to Maoist insurgency the army had just been deployed in the region, and the local villages were divided whether they would allow the fieldwork to progress. Throughout our Nepalese HMG partner, Mr. U. Acharya (assisted by Mr. R. Kunwar), adroitly handled what was clearly very tense and potentially volatile circumstances with admirable perseverance and sensitivity.

Background

It was through his researches in western Nepal that Yogi Naraharinath first identified Sinja as probably being the site of the summer palace of the Mallas (1956/2013), and this interpretation was furthered by Tucci (1956 & 1962). Thereafter followed Joshi's summary investigations in the 1970s

(1971/2028), with the current fieldwork programme arising from Mr. T. Harward's more recent surveys within the region. Documenting decorated architectural fragments, sculpted remains, pipe-irrigation systems and an extraordinary array of small finds (e.g. copper alloy tablets and figurines), it was through his instigation that the Cambridge Archaeological Unit (CAU) became involved in the area. In 1998 a preliminary season formally surveyed the earthworks and building foundations along the 'palace' ridges and documented other local findings (Evans, Gibson & Harward 1999). Most impressive amongst the latter are eight lion sculptures and a number of standing 'hero' stones (inscribed.)

Given local conditions and attitudes, in the course of the 2000 season it was initially decided to only 'regularize' the main north-south sondage of Joshi's earlier excavations on Terrace D (the traces of his cuttings and spoil heaps were much evident; fig. 1)¹ and in no instance were walls dismantled.

1. Seeming to consist of no more than a day's rapid 'wall chasing', his work was not officially sanctioned and no records or finds can be located from it.

* The Sinja Valley Project, The 2000 excavations, carried out by Cambridge Archaeological unit, University of Cambridge, UK. Department of Archaeology, HMG, Nepal, 2002.

Sinja- Earthwork Survey

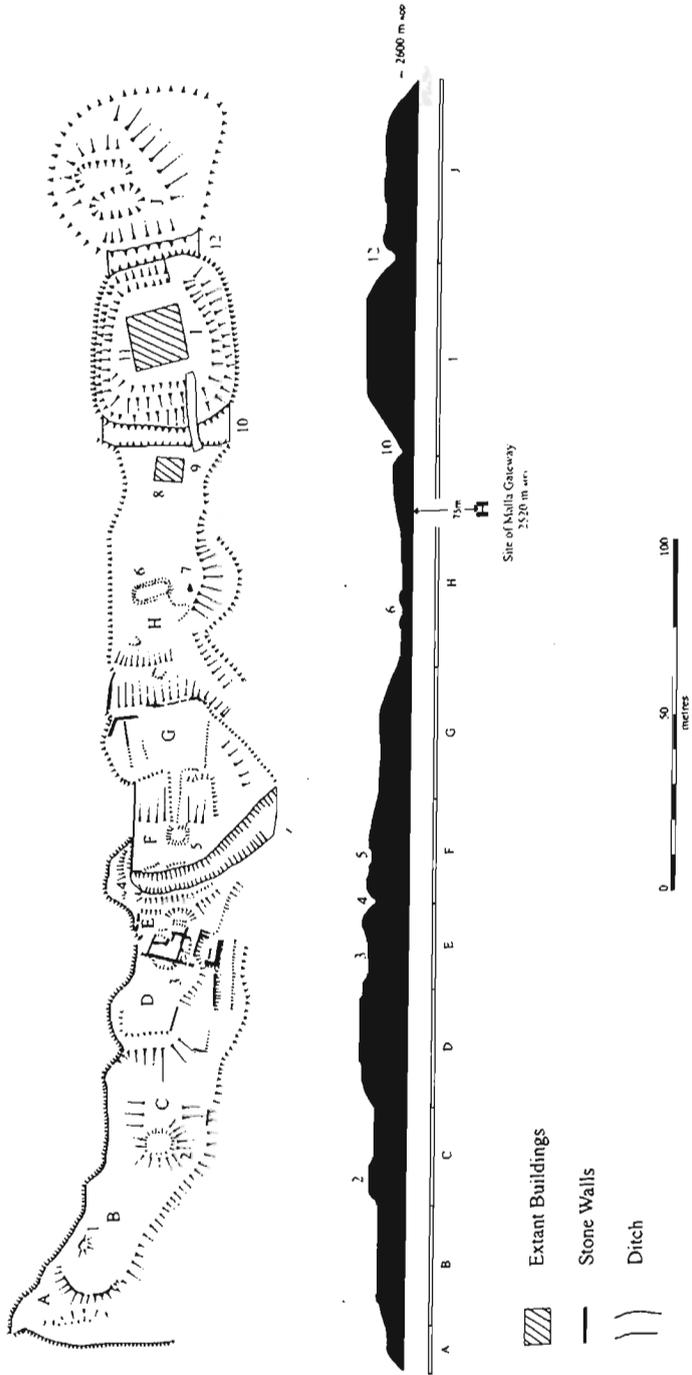


Figure 1

Eventually, however, we were able to proceed with greater confidence and could excavate meter-wide cross-trenches along the faces of main walls:

- North/South* – Trench II (13.00m long)
East/West – Trenches I, III & V (18.70m long, Trench VI denotes a sunken porch/alcove bordering the southern side of Trench II that had evidently been cleared by Joshi).

Through the cutting of bush, and the judicious probing and exposure of the tops of walls, we were able to determine the complex's plan across this swathe of the hill-side. In order to investigate the obviously 'artificially' levelled terrace summit bordering the western side of this complex, a 2.00 x 2.00m. trial exposure was made in its middle (Trench IV). In addition, the larger scale recording of the ridge's earthworks was completed, with the southern end of Terrace H and the two terrace knolls beyond that surveyed (I & J; the former is the moat-enclosed rise on which the Kanaksundari Temple sits; pl. I & fig. 1). Showing a c. 12.00m variation across the top of the ridge itself, the following features have now been identified:

- 1) Small mound with traces of walling along its eastern side
- 2) Sub-rectangular mound of rubble (6 x 7.00m), probably building-related
- 3) Main building range/ruin; site of Joshi's investigations and 2000 excavations
- 4) Large dry ditch, c. 7.00m across and 2.00m deep, with upcast rampart to north
- 5) 'Square' foundations (c. 5 x 5.50m), said to be the site of a former shrine to water god, Jalapa, approached by walled (largely robbed) sunken way from south
- 6) Outline of possible sub-rectangular structure (c. 5 x 10.00m)

- 7) Masonry 'block', possible wall corner
- 8) Rest house (extant)
- 9) Bridge access to Terrace I
- 10) Large rock-cut ditch c. 7.00m across and 2.00m deep
- 11) Kanaksundari Temple
- 12) Large rock-cut ditch, c. 6.00m across and 2.00m deep.

The excavations proved relatively uncomplicated. Typical of many alpine sites with acid soils, no complex strata or distinct floor surfaces could be recognised. This being said, masonry was found to survive to a height of 1.45m and cut features could be readily distinguished in the off-white marl/gypsum-derived geological sub-stratum. Whilst quantities of pottery (345 sherds), glass fragments (eleven) and some metalwork was recovered (three pieces), the paucity of bone is surely attributable to the acidity of the site's soils. Other noteworthy finds include three Tsa-Tsa statues/plaques. In the investigations, 45 features were distinguished (F. 1-45) - variously walls/footings, doorways, troughs and pits/silos - involving the recording of 52 excavation contexts ([no.]; <no.> indicates finds number).

The Terrace C and D Excavations

Effectively framing the excavations, the arrangement of the main building range will here be summarily outlined before progressing to the site's chronological sequence. Its upstanding masonry extends continuously over 11.00 x 25.00m, from the flat top of the ridge down its upper southwestern flank. Representing a 'complex architecture' and involving a minimum of 11 separate rooms/spaces (presuming contemporaneity of its components and omitting any upper storey arrangements or only 'slight' non-masonry room divisions), along the length of the range four main 'units' or 'cells' were identified (from east to west; fig 2):

A) A 9.00 x 7.50m 'square' (west wall, F. 1; south F. 21 & 22; east, F. 23; pl. II); a southern doorway was located in the southeastern corner (F. 32; pl. III & IV) and there are internal room divisions (F. 24 & 38); three walls extend south from the cell's southern wall (F. 2, 19 & 31).

B) This extends; in total, over 4.20 x 9.50m. The northern wall (F. 5) clearly abuts the side of Cell A and seems integral with its western wall, F. 6, that extends for c. 2.30m beyond the southern 'front' of Cell A, at its southern end it appears to return westwards (as F. 9). It may well be the case that the west wall F. 6 was either itself, or incorporated (i.e. built upon), an earlier terrace wall that was only later utilised within this as a building (see F. 29 below). A southern wall had evidently been added sub-dividing its length (F. 3; just before the front of Cell A). This has a doorway at its western end, at the point of its junction with (abutting) wall F. 6.

C) This is a complicated multi-roomed building (F. 7, 13-15), extending over 6.-6.90 x 9.50m and includes a southern 'alcove'/porch (F. 8 & 9); its complication, in part, arise from that it seems to also incorporate an earlier terrace.

D) Extending for 5-5.50m west downslope from Unit C (7.45m long), no excavations occurred within this area and its walls were only recorded in plan (F. 34 & 35).

The eastern side of this range stopped 2.50-6.00m short of the very steep slope of the ridge-side at this point. Its edge is here supported by discontinuous lengths of walling (F. 40, 41 & 45) and, in the north, one appeared to flank the side of a stone stairway leading up to Terrace D (F. 42); the levelled interval between the ridge-side and the building range apparently served as a pathway route along the ridge.

Attesting to both the demise and scale of these buildings, much stone rubble has tumbled down the

western ridge-side below this complex. This does not seem to have extended around the northern end of the terrace ('D' *et al*), though there - after an interval of c. 5.00m - a c. 20.00m length of terrace wall continues the line of the west wall of Cell D (F. 35). Beyond that, locally there is much rubble below the square platform ('2') on Terrace C and, too, down the side of Terrace F by the earthwork imprint of the small square shrine ('5'; fig 1).

Early/ 'pre-Range' Features

Within the northern end of Trench III a large pit had clearly been dug out by Joshi, with its 'fill' only consisting of subsequently tumbled-in stone and collapsed soil (i.e. for the most part was open/void; F. 10, fig. 3). This had a bell-shaped profile (probably exaggerated through post-excavation weathering), so that while its top was c. 0.70m in diameter, with depth its sides undercut by 0.20-.30m. It was c. 1.20m deep from the top of the natural. However, paving slabs - angling in relationship to the pit's edge - within the undisturbed brown silty loam soil horizon above this level must mark the true level of its top (0.20 - .25m higher), making the pit c. 1.45m deep in total.

This upper 'soil' horizon proved to be the fill (including stone and small brick/tile fragments) of a SE-NW oriented trough (F. 25) in which pit F. 10 had been set. Only the near-vertical eastern side of this linear cut was visible (0.80m + wide). Exposed over a distance of 4.50m, and continuing beneath the northern wall of Building Cell B (F. 5), beyond which it returned westwards, this flat-based cut deepened along its axis; beside pit F. 10 it was c. 0.10m deep whereas under wall F. 5 it was 0.40m deep.

Just south of pit F. 10, a short length of drystone wall (F. 39; two courses high - 0.15m - and one stone/0.14m wide) was found to extend along the length of this cut for c. 1.00m. While possibly the stub of an otherwise robbed-out wall, it lacked any kind of

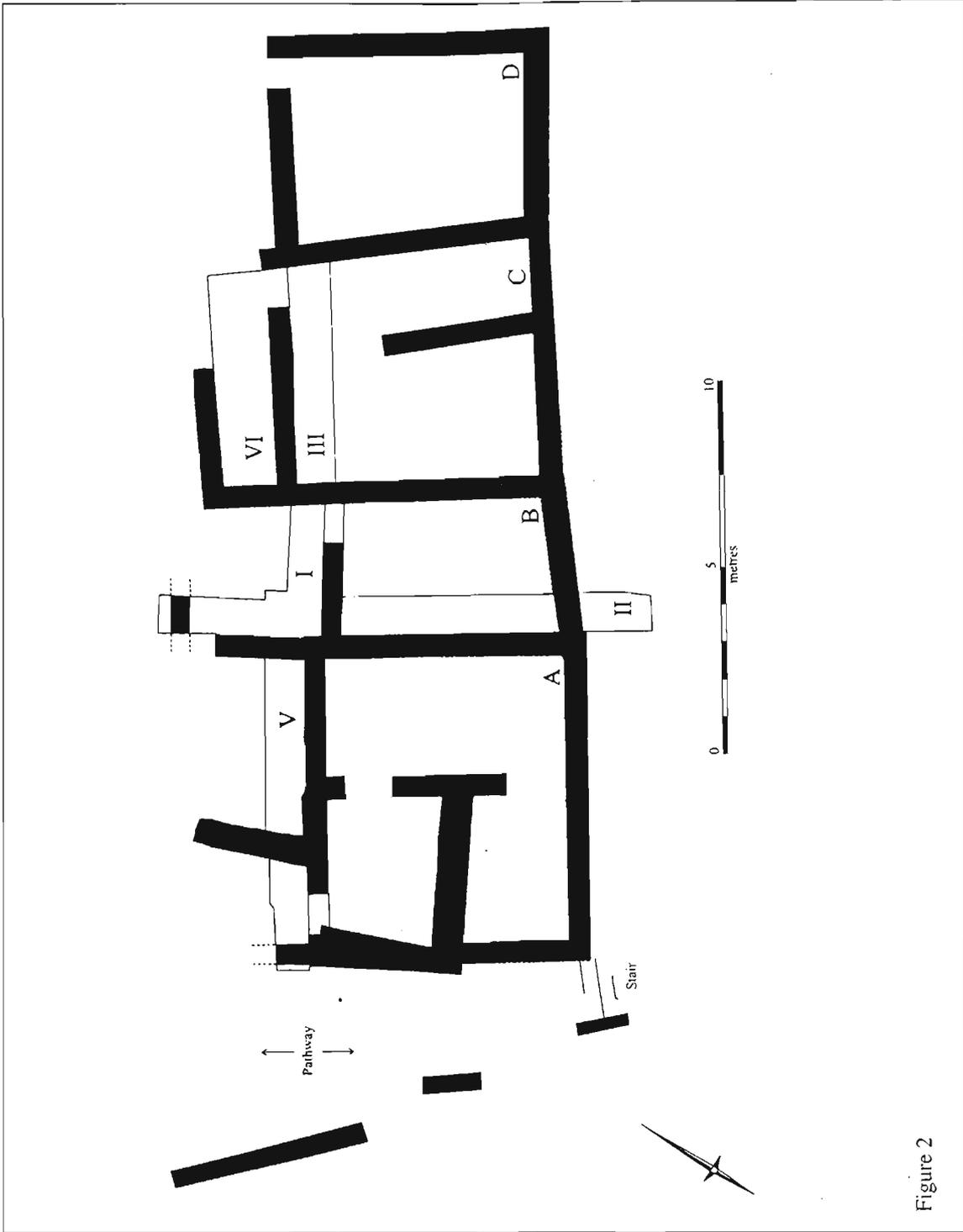


Figure 2

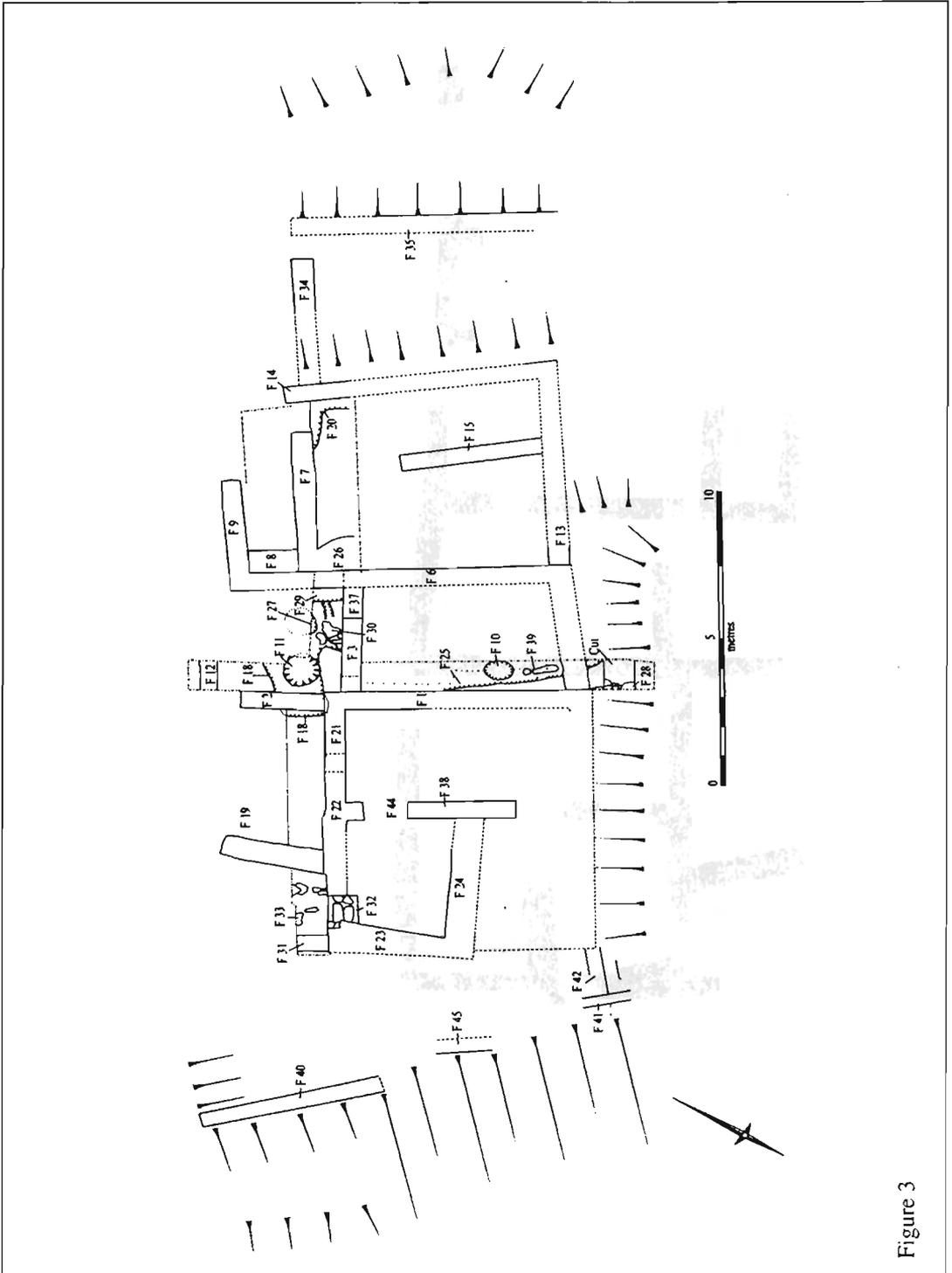


Figure 3

footing or rubble core and seems, possibly, to relate to a stone-lined drain.

A similar pit/trough arrangement was excavated over the southern end of the trench, just beyond its junction with Trench I. There, a void pit, F. 11 (1.00m top diameter, undercut by 5-10cm with depth; fig. 4), 1.65m deep (1.50 below top of natural), lay within a northeast-southwest oriented flat-based linear trough, 1.60m wide and with a maximum depth of 0.30m (F. 18). Crossing Trench II (and returning northward within Trench I), this continued beneath wall F. 2 and terminated in a 'squared' butt end immediately beyond the eastern side of that wall (it was also definitely sealed by the corner of Building Cell A - F. 1/21).

In the section exposed beneath the western face of F. 2 (Trench II east side), a large stone slab (10cm thick) was found set in the upper fill of F. 18 suggesting stabilisation anticipating the construction of the wall. Alternatively, this might instead relate to a more general stone paving laid within this cut. 3-5cm thick, stones up to 0.10-.20 x .10 - .20m in size had been set to support and wedge a series of very large schist slabs (0.20 - .40 x .50 - .70m) that had been set to ring around and slightly overhand the lip of pit F. 11 (p1. VI). When first excavated, balanced upon this edging and sealing the pit (and responsible for its void interior) was a large sub-circular capstone, c. 0.60m across. Aside from these stones, trough F. 18 was filled with mid brown silty clay (with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay).

Within Trench I, trough F. 30 appeared to conjoin and be a northward return of the F. 18 cut. Some 0.12m deep (east side), it too held a paving of large stone slabs which were there set within grey/black scorched silts with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay fragments ([031]). An east-west oriented trough (0.25m wide and 5-10cm deep), ran west from this paving.

Along the southern edge of this Trench (0.60m west of pit F. 11) was found the northern edge of another substantial pit (F. 27). 0.15m+ x 0.50m+, this was more than 0.30m deep (its base could not be achieved). It appeared to be backfilled with large/medium stones with brown clay silt and lenses of re-deposited natural. The [031] scorched silts sealed and bedded down into the upper fill of this feature, for which there would seem to be two possible interpretations. F. 27 may represent a backfilled pit or large structural feature (i.e. posthole); alternatively, it may also have been a 'great' pit comparable to F. 10/11 but which has had its sealing paving removed and been in-filled.

At the northern end of Trench II was found a complicated early masonry feature, F. 28. Only found at the end of our excavation, this proved difficult to distinguish and trace. With our time running out, it clearly was not defined or understood in its entirety, and this was not abetted by the fact that 'cleanly' re-deposited natural seems to have been backfilled within its associated robbing trenches. Two components were identified. The first of these, which was by far the more obvious, was an northwest-southeast oriented wall footing. This consisted of two well-laid horizontal courses of large stone slabs/blocks (4 x 17-26 x 17-38cm) set in mid brown friable mortar with flecks of burnt clay. Above this bedded the same soil layer but with lense of mid brown loam and uncoursed stone inclusion; this evidently attests to the robbing of F. 28's upper courses.

The second component appears to be a largely robbed-out east-west return wall that extends westward. Below the level of the northwest-southeast footing, two courses of roughly laid large stones project west beyond its edge and a robbing trench (filled with re-deposited natural with lenses of dark brown silt loam with traces of burning and charcoal fragments) extended across the width of the trench.

Though the alignment and sides of its cut were not satisfactorily defined, this was definitely truncated by wall F. 5 and there can be no doubt of the 'early' attribution of this masonry (i.e. pre-main building range.)

One other possibly early masonry footing was identified. This was found at the extreme eastern end of Trench I where a footing was revealed off-set (by 0.35m) below the line of wall F. 6 (Building Cell B west wall). There, large stone blocks (c 15 x 15 x 20cm) were laid in rough courses in a cut down into the natural, where they were packed with re-deposited natural and lenses of brown/grey silt. Whilst normally given this masonry's situation one would associate it was an off-set foundation of wall F. 6, this seems unlikely as the burnt horizon associated with the F. 30 trough in that trench ([031]) extended as a 5cm thick layer over the top of F. 29 and continued under wall

F. 6. This, thereby, indicates that they could not be contemporary. Instead, it is likely that the F. 29 footing related to F. 26, a masonry build along the western side of wall F. 6 and whose phasing/constructional relationship to it was unclear. 0.70m wide (though 'bowing' to 1.50m width in the north of Trench III), due to the stepping in of that trench only the upper 0.80m of F. 26 was exposed; it is presumed to go down to the natural strata and be c. 1.35m high/deep. Although possibly involving some degree of post-usage collapse, the build of this wall was irregular, involving uneven coursing and square stone blocks (5 x 10-15 x 15cm), and appeared to be terrace- rather than building-related. Yet it might, alternatively, relate to the provision of a 'second' load-bearing wall - specifically for Cell C (F. 6 relating to Cell B) - and this is an interpretation that will be further discussed below.

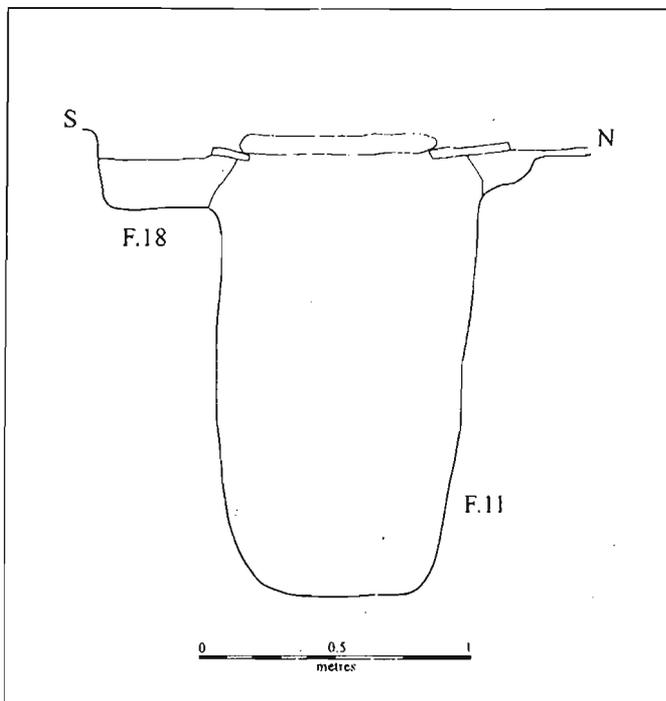


Figure 4: Reconstructed profile of F. 11 pit-cistern

The Sinja.....

Originally stone-slab capped and presumably void, the large pits, F. 10 and 11, probably both functioned as grain silos and are comparable to those still used within houses in the region today. They may relate to cuts F. 18, F. 25 and F. 30, with the latter including what was probably a length of stone drain (F. 39). The main question surrounding these features is their phasing attribution. Certainly they seem to pre-date the constructions of second cell/unit of the main building range (Building Cell B). Whilst it is conceivable that they were contemporary with the original square building (Building Cell A), this seems unlikely given that the alignment of their associated troughs/channels lies off of that structures, and that F. 18 extends beneath its southwestern corner.

Based on plan alignments, complicated building-sequence relationships would be postulated, relating the alignment of these troughs to the western and central walls of Cell C (F. 14 & 15), and together see these as constituting a large early structure whose eastern walls have been robbed out. Yet, this is too tenuous a basis of associated and, surely, the more direct interrelationship of wall F. 28 and trough F. 25 (the latter apparently) returning westwards in relationship to that wall) seems the more plausible. All that can simply be said is that there is evidence of earlier usage (but still with brick/tile in association) that we do not understand. This, of course, is not surprising given how little of this pre-range occupation was exposed. It does, however, warrant mention that the robbing of this structure seems to have been quite thorough, and that the scorching associated with its deposits could suggest that some manner of catastrophe was responsible for its demise.

The Building Range

The range's masonry must be considered of modest proportions and its walls are only c. 0.60-.65m wide. Generally bonded in a brown mud mortar (with lateral 'build divides' in its coursing),

though using slabs up to 0.40m length, most of the stonework is much smaller - 4-5 x 15-20cm. Larger block-like pieces, up to 15cm wide, are generally used as footings. However, apart from in the main downslope/terrace walls that have deep trench-built foundations (F. 6 & 14 and the western end of F. 7 - see below), these are only one course deep/high. Reflecting upon its scale (and limited 'grandeur'), if we add to this that the complex was not constructed in one episode, but that it sequentially extended down the slope, then it seems all the less 'monumental'.

Being internally sub-divided into three, the eastern building cell ('A') has the most obviously complex arrangement of rooms (though 'C' may have a comparably complicated structure; fig 6.2). It only appears to have been gained from its southeastern doorway (F. 32), from which a square room was accessed (A1). From there, doorway F. 44 opened onto a large western room (A2 - 3.10 x 3.20m). It is from the latter that its 'square' northeastern or 'back' room (A3) seems to have been reached, though it is possible that this may have had a separate exterior entrance onto the long-ridge pathway. It warrants mention that this building may have originally only had two north-south oriented 'long' rooms. The front southeastern room (A1) appears as if it may have been a later addition and certainly the off-alignment orientation of its walls indicates extensive modification (F. 23 & 24), whose alignment complements that of F. 19 later added to the cell's front.

The cross-/width-span of Building Cell A's rooms (3.10-3.50m) is no greater than any of the other building units; the width of 'B' and the long eastern room of Cell C also being 3.50m across. Only the span of Building Cell D is greater (4.50m), but as this was unexcavated internal divisions may have escaped detection.

Three exterior doorways were located along the southern front of the range:

In the southeast corner of Building Cell A (F. 32, c. 1.00m wide; pl. IV); in front of which there was evidence of a stone threshold paving (F. 33).

In the western end of wall F. 3 of Building Cell B (F. 37, 1.00m wide)

In the western end of wall F. 7 of Building Cell C (F. 36, 1.05m wide) giving access to the front porch recess (Trench VI).

1.00-1.05m wide with formal stone 'jambs' (i.e. dressed wall ends) and thresholds (i.e. stone slab bases), these contrast with two more ragged openings in the southern walls of Building Cells A and B (respectively in F. 21/22 and F. 3). These were both only 0.50m across and went through the full depth of the wall's fabric (i.e. down to natural), and were evidently cuttings made in the course of Joshi's investigations. (Note a 1.00m 'gap' was also recognised between the two southern rooms within Building Cell A. This, F. 44, was however only distinguished in the plan of the upper fabric - 1.10m wide - and was not exposed in depth. Similarly unexcavated, we cannot be certain that the gap in the western end of the southern Cell D wall was a doorway; its position seems appropriate, but at only 0.75m width it seems narrow.)

At the western end of Trench I an arrangement of large stone slabs was found set against the side of wall F. 6 (F. 43; pl. V). There, bedding upon a layer of mid brown clay loam with flecks and small fragments of fired clay and charcoal ([G20]), and partially supported by a large stone block projecting from (and embedded within) F. 6, a large schist slab (4cm x 0.40m x 0.55m) lay horizontal 0.12m below the surviving top of wall F. 6 ([O19]). Immediately bordering its northern side was set a vertical slab, 0.50m long/high (6cm thick and 0.26m wide), whose top projected 0.15m above the level of the wall. It is difficult to know what to make of this arrangement. On the one hand, it may relate to either a box-shrine

or 'shelf' (perhaps associated with food preparation as many bones were recovered from this area). Alternatively, it might attest to some manner of raised threshold access between Building Cells B and C. Unfortunately, wall F. 6 did not survive to a sufficient height to determine whether there was a raised doorway across it (it would have to be higher than the other doorways recovered). Given, however, the relationship of Cell C's eastern wall (F. 8/26; see below), the former interpretation seems the more likely.

There would seem to be a number of ways in which to interpret the slight wall footings in the eastern end of Trench V (F. 31) and the southern end of Trench II (F. 12):

- 1) They effectively revet a yard - from the raised long-ridge pathway along the east side of the building and against the foot of the cross-ridge dyke/rampart system ('4') in the south.
- 2) They define some manner of covered porchway extending the length of this building unit (Building Cells A & B).
- 3) They represent the true extent the range's original 'core' (Building Cells A & B), in which case the southern east-west wall (F. 12) would probably continue west to the line of F. 6.

The relationships here are further complemented by the fact that the three walls extended from the front of the Cell A core do not seem contemporary. F. 2 and F. 31 essentially complement the original Cell A alignment, F. 19 west of the doorway, lies much more west-over-south and appears to relate to later modifications of Room A1. Given this, the third of the above options seems the more plausible; F. 12/31 represent a structurally integral extension of the Building Cell A core (relating to Cell B), but which later - with the addition of wall F. 19 - may have been altered into a covered porch.

The arrangement of the walls at the southern end of Building Cell C also proved complicated. Inserted against F. 26 and standing as much as 1.45m high (0.65m wide), wall F. 7 was clearly part of the same build as (i.e. continuous with) the western wall of this cell, F. 14 (p1. VII & VIII). Over its westernmost 1.25m, this was carried on an off-set trench-built footing (c. 0.60m deep) 'regularizing' or terracing the ground slope. At its western end a doorway (F. 36), with a large threshold slab (6cm x 0.75m), was found to be raised by c. 0.15m in relationship to the cell's interior. This gave access into some manner of sunken alcove porch to the south. Corresponding to the area of Trench VI (cleared by Joshi), as defined by the southern length of wall F. 6 and its western return (F. 9), this was 1.40m wide and 5.50m long and continued across the southern front of the cell. At the eastern end of this alcove was exposed wall F. 8. Like F. 26, this seems to abut F. 6 and while their interrelationship is uncertain it definitely post-dates wall F. 7. Its top lies 0.30m below that of F. 6, and 0.75m wide ('bowing' slightly along its length), this was exposed to a depth of 0.90m +; the base was not seen).

How are we to understand the complex relationship of these elements? Wall F. 7 clearly represents the southern front of that unit, which was accessed via the reduced alcove porch on its southern side (the Trench VI masonry), which itself was probably gained by the south and west. This arrangement was clearly dictated by the need of downslope access into Building Cell C. What, in particular, complicates the layout of this cell is the provision of a 'second' eastern wall (in relationship to F. 6 of Cell B) and that it seems to have conflicting stratigraphic associations - F. 26 predating F. 7 which the F. 8 length post-dates. Although more complex phasing sequences can be (and have been) explored - for example, the southern alcove post-dating the construction of the main bulk of this cell (or that F. 8

was the foundation of a downslope stair) - far more reasonable is to see F. 8 and F. 26 as relating to a 'second' load-bearing wall beside F. 6 that was built sequentially with and integrally to Cell C's walls. From this it could be inferred that the roof of Cell C could not have been pegged into the western wall of Cell B (F. 6) and that another wall was needed to carry its weight. It warrants mention that if F. 8/26 does represent secondary load-bearing provision, then that it extended into the front 'alcove' would suggest that this reduced southern porch was also roofed. Whether there the roof lay at the same height as the Building Cell A/B front (i.e. presenting a continuous/unified facade) - in which case Cell C may have been two-storeys - or the alcove had a lower roof height (i.e. unlikely to project above that of the main bulk of Cell C), is unknown.

Later Activities

Aside from the scars of Joshi's excavations, the only feature that seems to definitely relate to post-building range-usage was wall F. 4. Built torevet the southern side of Terrace D, and extending on top of the northern wall of Cell A, this essentially consists of a 'line' of drystone rubble, c. 0.35m high and c. 0.95m wide.

Trench IV

This 2.00 x 2.00m sondage was excavated within the middle of the wall-revetted terrace ('D') north of the main site with the express purpose of establishing whether this rise was artificial (i.e. 'mounded'). Natural soils were there encountered at a depth of only 0.15-20m, and that no trace of any buildings or occupation was recovered (i.e. no surface finds) would suggest that this could not be the case. Two 'bulbous' cut features were, however, exposed within the trench (F. 16 & 17; fig. 5). The one appeared to be stone-packed and was thought to be a grave, leading to the possibility that the entire terrace

is a cemetery. Unfortunately, because of the sensitivity surrounding the fieldwork, we could not further investigate these features. Reviewing the trench plan it is certainly possible that, at least the north of these (F. 17), was instead a backfilled wall-robbing trench and, if so, could be contemporary with the early walls in the northern end of Trench II.

Terracing and Building Reconstruction

The schematic elevation shown in Figure 6 is conventionalised according to proto-typical models of Himalayan vernacular architecture (i.e. terraced with flat roofs). We did not, of course, 'sound' the depth or arrangement of Cell D. Given topographic

slope and the scale of its walls, the elevation presumes a comparable drop of floor level as between Building Cells A/B and D, and therefore, implies a 3.50m difference in height along the length of this range. The reconstruction shows a four-storey terraced building arrangement. This rests on the presupposition that, by the scale of its walls and square plan, that Building Cell A was two-storeys and - presuming that ridge-side view was an important factor - each cell thereafter dropped by a storey. This may, however, be reconstructed by too convenient principals. By the same precepts ('square' plan, sub-division and scale), Building Cell B could also have been two storeys high.

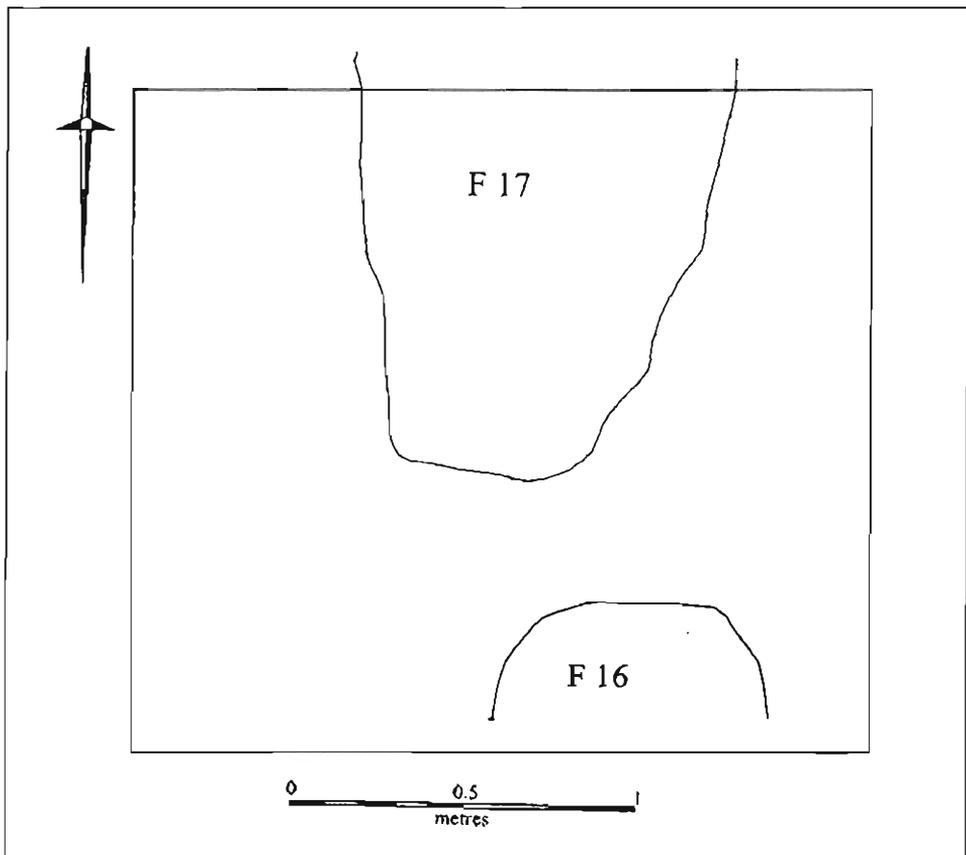


Figure 5: Trench IV features

Whilst both alternative schema and phasing sub-divisions are possible, in Figure 6.1 and 6.2 a basic 'growth model' of the range's development is presented. First, there must have been the core of the three room-divided Cell A 'square', presumed to have stood two storeys high. Subsequently a 3.50 and 3.00m wide single-story 'surround' was respectively added to its western and southern sides (all its walls abut/post-date the Cell A core; fig. 6.1). This must have been a unified 'single' building ('A/B'), which may have had exterior access from the east side of the its southeastern room (AB1) - directly onto the eastern pathway - a southern entrance being prohibited by the fact that it would have opened directly onto, and been 'crammed' by, the line of the great ditch system rampart.

Thereafter sees the western downslope addition of Cells C and D (fig. 6.2). Here, the fact that F. 8/26 seems to represent a second load-bearing wall (in relation to F. 6) and that the Cell C's roof was evidently not therefore pegged into the fabric of 'A/B' would indicate that it was itself a separate building (without further excavation whether Cell D was an adjunct of C or another discrete building cannot be determined at this time). The northeastern portion of Building A/B also goes through later modification, though there is no necessary relationship between this and the development of Buildings/Cells C and D. The fabric/alignment of Room A1 was modified and wall F. 19 - on the same orientation - was added to its southern front. Cutting off the eastern end of Room AB1, whether it and Room AB2 still then operated as closed units (presumably with an inserted southern entrance, however awkward *viz.* the rampart) or instead had been altered into a open roof-covered porch, is unknown.

Phasing

Given how many ambiguous relationships and 'possibilities' were apparent in our investigations, it

should not be surprising that much uncertainty surrounds the site's sequence. Whilst recognising these caveats, here employing the principles of Occam's Razor a minimalist schema is proposed for this area (alone) of the ridge-top occupation:

Phase I - The F. 28 'building'. It is difficult to determine whether the pit/silo and associated trough system should be attributed to this phase or that which came after (or, even, an intervening occupation); the orientation of the 'troughs' does not match that of the Phase II range. Given their alignment, it is conceivable that some of the downslope Phase II walls may have had their origin in contemporary terraces (e.g. F. 14).

Phase II - The Building Range, which can itself be sub-divided:

- i) Cell A (F. 1, 21-23), possibly with contemporary yard-terracing along its western side (F. 29); subsequent addition of single-storey surround on western and southern side (Building A/B; F. 5, 6, 3, 12 & 31)
- ii) Addition of Building/Cell C on west side (F. 7, 13, 14, 15 & 26) with sunken 'alcove' porch (F. 8 & 9); addition of Cell D (F. 34 & 35) and alterations to southeast corner Building A/B (F. 19 *et al.*)

Phase III - Destruction of building range; later use of ridge-top, including the construction of terrace wall F. 4.

In terms of the excavated sequence - apart from that other occupation episodes may well either sub-divide Phase I or intervene between it and Phase II - the main point of ambiguity focuses upon the interrelationship between the Phase I silos/troughs and the F. 26/29 terrace wall (the latter possibly, though, relating to Building C's load-bearing needs). Whereas the latter seemed to truncate the F. 30 trough system, the Phase I scorched horizon extended over

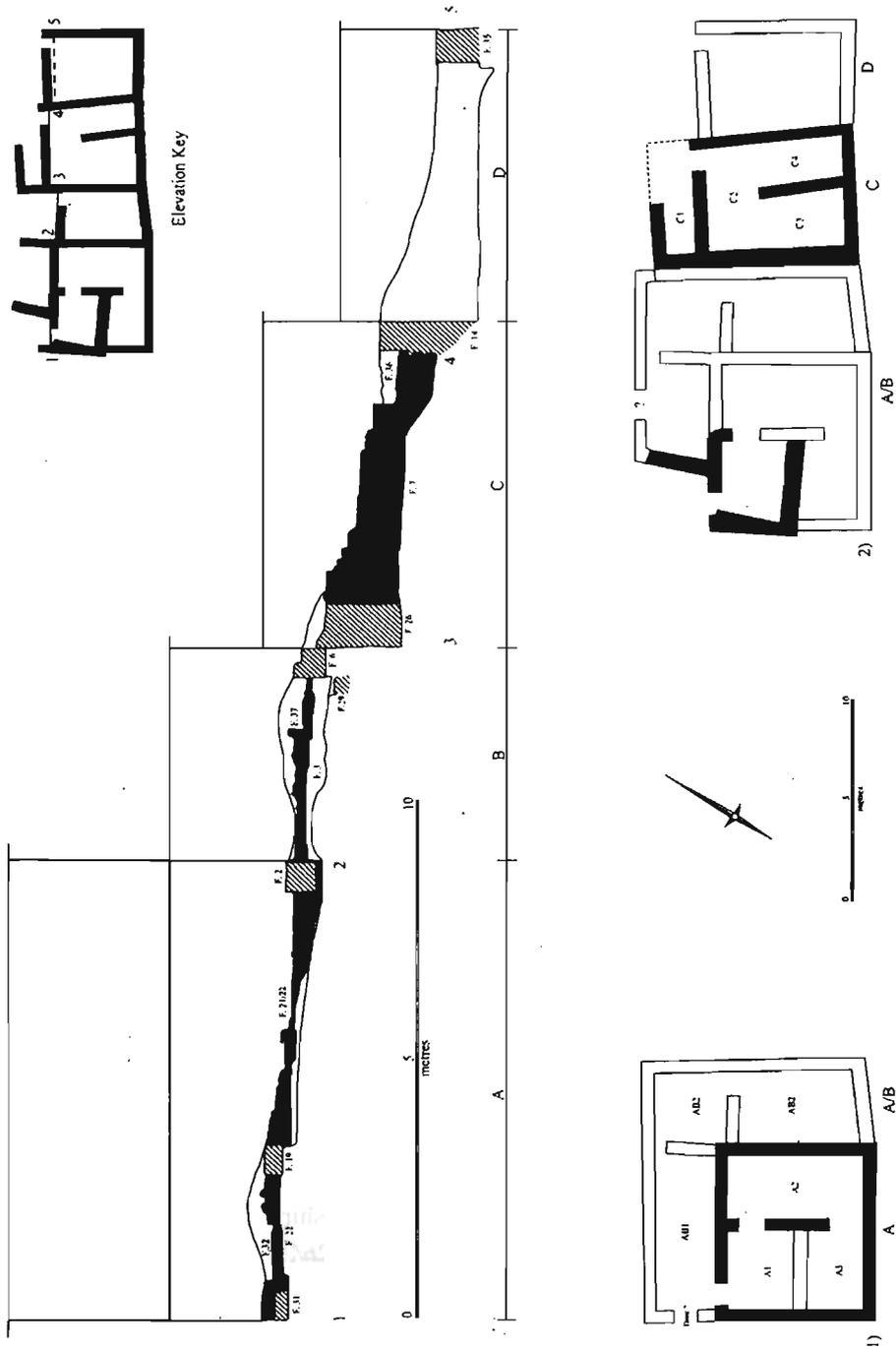


Figure 6: Reconstructing the Range

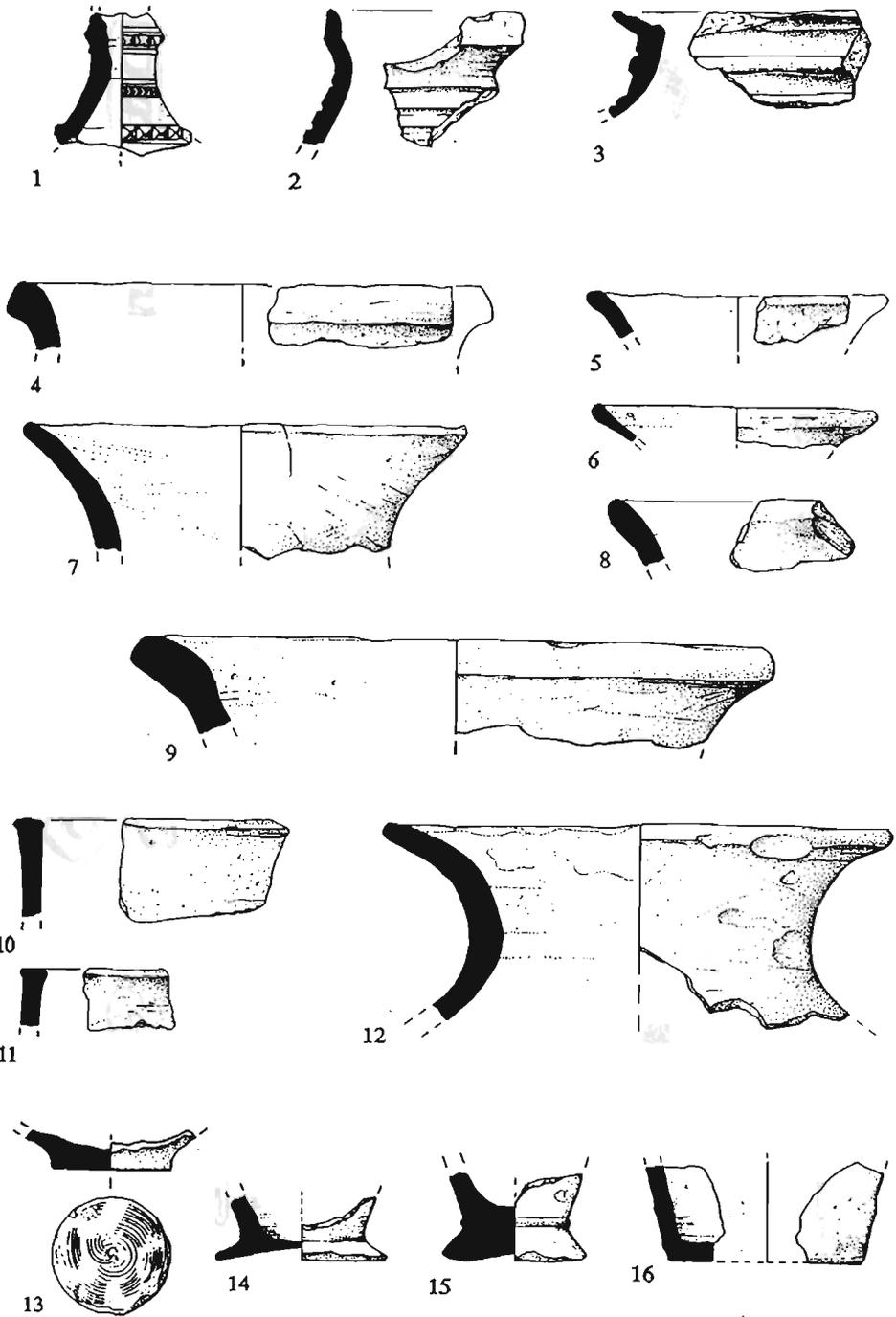


Figure 7

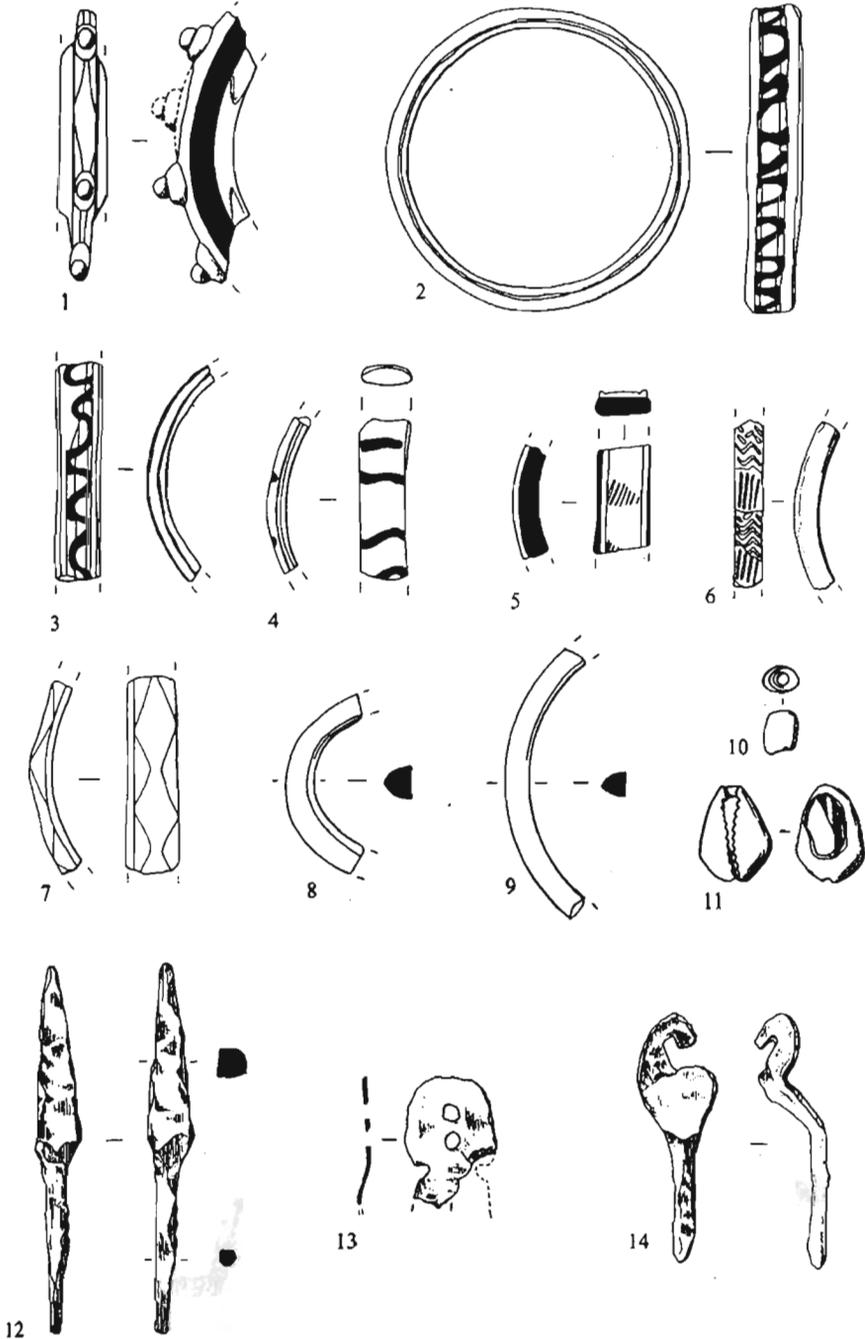


Figure 8

and sealed the F. 29 masonry. The evidence seems contradictory; in the schema above it is presumed that the F. 29 terracing related to Phase II activities, but this is obviously an issue that will only be resolved by further excavation.

Artefact Assemblages

The pottery assemblage recovered consists of 345 sherds. Although it is not sufficiently large to allow detailed statistical analysis, a number of general comments can be made following an examination with a 10x hand lens. Four fabrics were recorded:

Fabric A - Uniform mid-dark red/brown colour. Smooth feel. Irregular sorted inclusions of quartzite up to 1mm. Larger sherds show irregularity of firing.

Fabric B - Uniform orange-red colour. Smooth feel with occasional burnish. Mica and quartzite inclusions up to 1mm.

Fabric C - Uniform dark red colour. Smooth feel with burnished outer surface. Mica inclusions <0.5mm but larger possible organic inclusions either leached out or burnt out during firing.

Fabric D - Dark grey black colour. Smooth feel. Mica inclusions <0.5mm. Appears reasonably well sorted.

All of the pottery is hand-formed (i.e. without the use of centrifugal force) and there was little refinement in the sorting of the clay prior to the manufacture of the vessels. This is evidenced by the frequency of blowouts by the incorporation and use of inappropriate inclusions during firing. The majority of fractures are hackly, with very occasional laminated fractures. It is likely that these were fired in bonfire clamps as is witnessed still in Bhaktapur in Kathmandu valley today.

A discussion of vessel form is difficult due to the condition of the assemblage collected. No complete vessel profile was recovered; the majority

of vessels appear to be open jars with the occasional spout (fig. 7.1), and the bases are flat (fig. 7.13 & .16) or with the occasional pedestal (fig. 7.14 & .15). The decorative motifs on the pottery are extremely limited and consist of incised lines particularly on the shoulder of vessels' horizontal grooving and occasional impressed lozenge shapes probably stamped. An attempt at burnishing is apparent on a number of vessels.

Illustrated Pottery (fig. 7): Decorated spout - [005], Tr. III; 2-12) rims - 2: [029] Tr. III; 3: [003] Tr. II; 4: [028] Tr. V; 5: [031] Tr. I; 6: [002] Tr. II; 7: [001] Tr. I; 8: [002] Tr. II; 9: [028] Tr. V ; 10: [003] Tr. II; 11: [001] Tr. I; 12: [003] Tr. II; 13-16) bases - 13: [038] Tr. V; 14; [002] Tr. II; 15: [002] Tr. II; 16: [002] Tr. II.

Illustrated Small Finds (fig. 8):

A) Glass

- 1) Decorated bracelet fragments with red ground/core with applied green and ochre bands and raised blue-on-white 'knobs' (<11> [026]; Tr. I/II)
- 2) Complete decorated bangle/bracelet with applied decoration (red curvilinear pattern - blackened on figure - with green strips; <7> [005]; Tr. III)
- 3) Decorated bangle/bracelet fragment (as 2; <9> [005]; Tr. III)
- 4) Decorated bangle/bracelet fragment with applied linear pattern (alternating red and green lines - both blackened on figure - on ochre ground/core; <18> [039]; Tr. V)
- 5) Decorated bangle/bracelet; dark green core with applied blue exterior surface with oblique opaque white line motifs (<19> [001]; Tr. I)
- 6) Decorated bangle/bracelet fragment with dark blue ground/core with opaque white

line inlay line pattern alternating between chevron and vertical/longitudinal line 'panels' (the latter vertical patterns being on an applied red coat; <19> [001]; Tr. I)

- 7) Faceted red bangle/bracelet fragment (<19> [001]; Tr. I)
- 8) 'Ring' fragment, opaque white coat of dark reddy core (the latter exposed on interior surface (<19> [001]; Tr. I)
- 9) Dark blue bangle/bracelet fragment (<3> [001]; Tr. I)
- 10) Green glass bead, 6mm diameter (<10> [005]; Tr. III)

B) *Other*

- 11) Cowrie Shell (?)bead with pierced hole (<17> [031]; Tr. I)

C) *Ironwork*

- 12) Square-section object, 70mm long with tapering head/point above shaft; possibly an arrowhead or awl/punch (<14> [027]; from scrub clearance area of Cell D)
- 13) Broken fitting; circular top with holes for attachment (17 x 24mm+; <4> [005]; Tr. III)
- 14) Object with angularly flattened head (15mm across) attached to shaft; key or, more probably, a latch (<5> [005]; Tr. III)

D) *Clay - Tsa-Tsa (fig. 9):*

- 1) Circular plaque fragment (c. a quarter), 36mm thick and c. 6.5cm in diameter. Rough rounded back and impressed flattened face; the latter is divided into five concentric ring with an impressed dot exterior border. No pattern is apparent within the central ring/core, common to the remainder are four-tier stupa images. In the fourth ring these alternate with spread-eagled 'stick figure' images; the second ring includes a single image of a cross-legged seated figure (<16> [028]; Tr. V).

- 2) Damaged flat plaque (5.7 x 7.7cm x 22mm) with central image of a stupa with ?Chained line flanking both sides ending in flower motifs; there is writing on either sides (<12> [026]; Tr. I/II).

- 3) Complete, though damaged, conical/pyramidal statuette; 7.5cm high, with rough rounded base (7.4cm in diameter) with faceted upper body/cone and smooth finished apex (<15> [031]; Tr. I).

Overall the pottery assemblage is remarkably uniform and there is nothing to suggest a high status component. Unfortunately given the state of knowledge of the region's pottery studies, the assemblage cannot be more closely dated than to a general 'Medieval' ascription (?14-15/16th centuries).

Of the other finds recovered, the only category that seems to offer any basis of tighter assignment are the three Tsa-Tsa statuettes/plaques (fig. 9), thought to be of 14th century date (U. Acharya, pers comm.). Otherwise, of the site's small finds, noteworthy are an iron arrowhead, a key or latch and a perforated fitting (fig. 8.12-14), and cowrie shell bead (fig. 8.11). As mentioned above, the quantity of its glass pieces seems remarkable. Apart from one possible window pane fragment (?intrusive) and a bead, these are decorated bangle/bracelets (nine). While it is conceivable that some of the latter were introduced through the Joshi's diggings (?fig. 8.7 & .9), most are unmistakably 'old' and, therefore, may tell of the building's residents.

Dating Evidence

Two radiocarbon dates were obtained:

- 1) F. 28 ([041]) - 630±60BP/Cal. AD 1270-1420 (2 sigma)
- 2) [031] - 210±60BP /Cal. AD 1650-1680 and Cal. AD 1740-1810 and Cal. AD 1930-1950 (2 sigma)

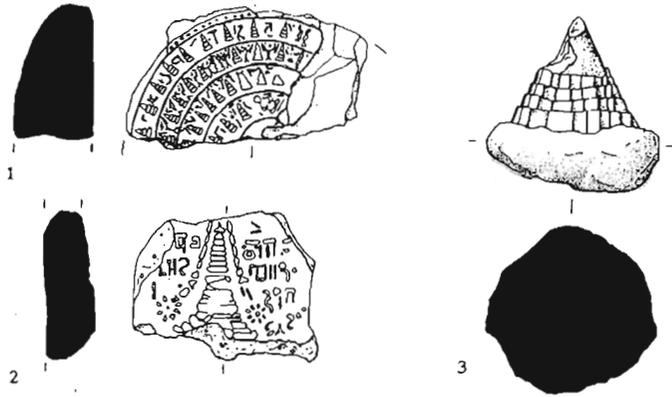


Figure 9: Tsa-Tsa statuettes/plaques

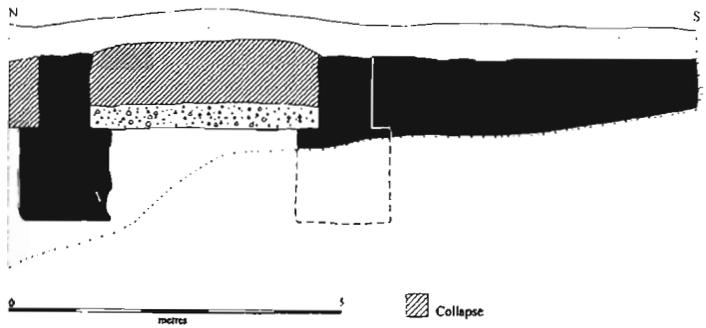


Figure 10

The Malla Gateway. Above (Fig-10) sketch plan

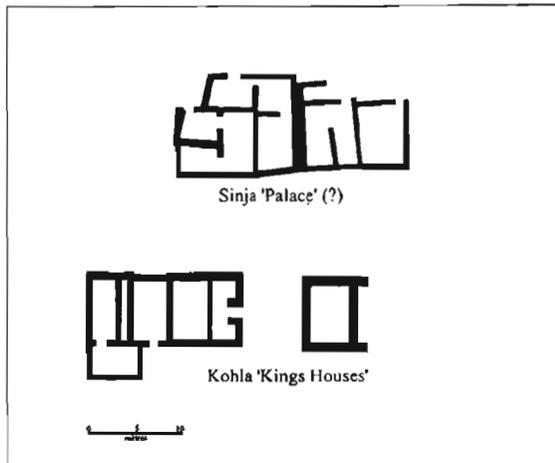


Figure 11

Although obviously too few determinations to anchor the sequence with assurance, the dates suggest that only the fragmentary Phase I remains potentially relate to the Malla investment of the ridge. The second date ([031]) derives from the burnt deposit in Trench I and must relate to the Phase II building range, and indicate would seem to be consistent with the attribution of most of the site's finds assemblage (17/18th century).

The Malla Gateway

On our last afternoon in Sinja we were called to view stonework exposed in the backside of a house terrace alongside the main pathway down from the ridge (fig. 1). This proved to be truly monumental, though unfortunately our departure schedule did not permit its detail recording (fig. 10; p1. IX). Exposed in section were two great walls flanking a robust metalled surface (3.40m across and 0.40m thick). The walls *per se* stand 1.10m high and are 0.80m wide, and consist of large well-laid/regularly coursed slabs (5-18 x 15-30cm) bonded in a red mud mortar. These are carried on massive footings (1.20m wide and 1.40m deep), built of large roughly dressed blocks (8-10 x 30 x 60cm). Walling was observed to extend for c. 5.00m south from the parallel walls.

Given its careful construction, the size of the stone and the absence of brick/tile within its fabric, this certainly seems more 'ancient' (and massive) than the up-slope building range. It would appear to relate to some manner of tower gateway with a gravelled surface passing through it and with a conjoining room/building coming off of its southern side. Large and 'fancy dressed' stone was also observed incorporated within the fabric of the house of the site's present occupants (i.e. the stone being 'derived'/robbed) and, taken as a whole, the evidence suggests that what is there exposed is the gateway approach into the main Malla palace complex. If so, and given

the evidence of the main excavations, this could suggest that its core lies on the south end of the ridge, perhaps beneath the area of the Kanaksundari Temple (fig. 1.11).

Sitting across much of the width of the ridge-top at this point, the extant temple is, in effect, isolated by very large dry moats (c. 6.00m across and 2.00m deep) and, across which, access is bridged. Extending over the width of the ridge and cutting off long-ridge movement, together they delineate a compound of 40 x 50m (fig. 1.I). This has the appearance of a defended enclosure, and these earthworks seem unlikely to relate to the temple (i.e. pre-date it). If attributable to the Malla occupation, then given written accounts, it seems unlikely that it would have been confined to this area alone. By the discovery of the probable Malla gateway - which if associated with the ditched compound suggests that 'imposing' defence was a concern - then it is logical to presume that the earlier palace complex extended north to, at least, the great ditch and rampart line separating Terraces E and F. But this, of course, it has been argued faced southward and encloses 'something' to the north. If a valid interpretation, this raises the possibility that the entire length of the ridge was then utilised.

Discussion

The relationship of this building range to the dyke/rampart system along its southern side is uncomfortable (fig. 1.4) and it is difficult to see the two as being contemporary. Accordingly, the range would have to of been subsequently set against the rampart and evidently made use of the earlier defensive earthwork to provide a measure of security. Although the arcing layout of this great ditch could suggest that it enclosed occupation along its south side (i.e. Terrace F), the arrangement of its rampart on the northern side indicates that what was actually

protected lay in that direction. If so, it could theoretically have been associated with the Phase I F. 28 building (and the square platform ? tower on Terrace C; fig. 1.2). Given this, and the difficulties of distinguishing re-deposited natural within the robbing cuts at the northern end of Trench II, we cannot be absolute assured of the negative evidence of Trench IV as regards the possibility of early occupation across Terrace D's obviously levelled crown.

When compared, for example, to the two structures attributed as 'King's Houses' at the 11-13th century settlement at Kohla, Kaski District (Evans 1999), the Sinja range is not that substantially larger (fig. 11). It is, however, more complex in the number and arrangement of its rooms. Yet its layout is not particularly sophisticated; it is without corridors so that all 'backspace' was gained by through-room access alone.

If leaving aside for the moment issues of dating, could this be a late manifestation of the palace of the Mallas ?² Assembling the available sources, Pandey describes its appearance in the 14th century:

The King ruled the state from his four-storeyed white-washed moon-complexioned magnificent palace of imposing dimensions of Semja which was strongly protected by ramparts and ditches on all the sides and was perpetually resplendent with the fragrance of the sweet-smelling flowers and echoes of the songs of amorous ladies of delicate fancies on

the flowing rhythms of various musical instruments of the artists. A huge banner, marked with the emblem of Garuda fluttered in the air on the palace (Pandey 1997: 144,139).

Not surprisingly, the evidence of our limited excavations is ambiguous. As noted above, the pottery seems remarkably uniform. It does not itself suggest trade and, apart from the sea-shell bead (and, possibly, the glass), there is no real indication of long-distance connections within the site's assemblages. This being said, its finds seem unusual on a number of accounts. There is the number of Tsa-Tsa statuettes recovered from such limited excavations, and the quantity of glass, particularly bracelets, obviously attesting to women in residence (? 'ladies') - seems remarkable. Equally, is the absence of a range of domestic items, such as stone mortars and rubbers, that otherwise could have been expected. The latter strands of evidence might attest to a 'special' residence, but one - at least within the portions of the site we investigated - seems without long-distance trade connections.

Against this, does the range's architecture offer clearer evidence ? Again, unfortunately not. On the one hand, it is not particularly monumental or sophisticated, and nor is it substantially larger than many of the more complicated conjoining houses standing in the Valley's villages today. Yet such judgements are, of course, entirely dependent upon what expectations one would have of a palace in such a remote area (and the 'measure' of contemporary

2. Although largely dismissed by 'foreign' scholars as an attempt by the Thakalis of north-central Nepal to link themselves to the Thakuri past - and thereby aspire to Nepalese caste hierarchies - their oral traditions and written clan histories relate their origins from Sinja and the Malla kingdom (Fisher 2001: 47, 50-51). One strand revolves around the controversial story of the Hansa Raja, the son of the Hindu Thakuri king of Sinja who wandered the Himalayas until he settled at the town of Thini in Thakalis territory. The moot point being whether these high-caste roots relate Hansa Raja as the ancestor of all or only some of the Thakalis. Important in terms of sub-sector migrations and the roots of kingships in Nepal in general, Fisher relates the apparent discovery of the crown and spectre of the Hansa Raja in the storeroom of the clan house of the Pompar *ghyu* of the Sherchan sub-clan. He describes a collection of 'rusted and pitted sword blades, an innocuous metal alloy helmet, and a two-and-a-half foot-long club' (2001: 204-5). Obviously unimpressed by what he saw (and going onto to ironically play on the idea of the crown as Cevantes shaving bowl as the helmet of Mambrino), this anecdote striking elucidates the potential for the displacement of material culture with the movement of peoples. Could the vestiges of the latter days of the Malla have migrated east and be mouldering in the clan houses of the Thakalis ?

domestic buildings). In terms of the descriptions of the palace at Sinja two points warrants emphasis. Firstly, is the mention of its whitewash finish. So rendered, there would have been no need to employ large well-finished masonry - but only modest materials as in the range - as these would have been masked. Secondly, is the mention that the palace stood to four-storeys. The range we investigated stood no more than two. Yet, by the terracing of its buildings/cells down the western slope, viewed from that perspective it would have appeared four storeys high. On top of this, Pandey's mention of the Malla palace's protective ditches and ramparts could have direct correlates with the ridge's earthworks, but then, so too, would these be found on less aspiring fortified hill-tops in the region.

Weighing the evidence - the occurrence of lion sculptures and evidently 'ancient' irrigation systems in the area, the ditched enclosure surrounding the Temple's rise, the discovery of the 'monumental' gateway and the radiocarbon dating of the Phase I walls in our excavations - it does seem reasonable to identify the ridge-top site as the summer palace of the Mallas. Against this, the standing masonry remains of the main Phase II building complex is evidently much later. Whether a 'modest palace' or the grand abode of an aspiring local, it must post-date the Malla occupation.

Acknowledgments

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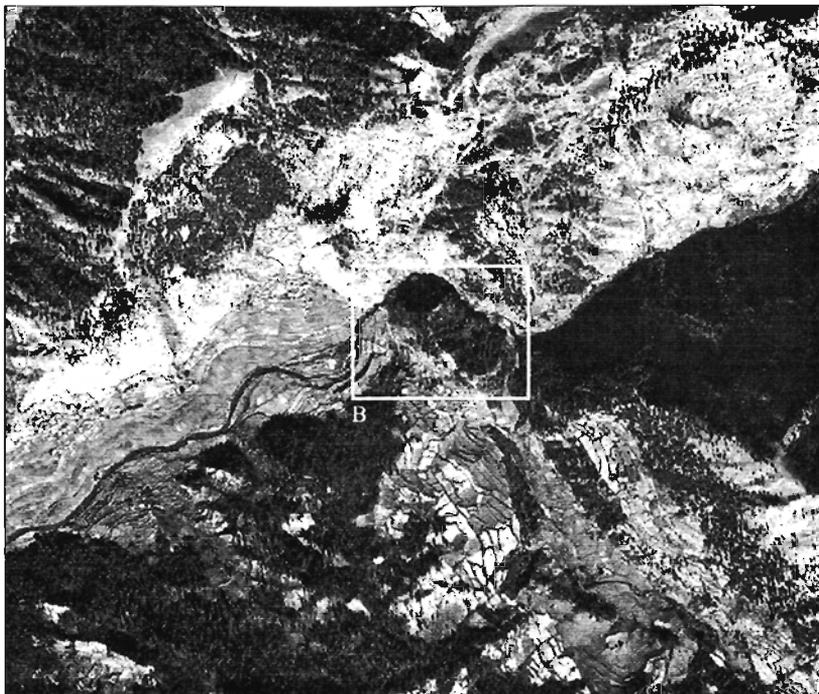
Archaeology, HMG Nepal and, particularly, its various Director Generals, Dr. Amatya, Mrs. Pradhan and Mrs. Rana - it is inspiring to work with such colleagues. We, and Tim Harward, also thank N. Pandey of Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu and D. Sharma for their expertise, advice and guidance.

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A



B Plate 1-(A) Satellite image of Sinja Environs; (B) Detail of 'Palace Ridge'
(note location of temple; cf. fig 1)



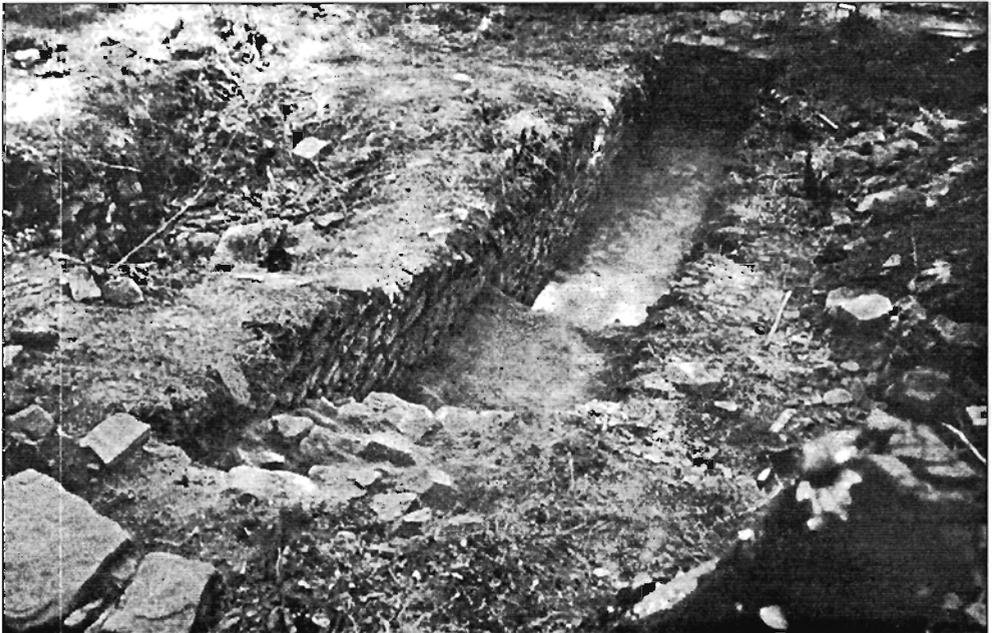
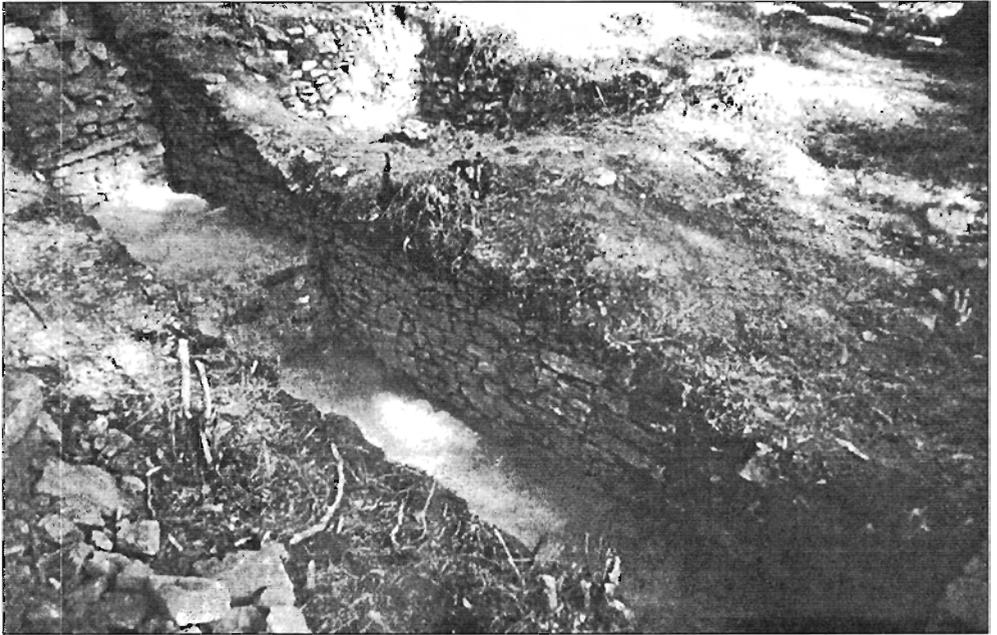
Plate (11) Looking southeast along the length of Trench II and the western exposure of wall F. 1
(in foreground abutted by wall F.5)



Plates (III & IV) Top, looking north to southern front wall of Building Cell A (F.21/22), with doorway F.32 left and later wall F.19 extending south into central foreground; below (III), detail of doorway threshold F. 32 (cell A; Trench V)



Plates (V & VI) Top, looking west to F. 43 'box slab' arrangement set against the foot of the wall F.6 (Trench I): below (V), the F.11 pit-cistern with central capstone removed with paving slab 'lip' in situ (Trench II)



(VII & VIII) Trench III (Cell C) - Top, looking southeast with wall F.6/26 exposed at east end of trench (the corner of the southern 'alcove' F.8/9 is visible upper right): below (VII), looking west with wall F.7 exposed left and F. 14 in background



Plate (IX) photograph of north wall.
Note the quality and size of the masonry

संवत् ४०७ को विमल संघको शिवलिङ्ग र त्यसमा अंकित

दुरुस्त अभिलेख

— श्याम सुन्दर राजवंशी

अभिलेख प्राप्त भएको स्थान :	देवपाटन स्थित रत्नेश्वर शिवलिङ्गदेखि पूर्वपट्टि पुरिएको जमीनबाट
फेला परेको समय :	वि.सं. २०५७ बैशाख
अंकित मिति :	संवत् ४०७ आषाढ शुक्ल प्रतिपदा
भाषा :	संस्कृत
लिपि :	पूर्व लिच्छवि

सन्दर्भ-

- (१) गोरखापत्र दैनिक मिति २०५७/१/३० मा समाचारको रूपमा प्रकाशित
- (२) गोरखापत्र दैनिक मिति २०५७/२/७ मा प्रतिक्रियाको रूपमा सम्पादकीय चिठी प्रकाशित
- (३) Rolamba को Millennium Issue Vol 20 Jan-June 2000 Page 180
- (४) The Brick and the Bull (An account of Handigaun, the ancient capital of Nepal- S.R. Tiwari, chapter 16 page 146.
देवपाटन स्थित प्रसिद्ध दक्षिणामूर्तिको मन्दिरदेखि

पश्चिमतर्फ उकालो लाग्दै गएपछि बाटोको बायाँपट्टि रत्नेश्वर (रत्न संघ) को शिवलिङ्ग रहेको ठाउँमा पुगिन्छ । यही शिवलिङ्गको पूर्वतर्फ शारदा अधिकारीको जग्गामा घर निर्माण हुँदा जगबाट लिच्छविकालीन अभिलेखयुक्त शिवलिङ्ग भेटिएको थियो । त्यस शिवलिङ्गलाई रत्नेश्वर शिवलिङ्ग कै समीपमा सुरक्षित साथ स्थापना गरिएको छ । त्यहाँ रहेका ती दुई लिच्छविकालीन शिवलिङ्गमध्ये पहिलो गोलो तथा ठूलो वृत्ताकार जलहरि भएको शिवलिङ्ग रत्नेश्वर हो । रत्नेश्वर भन्नुको तात्पर्य रत्नसंघले राखेको शिवलिङ्ग भएर हो । पछि भेटिएको दोस्रो शिवलिङ्गलाई विमलेश्वर पनि भन्न सक्दछौं किनभने सो शिवलिङ्ग चाहिँ विमलसंघको हो र यो रत्नेश्वर जस्तै गोलो आकारको नभई चारपाटे वर्गाकारको छ ।

विमलसंघको शिवलिङ्गमा अंकित लिच्छविकालीन अभिलेख अप्रकाशित भएकोले गोरखापत्र दैनिकमा समाचारको रूपमा सर्वप्रथम पुरातत्त्व विभाग मार्फत छापियो ।^१ यसको लगत्तै केही दिनपछि सोही अभिलेखको सन्दर्भमा गोरखापत्र दैनिकको भित्री पृष्ठमा सम्पादकलाई चिठीको रूपमा एउटा प्रतिक्रिया छापियो ।^२ तर त्यो प्रतिक्रियाबाट वास्तविक इतिहास नै अत्यन्त भ्रामक, अविश्वसनीय एवं मनगढन्ते कुराले प्रश्रय पाउने हो कि भन्ने जस्तो र असामञ्जस्यको

स्थिति नै उत्पन्न हुने देखिएकोले विमल संघको अभिलेखको दुरुस्त पाठको नितान्त जरूरी देखियो । त्यसैले Rolamba को Millennium Issue मा सो अभिलेखको पाठ तथा छापा तुरुन्तै छपाइयो ।^३ त्यस वावजुद पनि हालै प्रकाशित भई सार्वजनिक भएको "The Brick & The Bull" नामक पुस्तकबाट नभन्दै मनगढन्ते कथाले नै नेपालको वास्तविक इतिहास हो भन्दै प्रश्रय पाएको देख्दा विद्वत् जगत नै आश्चर्यमा परेको छ ।^४

विमल संघको शिवलिङ्ग भेटिएको स्थानको ख्याति सो भन्दा अघिदेखि कायम रहेको प्रमाण सोही आसपास संवत् ३९९ को रत्नेश्वर तथा संवत् ४०२ को प्रभुकेश्वरको शिवलिङ्ग विद्यमान रहेबाट नै सिद्ध भइसकेको छ । तसर्थ संवत् ४०७ को शिवलिङ्गको अस्तित्व रहनु अगावैको यी दुई शिवलिङ्गलाई छाड्न मिल्दैन । भनाइको मतलब जसरी रत्नसंघ र प्रभुसंघको शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना हुन गयो सोही तरिकाले नै विमल संघको पनि शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना हुन गएको थियो भन्नुमा कुनै शंका उपशंका गर्नुपर्ने देखिन्न । अभिलेखमा स्पष्ट नै भनिएको छ- सार्थवाह सुतेनात्रिले भगवान्को स्थापना गरे र विमल संघले आयस्ताको लागि भूमिहरू राखिदिए । यसको पुण्यले राजाको समेत पुण्य बढोस् भनिएवाट मानदेवले यो स्थापना गरेको हो भन्नु सर्वथा गलत हुन जान्छ र मानदेव स्वयंले यो शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना गरेको भए अभिलेखमा आफूलाई श्री मानदेव तथा राजाको पुण्य वृद्धि होस् भनी किन लेखाए ? भन्ने प्रश्नको चित्तबुझ्दो जवाफ खोज्नुपर्ने हुन्छ ।

अभिलेख पाठको स्वरूप-

विमल संघको शिवलिङ्गको जलहरि पीठको बायाँ पाटामा जम्मा ६ हरफ पंक्तिवद्ध रूपमा अक्षर कुँदिएका छन् ती मध्ये पहिलो पंक्तिको अन्तिममा केही थप शब्द तलतिर छड्के पारी कुँदिएका छन् । अक्षर कुँदिएको भागको मात्र नाप लिंदा जम्मा ९२ से.मी. लम्बाई र १७.५ से.मी. चौडाई रहेको छ । अक्षरहरूको सरदर गोलाई १ से.मी. छन् भने सबभन्दा सानो अक्षर दोस्रो पंक्तिको चक्रम् भन्ने शब्दको "च" अक्षर

र सबभन्दा ठूलो अक्षर चौथो पंक्तिको "भक्त्या विमल संघेन" को "त्या" संयुक्त अक्षर छ ।

कुँदिएका ६ पंक्ति अभिलेखका सम्पूर्ण अक्षरहरू केलाई हेरियो भने पहिलो पंक्तिमा तलतिर छड्के गरी कुँदिएको १२ अक्षर समेत जम्मा ६७ वटा अक्षर छन् जसमध्ये ४७ औं अक्षरदेखिका अक्षरहरू फुटेर अस्पष्ट जस्तो देखिन्छन् । त्यस्तै गरि दोस्रो पंक्तिमा जम्मा ५७ अक्षरमध्ये ३५ र ३६ तथा ५७ औं अक्षर फुटेको हुँदा सगला नभए तापनि नबुझिने किसिमको भने छैनन् । तेस्रो पंक्तिमा जम्मा ५० वटा अक्षर छन् ती मध्ये ३८ औं देखि ४२ औं अक्षरमा "सार्थवाह सुतेनात्रि" भनिएको ठाउँमा अलि अस्पष्ट छन् । चौथो पंक्तिमा जम्मा ४३ अक्षर छन् । जसमध्ये २८ औं देखि ३५ औं अक्षरमा "राज पाद प्रसादत": भनिएको ठाउँमा केही अस्पष्ट जस्तो देखिन्छ । छैठौं पंक्तिमा जम्मा ३५ वटा अक्षर छन् ती सबै अक्षर सगला एवं स्पष्ट छन् । यस प्रकार कुनै-कुनै अक्षर फुटी सकेको भए तापनि पढ्नै नसकिने र नबुझिने भने छैनन् ।

अभिलेख पाठमा चर्चेका विषयवस्तुहरू-

- १) शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना भएको मिति संवत् ४०७ आषाढ शुक्ल प्रतिपदा हो ।
- २) सार्थवाह सुतेनात्रिले भगवान् (शिवलिङ्ग) को स्थापना गराए ।
- ३) सुवर्णदान सहित विसर्जन संकल्प गर्ने कार्य पुरोहित केदारद्वारा गराइयो ।
- ४) राजाको अनुकम्पा पाएर विमल संघद्वारा ५८० भूमि प्रदान गरियो ।
- ५) वोशिङ्ग ग्राम (वोसिगाउँ), दयितापल्लि प्रदेश, थैम्मुङ्ग ग्राम भन्ने तीन ठाउँको नाम उल्लेख आएको छ ।
- ६) शिलालेखको शुरूमा तिथिमिति तथा मंगलाचरण स्तुति श्लोक दिइएको छ । श्लोकको अधिल्लो दुई पाउ इन्द्रवज्रा छन्दले छन्दोवद्ध गरिएको र पछिल्लो दुई पाउ उपेन्द्रवज्रा छन्दले छन्दोवद्ध गरिएको छ ।
- ७) स्वाभाविक रूपले राजाको (मानदेवको) हित कल्याण र पुण्य वृद्धिको कामना गरिएको छ ।

अभिलेखको मूल पाठ*-

पंक्ति १ - संवत् ४०७ आषाढ मासे शुक्ल पक्ष दिवसे प्रतिपदि निर्दन्तकौ नाम गणो नियोगाद्देवाति देवस्य महेश्वरस्य सन्तप्त जाम्बुनद (सि छ वनम् कुलभि जज्ञ भुवि लिच्छवीनाम्)

पंक्ति २ - दच्छयतो यो नव किष्कुमत्रा धान्नानि सृष्टो जगतो हिताय यस्योरसो दक्षिण तश्च चक्कम् फिर्णम् सुरैर्दत्तमती वा भति - २ यो विप्र केदार मुखेस्व

पंक्ति ३ - हिरण्य वृष्टि विर्सजत्यानल्पाम् पुण्याय तस्योत्तम पुण्य कीर्ति : श्री मानदेवस्य हिताय चैव - ३ सातर्थवाह (सुतेनात्रि) संसार भय भीरूणा

पंक्ति ४ - दुःख त्रय निवृत्यर्थम् भूपतेः पुण्य वृद्धये भगवां स्थापितः सम्यक - ४ राज्ञ पाद प्रसादतः भक्त्या विमल सङ्घेन

पंक्ति ५ - सर्व्वलोक शिवः शिवः क्षेत्रं यथा वोशिङ्गाम दक्षिण प्रदेशे शतद्वयस्य भूमिः २०० भूय तत्रैव पञ्चाशतो भूमि ५० दयितापल्लि प्रदेशे

पंक्ति ६ - असीतेभूमिः ८० धेम्मूडग्राम पूर्व्व प्रदेशे शतद्वयस्य भूमिः २०० भूय तत्रैव पञ्चाशतो भूमि ५०

(यहाँ Rolamba को Millenium Issue मा छापिएको पाठलाई सामान्य सुधार गरी प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

अभिलेख पाठको भावार्थ-

मिति संवत् ४०७ आषाढ महिना शुक्ल पक्ष प्रतिपदा तिथिको दिनमा निर्दन्तक- जो (पशुहरूको नायक) नाम कहलिएको गणहरूको अधिपति देवाधिदेव महादेव (महेश्वर) प्राणीहरूको पालक हुनुहुन्छ । दुःखीहरू जसरी धतुरोको वन (जाम्बुनद) वनमा पुग्दा सान्त्वना मिल्छ । त्यसैगरी लिच्छविहरू यज्ञलाई आफ्नो कुलको धर्म मानि र कुविचार हटाउने कामको लागि श्रय पाएको छ ।

ब्रम्हाले सृष्टि गरेका जगत्को हितको लागि चक्र भैँ घुमि रहेको यस संसारमा सबैको हृदयमा सदासर्वदा सुविचार उत्पत्ति भई मति सुधियोस् । पुण्य लाभ गर्न पुरोहित केदारको

मुखवाट वाक्य संकल्प गराई सुवर्ण दान सहित अनुष्ठान विसर्जन गराइयो । यसको पुण्य कीर्तिले श्री मानदेवको समेत हित कल्याण गर्छन् ।

सांसारिक दुःख भय त्रिदोषहरू निवारण गरी राजाको पुण्य अभिवृद्धि गर्न सार्थवाह सुतेनात्रिले भगवान् (शिवलिङ्ग) को स्थापना गराए । राजाको अपार अनुकम्पा पाएर आफ्नो इहलोक परलोकमा शिवशिवत्व प्राप्त होओस् भनी कामना गर्दै भक्त विमल संघवाट भूमि प्रदान गरियो । ती भूमि यस प्रकार छ-

वोशिङ्गाम भन्दा दक्षिणपट्टि रहेको प्रदेशको २०० भूमि तथा फेरि त्यसैको पुनः ५० भूमि तथा दयिता पल्लि प्रदेशको असी ८० भूमि र धेम्मूड ग्रामको पूर्व्वपट्टि रहेको २०० भूमि पुनः त्यसैको ५० भूमि ॥

गणना

यस अभिलेखमा अंकित मितिमा संवत् ४०७ आषाढ शुक्ल प्रतिपदा तिथिमात्र उल्लेख छ । तर बार उल्लेख नभएको हुँदा वार गणना गर्न सकिन्छ । यसलाई इस्वी सन्मा परिणत गर्दा तारिख समेत जानी राख्न उपयुक्त हुन्छ र इतिहासको लागि त्यसको बेग्लै महत्त्व राख्दछ । तसर्थ बार तथा तारिख गणना गर्दा इस्वी सन् ४८४ जून १३ तारिख मंगलवार आएको छ ।

अभिलेखमा अंकित संवत् ४०७ लिच्छवि संवत् भएकोले शक संवत्मा परिणत गर्दा कार्तिकादि लिच्छवि संवत् र चैत्रादि शक संवत्को अन्तरलाई ख्याल राख्नुपर्छ । कार्तिकदेखि फागुनसम्मको मितिमा भए २ घटाउनु पर्नेछ भने चैत्रदेखि आश्वीनसम्मको मितिमा भए १ मात्र घटाउनु पर्छ । किनभने लिच्छवि संवत् शक संवत् भन्दा १ वर्ष ५ महिना अधि आरम्भ भएको हो । यस कुराको प्रतिपादन मेरो लिच्छविकालीन संवत्को निश्चय नामक पुस्तकमा भइसकेको छ ।

पाद टिप्पणी-

१. घरको जग खन्दा लिच्छविकालको अभिलेख फेला:- काठमाडौँ, वैशाख २९ गते । पशुपति क्षेत्र देउपाटन

स्थित रत्नेश्वर शिवलिङ्ग नजिकै घर निर्माणको क्रममा शिवलिङ्ग सहित लिच्छविकालीन अभिलेख फेला परेको पुरातत्त्व विभागले जनाएको छ । स्थानीय जग्गाधनी शारदा अधिकारीले आफ्नो घर निर्माणको क्रममा जग खन्दा फेलापारेको सो अभिलेख नेपालको प्राचीन इतिहास सम्बन्धी थप जानकारी पाउन उपयोगी हुने देखिन्छ । सो शिवलिङ्गलाई त्यहीको रत्नेश्वर शिवलिङ्गसंग स्थापना गरिएको शिवलिङ्गको जलहरि चारकुने आकारको छ र त्यसको वायाँपट्टिको बाटोमा ६ हरफमा पूर्व लिच्छवी लिपिले कुँदिएको छ । अभिलेख कुँदिएको भागको लम्वाई ९६ से.मी. र चौडाई ३० से.मी. रहेको छ । वि.सं. ५४१ पनि आउने अभिलेखको प्रारम्भमा सम्वत् ४०७ आषाढ शुक्ल प्रतिपदा उल्लेख भएको र अभिलेखमा राजा मानदेवको नाम पनि उल्लेख छ । सो अभिलेखमा वोशिङ्गग्राम, दायितापल्लि प्रदेश, थेम्मूङ्गग्राम जस्ता ठाउँहरूको नाम पहिलो पटक देखापरेको छ । वोशिङ्गग्राम भन्नाले हालको बोडे, (दायिता) पल्लि प्रदेश त्यही निकटकै एक ठाउँ र थेम्मूङ्गग्राम हालको थिमी हुन् भन्नेमा सन्देह नरहेको विभागले जनाएको छ । अभिलेखको मुख्य विषयमा तात्कालिक एक सार्थवाह (व्यापारीहरूको नाइके) ले आफू एवं राजाको पुण्य अभिवृद्धिको कामना गरी शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना गरेको र शिवलिङ्गको आयस्ताको लागि विभिन्न ठाउँका भूमिहरू प्रदान गरिएको उल्लेख गरिएको छ ।

रासस (गोरखापत्र वैशाख ३०, २०५७)

२. प्रतिक्रिया:- वैशाख ३ गते उत्खनित अभिलेख सहितको शिवलिङ्ग २७ दिनपछि राससका लागि समाचार बन्न पुगेको छ र गोरखापत्रमा वैशाख ३० गते प्रकाशित भएको छ । पुरातत्त्व विभागको हवाला दिई राससद्वारा वितरित खबरको मूल कुराहरू गलत तथा भ्रामक भएको मेरो पूर्व लिच्छवि लिपि तथा संस्कृत भाषाको सीमित दखल मात्रको आधारमा

समेत स्पष्ट देखिएको हुनाले यो पत्र लेखिएको हो । सो अभिलेख सहितको शिवलिङ्ग कुनै सार्थवाह वा व्यापारीले राखेको नभई महेश्वर राजा धम्मर देवका छोरा मानदेवले स्थापना गरेका हुन् भन्ने कुरा अभिलेखमै उल्लेखित छ । शिलालेखमा ६ सोभो हरफका साथ एक थप पक्ति तेर्सो पारी कुँदिएको छ । अभिलेखको व्यहोरा यस्तो अर्थको हुन्छ- जल्लादको भाग वन्न गएका दिवंगत महेश्वर धम्मर देवको पुण्यतिथि आषाढ शुक्ल प्रतिपदा सम्वत् ४०७ मा दुःखित राजा मानदेव नौकुण्डमा घ्यूपात्रहरू राखी काटिएको देहको उद्धार गर्न १०० चक्र दक्षिणा (अर्पण गर्छन्) ज्योतिषाचार्यको राय तथा केंदार नाम गरेको वाहुनको रायबाट अन्धो भएर आफैले काटेपछि रगत वग्दा भरेको टाउकोमा तिमीलाई देखें अब तिमीलाई पाऊँ (हेहँ) कहाँ ? श्री मानदेवको मनको देव । सत्य उजागर गर्ने इच्छा तथा सबैको डर, रिस र दुःख तीनवटै हटाउनको लागि साथै राजाहरूको समझ वढाउन र भविष्यमा फेरि कुरा नदोहोर्न्याउन आमा राज्यवतीले दिएकी निर्मल भक्ति रूपमा सबै लोकमा शिवःशिवः जग्गा ठुमैशिध् ग्रामको दक्षिण प्रदेशमा २०० रोपनी आयस्ता १०० । तसर्थ शिलालेखबाट मानदेवले आफ्नो वाबुलाई काटेका थिए भन्ने कथा सत्य भएको स्पष्ट पाईन्छ । यो कार्य ज्योतिषाचार्य तथा राजपुरेतहरूले गराएका थिए । - सुदर्शन राज तिवारी, पुल्चोक क्याम्पस । (गोरखापत्र, जेष्ठ ७, २०५७) ।

३. देवपाटनको विमल संघको अभिलेख

मूलपाठ - संवत् ४०७ आषाढ मासे शुक्ल पक्ष दिवसे प्रतिपदि

निर्दन्तको नाम गणो नियोगाद्देवाति देवस्य महेश्वरस्य सन्तप्त जाम्बुनद सिद्धवनम् (कुलादि) जज्ञ भुवि लिच्छवीनाम्

दध्ययताया नव किष्कुमात्रा धात्रानि सृष्टो जगतो हिताय - १

यस्यो रसो दक्षिण तश्च चक्रम् चिर्णम् सुरैर्दत्तमतीव
भति - २

यो वि प्रकटर मुखेस्व तीक्ष्णम् हिरण्या वृष्टि
विसृजत्यानल्पाम्

पुण्याय तस्योत्तम पुण्य कीर्ति श्रीमानदेवस्य हिताय
चैव - ३

सार्थवाह स्वतेनान्नि संसार भय भीरुणा दुखेत्रय
निवृत्यर्थम् भूपतेः पुण्य वृद्धये भगवां स्थापितः
सम्यक - ४

राजः पाद प्रसादत भक्त्या विमल सङ्घेन सर्वलोक
शिवः शिवः

क्षेत्र यथा वोशिङ्गाम दक्षिण प्रदेशे शतद्वयस्य भूमि
२००

भूय तत्रैव पञ्चाशतो भूमि ५० दयिता पल्लि प्रदेशे
अशीते भूमि ८० धेम्मृङ्गाम पूर्व प्रदेशे शतद्वयस्य
भूमि २००

तत्रैव पञ्चाशतो भूमि ५० ॥

Rolamba, Millennium Issue Page 180

४. On the first day of the bright fortnight of Asadha
407 Sambat, king Dharma Dev, whose body had
been made a share of these who light the funeral
pyre king Mandev (The Lichchhavi who had taken
to the role of deer in a forest), still in pain, in order
to enable the passage of the cut body to the heavens
offered here, as a closing ritual one hundred coins
in the auspicious ghee-filled patras placed in the
nine pits. As advised by the priest kedar, himself
guided by the opinion given by the astrologers. I
slew you as your headless body was seen in the rain
of blood, alas the lord of the heart of Sri Mandev
will not be seen anywhere anymore ! As the truth
is revealed, this (ritual) has been made for the relief
of all the three dukha: fear anger, and pain. This
clarification is also made to seek the understanding

of the resent kings and those of the future. With the
heartfelt and ansullied love bestowed by (my
mother) Rajyavati this Siva (will become) Siva of
all the lokas. A grant of land, to the south of
Thumaishingrama 250 bhumi royal land of 80
bhumi at Mayatapalli 250 bhumi to the east of
Thempringrama (is here by made).

(The Brick and the Bull, Page 138-139)

५. The Brick and the Bull नामक पुस्तकको पृष्ठ १४६
मा पुस्तकका लेखक श्री सुदर्शन राज तिवारीले पढ्नु
भएको पाठ यसरी छ ।

Sambat 407 Asadhamase Sukla Pakhsye Divase
Pratipadi Nirda hantile Nama Bhavehaniye
Dharmaddevtridevsya Mahesvorasya santam
Ragnyammanadev (chhri vanam mrignya Bhuvi
Lichchhavinam)(1)Daxaya Toya Navakrisku Patra
Ghritnisristho Jagatodhitaya yasyaraso Daxinata
100 chakkram. (2) Vignyesvorairiddatta
Mativasatim vipra kedarmate svatixam
drirasavyavristhi visrijatyan tham Pasyayatasyattama
Pasyorkattaih Srimanadevsya chitaya dev (3) Sarta
chhavadravotenyasansara Bhayabhirustha Dukhe
traya Nivrityar tham. (4) Bhupateh pasyavridhdaye
Bhavavamschapituvamasyam (5) Rajyavatya
sadatah Bhaktya Vimala Sajmamana Sarvvaloka
Sivah Sivah etc.

उहाँले पढ्नु भएको अभिलेखको पाठ कति शुद्ध कति
अशुद्ध भन्ने कुरा लिपि पढ्न जान्ने सामान्य ज्ञाताहरूले पनि
छुट्याउन सक्छन् भने अग्रेजीमा शिलालेखको transliteration
गर्दा पनि प्राविधिक दक्षता प्रयोग गर्नसक्नु भएन । आश्चर्यको
कुरो त यो हो कि अभिलेखको व्याख्या गराइमा पनि उहाँले
आफूलाई मनलागे जस्तो मनोमानी ढंगले गर्नुभयो । त्यो
उहाँको खुसी हो । तर अभिलेखमा उल्लेखै नभएको शब्द
कल्पना गरी पाठ पढ्नु भने बिल्कुल उचित भएन ।



शिलालेखको छापा फोटो



संवत् ४०७



आषाढ मासे शुक्ल पक्ष दिवसे प्रतिपदि



निददन्तको

नाम गणो



नियोगाद्देवाति देवस्य महेश्वरस्य

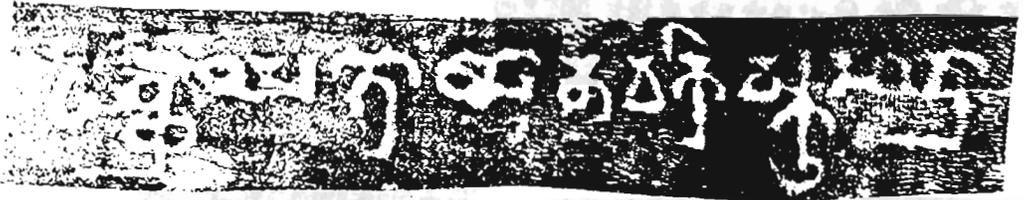


सन्तप्त जाम्बुनद

सि छ वनम्



कुलभि जज्ञ भुवि लिच्छवीनाम्



दछयतो यो नव किष्कुमात्रा



धात्रानि सृष्टो जगतो हिताय



यस्योरसो दक्षिण तश्च चक्कम्



फिण्णं सुरैर्दत्तमती वा भति २



यो विप्र केदार मुखेस्व भीक्षाम्



हिरण्य दृष्टि विसृज तयान ल्याम्



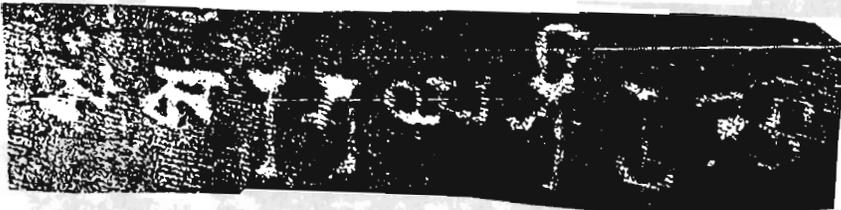
पुण्याय तस्योत्तम पुण्य कीर्ति :



श्री मानदेवस्य हिताय चैव - ३



सात्थवाह सुतेनात्रि



संसार भय

भीरुणा



दुःखत्रयनिवृत्त्यर्थम्



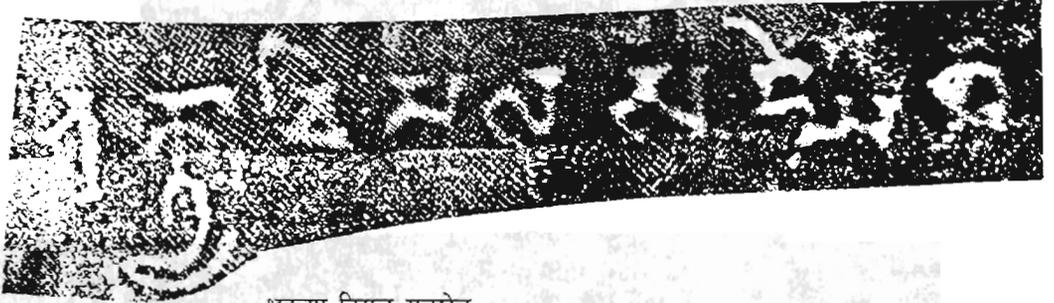
भूपतेः पुण्यवृद्धये



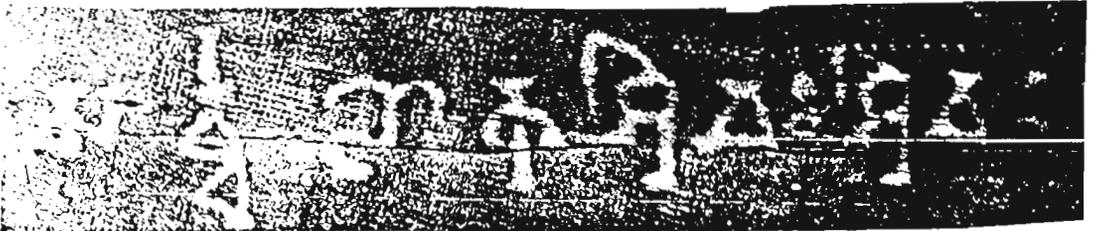
भगवांस्थापितः सम्यक् ४



राज पाद प्रसादतः



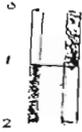
भक्त्या विमल सङ्घेन



सर्वलोक शिवः शिवः



क्षेत्रं यथा वोशिङ्गाम दक्षिण



प्रदेशे

शतद्वयस्य

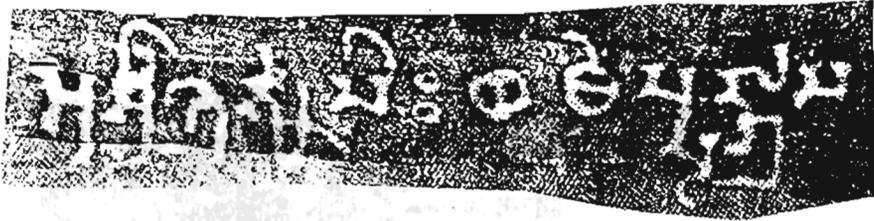
भूमिः २००



भूय तत्रैव पञ्चाशतो भूमि ५०



दयितापल्लि प्रदेशे



असीतेभूमि : ८० थेम्मडग्राम



पूर्व प्रदेशे शतद्वयस्य

भूमि: २००



भूय तत्रैव पञ्चाशतो भूमि ५०

प्रधानमन्त्री जंगबहादुर राणाको समयको नेपाल-भोट युद्धको ऐतिहासिक सामग्री

(गतांकको बाँकी)

कैलू तिनलाई ताहादमीहा खानगी माराथ जेछवदी ३०रोज ४मा जगदल १०पछी कसि
प ही वलोधोजगु ह तहो १लेटर २पछीमा भनी भयो सुकामके ही शुभः

खामभिन्नकाचिठीकोतकल

तरल धीरसन्ने रजङ्ग कुवर राणा जी वाट से फ्यासेठे काजी लाई गी गथको श्री
मिनिस्तर दजैजुपनी रु गातपे पाउलागनु भयाको कसुगनु भयोहे गप श्रील
दो ध्यादगनीका अधे लाई येता वाट भन्दा यक भयो रु गाको कि ध्यालिन्या हासो श्री
उपलजगत स्तिरजङ्ग कुवर राणा जी दजैजु रु गाकि ध्यै माहनु उक वाहावाठ नपा
नलाई नजिकपनी पर्दक वाही श्रीजनरल जगत स्तिरजङ्ग कुवर राणा जी दजैजु
लाई चिठीले अनु भया वही वाट श्री प्राईम मिनिस्तर दजैजु संग भेटघाट गनीला
ई वछी गहोला कल खानमापरो ला भन्या तपाइले कनी सैदे हुनै मां तु होला मलाई प
नी मै खलंगुर नको टनु हुनागु म्वाहाती भै खलंगुरको फेदी माका उनीहालीव
शुभ न्याऊ कुम् भयाका कसोही वमो जिमगरि मुनागु म्वावध आउम्या खु चिठी
को खुवापछीला येन भनुहोला जेछ अट १रोज ५ शुभः

जेछवदी ३०रोज ४मा

तसै वसत्ता श्रीमिनिस्तर जनरलको हजुरमा श्रीजनरल जगत स्तिरजङ्ग कुवर राणा जी
वाट लेखी चहोइ पठायाको श्री प्राईम मिनिस्तर दजैजु जेछवदी ३०रोज ४ कादिन
कै ह मासवारी आइपुगनु भयो चिनो घातये ये हल लाई श्री प्राईम मिनिस्तर दजै
जु आहा पालनु ईक भेटे राजउला भन्दा हासो भेदी जखु भनी ४/५दिन भयो व
स्तिरहादनु तालये कासंगमा आयाकै र जिनी हल लाई मेजमानी दिमा वमोजिन्
गुजिले श्री चहोइ पठायाको कसुकाम रु गा शुभः

खामभिन्नको मुजिकेतकल

चिनिआ तालये कासंगमा आयाका

ताव्य येस्ते न सुद चिनि भोजना	१०	देसास्मस्मिन् भोटेजना	६
टहलुवा भोटेजना	१३	छाडी गोटा	३३
लडाकी चोरी गोटा			८
<u>इति हूलाई भोज दिनु दिनु पर्ना</u>			

चारदिक्का चाहिन्ना

घ्यु धानि	१५१॥	सुनु पाथी	१८
चाब्रेल सुरी	१॥	भेडा गोटा	२
निठई रोटी धानि	१	चिया चाको	१
चिनि पाउ	२	दानाके क रूप थो	१५॥

रोज दिनु पर्ना

घास भारी	११	दारुवा भारी	१
गुडु भारी	३	बुद माना	३

जेरु भुडी शेरु जद सा

ताहापकी श्री प्राइनु नि निरु र यानका हजुरमा श्री नि निरु र जनल बाट लेखी चहाइपः
 ठायाको पाहाड कारै ति हूलाई गुम्थान लिलि खा दिं छाडी गोदाम् को रसदबोकी कु
 ति पुत्रा उनु भन्ना व न्दा वल वे सगु न्दा खो भन्ना विहार सहीन सुना गुम्वा हीं ता लाई मै ले
 ले सनसक्का को दैत भन्ना कुरा लाई मेजर क मतान् हरि मान् सिं व श्रुत क मतान व ल व ह
 डुर पाडे ले फटे न अ म्बर व हा डुर भडारी लाई द्यो र गुम्वा हा नी कन ते र गुम्वा को १
 को सवर पर वे स विकर जग हेरि दुस्मन् के थापलो आ फु हात पर्ना गरि १०१ टहजार
 फेज आया पनी दुस्मन् को के हीन लाग्या गरि कि ध्या आडवना ई र र द ख जाना द रू वा
 पानी भित्र पारी मजगुती संग व श्रुत का मगर भनी लेखी पठाउनु लिलि लाई अलि

पनीकमानदिपठायेकोरू तिसीलेपनीआफ्राहोसियारिगरि सबदीरिसीगसुनागुम्वा
हीन्याकामगरभनीश्रीजनरलधीरस्मरजङ्गकुवरराणाजीलाईलेखीपठार्ड जुमला
मेजरजनरलकधजोक्कुवरराणाजीलाईताकलासरकोरमानसरोबरकोजिध्राः
सवैआफ्राहातगरिरैतिलाईतसध्वहगरिहातलिन्याकामगर्तुलुटपिठनडभ
रपनीनगर्तुकुलगर्नआउंन्यारलडनआउंन्याकोज्यात्नराधनुआफ्रतुवसोको
ठार्डताकलाआरमालाअफौजआयाथनीदुस्मन्कोकेहीनलागन्यागरिकिध्राः
मजुगुतीगरिवनाईतोपकोमारुवनाइपानीमिचपारीकिध्राआडवनाउंअजाना
रसदहिउंपर्न्यासमयेभरलाइदारुवानयारगरिराधनुवारुदमाओगोनलागन्याग
रिगधनुभनीलेखीपठार्डभनिसर्जिआयाकाकुगलाईमर्जिवमोजिमस्वैवेहोर
हालीलिहिफ्लाकजुमलामाचिठीलेखीपठार्डन्याकामगस्याकुतीमापाहाडकारैति
हुरूलेवोगदारसदपुगीसकतैनभन्याज्यालामजुरीकोवन्देवसागरिकनपनीकु
तीमारसदज्मागर्नलाउंन्याकामगरभनीलेखीपठआशुभ्र

जेष्ठशुदीत्रोजेष्ठमा

तैसैविचमाश्रीप्राइममिनिस्तरकाहजुरमाश्रीजनरलधीरस्मरजङ्गकुवरराणाजीबा
टलेखीचलाईपठायेकोजेष्ठशुदीत्रोजकादिनमकुतीआईपुण्यापाईदिनमार
सदपानीकोवन्देवसरअजानाकोतरनयारिगरिसुनागुम्वामजिवमोजिमचका
ईगर्न्याकामगर्कुसुनागुम्वाभन्याकोजगामाभोय्यातर्फकाफौजलेकुंगाकोमजगुतग
रिआडवनाईआडभिचपाल१२०देखीरूनेसपालमाजवानटकादरलेआइजगदी
नोसयेहजारफौजहोलाभन्याजलाकागदथालेपभन्याजगामापनीफौज६००जतीरूभ
न्याअवरसुनिक्आहाकुतीमाभन्यारसदपलनपलाइदिन२०१२पलाइमात्रज्याभैरवे
रअधीवठीगम्कोपपलनलाईफेरिलिस्किफकईरसदलीनपठार्डभन्या
मुजुद्धामाकापरिआउंक्येसरसदकामदतलाईश्रीमिनिस्तरजनरलदजेज्जका

हजुरमापनी लेखी चडाई पठयाको छ हजुरवाट पनि लिखि गोद म्का र सदकती सु
 याउनु भनी चढोता किती गरि पठाउनु भनी लेखी पठाई वक्ष्य र सद चढो आइ पुग्दो
 हो ता हा सुना गुन्वामा चौरि लु लु ह्स् ज्मा गर्नु भनी मजि भयाको हो आह कुती सुना
 गुन्वाको रै येत ह्स्का चौरि रा खन्ना अरु गर्उ नहुदा कु गा कान गी च पाली सुती र स
 र कमा रा व्याको रहे छ के ही ली गुर क टाई रा व्याको रहे छ आह कुती सुना गुन्वा मा चौरि १०
 १२ मात्र रहे छ आहार हा का श्री काली वक्स् वर्दवानी पलन् २ को सि पा ही ह्स्पनी ओकि
 लेजरो जे छै रै वेगमी रहे छ ३४ जना सि पा ही पनी सं धी पातले मयो शु भ्

जेष्ठशुदी शो ज द मा

श्री प्राइ म्नि नि छर का हजुरमा श्री जनरल धी रस्से रज कु वर रा गा जी वाट लेखी चडा
 ई पठयाको जेष्ठशुदी शो ज द का दिन धे विनले मेरा नाउ मा पठयाको भो व्या अक्षर
 को चिठी चडाई पठयाको छ ये चिठी को उत्र रा म लाइ पनि पठाइ वक्ष्य जाला अह प
 लन् र सदक आडा अडा ता वस्या क छ न् तिन लाइ पनि जि का या का छ न् १२ दिन
 मा मा मेल गर्छु आह कुती मा आइ पुग्मा को छ नन् सुना गुन्वा ही न छी लो भयो र आहा
 र हा का काली वक्स् वर्दवानी २ पल न् जी जेष्ठशुदी शो ज १ का दिन सुना गुन्वा ही न्मा
 का न गर्दै शु भ्

जेष्ठशुदी शो ज द मा

ताहा पक्षी श्री मिनि छर जनरल वाट श्री जनरल धी रस्से रज कु वर रा गा जी लाई
 लेखी गयाको श्री प्राइ म्नि नि छर का जेष्ठशुदी का हजुरमा विदाइ द् तिमि सर सर मै र
 वली गुर स म्म व छी भै र वली गुर का फेदी मा व ध्या का म गर म टि गरि पुग्मा पक्षि मे
 रो चिठी आउला सो ही मा फि क् व छ न्मा का म गरै ला भै न्मा मजि भयाको हजुरवाट
 सुना गुन्वामा आइ प्पे ड् वलि भोगरि व छु भै न्मा ले खी आउ छ हजुर वाट ले खी आ

याको र श्री प्राइम मिनिस्टर दाजै ज्यवाट मजि भयाको आसथे मिल्ने श्री प्राइ
 मिनिस्टर दाजै ज्यको आसथे युजी वक्या हामी लाई काम गर्न सजिलो होला भ
 न्या विला एलेष्याका कु र लाई व छी याले ध्याकै मजु गा पु ग्या पदि ले श्री पठाउला
 र टि गरि हान त मेरो चिठी नगै नहां तु भन्या कु र ले श्री पठाउनु भनी श्री प्राइम
 मिनीस्टर दाजै ज्यवाट ले श्री आउदा बा हावा ट ये सो गर भन्या चिठी न आउं जी स
 म् कु ती दे धी व छन्या काम न गर भनी ले श्री पठायाको हो फेरि लगनै सुना गुन्दा
 हंतु भन्या मैले कमान दियाको छ सुना गुन्दा हान भनी तिमी ले पनि ले श्री पठा
 उतु भन्या मजि भै आउदा अव सुना गुन्दा हानी आड पये ड वली योगरी र सद
 ज्मा गर्न लाई राखन्या काम न गर भनी ले श्री पठायाको हो कु ती दे धी भै र व ल गु र
 का फे री सम्म को मजि भयाको छ भन्या मजि व मो जि म गर्नु पर्छ सो माफि क
 को काम न गर भै र व ल गु र का ट न्या कु र लाई र श्री प्राइम मिनिस्टर दाजै ज्यवाट फे
 रि मजि त आउनु ज्वाल ली गु र का ट न्या काम न गर सुना गुन्दा वरी परी धर १२ र
 गुन्दा भित्र ला मा ३०० रु द र हा छ त उपती भाग्पा छ त पाया सम् त स ध्व ह गरि
 राखन्या काम गरुं ला जो नयाको हाल सुरत ले ख न्या काम व छी या ग या कौ रै ख त ला
 मा ह रू लाई ग स ध्व ह गरि राखन्या काम गर्नु तिमी जं न्यै छौ र सद का कु र लाई सु
 वा सि व न र सि का ना उ मा द स्व त भै ग याको न क ल १ र सु वा ड श्व री प्रसाद अर्जा
 ल सु वा मा न सरो वर क प तान रानु सु वा डु गि न र सि का ना उ मा ग याको द स्व त
 को न क ल १ प ठा ड दि याको छ सु ख ज्वा व त सु वा सि व न र सि लाई अ हा उ न्या कु र
 पनी अ हा ई प ठा याको छ ये स बे हो र ले चा डौ पु ग न्यार हे छ भन्या तिमी ले पनि ता
 किता गरि चा डो र सद फि का उ न्या काम गर्नु तिमी ले त ज वी ज ग र्द चा डो पु ग न्या
 अरु बे हो र टे धी छ भन्या ले श्री पठाउ र सो माफि क बा हा वा ट पनि ता किता गरि प
 ठाउं ला शु भ्म

जेष्ठशुद्धी शोजर्द मा.

श्रीमिनिस्टर जनरल वाट श्री जनरल श्री रसन्हे रज कु वर ग राणा जी लाई ले श्री

गयाको धोवी दमाईको बालि सिपाही सित उठाई खान्या सुवेदार रमादा र ददा काना
 नायाना वरुनु भनी दस्त्रत भै आयाका अर्धलाई नीज सुवेदार ददा हरु वाट रु
 पैया उद्यो भन्या तिनलाई धामी दिन्या काम गही ला भनी लेख्या का कुरालाई व छी
 या तज वीजग न्या द्यो रूपै या तिर्न सकेन न भन्या दस्त्रत व मो जि म् गर्न ति मी जा न्ये द्यो
 जे छ वदी १४ रोज ३ का दिन आ सा पुर्ण आजका र दिनमा कुती पुगी वन्दे वस्त बा धी
 सुना गुम्वा हीन्या काम गही ला भनी लेख्या का कुरालाई व छी या लेख्या द्यो ति मी ले सुना
 गुम्वा हीनु भनी अस्ति मैले कमानदी पठयाको हो ति मी ले पनी आफनु ऊ सिया रष
 वर्दरी संग सुना गुम्वा हान भनी ले छी प ग उ भनी श्री प्राई म् सि नि छ र दा जै ज्वा
 ट कमान दि या व मो जी म् आफना ऊ सिया री च वर्दरी रा श्री अब सुना गुम्वा हीन्या का
 मग न्या व छी या हो ला र स द कुरालाई सराली हरु ले बोकी पुन्या उन सकेन भन्या ज्या
 लामजुरीको बन्दे वस्त गरि कन पनी कुती मार स द ज्या गर्न लाउ न्या काम ग र हामी
 ले आहा वा ट पनी र स द च लान् ग रा उ न्या कान मा त र ता की ती व रो व र ग न्या को पनी
 र्ग गर्न पनी लाया का द्यो ता हा ति मी ले गोलोका दरे स दे श्री व ठ न्या का मन गनु शुभ

जे छ श्रु दी रोज दना

तल्लै बसना श्री सि नि छ र जन र ल का ह ज र ना खजी चि सि द्डी मान सि राज भ डारी वाट ले छी
 च द्वाइ पठयाको श्रीनाथ पलनका पिपा रु गा वाट टि मु न्या मार स द वो क न का उ न्या का मा
 मान विर रि हि १ ध म ना रा न रि हि १ ट मार म जा ज के ट १ सि व ना रा न जा ज के ट १ तु ल सि
 पौरि १ द ल वि र पौरि १ ज्या ज ना द के रू गे वु गा उ को बा धे गरि भा गि प्या गा उ ति स्की ले छे
 ले भ गरि पान स ये ओ ला को तु मन गा उ मा भो व्या ले प क्री र सु वा चौ की मा ल्या यो इन हरु
 लाइ का ग न्या हो भनी क म्या ग ड र क रौ ज् स न क सिं ख त्री ले वि नि गरि प ठ या र यो द न नो
 मध्ये सु ख्य भा गुं भ न्या लाई र सु वा का पु ज ने रा रुं डा इ दिनु अरु प ज ना को दा हि न्या का न
 का टि चा ब ल वो का इ प ठा इ दिनु त्यो प क्री ल्या उ न्या प सै को रै ति लाई जन ही पा रू पै याई
 नाम दिनु भनि ले छी गयो के रू को रै ति गै ह लाई टि मु न्या का चा ब ल वो की ल्या उ न्या लाई

पाथीको तिनपैसादिज्जालादितु केहूदेखीरुगासम्म पाथीकोरूपेसाज्यालादिवोकाउ
 तुभनिमजिभै अजतगैसुरवाधीजतिस्काकोभारिउठउनुभनिमजिभियेर
 मगैगाउगाउकामुखीयाहूको जिम्मागरि४२५भारिवन्द्यावस्तगरि जिम्मालाईदि
 आभेलिदेखीबरोवरभारिचलत्याहू रुगासाकामकाजलाईरूपैयासुवाधनहु
 थरसैगलितुभनिमजिईदाकालामोहररूपैया७५००सदामोहररूपैया८०००
 ज्जारूपैया१५५००दुफिलिआअसिमैले अजिमविनिगरिपठयाकोसवैकराको
 तिकासागरिवस्तुभयाभेरोउद्धारहोला रुगासातालेजेआईश्रीजनरलसाहेवसंग
 कुरकाहानीभयाकोविजिनिसचिठीताहाचहाइपठयाकोनजरभैजाहेरहोलाश्री
 प्राइमनिनिहरसाहेवसैगभेटगैरिजालाभनिआमीराआकोदभनिलेखनुभयो३

जेष्ठशुदी२राजदना

श्रीमिनिहरजनरलकाहजुरसाकम्याडरकरोलि सनकसिंघतवाठलेश्रीचहाइपठया
 कोरुगादेखीटिसुन्यासम्मलामवाठियाकोअधीपठयाकाफर्दवमोजिमश्रीप्राइमनिनि
 हरद्वज्यैज्वाठतेहीआमीवस्तुभयोकीअहूतजवीजवाधीवस्तुदुँकसोखवरलेषी
 पठउनुभनिलेखीवस्त्याकाअर्थअजसम्मरुगादेखीटिसुन्यासम्मलामवाधिआयाको
 फर्दचहाइपठयावमोजिमतेहीआमीवस्तुभयाकोदुअवउप्रातरजोहोलालेखीच
 हाइपठउत्याकामगहीलाअहयसतरफकोसैखवरश्रीप्राइमनिनिहरसाहेववाठ
 पठाइवस्त्याकोचिठीकोनकलवेजिनिसचहाइपठयाकोदुनजरभैजाहेरहोलाआ
 हावाठरसदचलाउनधोकालेआचोभयोमुकामाटिसुन्याशुभम्

जेष्ठवदी२राजदना

ताहापदिश्रीमिनिहरजनरलवाठमेजरकपतानहरिहरसिंघवन्ध्यातकेलेखीगयाको
 हाभ्रासिवानादेखीवठिजान्याकुरालाईहालताहादेखीनवठनुआहावाठवठभन्या
 चिठीनआउजिसम्मतिमीहहूलेसिवानादेखीवठन्याकामनगरभन्याविहारजे
 ष्टवदी१४राज३कादिनतिस्सहलाईलेखीगयाकोहोसोमाफिककोकामगन्याकैहो

पाकोपदीपनीहिजो आइपुग्या लिखुओलासा जुगपश्चिमकाजगालाई दुनिअलेदिया
 रसदलाइ वाडनहपैया अछाइहजार सुवेदारनैनसिंअडका सुखीयोका सिनाथप
 ध्या नहविल्ला एवैसमानकाजिसा बुकि लियाछन् ४।पहजार तावादिपनीकागततः
 चारगुरिपठया अरुहपैया अहिल्यायाकादन् पिपाघोजनपठाउखौं कदिअनभ
 नर्गर्तुपन्याहो आहादेखी ३कोसमाठिगोडापहगाकयाई ३०० भारिआनाज अरुचाहिन्यास
 राजाम होमनासारी ३पदीराधी आडपयेडवनाइ राआकोछ तेसथा उदेखी माथीकोस ९
 सेवानादेखी १कोसतध्रकोसिकोतिरवगरचौरछ आडपयेडविकट एअनपनीवठिया
 छ तेसैठाउमागे अजानारसदपछडी पारिवधलाई आहारसद घरकोर दुनियालेबाक
 न्यारसदपनीवोकाउत्याकामगरि घटसमेत यादगएई सान्याकामगरउलातेवरखवा
 ट बोधवनीकेहीवनाउनेछ बनाइदोसाधसा पुन्याउला भोटपदीलापचिगुन्वाकोका
 तुलामाकोरैति १४घररहाकोछ तिरैतिरलामास्तेन फिकाउनु भनिपिच्छापन्याभनि
 लेखीदियेछ फेरिअत्राहवल्लार रुइफौजमाव्याघारैतिपनीहामा सिवानाभिनअप्या
 फौजकापछडीपारी गोरु ३०।४० र चौरैजाहानवचास्तेन लाई थन्क्याई तलतिरअसा
 हागरि आनदिंखौ लामालै कुतिमानदोरहेछन् तेस्कासीधेसायापनिसवैफिकात्रीयेस
 पदीकोहुलेलामारहेछ तेसलाईनजिकै राखतखौ सरणको सरणनद्वयस फेरिभो
 टेकाहातनपरौ भैछ आतिरमादिगव्योकोछ मुकामलामवगर शुभ

सालभित्रकाप्रति

उ प्रातलिखुपश्चिमकाजगामा ठाउंठाउंओलानालादन् बर्खाचल्यापछि सबैजगाकोस
 द अस्थार्त्ता उतारणकथिनहोला भनिभन्छन् केहीजगाको भन्यानफिकाई भयेत फिका
 अर् सबैजगाको जोमर्जि शुभ

बोलाभाकागाउत्याकागोह ३०।४०कोयकफेरारगतन फिका रोगाईमदीरहादन् स
 दाचलिआयावमोजिम रगतफिकीइउपाइगर भैनु कि कसोगर्तु जोमर्जि शुभ

जेशुदीशोजमा

श्रीमितिहरजनरलकाहजुरमा श्रीजनरलधीरसस्तेरजङ्गकुवररणाजीयाटलेधी

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