ANCIENT NEPAL
Journal of the Department of Archaeology

Number 104
February–March 1988

Edited by
Shaphalya Amatya

Published by
The Department of Archaeology
His Majesty’s Government
Kathmandu, Nepal
To be had of:-
Sajha Prakashan
Pulchok, Lalitpur
Nepal

Price Rs. 10/-

Printed at Matribhoomi Press, Kamal Pokhari, Kathmandu, Phone 414076, 412501 & 410284
### Contents

| Paganism and Spiritism: A Study of Religion and Ritual in the Sherpa Society | —Dr. Ramesh Raj Kunwar | 1 |
|———Sylvain Levi | 26 |

| नेपाली खण्ड |
| पृष्ठ |
|——ा, जगदीशचन्द्र रेमो | 1 |
| रस्सोहरमोलोस्थ क्षेत्र | 8 |
| स्वामुन्द्रर राजबंसी | 8 |
| प्रधानमन्त्री ज्ञानबहुमुख राणाका समयले नेपाल- भोट युद्धका ऐतिहासिक सामग्री— | 21 |
Paganism and Spiritism
A Study of Religion and Ritual in the Sherpa Society

-Dr. Ramesh Raj Kunwar

Man in all times and climes has to adjust himself to a host of variable situations especially with the nature — environment in his quest for food, clothing and shelter; and he must depend on his friends and neighbours to satisfy his expressively felt needs, as also or persons with supernatural potentialities who can seemingly exercise control over life and destiny when many questions relating to man’s existence remain unanswered. In this vast universe, man has to face problems of varied natures, and these problems are not solved all at once, despite his technological progress and the gradual growth of his reasoning. Instead he pursues relentlessly for solutions to those unsolved questions, and when the solution fails he attributes it to the bizarre design of supernatural forces and, through the media of magic and propitiation, as performed by these practitioners of magical art he solicits their grace for a better, trouble-free and assured life (Bhowmik, 1973:2). Especially among cultures in which people do not have the technological ability to control the environment, they resort to magic and religion. Chandra (1981) as a major ingredient of culture, and argues that “Religion, both as a dogma and as a way of life, helps in maintaining a well adjusted plane with the ecology thus satisfying people to fulfill their requirements in terms of (i) deriving remedial treatment to their problems, and (ii) achieving psychological satisfaction”. According to him, harder ecological conditions contribute to a stronger

*I am very much grateful to D. B. Gurung for his kind help in typing the first draft of this manuscript. Similarly I express my sincere gratitude to Wendy Brewer Fleming, Associate Editor of Nepal Traveller to help in style and diction, and I am always grateful to Thubten Lama of Traditional Sherpa Art Centre of Solu Fugmuche and Pemba Sherpa and Ang Gyaljen Sherpa of Thane.*
religious faith. It is also considered that religion, as a belief system, serves two important functions in society: as common binding force, and as method of social control.

In order to fulfill the aforesaid aims man must go through different rituals for his pragmatic and transcendental concerns. The ritual is generally categorized into two classifications: one is the type of ritual performed for the society as whole (rites of intensification) and the other is the ritual performed for an individual (rites de passage). According to time and situation, both types of classification rites may also come under domestic ritual. In the context of ritual, sociologists and anthropologists have defined ritual in different ways: "Ritual has invariably been shown to be socially necessary act as one which promotes group cohesiveness" (Durkheim); or as one which sacralizes tradition and acts as a guarantee of legitimate order" (Weber); or again as one "that allays anxiety, protects the social organization against the forces of instability and keeps in a state of balance" (Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown), and "it is a transcendentally necessary" act which means that reality symbolised is metaphysica" (Sharma, 1971:113).

In order to know man, his society and culture, anthropologists have followed different approaches as a part of their methodology. In this context I have followed the concept Nature-Man-Spirit Complex propounded by Vidhyarthi (1963). The concept has been developed under the theme of cultural ecology and functionalism. The trichotomy stands for cultural ecology, social system and spiritism respectively. As the same author (1981) writes, "Arising out of man's close interaction with an dependence on Nature is his belief in the supernatural and the spirit world. The three are then intertwined inextricably, at times merging into each other. Therefore, the concept has become very useful in analysing the life styles of simpler communities". However, the study reported here within is not exactly in tune with the study of the Maler by Vidhyarthi (1963). There is a great difference between the whole cultural surrounding of Maler of Santal Paraganna of Bihar and the Sherpa culture of Nepal Himalayan region. The purpose of writing this article none-the-less is to show how the Sherpas are associated with nature, gods and spirits (supernatural forces) on one hand, and to explain why they perform certain rites and rituals on various occasions on the other.

Anthropologists seek not only to know the explicit culture but also the implicit culture of people. Without studying the implicit culture no ethnographic study will be complete. Thus, for the purpose of conceptually highlighting the religious scenario prevailing in the Sherpa society, this article is written on the basis of ecology (science of connexion or adaptation to environment), symbology and typology. While describing the ritual processes and performances I have not given so much Tibetan transliteration or form of the Sherpa terms.

Methodologically, the work reported here-in is based on participant observation and unstructured interviews. Though fieldwork was done in Lamobagar, Bigu, Labchi-
Lumang, Rolwaling, Simigaon, Khumbu and Solu in 1984–85, the title and the whole description of this paper is developed from three different communal and household rites. It was observed in Lamobagar for several times and twice in Mt. Everest Base Camp. The rites are locally known as lhapso, lhabsang, chilkapso. The word lhapso is derived from Tibetan words lha-gsal which means invocation and offerings to the local gods. Similarly, the term lhabsang is derived from Tibetan word lha-bsang meaning offerings of incense to the gods. The term chilkapso means invocation and offerings to the local gods by all villagers at the same time. The term lhapso is used by the Sherpas of Khumbu, hyutang (yul-sang) by the Sherpas of Solu-Junbesi, chilkapso and lhabsang by the Sherpas of Lamobagar. However, this rite is not observed by the Sherpas of Bigu. While interpreting these terms in Nepali, the Sherpas of Lamobagar say, bhumē bujhaune which means ‘worship to the earth’ (in my own understanding). They further interpret it as ‘your dewali’ (family deity’s worship which is performed either once a year or once every two years). The term bhumē bujhaune or sine bhumē ko puja (worship of local deities or spirits) is also used by the Tamangs, the another Tibetan Buddhist group of hilly region. These people worshipped or pleased the gods in the past; they worship in the present; probably they will worship in the future too. In fact, it is a continual cultural process of human beings. This can be applied to those who worship gods (almost unseen) to seek some favour. “This means that God is the focal point of man’s religious sentiment” (Chaudhari, 1966:45).

On one side it seems clear how certain rituals have functioned as a system of a particular society in the context of structural arrangement; and on the other side, how the altar items, ritual offerings, mode of worship, ritual objects and other ingredients give a true picture of the society in a symbolic way. Therefore, to study the aforesaid rituals Geertz’s (1973) concept “model of” and “model for” (two aspects for single process) is not out of place in understanding the symbolic culture of the people within this acro-cultural study.

The Sherpas while generally defined as an independent ethnic group, are racially Tibeto-Mongoloid, habitationally high altitude dwellers, occupationally agro-pastoralist and trans-Himalayan traders, and socially unstratified within the core clan group and mulawali (alcohol-drinker or sacred thread unwearer). They have developed mountaineering skill by following the concept “He who hesitates is lost” rather than the concept “Look before leap.” But this does not mean that they practice those type of slogans in behavioral aspect.

Though the Sherpas are members of a little community, they are guided by Buddhist tradition in terms of ‘great tradition’ propounded by Redfield (1955) or ‘oral, textual and ascetic tradition’ propounded by Saraswati (1970). But, this does not mean they are not characterized by both ‘shamanic’ (prefixate) and ‘clerical’ (centralized) nature (Samuel, 1985:383).

In order to know the Sherpa culture implicitly, one has to know the full version of trichotomy—chhi–rang–rang sum. The trichotomy refers to ‘exterior’ ‘interior’ ‘secret’ ‘three’ respectively. Functionally the trichotomy has influenced an important role
in shaping not only their religious culture but also their social life. The way of maintaining secrecy is a part of the covert aspect of human behaviour. Therefore, it has become one of the important covert features of this snow bound culture. Change in their community goes on, for example, the process of urbanization, but still chhinang-sang sum remains a part of their life.

**Ecological Setting of Lamobagar**

Lamobagar is situated on the northern side of Dolakha district of Janakpur zone. The shape of the studied village is parallel and is one kilometre in length and half kilometre in breadth lying on the south-western side of Mt. Gaurishankar. The name of this village is derived from the flat Sandy land which is known as chhyoksam in the Sherpa language and the inhabitants of the area are called chhyok sompa by the Sherpas and Tibetans of the other regions.

Seven hour drive along the motor road linking Kathmandu with Jiri brings one to the Bus stop, Charikot (District headquarter of Dolakha), the starting point to reach Lamobagar (35.5 kilometre); it can be reached in two days' walk for local people and three to four days for outsiders. The route goes through Dolakha-Ratomeate-Torikhet Gumukhola (Pikhui) -Singhahi-Bhorle-Suridovan-Totala Bari-Manthali-Jagat-Gongar Chhyochhyot and finally to Lamobagar. After following the right track from Chhyochhyot one may reach Simigaon and Rolwaling valley. Rolwaling is another Sherpa village situated still farther from Mt. Gaurishankar. Labchi, Lamobagar and Rolwaling Sherpa villages are quite attractive from the acro-cultural perspective. Labchi, the last north-western Sherpa village of the district is 26.61 kilometre (two days' walk) from Lamobagar. There is an intimate relationship between the people of Labchi, Lamobagar, Rolwaling and Rongshyar (Nep. Falak: a Chinese village) in the socio-economic sphere. But, there is special touch due to the natural environment and geographical situation, between Labchi and Ngenam (Nep. Kuti: a Chinese village); Lamobagar and Rongshyar; Rolwaling and Khumbu. Rongshyar has become the popular traditional trade centre for the Sherpa of Lamobagar.

The elevation of Lamobagar is 6,170 ft. with the temperature ranging upto 22° celsius (May, 1985). On both the eastern sides of the village, two big hills are situated and on the northern side is a narrow gorge which leads Labchi - Lumnang and Rongshyar. There is a small mountain, risumgonbo, on the northern side of Lamobagar which consists of three small peaks. The eastern hill seems mostly rocky. Timber is abundant on the western and southern sides of the village. According to the local people, they face no problem regarding the availability of firewood and house construction, provided that the forest is protected from fire.

The Bhote Koshi, a big river flows down from north to south. Physiographically, due to the river, the total area of Lamobagar can be divided into four sections while politically it is divided into two wards (ward no 2 and 3) of Lamobagar Village Panchayat. The village, one of the four small sections on the right bank of Bhote Koshi, is called farkenyul where
Tibetan refugees and three Sherpa families have settled down. The second village is situated on the left side of the river and is known as chhyurkej yul or yul tyang and is occupied by the Sherpas and some Tibetan families. The third village, yul chhok, lies on the lowest part of the area where some Sherpas, some non-Sherpas and the government staff have taken residence. Saldong, the fourth village, situated in the south-eastern part of the area, is occupied by the Sherpas. The Lamobagar village is comprised of different ethnic groups: the neo-Kshatriyas (cross-breed from Kshatriyas and Sherpanis), Newars, Tamangs, and Gurungs.

There are 310 individuals and 74 refugees which comprise total 75 native and 21 Tibetan households in Lamobagar. Out of these, 14 households belong to non-Sherpa groups. There are a total of 218 livestock including local and high altitude cattle, owned by the people of Lamobagar.

On the whole, the Sherpas do not live in nucleated villages, but in homesteads dispersed around a limited area. A Health Post, Lower Secondary School, Police Check Post, Border Administration Office, Post Office, Northern Belt Pasture Development Office, Agricultural Sub-section have been established in Lamobagar.

There is one chhorten, one long mani and two gonpas inside the village. Among the two gonpas the chhewar gonpa belongs to the Tibetan refugees. Here religious education is provided for the Tibetan children. Previously this gonpa belonged to the kagyu-pa sect but now it has changed into the ge-lug-pa sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The abbot of monastery or gonpa is Tibetan reincarnated lama. In this monastery one Sherpa boy also learns monastic education. The Nepali Pemachholing gonpa (Village temple) is under the nying-ma-pa sect. The three huge stones in the three corner of this village are regarded as dvarapalas (village guardians). There are three sacred sites of Seti Devi, Kali Devi and Jala Devi on the western side of the yul chhok. The Seti Devi is known as karchhyok kyok stiddhak, kalibhairun, for Kali Devi and dubchhyu for Jala Devi among the Sherpas of Lamobagar.

The village is comprised of different Sherpa clans, such as Salaka, Gardza, Lhaksindu, Ngomba and Chyawa. Therefore, Lamobagar is not a single clan village like in Sulu. From the view-point of clan affiliation, Lamobagar is similar to Rolwaling and Khumbu (multi-clan village). Prior to 1959, the Sherpas of Lamobagar practised cross-cousin marriage but after 1959, due to the impact of Tibetans of Rongshyur, they have abandoned this practice. Despite being influenced by the Tibetans of Rongshyur, they have never entered polyandrous marriages as was practiced by some Sherpas of Khumbu (Furer-Haimendorf, 1964:68-74).

So far as their dress and interior sanitation of the house is concerned they rarely change clothes and one gets peculiar smell from the interior parts of their houses. They use their clothes as dusters and towels and take them off only when they attend a certain ceremonial occasions. But, it does not mean that the Sherpas do not take their clothes off at the time of sleeping in the night. However, the dresses are never washed because it takes a long time to dry. Bathing is also rare because of cold climate. But the ritual bath is taken once in a year, is known as mal chhyu (summer water).
However, this is not a study of aqua symbolism. Besides mai chhyu bathing, few young Sherpa girls take bath before dumje (local:dimju) (exorcism rice) festival for the purpose of becoming neat and clean before the audiences. Otherwise the hair is also completely neglected, greased with oil or butter to drive away fleas and lice. On the whole, the body emits a peculiar odour non-favourable to outsiders. However, among the Sherpas, one is not neglected by the others, their behaviour and dress are entirely accepted in their community because they have same type of ecology. Due to the poor ecology, Sherpas of Lamjubagar are maintaining simple life-style and also their life is very hard. If the village is electrified, the poor (economically) people of Lamjubagar would be busy in developing handloom (particularly carpet) industry in village.

Religious Sect

Many anthropologists (Haimendorf, 1964; Paul, 1976; Ortner, 1978), including this writer (1987) are of the opinion that the Sherpas are followers of the song-ngag-nying-ma school of Tibetan Buddhism. But, now, it is realised that not all the Sherpas of Bigu are mostly dependent on the lamas and nuns of Tashi gonpa who religiously belong to duz-pa kagyu-pa. Very few Sherpas of Bigu have heard the name of Guru Rinpoche, the founder of nying-ma school. Similarly, the Sherpas of Labchi are dependent on the lamas who are the followers of di-khung kagyu-pa. Likewise many individual Sherpas of Thame (Khumbu) have become the followers of ge-leg-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism. There is one ge-leg-pa gonpa at Laudo in Thame area from where many Sherpa monks have come to stay at Kopan monastery (linkage gonpa of Laudo) for their religious education. However, the majority of the Sherpas of Solukhumbu, Rolwaling and Lamjubagar believe in song-ngag subsect of nyling-ma major sect of Tibetan Buddhism. The term song-ngag means literally the secret formulas (Dargay, 1977:75, F. N. 52).

Reincarnation

The institution of reincarnation, tulku, is considered another important aspect of Sherpa religion. Even though the question was asked- why Tibetan reincarnated lamas get prestigious personality and why not the Sherpas? the answer came chrim-chhe-chhe hrorim thyanga-thyancha. The meaning of this proverb, kharpe, is “the more you respect the more he seems proud, the more you heat the more that seems cold.” It is applied not only in the context of religion but also in social aspect. However, this type of scenario can not be found in the Tibetan society particularly in religious field. Most of the Tibetans are maintaining religious law order, and identity; that is why the institution of tulku is still growing more popularity in the world, even though the Sherpas do not maintain it properly and it is therefore gradually declining in their community. This is mostly concerned with little Sherpa reincarnated people.

Reality in Religion

In the Sherpa community many young and old people including both sacred and secular at different times and situations invoke Om-Mant-Pe-Me-Hum-Rhi (prayer to compassionate god-Fawa Chenresi or Arya Lokeswara). Similarly, the terms kon-chhok-sum (Buddha, Religion and Community) and kangyur (Buddhist canonical texts) are equally used by them in daily behavioural aspects. Besides there are some people,
however, who have turned from secular to sacred, are not able to understand their religion properly and even they do not follow the religious order as well as basic principles of Tibetan Buddhism. This type of superficiality is known as necho chos (parrot’s religion). Though the Sherpas have different term for parrot, chya-machu but they also follow the same Tibetan term in the context of religion. In their version, the parrot also invokes certain hymns if the bird is taught properly by somebody else. But, after reciting the hymn the bird takes insect from the floor. Therefore, according to them, simply reciting the hymns does not function positively until and unless they will be able to understand well. This is the reason why they have compared their religion with the action of parrot. However, this is neither a sign of destruction nor a looseness of religion.

Comparatively, the Sherpa women though there are some nuns, are very poor in their religion relative to the males of the community. In context of this subject matter many questions were asked to the nuns of Tashi gonpa of Bigu but, no answer came from their side. Similar type of scenario was found in Thubtenchholing monastery, Takshindu and Devuche gonpa.

Now-a-days those monks who have settled in the monasteries of Kathmandu valley, some of them occasionally go to see the video movie and football matches along with musical instrument like sangdung or geling, are loosing their religious personality in the vision of lay people. The native Buddhists particularly lay people have given the term ‘modern monks’. Comparatively this type of scenario can not be found in acro-cultural zone. The reality of modernity is however different subject matter which is not dealt here.

Religious Merit

The Sherpa’s another important religious aspect is chhe dhitong chhi mangi. For this the Tibetans use the term dhi chhi ngi yoeth which means ‘this life and next life concerning’. In other words, it can be interpreted as pragmatic and transcendental concerns. Under this theme, as it is said, one has to follow the sacred performances, kon chhok la chhopa; to give alms to the beggars, ngen long la zinha; and to give service to the lama, gyesun la ngenkor. It is believed that if one could follow this clerical interpretation (in my own understanding) he or she will have phayen (Tib. phen-yon) which means if he has helped he will get same type of return. Finally this helps him to increase more sonam (merit). The Sherpa lamas further stress that the villagers’ concept sonam, gewa (virtuous act) and gewa-jinba (meritorious act or donation for religious activities) includes all aforesaid principles. With a view to gaining religious merit or to increase more sonam the Sherpas have heartily followed the clerical interpretation.

Functionally the term sonam seems very important in the Sherpa society. One’s sonam (in a sense covertly attached destiny) is determined by birth. Each and every people are proud of their sonam and it is believed that sonam remains on one’s forehead. Therefore, no one wants to lose his or her sonam through any type of negative actions. This is the reason why the Sherpas do not bow their heads to the feet of the secular people, they believe that sonam may transfer to each side. But they do not mind to bow their heads to the big lamas for the purpose of increasing more sonam.
According to the Sherpas and Tibetans, the feet are not considered sacred because in one aspect they kill many insects which is considered as a profane act and on the other the feet seem very untidy because of touching human fecal, etc. Therefore, instead of bowing the head, the Tibetans touch their forehead to their respected kin to which they call *thopa tukpa*.

Buddhism is not only a religion of renunciation but also a religion of non-violence. Therefore, no Buddhist is allowed to participate on strife and violence. But strife and violence is common among the secular and alcohol-drinkers society even if they are Buddhists. Though alcohol is considered as an indispensable food, from the view point of cold climate, and culture, it sometimes may create strife and violence. But, the problem is what will be the situation of *sonam* as being a Buddhist? Many informants replied that they will not have *sonam* in front while quarrelling and fighting with each other. They believe that it transfers from the front to the back side of the head. Then after, neither can they control their emotion nor do they remember that they are Buddhist. However, this is the dysfunctional aspect of *sonam* in the context of religion, role and behaviours of the people. Sometimes covert cultural features as well as emic versions are equally important to know man, his society and culture in a better way.

During the discussion of religion the Sherpas said that the lama, gonpa, monastery, *mani*, etc. are not the religion. “Our religion is based on *le gyunde*” (*le* = deed, *gyu* = seed, *de* = fruit). Ortner (1978, 1978: 181, F. N. S: 19) also writes, “However, the Sherpas do not use the term ‘Karma’ but it is a standard term in Buddhist literature and I shall use it for convenience. In Sherpa the term for Buddhist retribution, the cosmic principle of cause and effect, is *le*. If it is the main theme of Sherpa religion how far can it be related with *chhi dhittang chhe ma ngti*? In the context of this problem, the informants expressed that it is a Buddhist retribution. If one has a good deed or good *karma* (effect-creating deed) in his present life the result will be good for the next life and if one has done a bad deed in the present life he will have a bad result for the next life. This is the theme of *le gyunde*. *Sonam* also comes from his nature of deed. However, the etic understanding is that both the Sherpas and the other Tibetan Buddhists are motivated by the lamas to perform certain acts for this pragmatic (this worldly) and transcendental (the other worldly) life. Therefore, the concept *le-gyunde* also seems as part of the aforesaid clerical interpretation.

While talking about pragmatism and transcendentalism more people came to the point of the wheel of life, *sipakhorlo*, in terms of Karma. Therefore, from the view point of suffering and Karma, *sipakhorlo* is considered as one of the important teleological symbols in this community. In this regard while writing about *sipakhorlo*, Govinda (1970: 242) writes, “This form creating activity (Tib. *hdu-byed*) is adequately symbolized by the picture of a potter. Just as a potter creates the Sherpa of a pot so we form our character and destiny or more correctly, on Karma, the outcome of our deed in works, and thought.” However, *sipakhorlo* gives the certain themes of suffering and condition of life in this temporal and transcendental world.

**Insiders and Outsiders**

Unlike Tibetan, the Sherpas also have the concept of outsiders and outsiders.
According to the informants, those who believe in Buddhism they are all regarded as insiders, nangwa. Those who do not believe in Buddhism but who have their own religion are categorized as outsiders, chhiwa. As the Sherpas understand that the Hindus, Christians, Muslims and people of other religions are all chhiwa. The lamas generally distinguish the chhiwa into two sub-groups. According to them, those who are eternalists are taken into tagparmarwa and those who are nihilists are considered as chheparmarwa under the chhiwa group.

Sacred and Secular groups

In the Sherpa community, a man who becomes a householder is known as jikten-pa or mi kya (mi kar-po = white dressed man). Though the Sherpas traditionally wore black dress, they follow the traditional Tibetan terms to distinguish sacred and secular persons on the basis of dressing patterns. Those who wear yellow dress are known as mi sru (mi syar-po = yellow dressed man) and are considered sacred. In the context of mi kya: long ago many secular people of Tibet wore nambu (woolen dress of white colour). Therefore, they were simply called mi kya in short. In the Sherpa understanding the white dressed or black dressed people seem unknown to the religion. However, the short term kya-ser (white and yellow people) symbolically functions to distinguish among the Tibetan Buddhist groups by typological phenomena of sacred and secular.

Lamas

The Sherpas believe that certain lamas have sound knowledge about semge and miwa which means that he follows the principles of 'live and let live,' equal behaviour, good feeling and he is moral, sincere, pious, honest, kind, simple, and spiritual. Thus considering the high status of the lama the Sherpas generally send their middle sons to ordain monkhood and later to become permanent monks, lamas or only ritual masters, thereby gaining merit of the family. Generalizing the activities of a lama, according to circumstances he becomes a ritual master, medicinal man, doctor, printer, painter, reader, writer, spiritual father, fortune teller, advisor and a pious man before the lay people. These lamas, according to their profession, might be married or celibate. Comparatively, a celibate monk or lama is more highly revered than a married lama of the village. Again typology comes to this point. Those lamas who live in the village and have spent family life are locally known as either ngag-pa or bznin or dhang cho-pa. These are the lamas who have big responsibilities to preserve their village and community culture. Therefore they are the key factors of village and community.

There are other monks and nuns who permanently reside at the monastery and nunnary and practice celibacy as well as following the monastic discipline. They are locally and religiously known as dulva lamas. A dulva lama is not necessarily a reincarnate, tulku, among the Sherpas. In case, if a dulva monk or lama or even a tulku leaves his monastery and enters into family life he will loose much of his sacred personality in his locality. The same goes for the nuns.

In order to be a lama, according to the rules and regulations of monastic institution, one must spend three years, three months and three days, to sum da sum, studying in the monastery as becoming a monk. Then after he can be addressed by the term lama. But it does not mean that he will be perfectly expert in religion. It only means that he gets the designation of “lama.” The word lama means the “Superior One” (Stein,
It is also said, "without the Lama in front, God is not approachable'" (Waddell, 1969). When a man is married or dies the lamas come in a congregation to assist him and for their services they charge money. When he meets misfortune they charge him for driving his bad luck away. When he meets his good fortune they charge him for offering up thanks; when nothing happens to him, good or bad, they charge again for preventing things from becoming worse (Grenard, 1974: 343). Therefore, it can be said that the lama seems both sacred and authority of secular power. "A village lama is simply a person who has received religious instruction that enables him to perform certain rites and is resident in the village as a householder. He may have been taught by another village lama or may have spent some years as a novice or monk in a monastery before returning to secular life" (Haimendorf, 1984: 94-95).

However, the ngagpa or village lama is the focal point of Sherpa village culture. Upto the present time there seems no problem of village lamas particularly in the Sherpa villages, but there is going to be a lack of their successors under study which indicates a problem twenty years from today at the time of the next generation. Even the monk is not supposed to stay in the village regularly. Though married monks, thalok, can perform certain rituals but he is not revered by the local people because of getting back from the monastery. There is also a great difference between the socio-religious status of a married monk and the married lama. Generally, the lama is considered higher in status than the thawa (monk). But an unmarried senior monk and unmarried dulva lama are both much
revered than the aforesaid married monk and the lama.

**Archaic World**

In order to survive in society, man has developed two traditions which can be called social tradition and archaic tradition. However, here it is confined only to archaic tradition. The Sherpa's archaic culture is represented by **gonde** (monastery), **gonpa or lha khang** (village temple), **mani** (free standing sacred stone wall engraved with many mantras), **chhorten** (stupa), **labtsa** (sacred shrine of mountain pass), **kani** (village entry gate), **dharbujen** (free standing long wooden pole with sacred flag), **tharchok** (prayer flag) and **lungta** (the airy horse).

Among these overt cultural features of Sherpa archaic world, the **gonpa** is considered as one of the integral parts of religion and ritual. In addition to all meritorious activities, prostration before the altar, circumambulation towards the **gonpa** **chhorten**, **mani**, imploration to the gods is frequently practiced by the Sherpas in their settlement areas.

**Typology of Gods and Spirits**

The Sherpas' gods are divided into two groups. The first group is commonly known as **jik-ten-bi-lha**, which is concerned with the present life; and the second group is known as **jik – ten- bi la da pa** whose gods are addressed as high gods, who are primarily concerned with the next life. In this regard, Ruegg (1976:26) has clearly discussed these two classification. As he writes, "In Buddhist thought furthermore, the gods are classified as either mundane (Sans. laukika, tib. jig ten pa) or supramundane (Sans. lokottara, tib. jig ten-la da pa), a division that closely follows a more general classification. In the first case they are minor deities, genii or local gods, and in this category are included deities of what may be termed the pan-Indian or Tibetan religious substratum capable of granting earthly boons or assisting in mundane matters, a well as genii who have to be propitiated. The supramundane ones are thought of, on the contrary, as beings far advanced on the path of spiritual perfection and as protector of the Dharma, possessing great psychological and spiritual significance for the sadhaka or practiser. (the possibility moreover exists for a laukika divinity to become a lokottara one in certain circumstances)."

The high gods are worshipped only to obtain religious merit and forgiveness of sin, **digpa**. There is another group of deities which resides in and around the villages supervising the good and bad acts of the people. According to time and situation of human behavioural roles they seem both benevolent and malevolent beings. This is why the spirits are appealed by the lamas to support the sentient beings of the temporal world. While talking about the Sherpa gods, Ortner (1978:277) writes, "the gods lack physical bodies and physiological processes, and exist in a state of peaceful non-violence, hence they are, by definition perfectly pure. Animals mired in their physiological processes embody the physical side of pollution, while demons, who are by nature angry and aggressive, model the violent side of pollution". However, the Sherpa's high gods are Sangechemdende (Gautam Buddha), Guru Rinpoche (Padmasambhava), Fawa Chenresi (Aryalokeswara), Hopangme AmitabhaBuddha, Chhyagna Dorje (Samanta Bhadra), Jyambiyang (Manjusree), Dorjechhyang (Vajradhara), Dorje Sempa
(Vajrasattva), Chhepangme (Amitayus), Sungma (protector deity), Gonpo (protector deity). The high gods are worshipped for transcendental concern while the local gods are worshipped for pragmatic concern.

Therefore, the Sherpas will always anxious about negative actions of evil spirits, demons and other local spirits. That is why, for their survival, they first appease the gods before fighting with their enemies (demons, ghosts, witches and other evil spirits). Ortner (1978:137) writes in this aspect “the primary object of offering ritual is to get the gods to renew their premordial struggle against, and re-enact their original triumph over, the demons and the forces of anarchy and violence, and has pointed out the two extreme types-high gods who preside over the system (and over every ritual) and the demons who pit themselves against the system and against every ritual.” According to the Sherpas, furious gods may give trouble to their life or livestock at any time. So in their present life, they have to keep in touch not only with the Buddhist gods but also with local spirits because they need mercy, bliss, luck, longevity, happiness, yearly gathering, success, wealth, sound health, and protection.

To further attaining of these needs, people usually try to avoid sin and try to gain merit. For this they are helped by lamas, who perform coercive rites on the occasions of birth, marriage, illness and death. Due to the different circumstances the laity are constrained to keep in good communication with the lamas who are only the people who can perform necessary rites. Similarly, the lamas, though they are sacred, closely interact with the villagers because they also have to survive in this temporal world. Hence, the lamas and laity worship local gods considering them as benevolent spirits because of fearfulness and also they have to stay on nature’s lap.

As far as spirits are concerned, the Sherpa term for this is known as hrendi which is derived from Tibetan religious term lha-de. The belief is that hrendi are spirits that have never been human and are destined to roam the earth eternally, ever anxious to inflict harm on the living. “Sherpa resort to measures to keep them away, for example, scattering thorns on a trail to prevent them from following. It is also said that the doors of Sherpa houses are low to prevent the stiff-backed hrendi from entering easily. Every year public rites are held in all Sherpa villages hrendi and other evil spirits from harming community” (Presern and Halligan, 1987:137).

However, the term lhade does not cover the whole groups of spirits which can be found in the Tibetan Buddhist communities. All the spirits and local gods, as mentioned before, can be categorized into five main types; (i) godly spirits yul-lha, daf-lha, (ii) animality spirits-siddhak, lu,sabtak, neddhak, terdhak and chen; (iii) ghost spirits-shindi, gyaptak, dyu, theurang, de; (iv) demonic spirits-du, gyak, simbu; and (v) living spirits sonde or pem and sondimu.

So far as godly spirits are concerned they are worshipped on various ceremonial occasions because they are considered as village protectors and enemy destroyers respectively. For example, some mountains like Khumbu yul-lha of Khumbu, Sorung yul-lha or tashipalchhen (Mt.Numbur) of Solu,
tashi chheringma (Mt. Gaurishankar) of Rolwaling, Simigaon and Lamobagar are regarded as guardian deities of concerning localities. Similarly def-pha is worshipped because it helps to suppress the enemies of the people.

Among the animal type of spirits, sidhak are regarded as the supreme local spirit under whom lu, sabtak, nedhak, terdhak, chen come to exist. However, these are all unseen spirits which have both negative and positive function in terms of causing good, ngodup, or bad, nerpa, acts in the community. Therefore, people always try to appease them at any cost through the help of lamas. Sidhak are regarded as the lords of soils; lu are regarded as the guardians of purity of hearths, houses, streams and lakes; sabtak are regarded as male lu. Nedhak are highly revered because they are considered as the lords of certain localities and pilgrimages. Similarly, terdhak are also revered because they function as the guardians treasures left by Guru Rinpoche, and chen are spirits whose residual place is believed to be at precipitous mountains or inside the forest.

Coming to the point of ghost spirits: shindi are considered as dead spirits which try to attack living beings at any place at any time. Generally the act of giving trouble is known as nerpa in Khumbu and nerpa in Solu. In this concern it is very important to know the meaning of de (the dead spirits) which have gone neither to heaven nor to hell. Therefore, there is no difference between the term shindi and de. While showing the function of spirits, Ortner (1978:99, 180, F.N.5) points out, “While the Sherpas have names for many different kinds of demons, the distinguishing features of the various types are not all that clear. In the case of funerals, the chief villians are creatures called de. It is de who are attracted by all the feasting that goes on in the course of the funeral. The tiger exorcism (do dzongup) is directed against de although the gyepshte is directed against a different type of demon called while both de and du are greedy, vicious, cannibalistic and anti-religions (as any proper demon must be), du show up mainly in tales and rituals as being defeated by lamas, while de perform more specific and immediate anti-social personal acts.”

Anthropologists Presern and Halligan (1987) have defined nerpa differently, and have written that “Nerpa are the ghosts of people, who during their life, were known for their greed or evil deeds, all of which can lead to a rebirth without material incarnation. Such a fate may also be brought about by the manner of death, and people who die suddenly, through violence or accidents, are likely to become nerpa. Those, however, who had not been guilty of evil conduct in their last life may after a time, cease being nerpa and achieve rebirth in any of the six states on the wheel of life.” But many informants are of opinion that nerpa, the act of giving trouble may arise from any type of spirit like the nerpa of lu, nerpa of lha, nerpa of chen, nerpa of dyu, etc.

“Du are similar to lu though much more dangerous and they are offended by polluting acts in their vicinity” (Ibid). The dyu (du) reside around rocks and boulders, springs at the meeting points of three rivers and rivulets. There are mainly four types of dyu which are called dyu si; (i) ngomon ki dyu, (ii) fungsi dyu, (iii) the pi dyu, and (iv) chhi dak ki dyu. Though dyu
are taken under demonic forces, these spirits are not counted as the demon. These four *dyu si* are generally worshipped as mentioned earlier by Orton, on the occasion of *gyepshi* rite. According to time and situation, this rite might be both communal and individual. As people strongly believe that create obstacle in society, for the purpose of avoiding these spirits the lamas perform the *gyepshi* rite after consultation of the *nsakchi* (astrological text). It is said that *dyu* are under control of *gurowangchhok* which is regarded as the king of *dyu*. According to the lamas, the *dyu* are pleased when the people perform negative activities in terms of inclining desire, ignorance and anger from which they can not transmigrate from this temporal world to transcendental world. *Theurang* are another type of evil spirit which also reside in residential localities.

*Gyaptak* are spirits which are functionally regarded as followers of people, as they believe that *gyaptak* may erupt the deceased soul, *sem*, at the time of transmigration.

Among the demonic forces, *gyak* are considered as the most dangerous hinderers. These spirits always create obstacle at the time of religious performances. Generally *gyak* are under the control of king *Binoyak*. While performing the religious ritual, the lamas first and foremost propitiate the *gyak* by providing *torma* (*gyaktor*) outside of the home.

Coming to the point of witches, the Sherpas of Solu distinguish male witches *sonde*, from female witches, *sondimu*; the Sherpas of Khumbu use *pem* for both. The function of these living spirits is more social than religious. The nature and function of *pem* is to cause illness and misfortune to people and especially people who seem alert, such as during the *per* period of confinement of a pregnant woman.

The other spirits, except *pem*, *sonde* or *sondimu* are also concerned with religious activities. Some of the local spirits are considered as benevolent while others are malevolent, according to time and situation. If the spirits are malevolent, the lamas do not at once try to suppress them through rituals. Their best effort seems to be to appease them by providing food, drinks and invocation. One of the most important examples is *konchhen chundi ki chhoka* (sacred performance for the Union of the Precious One) in which the food, *torma*, is served to *gyak*, who is then requested not to create any sort of obstacles during the ritual performance. It is also said that if the *gyak* does not follow the lama’s request the malevolent spirit will not be excused. This proves that there is a symbiotic relationship between the man and spirit world in the Tibetan Buddhist society. This functionally shows not only that there is a close relationship between man and their supernatural world but also that there is close relationship between the nature and spirit world. Therefore, it can also be said that there is close interaction and interdependence with each other. Thus nature-man-spirit world has formed a complex in the Sherpa society.

**Sacred Occasion**

Before describing the ritual processes of *thapso*, *chilapsu* and *liabsbang* it is essential to mention the significance of the four
seascens of the year and the sacred and secular days of the month.

The first season of the year is known as sotö which begins from dawa ngiwa (March) and ends by dawa siwa (May). Bista (1972:261) writes the first ‘chika’ is a fine season. Anyway, the word ‘chika’ means ‘one’ or ‘first’ but it is not a name of the first season. The second season is known as yerla which begins from dawa ngiwa (June) and ends by dawa dyunwa (August). The third season, tyunla, begins from dawa gyepa (September) and ends by dawa chiwa (November) and the last gunla, starts from dawa chyuchikpa (December) and ends by dawa thango (February). In Lamobagar and Khumbu the lhabang or lhapso rite is performed on the month dawa sumba of sola, dawa thugpa of yerla, dawa chiwa of tyunla, and dawa thangpo of yerla, dawa thangpo of gunla.

At Himalayan Base Camp, Sherpa people do not care which season it is that the expedition arrives, for it is only after fulfilling this rite, lhapso, that they start climbing. But in the village, before enacting the rite people want to know the auspicious dates of the month. Most of the domestic rites are performed in between the first and the fifteenth of the month. According to their horoscope, dattu, the first fifteen days from chhewa chik to chhewa chyangra of the month are considered auspicious days for performing any kind of rites. This period is socially and religiously known as dawa hyarango. The remaining fifteen days (from chhewa churuk to namgang) of the month are taken as inauspicious or secular days in which the Sherpas generally do not perform ceremonies. This period is known as dawa margo.

In most of the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, the lamas perform certain rites particularly on the eighth, chhewa gya, tenth, chhe chyu, fifteenth, chhewa chyanga and twenty-ninth days, namgang (waxing moon) of the month. On these days people do not perform any sort of sinful activities, as slaughtering of animals.

Dress Symbol

Another important overt feature is dressing in the Sherpa society. On the occasion of religious ceremony, festivals, marriages, feast or other social gatherings, people wear their traditional dresses like a Tibetan hat and chhiwa or chhyowa, is a male dress which looks like a gown, 5-6 feet long from the shoulder consisting of long sleeves, tapering at the waist and gathered up so as not to fall below the ankle of the men. Women wear the same type of dress which is known as angi in Solukhumbu and angdung in Lamobagar and Bigu.

In regard to changing of dress, the Sherpas talk about two occasions known as ga lachhok. (god’s gathering) and dugmisi (death pollution or sorrow). Gathering on special functions like a feast, festival, marriage, and other religious ceremony is compared with ga lachhok. This is the reason that they use to change to their new dresses and ornaments an special occasions. In this regard the Sherpas of Junbesi distinguish materials for pomp and show to which they use the term as sabto chhyauk (make up), manja (dresses), genja (ornaments), and tenja (sitting materials). According to their belief, the gods are gathered on the occassion of chho or chhowa (worship). Therefore they would love to go with full of ornaments and new dresses.

As it was observed that people changed their dresses on the occasion of communal
worship chi lhapso, in Lamobagar and changed their dresses on the occasion of lhapso in Mt. Everest Base Camp before starting to climb the mountain. In such a situation people seem quite happy because of the presence of gods. But, it does not mean that the Sherpa’s gods are visible. In its opposite aspect, dugmi symbolizes that people do not resort to any kind of pomp or show although they have to gather to fulfill their social custom. The concept Dugmi does not allow one even to laugh, dance or joke with another at the time of sorrow.

Ritual Texts

The ritual, for lhabsang or lhabso, is performed through different alternative liturgical texts. The name of the texts are gyan lhabsang, pema lhabsang and sangjuhisinorbu deke sirkim. If the ritual is to be performed in a complete way, then the book gyan lhabsang is consulted. If it is to be done in a medium way, the book pema lhabsang in Lamobagar and riosangchhoe in Junbesi is consulted; and in Lamobagar sangjuhisinorbu is consulted only when the time is short. At Everest Base Camp the ritual is performed through deke sirkim due to the lack of time, ritual objects, offerings, and ritual experts. Besides this, it is very difficult to arrange a full scale ritual there. At Lamobagar people perform this rite through pema lhabsang. The ritual can be performed in forty minutes if deke sirkim is consulted. It takes at least four hours if the ceremony is performed through pema lhabsang.

Altar

In the Sherpa language the altar is called chhasam. It is usually built in a common room of the Sherpa house. If it is separated from the common room then it is called chhokhang and lhakhang for separate houses. On the altar are three shelves bearing lamps, bowls of water and flowers, while beneath a table sacrificial cakes, glor-ma are placed (Stein, 1972:214). These are the common characteristics of an altar. But, at the time of worship, the altar is decorated with many ritual offerings and objects according to the nature of rites.

The altar as mentioned earlier is characterized by three shelves. Religiously, the lowest self is known as chhi (external), the second one is known as nang (internal), and the upper one is known as sang (secret). On the upper portion of the upper part there are displayed some statues of Buddha, Guru Rinpoche, Fawa Chenresi and one picture of the Dalai Lama. But there is no hard and fast rule to displaying all those statues properly. However, the upper part of the altar is generally characterized by three different icons which are known as chho-lune-tul sum in short. The full term of trichotomy is chhoku (Dharmakaya), tungku (Sambhogakaya), tulku (Nirmanakaya). In the absence of these statues of the following gods people use to display any one but it should be related with the main sect of their religion. However, the displayed icons are considered as the representation of Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya and Nirmanakaya as mentioned before.

Preparation of Altar

The Sherpa term for sacred performance is known as chhyak chhopa and the act of worshipping is known as chhyak chhopa kidup or bulup. The term chhoka refers to worship and the ritual master is known as chhone in Solu and chhopa in Khumbu and Lamobagar. He who performs the ritual in a funeral ceremony is called chhone in.
Khumbu. The process of sacred performance is called chhoka chhaglen. According to the Sherpa lamas, the performances can be divided into two groups which are known as kerim and jogrim. Kerim type of worship can be observed easily while jogrim cannot be understood by secular groups. As the lama says there is close relationship between jikten la da pa and jogrim type of performance.

The altar items are collectively known as chhoje which are used under chhinche exterior worship. The chhoje includes the eight basic offerings: (i) chhyuen (water for drinking), (ii) chhepasil (water for washing), metok (a flower for good smell), (iv) dukpo (burnt incense), marme (butter for fire or butter lamp), (vi) thichhop (scented water) syalse (simple uncoated torma), roilma (music). These eight offerings are not apart from the Sanskrit terms like argam, padam puspe, dhupe, aloke, ghandhe, naibitte, sabda or baddhya respectively.

The offerings which are placed on the second shelf are all taken into nang chhe, ‘interior worship’ and offerings. Simbolically they represent six senses namely, juk (mirror for the sight-two eyes), da (an instrument which produces sound for hearing-two ears), dhi (incense for the smell-nose), ro (food for the taste-tongue), rakchya (a cloth for touch-heart or body), chho (mind or consentration). These six senses (tho form of worship) are represented through torma to which the lamas call wongbu go nga or wongbi metok. Generally the ritual is based on chya gyud (Tib. bya rgjudy, Sans. kriya tantra).

The third step sang chhe (secret worship) and the meaning of offerings are related with vajrayana form of worship. In this form some tormas (the sacrificial cakes), butter lamps and others are placed. The ritual is based on nal byor pai gyud (Tib. nal byor pa'i gyu), Sans. yoga tantra). However, the lamas say that the occult practices and occult versions, lama gyopa, can not be interpreted as mentioned earlier.

In addition to all the above mentioned materials, some other materials are also placed. These include food, torma, dorje (sceptre: the symbol of wisdom, shabhang, and method, serab which symbolizes the adamantine and indestructible nature of ultimate reality), dhilbu (bell), a miniature chhorten, dador (a sacred wand dressed up with silk streamers in five colours), pumba (holy jug with peacock’s feather known as maphchi do), kangding (a thighbone triumphet), corthung (a conch shell), bukshill (cymbals), beer for dusri (ambrosia), rakta (tea for blood) and damar (drum). All these materials are used during the usual worship. But there is no hard and fast rule regarding the use of any or all such materials in a worship. Many rites are performed even without these materials. While performing lhapso rite in Everest Base Camp, Urgen, the brother of Tyangboche reincarnated Lama arranged the stone altar bearing three shelves accordingly. But there were not necessarily the items as mentioned earlier.

While following any form of worship, the lama follows three important processes known as ngono, ngosi and je, under which he follows another seven sub-processes which are functionally, ritually and symbolically known as chhyakchhalwa, chhopa, syakpa, jesuirangba, dulwa, saibadep and gewa ngowa. These seven sub-processes are religiously known as hyanlokdonpa.
Under the first process *ngonpo* the lama follows *kyamdo* (to take refuge), *senge* (cultivating bodhichitta), and *kyanlok donba*. The purpose of invoking these prayers is to collect religious merit for oneself and all. The term *syakpa*, letters, is related with *higya* mantra to Vajrasattva, the god of removing sin. So far as *kyamdo* and *senge* is concerned, these two prayers are simultaneously invoked by the lama during performance. Even though *kyamdo* functions for an individual, *senge* functions for all sentient beings. The prayer to Vajrasattva is related with Vajrayan sect.

On the second process of *ngoji* the lama mainly follows musical instruments. All the musical instruments are divided into three categories which are known as *bu dung tul sum* (music from blowing, clashing, beating three). The purpose of giving music is known as *chenden* which means to welcome. The purpose of using music is to make the gods alert. Accordingly, the gods are invited to arrive at the altar through providing musical voice which is known as *ngensen* (*ngen*=ear, *sen*=to listen). Side by side juniperus incence is also burnt. The act of requesting to the gods for their arrival at an altar by the lama is known as *jukposoju*.

In the main time after completing the process, host is ordered to prostrate toward the altar under the process of *chhyak chholu* or *chhyak chholwa* three times continuously. The purpose of following this act is to surrender to the deities by promising not to follow sinful acts and, in case it was done before, to ask for excuse from the gods. Side by side it is also tried to gain religious merit from the following performances. Then after *chhopa* is performed under the principle of *chlin chhe*.

So far *syakman* is concerned, some lamas follow this process first and then start the other processes, and some lamas do not follow it before *chhak chhopa*. Then the lama will follow the another process which is known as *kyamdo* and *senge*. The purpose of following is similar to the act of *syakman*. Those processes are also to get in touch with the Buddhist gods.

After this another process is performed which is known as *jesuiranga*, under which moral and ethical values and retribution are traced by the lama. Then the lama follows *kusing salbadep* under which every body is requested to follow the religious activities for gaining merit. The process *ngowa* throws light on collecting the religious merit for other people. The last process is known as *tashi* (good wishes). In this process the lama places a butter-mark, *karken*, on the forehead and head of all household members with some blessing prayers, *tashi molam*. Thus the lama completes the worship at the Sherpa altar. Most of the process are related with *kriya tantra*, *yonga tantra*, and *mahayoga tantra*. While performing ritual, the utterance of secret version and gestures of the figurer, *lama gyopa* is very difficult to understand and the lamas are not permitted to interpret it according to the Vajrayana rule. One of the tantra rituals, followed by the Sherpa lama is *conghhek chhndi chhoka*. This is also known as *dekhona niki chhyopa* which is followed under *maha yaga* tantra relating to Guru Rinpoche.

**Method of Worship**

In regard to the nature of worship, the lama reported that there will be no unanimity of processes and performance of worship. Therefore, the nature of worship depends on the quality and ability of the
lama and liturgical texts, the economic capacity of jindak (sponsor) the availability of materials and the number of the monks. In dealing with this matter the lama noticed that there are three alternative methods of following worship which are collectively known as gya ding du smg (gyepa, dingba, duwa sum). The worship which is followed with full processes is known as gye pa chho and this is quite expensive. The worship which is followed with medium processes is known as dingba chho and the worship which is followed with simple processes is known as duwa chho. The majority of informants reported that they follow the medium processes of worship. Those who advice to follow dingba type of worship and he who can perform this type of worship is highly respected by the villagers and religiously they are addressed by the term sangi henden and nangi henden. The lama who knows the simple method of following worship is called chhi henden. According to the Sherpas, a sangi henden or nangi henden lama is considered an eminent lama of the village or monastery because he follows full fledged rituals and maintains the lamahood.

Lhabsang

This household rite was observed at four houses on duwa sumba of sola. Among eleven married lamas of Lamobagar one will be sufficient to perform this rite. Before the arrival of the lama the head of the household arranges everything which is necessary for the altar and the ritual master. The hostess seems preparing gonde or syan (boiled millet flour) for the lama and household members. When the lama arrives at home either puri (tongba drink) or chhyang (local beer) suchya (salt tea mixed with butter) is first served to him. There will be light-harted conversation following on all subject matters between the lama and the householder. Thereafter, the householder is ordered to burn incense and purify the altar and the exterior environment of his house with the incense. Chbyak-chho-lu (prostration) is then performed thrice before the altar.

In order to go through these rituals, the lama too, has to purify his body, as his body is considered impure. Before starting his work, he first chants some hymns for at least ten minutes to purify his body. According to the lama of Lamobagar, this act is known as maj yok. Haimendorf (1964: 177), however, in regard to the first process of ritual writes “Common to all acts of worship are certain set features. First the deities are summoned to the feast and this invocation is accompanied by loud music and the clash of cymbals aimed at attracting their attention.” But, the scenario which was observed in Lamobagar was slightly different from the description given by Haimendorf. It was asked to lama why the certain processes are different from other Sherpa areas. The lama of Lamobagar replied that Langba re la khe lug re lama re la chhoolug re which means “Every villages have own social system and each lama has his own religious system”. After completing the maj yok act, the morning meal, gonde is served to the lama. After having the first meal the lama then performs one ritual known as sang (a fragrant smoke offering or offering of incence). In this ritual the householder offers burning incence to many local gods alternatively while the lama invokes their blessings for many purposes. The gods, who are worshipped through the sang ritual, are the big lamas, Palabisi gonpo khanda chheringa (Mt. Gaurishankar), Singyong (the god of Labchi), yuki sidha (village god of soil) and others.
After completing the sang, the sarkim (libation drink to the god) ritual is followed by him. In this process, the gods are generally worshipped through chhyang. In order to fulfill this ritual, the gods saiyok gyalpo rahule, rinjin pema jyongne, khando tashi chheringma singyong and four corner deities are invoked.

The third process of lhabsang ritual is known as the yangup (to call for luck). This is one of the most important rituals of the following act. Ortner (1978:40) writes, “And any family may at anytime commission the performance of a yangup ceremony by the lamas, to regain shore up the luck of the house.” In this ritual, the assistant to the lama holds the dadar before the lama Dadar, a symbolic material of luck, is a sacred wand dressed in silk or khata, in which money, grain, a written paper (describing the name of year and months) is compiled on the top, symbolically representing yul-lha. Therefore it is regarded as a sacred symbol of the family and the village. The symbolic meaning of holding the dadar is to regain or retain the luck of the house. The lama suggests to hold the dadar for some minutes for luck in spheres of life.

Then another ritual begins which is called daem. Here da means (enemy or demon) and em means ‘to drive away’. In one hand the ritual performer or the assistant holds a dadar and in the other a knife, representing daflha (enemy killing god). A knife is considered a weapon of the god and is used only for defeating demons, enemies or evil spirits. In this ritual the lama worships the god as daflha as it helps to drive away enemies. Finally the lama takes both the symbols above his head pretending to kill the enemy with this action. According to their belief if they are unable to drive away their enemies, they may be besieged with all kinds of trouble.

Coming to the last part of the ritual, the lama follows a blessing ceremony which is known as tashi (good wishes). This is performed even on the occasion of losar (new year festival). In this concluding ceremony the lama and some household members go out of the home and erect tharsing and invoke some hymns offering some chhondi (chhoede) then they all cry ki-ki so so lha gyal lo which means victory cry and glory be to the gods. Therefore, this is victory cry, ‘thanking and seeing-off’ the gods. The lama then distributes tsampa (flour) to everybody to get tendil (material fortune). The Sherpas believe strongly in their daily life.

It is common for every member of the family to seek the blessing and gyan of the lama in the form of butter. This is known as rashaigyan. After the blessing, the lama places gyan (tika in Nepali) at three places of the head. At the time of blessing the lama invokes some blessing hymns, which are as follows:

“Jigten denpi chou che pangme tyumin chhiwa malu jomjepi gomme dungal kurpa namiki kyap. Sange che pangme la chhyak chhalo logy chhosing tenggya thongwar syok. Tashi delek phinjum chhokpa syok.”

Lunch, which generally comprises of cooked rice and curry, is then arranged for everybody. Besides this, chhyang is also served. However, at the time of serving chhyang, one should not forget to keep some portion of tsampa, known as chamgen (tsangem) on the
the glass. This indicates tendili. If there is no tsamgen (flour and butter or grains) it is considered as namdok (ill-luck). Generally tsampa (flour) is not kept on the rim of glasses for deceased person or during mortuary rites.

By observing some Sherpa ritual in Junbesi, Ortner (1978:186) has noted three points which are as follows: (i) Those peculiar items, the torma cakes; (ii) the special kind of help or benefit sought from the gods as protection, against the demons; and (iii) through which the right is formulated—that of social hospitality and the host-guest relationship. Actually people attend the party, den, because they are invited and there is chhyang. They talk, drink and laugh. Strife among guests is not unusual. People are also invited on the occasion of khaalak which is performed at home annually. On this occasion, the host invites his neighbours not just to maintain good relation but because of social tradition. In this context there seems an artificial relationship between host and the guests. This is what I could see in the same village in 1978. The same characteristics can be found in Namche also. The Sherpas of Namche talk about the problem of khaalak, a kind of traditional gathering which is observed once in a year within their pita (consanguinial kin) group. Rotationally one has to invite the others for the purpose of fulfilling the cultural tradition. Although there may not be a good relationship between the host and the guests, except primary and consanguinial kin groups, one must arrange the following programme. Even on the occasion of khaalak in Namche Bazar, there was observed the artificial relational behaviour between the host and guests. But there will be no unanimous reason of breaking relationship between the two groups. As one informant expressed, 'the host invited his neighbours at khaalak gathering immediate after their meal or lunch. This is however a tricky invitation from which the invitees can not consume more food as they desire because of having food earlier at their own home. The host's cleverness and the invitee's ultimate understanding shows only the internal formal relation between them.

Now-a-days the young generation of Namche Bazar are gradually willing to transfer the khaalak at the time of losar (new year) festival because of realising inconvenience due to the involvement in trekking and mountaineering occupation.

In this connection, Lamobagar Sherpas do not invite to their neighbours on the occasion of lhobsum rite. As such there is no argument about the third point of Ortner. For this rite one household of Lamobagar spends about six monas rice for lunch and threepathis of chhyang is prepared for everybody. Besides this, butter is also essential for ritual as well as for the tea. As far as rice is concerned, Furer-Haimendorf (1964:80) has written, "Thirty years ago even wealthy families lived mainly on potatoes, buckwheat, dairy products and a minimum amount of vegetables, while rice was eaten only on the feast days. Today rice has become part of everyday diet....." By the same way Bjonnness (1983:273) has also written that "Rice is the highest status food eaten by those who can afford it, while potato the main food for poor families. Almost all food supplies for the tourists and to a lesser extent for the locals, must be transported into Khumbu and aircrafts." "Rice is also consumed but the high cost of transport confines it primarily to ceremonial
use and the making of *chhyang* (local beer)*"* (Presern and Halligan, 1987: 133). Even in Khumbu, majority of the Sherpas who have not opened tourist lodges are still dependent on traditional food as is provided them by nature. Culturally they have a system of *khaponi sawo* whereby the menu of the house is changed daily. As they say “we have to change our mouth daily means some food varieties are changed for consumption. Even there are many Sherpas who have settled in Kathmandu, who also take their cultural food according to the system of *khaponi sawo*. But it does not mean that they do not take rice. Though rice is eaten but it is not considered as their liked food. In most of the villages (in Lamobagar, Bigu, Rolwaling and few villages of Solukhumbu) the Sherpas prepare rice at the time of ceremonial occasions.

**Chilhapso**

In regard to the communal or village rite, it commences at 9 o’clock in the morning. The villagers arrive, each carrying two or three sacred flags, *tharsings* or *tharchoks* consisting of thin bamboo pole with squares of coloured plain cloth attached to it. These they tie on the flag-pole and carry out of the gonpa courtyard or go directly to *lhusu* (sacred shrine). It is that place where all *tharsings* and *tharchoks* are erected in the name of mountain gods with many offerings like burning incense, *chho-chhyhon*; (offering beer), *chhondi* (offering grains), and prayers.

In course of performing this ritual, the lama while invoking the gods, chants, “you are the lords, we are your guests, “you are our parents we are your issues, so do not give us any trouble, save our village and make us happy. We want to be rich like the water in pond. You will not create any problems rather you will help to solve them and give us peace and prosperity instead of strife. Help to eradicate diseases from the village.” Concluding in loud voice, the lama and all other attendants give a big voice for victory as mentioned earlier. And they pray to the same gods as in *thaabsang* rite.

**Conclusion**

In order to perform this ritual, people collect two *manas* (Nepali measurement) of grain from every household for preparation of the *chhyang*. The responsibility of collection and preparation of this goes to one house according to monthly rotation. The man to whom the responsibilities goes by is known as *chhyangbi*. His main duty is first to collect the grain from every households. Then to prepare the beer and finally to serve the drinks to all attendants of the ceremony. On the appointed day, fourteen to sixteen people (both sexes) gather and consume five to six *pathis* (Nepali measurement) of *chhyang* which is considered as part and parcel of Sherpa life. Thus the *chilhapso* ritual is completed over. Most children do not drink but they gather and observe the activities of the lama and his attendants.

In conclusion, the Lamobagar Sherpas believe that they are attached to worldly gods and detached from evil spirits through the actions of a lama in the ritualistic context. Because of the automatic formation of natural and supernatural world, the villagers, except for the lamas, are all laymen who are sacred from supernatural forces. That is why the way of attachment and detachment through rituals has become a continual process in Nature-Man-Spirit world of the Sherpas. In one sense mountain (not all) is regarded
as a village god but in another sense it has played an important role in the economic life of the Sherpas. As far as the _lhabsang_ rite is concerned, this is performed not to achieve any religious merit for the next life after death, but to safeguard, in the secular context, the maintenance of their livelihood. Thus the nature and spirits still determine Sherpa life. The major areas of Sherpa life and culture have continued to be in act because of ecology, religion and supernatural world has continued to remain the same. Man is (also) an expert being who forms an idea as to how to exploit nature to some extent and to get control over the spirits so that he can survive in society by any means.

**Notes**

(1) According to the Buddhist tradition, the term _gon-pa_ should be located in solitary place which is to be built in 500 _domba_ or 2000 feet (1 _domba_ = 4 feet in measurement) of distance from the village. Generally this place is very close to the forest. The Sherpa _gon-pa_ is generally characterized by different canonical texts which are as follows: _kangyur_, _tyangyur_, _terje_, _bum_ _ot_ _hyum_, _nyingmi gyu bum_, _jo_ _chhembu nga_ (I) _rincheen terje_, (II) _sechya_ _kungkhyap jot_, (III) _damngak jot_, (IV) _kagyu nga jot_, (V) _gyachhen ka jot_, _dorje chepa_ (little _bum_), _tongchhar manikambum_, _kathag de nga_, _kumijang lami syalung_, _pema kathang_ etc. But, there is no hard and fast rule to be all religious texts in all monasteries and village temples.

(2) “Formerly in Tibet, as now in Sikkim, people used to kill animals to appease the wrath of evil spirits who were supposed to spread plagues and ride men or women. They were a terror to the people. Padma Sambhava abolished the system of animal sacrifices for which he substituted meal rice and cake sacrifices called _torma_. This is the origin of Buddhist worship with flour cakes now so common in the Himalayan countries and Tibet” (Das, 1980:79, F. N. 42).

(3) The Sherpa term _den_ is derived from Tibetan term _mgbron_. There are four types of _den_ which are known as _dyon si_ in Tibetan religious texts. Therefore, the Sherpas are also not unfamiliar with four types of _den_. The first type of _den_ is known as _kon chhok si sui den_. The second one is known as _gonbo yonden ki den_. The third one is called _rik thuk ningje ki den_ and the fourth one is called _pulim lenchhyak ki den_. The first three type of _den_ are mainly concerned with religious activities while the fourth one is related with social activities.

**References**


Bista, Dor Bahadur, 1972 **People of Nepal**, Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.


Bjonness, Inger-Marie, 1983 “External Economic Dependency And Changing Human Adjustment to Marginal


— 1988c “MSL: A Study of Three Corner Complex With Special Reference To The Sherpas of Khumbu and Mt. Everest Expedition,” *Ancient Nepal*, Department of Archaeology: No. 102, PP. 1-27.

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah E. 1981 *The Silk Route And The Diamond Path*, University of California: The UCLA Art Council.

Lauf, Detlef Ingo, 1976 *Tibetan Sacred Art*, Berkeley: Shambhala.

In 1884-85, M. Bendall discovered in Nepal at Bhatgaon (Golmadhital) a new inscription of Civadeva which he published as early as the month of April 1885 in the Indian Antiquary (XIV, 97). Without a word of explanation or justification without even mentioning the vast divergence between this reading and the date 535 furnished by Bhagvanlal he interpreted the signs of the date by samvat 318 and he concluded from it without further discussion. The date of this inscription can contribute to the solution of the questions so embarrassing of the eras between the Caka era and those of Cri Harsa. Containing three numerical signs the first of which is the symbol for 300, it can scarcely be connected to any other save the era commencing 319 J.C. which certain people still regard as the “Gupta-Valabhi era”. One of these ‘persons’ M. fleet, who was just then about to demonstrate once for all the identity of the era 319 and the Gupta era, hastened to greet this new inscription as the ‘fundamental note’ (key-note) of Nepalese chronology. Commencing from this datum: samvat 318-Gupta (318/319/320 J.C.)- 637/638 J.C., he arranged a complete new system of chronology. “The chronology of the Early Rulers of Nepal” in “Ind. Ant.” XIV, 342-251; published once again in volume III of the Corpus:

“The inscription of the Early Gupta kings”, (Appendix IV, p. 177- 191) M. Bendall published the inscription once again this time with a photograph facsimile in his report; A journey...... the Nepal Cambridge 1886, p. 72, Appendix 1; he added this time a reserve on the figure of the units, which could have been a 6 as well as an 8. In the very text of the Report (p. 13-14) he insisted on the “admirable unity” of the date interpreted by the Gupta era and the other date concerning Amcuvarman.

Since 1894 (Note ‘on the chronology of Nepal in Asiatic Journ. IV, 55-72) I have had the occasion to protest against the so-called rectified chronology which Messrs. Bendall and Fleet had placed in circulation, The inscription of Khopasi corroborated by the fragmentary inscriptions of Thoka and of Dharampur, (does decidedly justice) refutes
these combinations. The figure of the hundreds, with Civa-deva, is 500 and not 300.

Buhler in Index IX of his 'Indian Paleography' wrongly unites under the same heading of 300, the two signs borrowed one from the inscription of Manadeva at Changu Narayan and the other from that of Civa-deva in the Golmadhi-tol; he has also wrongly omitted under the heading 500, the sign furnished by the inscription of 4 of Bhagvanal. One could be led to believe that Buhler had wished by this omission to indicate that he rejected the interpretation of the Pandit; but it must not be forgotten that it is Buhler himself who has translated and published the memoir of Bhagvanal written in Gujarati, and that he expressly claims his portion of responsibility in the preface. The difference of the two signs 300 and 500 explodes when approached, as does Buhler in his Index. The sign of 300 is regularly constituted by the figure of the hundred (whatever be the tracing) with the addition of two dashes connected the stem of the hundred and that bend in separating from their fastening; it is there a regular and constant form that is observed in Nepal even in the inscriptions of Manadeva at Changu Narayan and at Lajanpat. Beginning from 400, as Buhler observes (p. 74) the symbols are constituted by the ligatures of the hundred with the characteristic traits of the numbers 4 to 9. The ligature of 100 is figured in the 500 of Civa-deva, by a sign very analogous to our 3; this sign is connected by a horizontal stroke to a vertical stem whence two clearly horizontal strokes part towards the left; the higher stroke connected to the extremity of the stem, is the longer; the other, inserted below the connecting point of the stroke that binds in a contrary direction the stem to the ligature of the 100 bends at its extremity and ends in a complete curve. It suffices for one to look back upon the very index of Buhler to the series of the units to find therein the sign corresponding with the value 5, especially the sign of column VII, borrowed from the Kusanas. Bhagvanal in his study on the Ancient numerical signs in Nagari (Ind. Antiq., VI, 42 sqq) reproduces the same form according to the inscriptions of the Guptas, but without precise reference. The sign of 500 is then very regularly formed by the combination of the hundred with its particular unit, in every way like in the case of 400 of 600 of 700.

One must then read in the inscription of the Golmadhitol, like in the other inscriptions of Civa-deva and like in the inscription 4 of Bhagvanal, for the hundreds: 500

The inscriptions of Civa-deva are of 518 (Golmadhi-tol) and 520 (Khopasi). They thus contain the series opened by the inscription of Changu Narayan (386) and prolonged by Lajanpat (387), To-Bahal (402), Bhag.2 (412), Bhag. 3 (435), Kisipidi (449). Tsapaligaon (489) and closed by Bhag 4 (535). If I take for origin of the era the year 33 current caka, in busing my workings on the supplementary month furnished by the inscription of Kisipidi (449 samvat) the year 520 samvat corresponds to 553 current caka-631 J.C.I have already shown in an independent way in a Note on chronology (As. Jour.) 1894, 11, 55 sqq) that the year 34 of Amcuvarman must correspond to 629 J.C. The first inscription of Amcuvarman dates from 4 (47?); I have attempted to mark the progress of his authority in the very contents of his chart (11, 138 sqq) between these two extreme dates; the first must correspond to 625 AD. If my calculations are correct on either side the two reigns thus overlap each other; this apparent
confusion is only undoubtedly the real reflection of a fairly confused reality. All the charts of Civadeva that we possess are drawn on the reports of the Mahasamanta Amcuvarman the praise of whom entirely shadows that of the sovereign. One can easily imagine fairly varied hypotheses to account for these facts; Civadeva could have preserved a nominal authority in a restricted jurisdiction of province or territory remaining the whole under the tutorship of his mayor of palace; beyond this jurisdiction, Amcuvarman would have exercised supreme authority. If one observes that the actually known inscriptions of Amcuvarman leave a break between the year 34-629 A.D. and the year 39-634 A.D. and that on the other hand the actually known inscriptions of Civadeva precisely fit this short interval (518 samvat-629 A.D. 520 samvat-631 A.D.). One can still conjecture that Amcuvarman must have by reasons of foreign or home policy accepted or restored a sovereign of the legitimate dynasty the Licchavi Civadeva.

At the same time a difficulty that embarrassed the combination of Mr. Fleet is made clear and is solved.

I remind that the inscription of 535 (Bhag. 4) has for dutaka the rajaputra Vikramasena and that the inscription of Amcuvarman, Samvat 34 (Bhag 6) has for dutaka the maha-yaka Vikra; name restored by Bhagvanlal in Vikramasena. M. fleet, in citing this inscription (Gupta Insc., p. 178 u.2 takes care to add; "If we accept the restitution of Bhagvanlal we must take great care not to confuse this personage with the rajaputra Vikramasena who is the dutaka of the inscription of samvat 536, ‘two hundred and odd years later.’"

But the rajaputra Vikramasena now reappears in a new inscription of Amcuvarman at Sanga, year 23, with the title of sarvadandayaka. Here the reading is precise and the identity of the personage become manifest. On the one hand an inscription dated 535 and the close resemblance of the characters of which classifies to the testimony of its first editor side by side with an inscription of Civadeva contemporary and nominal suzerain of Amcuvarman; on the other hand a personage identical in name and title appears in that inscription and in an inscription of Amcuvarman. Is it reasonable to divide him in two and to create a break of two hundred years and more between the halves of the personage?

The date of 535 appears it is true, to raise a new difficulty reckoned from the year 110 A.D.-0 for origin the year 535 corresponds to 646 A.D.; at that time Amcuvarman is dead. Is it not within one’s right to expect to find exclusively in use the new era introduced by Amcuvarman and continued for at least a century and a half by his successors? But I have already described (11,155) the period of upheavals that followed the death of Amcuvarman; Jisanugupta irregular heir of the poor, recognizes for suzerain a Licchavi; If in samvat 48 he makes use of Amcuvarman’s era, he appears in Thankot to return to the Licchavis’ era. Now the inscription of 535 presents the same decisive feature as that of Thankot; whereas Civadeva faithful to the practice of the Licchavis redoubles constantly the silent after ‘r’ the inscriptions of 535 does not redouble; it writes ‘purva’ (4,7) bhumer dakriona (9) parvata (11,12) vartibhir (17) and not vartibhir as Bhagvanlal transcribes erroneously. It adopts the orthographical system inaugurated by Amcuvarman and continued by his successors; it thus classifies itself outside and after the series of Civadeva.
It is so it appears to me verification and a further guarantee to the benefit of the chronological system that I proposed.

1. Svasti Managrhad aparimitagunasampal Licchavikutamendekaro......

Translation—
(to the text on pages 79 & 80)

(1-4). Greeting of Managrha. His numberless virtues, perfect are the pride of the Licchavi race; the sovereign the great king Civadeva, in good health to the inhabitants of the village of Kurpasi notables foremost heads of families, wishes the good-day and makes known.

(4-12) Know this: This personage whose virtues like precious stones, irradiate illuminate and disperse the night (darknesses) of ignorance, who always prostrated at the feet lotus of the holy Bhava has taken it on him to assure in the future the salvation and happiness whose arms powerful couple have uprooted all the united enemies the great marquis Amcuvarman has drawn me a report and authorized by me he has granted you the favour to forbid the entry to all the spheres (of justice). In all affairs that will come to be debated, it is the local proprietor who will have to submit to you for his examination. And for all affairs you will have one gate alone. And at the time of the opening of the gate and of the procession of the Kailasa Kuta you will have to give one by one fifty chalks (bits of) naturally white.

And for the long preservation of this privilege has been engraved on a stone slab.

(13-17) And now that it is known nobody not even those employed with me or others must change anything of this privilege. And who-so-ever infringing my order would make it void, either personally or by instigation I shall absolutely not tolerate that he should violate the fixed stipulations. And the kings to come, they also, by respect for the law in accordance with the privilege that I impose to their respect, must well maintain this regulation.

(17-18). The delegate is here Decavarma-Gomin. Year 520, month of Caitra, dark fortnight fifth day.

XIII--Stela 1 of Harigaon

The two inscriptions of Amcuvarman at Harigaon are erected symmetrically at the two corners of a platform that supports a chapel on the side facing North in the middle of the causeway that crosses the village from North to South and close to the steep descent that leads to the pillar already described. The inscription I cover a height of about 0=m, 55 and a width of 0=m, 30; the height of the characters is 0=m, 011. The stela has a rounded and carefully adorned fronton. In the centre two foliages facing each other borne on a low socle the head of the socle supports a stem, inflated halfway up that separates the foliage and blooms in a lengthened calyx, serving as a supports to a kind of square crest, ridged with widened flutings and flanked on the sides with protruding faces. Under this stylish sketch, one however, recognizes the essential lines of the vase with the lengthened neck adorned with flowers. On the right, a shell-work (caukha); on the left, a serpent-stone (caligrama); both these are emblems of Visnu and are set on curved petals that frame them. The fronton is separated from the text by a net spangled with pearls.

The inscription is entirely in Sanscrit and in prose. Its orthography is fairly regular. One must however observe, that as early as:
his first edict, Amcuvarman breaks away from the traditional style of the Licchavis writing which doubled the consonant after ‘r’. He writes ‘varman’ etc. The detail is worth noticing in-as-much that it concords with the tradition (Hionentsang, Kirkpatrick) which speaks of Amcuvarman as a grammarian king. The character is the same as in inscription already known of Amcuvarman. Amcuvarman as ‘maha samanta’ institutes a fairly large number of grants (prasada) destined to different kinds of beneficiaries divinities, temples, officials, animals, doors, roads. The grants are evidently connected to a ceremony the mention of the horse and the elephant which took part in the ceremony of the anointing, leads to believe that the occasion is the ‘abhiseka’, the coronation of Amcuvarman. The details seem to agree with this hypothesis. We do not possess, it is true any authentic description of a historical abhiseka. The Vedic texts whatever be the dates allotted them only describe the ceremony from a ritual point of view. The epopees do not also give a combined account. The Maha Bharata which describes at length the rajasuya of Yudhisthira to the Sabha-parvan summarily relates the coronation of the same king in the XIITH adhyaaya of the Cantiparvan. The Ramyana relates in greater details the preparations of the coronation of Rama 11, 15. In short the Agni-Purana treats on the royal coronation in its CCXVIIIth adhyaya. Goldstucker, in his imperfect Dictionary has given a remarkable monography of the abhiseka (s.v.) and Weber has taken up the subject in his memorandum; Diekonigsweihc (rajasuya) in the Abh. Ak. Wiss of Berlin, 1893. I have taken pains in the notes of the Inscription, to mark the connections between the data of the inscription itself and the texts I have just cited.

The donations are estimated in pu and in pa. The mention of panagrahama in 1.4 and the analogy of several other inscriptions, published or still unpublished shows clearly that it concerns panans (pa) and puranas (pu). The purana is a silver coin also designed under the name of Karsapanama (p.ex. inser. of Jiswugpta at Thankot, inf) Rapson (Indian Coins, p. 2) fixes the weight and the value of the purana to 3 grams, 79 of silver and that of the pana to 9 grams, 48 of copper. The inscription only indicates the sum total of the amounts; but it is evident that is not a question of a single payment Amcuvarman would not have needed to have engraved his edict or to recommend its regular execution to future kings. One can now ask oneself if it concerned a daily payment, a monthly or yearly one. But Sanscrit literature is so poor in real informations that it is difficult to decide. The only text to my knowledge that treats on salaries regarding the court of the king is to be found in Manu, VII, 125 and 126:

rajakarmasu yuktanam striman presyajansya ca pratyaham kalapayed vrttim sthanakaranurupatoh pano deyo vakrsasya uttakrsasya vetanam sanmasikas tathachchado dhanyadronac ca masikah

To the women employed in the royal

(Foot Note to page 83 ‘Nepal’, Vol. III by Sylvain Levi)

1. The Panchatantra, Ill. fable 1 describes with a few interesting details the coronation of the owl as king; but this development is missing in the recension of the south published by M. Hertel.
and domestic services the king must assure
the daily maintenance, in relation with the
rank and work of each. To the lowest of
all a pana must be given, to the higher ones
six panas as salary and further, every six
months, some clothes to cover themselves with
and every month a bushel (drona) of grain."'
The commentator kulluka specifies that the
salary indicated, is the daily salary and he gives
as an example of the meaneast employments,
the water-carrier (udakavaha). Both are found again
in the chart of Amcuvarman; In it the
water-carrier (Paniya-karmantika) receives 2
panas 'and 2 panas or 34 panas; the
sweepper (samarjyjitr) 1 purana and 4 panas
or 20 panas. It concerns probably an annual
income served out to all the auxiliaries of
the coronations.

The inscription is dated samvat 30,
corresponding to 625 J.C. I must content my-
self here to refer to my chapter on the
history and to my 'Note' on the chronology,
to justify the equivalence proposed. I can
however indicate that the difficulty that
embarrassed Mr. Kielhorn (list of North-
Inscrs., No 530 and note) after me, is
definitely side-tracked. The date of the
abbiseka in samvat 30 shows well that
Amcuvarman did not find but borrowed
the era he makes use of; but it is not from
Harsa that he borrowed his era more or
less voluntarily.

One can observe that the conclusive
formulary contrasts by its modest reserve
with the rigorous threats that Civadeva
employs and that Amcuvarman himself
introduces in it later. Amcuvarman tries
his skill still timidly in the exercise of the
personal power.
designates the admission in the family and therefore it is applied to the spouse and to the ‘familia’. The praradhyaya (Weber, Cat. Berlin. Hss., 1,59) even expressly applies it to the adoption: “athadattakakritaka–krtirma putrikah paraparigrahena nanarse–yene jatah”... and it opposes the father who begetted “utpadayitar” to the father who had adopted parigrhitar (purvah pravara utpadayitur uttarah parigrhatuh).

Kulluka commenting upon Manu IX,168, on the adoption, also calls the foster–father parigrhitar (matapitaran parasparam amujnaya yam putram parigrhatuh samanajatiyam...). In the dynasty of the imperial Guptas, Candragupta II designates himself as son parigrheta of Samudragupta and this especial qualification is regularly given to him by his successor; Samudraguptasya putras tatparigrhito mahadevam utpanah. Mr. Fleet (Gupta Inscription p. 12,N.1) interprets this word by “accepted (as favourite child and successor by choice).” This interpretation does not seem to me to match with the meaning of parigrheta and it is not suitable in the case of Amcuvarman since Amcuvarman was the son-in-law and not the son of his predecessor Civadeva. I translate in both cases: “admitted into the family by adoption.”

9. The word cri before devyah is very dubious. It may perhaps concern a local designation.... Aroh is on the contrary the almost certain reading. It is little probable that the question is the word Aru given by a lexicographer as a name for the Sumsasthi is properly the name of the sixth day that follows the birth and that ends the critical period of new-born children; Sasthi devi presides over it and she is the object of an especial worship under that title. But Sasthi by the evidence of lexicons has become an appellation of Durga or Devi. Perhaps Amcuvarman has chosen here because she presided on the donation which is dated with the Sasthi the 6th, clear tithi of Jyaistha.

10. Bhattaraka is undoubtedly Pacupati who regularly receives this title, for example even here, 1,2.– Mahabatadyaksa is a title that appears so far appropriate to Nepal. India only gives the equivalent mahabaladiktra (Inscr. of Hastin, Gup (7) 191, in Fleet, Gupta Inscription 108; inscr. of Buddharaja the Kalacuri Epigr. Ind., VI, 300; key batadhiktra, inscr. of Cantilla, vassal of the kalacuris, ib.,11,23). Manu mentions the batadhyaksa side by side with the senapati, VII, 189. Another inscription of Amcuvarman samvat 34 (Bend. p,74) gives us the name of his mahabaladhyaksa: Vindusvamin.

11. Prsadadhiktra is a title I have not met elsewhere; but it is exactly symmetrical to baladhiktra that I have just mentioned.... Abhishekahastin. The ceremony of the coronation required an elephant in fact (Ramayana 11,15, coronation of Rama; mattac ca varavarah, u. 8(matto Javavarah, Gorr.) as well as white horse, ib., VII. panduravaca samsthitah; likewise the Agin Purana. Bibl. Ind., ch. 218; acvam aruhyana nagam ca pujayet tam samarohet.

12. Dhavaka. The reading of the world is in its whole very clear; the second letter is dubious; the cuve of it is not closed and the aspect is rather that of an ‘r’ with a stroke bent towards the left at the foot of the stem. I scarcely knew how to interpret the sign below ma, and the interpretation of the word remains entirely enigmatic.
13. “Camaradhara. The tail of the yak (chowrie) is a royal mark and figures regularly in the coronation (Ramay., V.10: valayya janam—Camara, Gor.)

14. Paniyakarmantika. The commentator of Ramayana on 11, 80, 2 explains well karmantika by vetana-jivin “who lives on a salary.” The work of the karmantika is opposed to the visit “the task not remunerated.” It concerns perhaps the water necessary for the coronation and the task in this case was rather arduous; the Brahmans demand rain water gathered before falling on the earth and at the moment the Sun is shining; the Ramayana mentions for the coronation of Rama the waters taken at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna and all kinds of especial waters.

Pithadhyaksa. Pitha is the very term the Ramayana employs for the royal throne V.4; bhadraptitham svaluakrtam. The P.W. refers to a passage of the Cankaravijaya of Anandagiri cited by Aufrecht, cat Mss. Oxon. 251 for the term pithadhyaksa; Cankara found a sort of academy on the bank of the Tungabhadra and leaves Surecvara there as pithadhyaksa. Aufrecht translates “scholae magister” very doubtful meaning. Pitha designates very well the sacred sites and especially in Nepal the places consecrated by the relics of Devi.

15. Pusapataka that is missing in P.W. is a synonym of Puspaketu that designates by a periphrasis the Love… I ignore here what particular function there is question of.

Nandi is given in P.W. as the name of an undetermined musical instrument.

16. The argha is a select gift given on the occasion of the coronation. Judhisthira, in offering the argha to Krsna (Maha-Bharata 11, adhy. 36-38) loosens the furious jealousy of Cicupala at the time of his rajasuya.

18. “Managrha” is the palace of the Licchavi kings.

19. “Samarjayitri” is omitted in P.W. For the importance of his function in court, key for example, Cakuntala, act V (ed. Niranyakar, P. 159; “ahinvasam ajinasa.. aggisarunalindo”. “Yadiyatrayam” is very clear on the stone, but the inscription is very embarrassing. It may perhaps be necessary to correct: “Yatrayam, but “yadi” is still very mysterious.

Translation
(of text on page 85, 86, 87, 88, 89)
(1-5) Greeting. From the palace of Kailasa-kuta. The property of another suits the exercise of his employment. The golden age finds in him (his resurrection). The holy Pacupati, the worshipped lord follows him in thought. His adored father has chosen him by adoption. The great marquis Aucuvarman who is in good health, addresses himself to those who are about to receive his favours and who are qualified to draw the salary in the prescribed limits; to those actually present and those to come he makes known. Let this be known to you.

(5.8) To avoid that (contestations) should arise among those who receive the royal favours... in connection with the limitation. By the effect of a donation in the usual forms, I have, according to the example of the kings my predecessors, given in the usual forms... that which is inscribed here.

(9-19) To the venerable Devi 3 pu, l pa; to Aru 3 pu. pa; to ... pa; to the temple of Sasthi 3 pu, 1 pa; to the adorable Lord,
one by one, pu pa; to the great inspector of the army 25 pu; to the perfect of donations 25 pu; to the elephant of the coronation 3 pu, 1 pa; to the horse of the coronation 3 pu, 1 pa; 3 to the dhavakagecchimaka, 3 pu, 1 pa; to the bhands... 2 pu, 2 pa; to the bearer of the fly-flap 2 pu, 2 pa; to the standard bearer 2 pu, 2 pa; to the ...2 pu, 2 pa; to the water worker 2 pu, 2 pa; to the watcher of the seat 2 pu, 2 pu. to the .. pu, 2 pa; to he who carries Puspapataka 2 pu, 2 pa; to the drummers and conch blowers. pu, to the chief of the, 2 pu, 2 pa; to the horse in the shape of a present. pu 2 pa; to the Southern gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to ... 1 pu, 4 pa; to the great gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to the western gate 1 pu, 4 pa; ... to the gate of Managrha 1 pu pa; to the gate of the centre 1 pu, 4 pa; to the Northern gate 1 pu, 4 pa; to the sweep press 1 pu, 4 pa; to the man of trust and to the driver during the procession... 20 pu....

(20-22) Knowing that it is thus be they persons attached to our persons in the name of our indulgence or others nobody must change this grant; and the kings to come must conform themselves to this grant and respect it.

Direct order

Samvat 30, the 6th. of the clear fortnight of Jyaistha.

(To be continued)

(Foot Note to page 90, 'Nepal', Vol. III by Sylvain Levi)

1. For this meaning of pratole, see Vogel in the Kern Album p. 235-237.
श्री ३ जुडः कहीं टिपोटहुँ

--डा. बगदीरचन्द रेमी

इतिहास विषयको समग्र अध्ययन भने प्रयासको बारे निर्देशका बारेमा, इतिहासकारहुँको बैठकी नीति र कार्यक्रमको सम्बन्धमा नेपालको इतिहासको अध्ययनको प्रसंगमा यो सिखिए भन्ने वा खण्ड छ।

नेपालको इतिहासको व्याख्या यसका बन्धन देखि मिल्न सफलको कारण ताराजनक इतिहासको मार्गको उपयोगका नीतिले नष्ट भएकोले कालविधि देखिएको छ। यसलाई श्री ५, वृद्धार्थ-राजनीतिक पृथ्वीराज शाहको सम्बन्धको कारणले प्रयोग पयाप्त ऐतिहासिक सामग्री प्राचीन र अभी काममा अगाडि वढी आउने प्रसन्न सामग्री पाउने घामिछ। त्यसैले बैठकी बारे जस्तो सामग्री सरकारी कार्यालयमा र त्यसँग संबंधित प्रतिवेदना चौं जुनौले प्रकाशकाल छिदो छिदो बैठने अनुमति दिइएको छ।

लाई देखिएको ऐतिहासिक नेपालको इतिहासको बैठकी पटना बुनाँ सफल हुनेका छ।

सं. १९२६ देखि भाषाको आधुनिक इतिहासको न सं. १९०३ देखि भाषाको आधुनिक इतिहासको इतिहास बैठकी लेखकका छ। एक त इतिहास लेखन काममा कहिले विद्यारम्भित लाई र अध्ययन देखि मार्गको नेपालको इतिहास लेखने र पढ़ने बनने सामग्रिक र तर्कारी सामग्री पाउने कसैले छ। लेखकाले सामग्री देखि र अध्ययनको प्रयासमा र उदाहरणको बैठकी प्लेटफॉर्म प्रसन्न गर्नेछ।

सं. १९६३ पत्रिका शाह-राजनीतिक इतिहासको नात्कमा अर्थ प्रकाशक सामग्री छ अर्थात् भने पनि। त्यसको इतिहासको नात्कमा बा राजनीतिक देखि राजनीतिक निकटकालमा एकान्त राजनीतिक 'राजनीतिक' कहिने र अर्थात् देखि मार्गको नात्कमा त्यसै देखि मार्गको नात्कमा एक महत्त्वपूर्ण आर्थिक र इतिहासको एक उदाहरणको रूपमा देखिएको छ।

प्रसन्न लेखको श्री ३ जुडाँको उनको सम्पूर्ण राजनीतिक रा सामग्रिक अर्थात् जुडाँको इतिहासमा प्रसन्न वरिएको छ। र त्यसै राजनीतिक अर्थात् जुडाँको इतिहासमा प्रसन्न गर्ने कुरा पनि है। यहाँ हामी उनको अर्थात् जुडाँको इतिहासमा प्रसन्न गर्नै छ।
लजन्ये पर्थि गएर सिभालिबार इविक्षुन्य प्रस्तुत गरि महत्त विनेछि मने सवन्न गरिछ।

बि.सं. १९५७ माघ १७ गते बिहिभाब श्री ३ भैमध्यभोक स्वर्ग्यान्य भवोर लर्सि दिन कम्पाम्बर्ड-जन-ब्रह्म जुडम्सेबर श्री ३ माधक थिए। ३ वर्ष यात्रा गरिपछि उन्होंने सं. २००२ मासी १४ गते राज्यस्वामी गरी कम्पाम्बर्ड इन ब्रह्म रहेका पाठवम्सेरलाई श्री ३ को ब्रह्मचर लगाइएका थिए।

नाराज प्रस्तुति जुडम्सेरको राज्य-स्वामिभरेको यत्नो तिपटि लेखु भएको छ।

सं. २००२ माघ १४ गते जुडम्सेरलाई विदुर्स वागे १२ बजे सुनको तोळ्क पापेसम्बा वा जो रस्तुमा जड़िन तथा निरस्त्रको कम्पार्शीहरूको उन्तेहरू बाहिरबाहिर भिन्नरसस्मा भेला माधक थिए। एक बजे नेपालका प्रधामरामको श्री ३ महाराज जुडम्सेरले आको पालिमा भएको देखिएको उन्तर्को संबंधमा वर्णित गुरुव्यय बाङ्गला लयो वा विकासमाध्यम अनुसार अब नास्तिक ब्रह्म जीवन खान्नु पूर्णिक बिदाह्न बाल्यस्वनृः यस-कारण अपनो अदिवार प्रहरित छ। कम्पाम्बर्ड इन ब्रह्म पाठवम्सेरलाई सुमस्त भनी सवस्ताई नुसेवनमा।

१३५४ बजन्त्री जीने ३ जुट्टि २२ वटासिद्धि आफुँले त्याएको श्रीमती पाठवम्सेरलाई अप्लो बालाविद्वार उड़हिलाई राज्यस्वामी तुवनम्न। पूरा ७० बजे हुम्बामा राज्यस्वामी जुडम्सेरले सबै २ बजे ख्याताधिक इत्यादि हिन्नोलो गुण गरौं रिडी जान भनी कार्मिक नजिक खिरुम्बरि विष्कुनु मन्दय।

श्री ३ जुडम्सेर ज. स. रा ते सं. १९५९ मा प्रक्षिप्त पुढी माधको श्रीचिन्मा तान्त्रिक प्रवृत्त 'श्रीरामबिनिस्वलोक' मा श्री ३ जुडम्सेरको ब्राह्मचर यत्नो एक संक्षेप श्लोक उन्नीप्रति वर्णनमा लेखौ माधको छ -

"श्रीरामबिनिस्वलोक महात्मयमाध्यम प्रस्तुत गरि भवोर लर्सि दिन कम्पाम्बर्ड इन ब्रह्म रहेका पाठवम्सेरको यत्नो तिपटि लेखु भए।"

काशीबाट (?) प्रकाशित छूँ गरेको एक संक्षेप पत्रिका 'ब्राह्मणमहासम्मतत्र' को सं. १९३३ तिरको (?) कुनै अंकलो पृष्ठ रू ६३१-६३ ना नेपाल- पूर्वोत्तर स्वामिप्रस्तावान्तर' श्रीब्रह्म श्री ३ जुडम्सेरको तारीहि गरी लेख्नेको छ, जुन तब उद्धुर्छ भोजिम छ।

"गोहिराजव्यस्त शासनसूचन सम्मिलि श्री ३ जुडम्सेर महाराजाध्यक्षको छोटी । एक हिरो बविज्ञान पुस्तक न जाँत महाराज एक नाता-प्रकाशित प्राकृतकाव्य भान्न अववागित महान- हर्वास्मा निकृत सत्यांकित। अर्थशास्त्र संस्कृति, विज्ञानसंकेर तथा उद्योगसंकेर निर्माणको कार्य के प्रचारकालमा सम्बन्धित आहै। बविज्ञान निर्माणमा प्रयत्न गरिएका जान्तो। अर्थशास्त्र, विज्ञान, विद्यालयसंस्थानसंस्थान, विद्यालयसंस्थानमा बविज्ञानसंस्थान देखि उद्योगसंस्थानमा विद्यालयसंस्थानमा जस्ता निर्माणको बविज्ञान निर्माण गरिएका जान्तो। वर्तमान प्रकाशित प्रत्यह उद्योगसंस्थान प्रमुख तथा विद्यालयसंस्थान प्रमुख। अर्थशास्त्र संस्कृति, विज्ञानसंस्थानसंस्थान, विद्यालयसंस्थानमा जस्ता निर्माण गरिएका जान्तो। वर्तमान प्रकाशित प्रत्यह उद्योगसंस्थान प्रमुख तथा विद्यालयसंस्थान प्रमुख।"
ही नृत्यार्थ मोहावहस्तः दिज्यात्यः ।
कुमार्यां नयत्स्यां सतातामानि चूहवामः ।
तत्ताििा शून्यकम् तु सतातामानि निषिद्धा ।
तथा हि-न प्राच्यमात्रायोपराच्याये इति निषिद्धोऽः
कौशिकविश्वदेववे वृत्तात् शूरार्थ भाविकविद्याम् ।

एवम्
स्वयं संस्कृतावां तु स्वयुमुनायवेददि यमः ।
तथा इस्कान्तस्य विज्ञानार्थवहायुः प्रथमकलितां ।
एकं एवोऽस्तु पुनः प्रियवह बन्धुः प्रमुः ।
मृणायকत्यवस्यायबये प्रचारवात् प्रर्विवन्नुः ।

भर्मायकनामुरार्येव नेपालराज् वै दामित्वको
राजा स्वयं खसानामि निमानपात्येष्वने परिप्रथ्यो ।
नीलिवाद्येशिि राजा बाणोविश्वमर्याद र्यां कुऽिन्त एव
क्षेत्रोपाति भवेवीत बहुः स्वलेपु प्राच्यायें सन्तु
भूति सम्बन्धकः ।
सत्त्वाँते श्रीमानाः श्रीमानाः स्वयं ब्रह्मचूति ।
श्रीमानामार्यायुः श्रीमानां ब्राह्मणविवाहितम् ।
पत्ता वै मुनायकनार्य ।

एवृक्षार्थायकरंत्तिकथानासुः ।
नेपालराजं
उद्देश्याय श्रीमानाः श्रीमानाः श्रियोगिनियमानुक्रा म
सत्त्वांते श्रीमानाः श्रीमानाः ब्राह्मणविवाहितम् ।
सत्त्वांते श्रीमानाः ।

उपक्रमः ते लेखमा स्री ३ जुङले द्विनार्यको विरोधमा
पाठल उडाएको हुँगाल्ले र्गूः १९६३ चैत ५ गोरे
अाढुल्लाका दिन स्री ३ समार्थ रोमाना भाङ्गाका
‘महायात्तरणा‘ हुँस्काई रोमाना हिकी रोमाना
वाहिका ध्याद्यको पहादालाई संकेत गरेका रहनी ।

तो काप्तमा स्री ३ तीरो रोमाना ‘महायात्तरणा‘
हर्मायके, तेजसमाते र भोगाया ‘महायात्तरणा‘
हिरण्याके भाषी लिखेका सवेले
राज्यान्तरी कशोरे ताल्लुक भएका
तकलका २ र उका महायात्तरणा भोगाया रोमाना
संकेत गरेका रहनी।

जुङले अाढुल्लाका अाढुल्लाका अाढुल्लाका
स्वत्त्वांते श्रीमानाः श्रीमानाः विशेष स्वर्ण दिइए स्वीरकोऽ
सभी श्रीमाण्डल निकाल लगाई । ई. १९४२

५. यसमा कुनै लेखकमा नाम छापिएको हुन। कपिसाहित्यप्रकाशिका रामेन्द्र भन्ने लिखिएको यसका
स्थार छापिएको देखिन्छ।
६. नयराज पत्र, पृष्ठा १५, पुस्तका १९४।
७. ऐ.एम, पृष्ठ १९२–१९४।
८. “His Highness entrusted me with a task which I have found of absorbing interest,
and which has given me months of pleasure.” – E. A. Smythe, Preface
P. VII.
13 E. A. Smythies, *Big Game Shooting in Nepal* p. 34. All this shows how closely the Maharaja has associated himself, and the country he rules, with Great Britain....
14 E. A. Smythies, *Big Game Shooting in Nepal*, 1942. pp. 33-34. It is a matter of regret that the Maharaja has not only by his countrymen, but also by the...
5. The social side, abuses have been abolished and steps of a far-reaching character introduced. Thus the Hindu custom of wild extravagance on marriages and wedding feasts has been completely stopped by fixing a prescribed maximum on these and the same applies to funerals.

6. On the political side, the creation of Government and the people of India. During His Highness's visit to New Delhi in January 1935, he stayed in the Nizam's Palace as the special guest of the Viceroy, and a magnificent military manoeuvre and parade, in which 15,000 troops took part, was held in his honour—a special mark of respect and recognition which no other Eastern Ruler or potontate appears to have ever received in India's capital. Again when the Maharaja visited Calcutta in December 1939, he received many more convincing proofs of India's cordiality and affection towards him expressed in many a meeting and civic reception held in his honour, and yet another signal mark of distinction, viz, the insignia of the Order of G. C. B. (Military), which was conferred upon him by His Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquis of Linlithgow, at a special investiture ceremony. Indeed, the Maharaja's visits evoked great enthusiasm and interest in India.

15. ... a big jute mill, a soap factory, a match factory, new hydro-electric power houses near Kathmandu and Morang, a new branch of the Nepal Government Railway at Jayanagar, and the creation of the Nepal Bank and its branches in Terai districts—E. A. Smythies, p. 33.

16. 'To examine and plan further developments, the important Development Board was set up with Commanding General Bahadur as President, which is supplemented by the Board of Agriculture and Forestry, under Commanding General Kaiser'—E. A. Smythies, p. 33.

17. 'The Maharaja has taken a keen interest in the development of cottage industries, for which a special department has been started and special funds allotted.'—ibid.
a Minister and appointment of a Minister, in London has been an important step, and diplomatic missions have been sent to Belgium, France, Italy and elsewhere.

६. जुबलमयरेदे सैनिक रक्षा, सैनिक समवय की, सैनिक पेशावर का व्यस्तता परी करिए। गोलीण्डा बनाउने कारणको विस्तार परी भएको थियो। तथाको चेताको संसार परी उनके परिकार थिए। गोरखपुरा रेस्ता लिनाए जाने तेनली बुन्डैवर सैनिकहस्तलाई विरामी परिदा गर्ने एका अन्यावार व्यवस्था उपर्युक्त प्रेमस्वरूप गरिएको छ। प्रमुख चिहित न्यायसाह, नयादि तादान होको साधन परी जस्तो तश्चल बनाउ गरी जस्तो देशाको विदेशी रण लिन लागाइ व्यवहार गरिएका छ। 

जनकपुर शस्त्र संस्थान पात्रालाका एक अध्ययन पर्याय विश्वविद्यालया वा भाषाता साहित्यालाई जुबलमयरेदे सीमाना संस्थान भाषाका विद्यालया २२ शताब्दी राख्या कारकार विभाजित ठुले सुनियोद्र नामको संस्थान परिवारको सं. १९७६ माघ पूर्णिमाको ब्रह्म (अष्टदश वर्ष अठात संस्था) र विकल्प संस्था नगर श्रीधर राणा गराएका थिए जो यहाँ उडान छ।

शीर्षोत्तरेन्द्रप्रसादहराजा शासनमूलम्
‘श्रेष्ठ प्रगतियो द्वारा सम्प्रदायाको विकास र विभागीयः’

१५. जुबलमयरेदे विद्वान जीवनी भाषाका प्राचीन इतिहासकार ब्रह्मार्थाले परी प्रकाशित गरिएका छ।

१६. दिपप्रेम- प्रमुखः प्रमुखः शासनमूलन प्रसादहराजा बिकासकी कर्त्तव्य हो गरिएको थिए। भाषा विविधता र साहित्यको विविधता हस्तान्वित प्रमुखः शासनमूलन प्रसादहराजा बिकासकी कर्त्तव्य हो गरिएको थिए। भाषा विविधता र साहित्यको विविधता हस्तान्वित प्रमुखः प्रसादहराजा बिकासकी कर्त्तव्य हो गरिएको थिए।
“जिश्य” दौँ: प्रातापी च सबलु न कथं?
“हेमस्रजा” अवेन॥१२॥
श्रीमस्तस्वनीकिंतृती परपुषवयिसर गावली सिवाला नखापुरणापीन कौनो नगिशातिते गुलतो मानोऽ नेत्माती।
कुरूपत्वाकारणमात्यालिनितवद्धत् दुःखिन्द्रु: प्राताप शाराकूर्यारावं भजति नपु यस्य तिकते
हिमदेवा ॥१२॥
नोभानि याति पस्य न च विशुवयाय सोपते नायपायः
मेघेऽर्तव्यम धरा गुलकलकत्रो राधु ग्रस्तव नौ 
वस्तुऽसीमलिनिनामविलोकया सोभः कवित्सुवान्यः
हुँ।
राजस्तलिनितस्स्त्रो बुधपुरविख्य formidable
नित्यम् ॥१३॥
चाहुविद्यार्जसिद्धवर्णवादको श्राव्यप्रस्तृतं।
शस्त्रवादिविविवरणविविधी कर्मविधिप्रकाृत:।
यविमानुः शाश्ति मूर्मितलितिके नेत्यालाणेश्वर:।
गत्तैनलंगमुपीतमिति मनाः। स्कृद्दो न धम्मः॥१४॥
वादिकोतिव्रोणचिं वृत्तिविचारविशेषत: हस्तादुवन्धसरसः
पूर्ण विज्ञापुरसः: परस्मवहुता पाप्तिता जीवनेषु।
तापमोर्णानि विभुवलिकुत्वमां महूऽर्भ्राणप्रकाशप्रवेछेरेतोऽहृत: शीर्षणिभिशिवशः पाप्ति पहुँ
प्रायगु: ॥१५॥
कथ्यं नैयारीतिः तथव भयं नम निःत्स्ये! प्रयम्येन्नासकशः
किरचोकण्ठा न कुंता मुखर्यति मुखः तद्भवे राजवर्यः।
बाह्यमायकः श्राव्यप्रस्तृतं मुखिताय विपुवण:।
वैवाळ तन पुणी:। विज्ञायसन:। सचवालयो मो
वेति ॥१६॥
प्रजााँते सन्तु धर्ममण्ड्। वाचव: पुष्टदर्शकः।।
सुविच भवसतस्योथ भाषमण: कर्ममण्ड:।
सदा ॥१७॥

श्रीईचाराजावनि: समार्थिति सिद्धांसिद्धिविशेष्य: तथव बाह्याश्वर्य व्यामोहसम्यः कलाना विचारोच्रेण बुध्यः। ब्यासः: विकाषोभवति। ब्रह्ममोथिनिक: जनकस्वति कविश्वदेव: रसविदनितिक:। पदमाश्रमेनिनिनिःशहः:।
श्रीईचोषभाजुषः सुहासिकादर शासलतः। तन्याध्यायः महाराजस्य सहायः। (चोष) यदा भवनामवातोऽहृत: कस्तोराणामहाराजः। व्यामोर्भाजजोश्रीपतीश्रेष्ठगुणाश्वयमः। श्रीप्रांश्वमोर: महाभाषवायवेशसहित: प्राद्वन्द्वशराजस्य शाब्देकसाहिष्ठावति। ब्रह्मोऽया उत्तरकु रनिविज्ञिय हेन्तोरजाततपीय: सुविच फोटायादृशिक्षणः। तथव भयं प्रमुरपि मृणालमेन हेमराजमुण्डविद्याधिकरिता: जयति।
बक्तपुर तलेजुको था पूजा: एक ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण

-पुष्पोत्सवको भ्रमण

मल्लकालीन समयदेखि अध्यापिक ललितुखाट संस्कृतित संस्कृत एवं ग्रामीण ललितुखाट, जन्मदेखि मुनिस्मर्मक संस्कृतिरुढ़ अर्थात्
दैनिक जीवन पद्धति (लाकर नेवार समुदायको)
आधु तालिका बिधि बिधािनकी आयोजना बने, बाहुसेके देखि रूपमा। मल्लकालीन समयमा काठमाडौं
उपत्यका तालिका क्रियादारिको केन्द्रितविकृति रूपमा रघुको देखि रूपमा। तलकालीन समयमा मल्ल राजाहुँ
तालिका प्रभावमा परि देखि उपसक बन गर्ने। राम तालिका मल्लकालीन तालिका क्रियादारिको विशेष महत्व र
प्रभाव रह्ने तालिका तालिका दृष्टिको रूपमा युग का हो ? निषिद्ध रूपमा यो युगको महत्वमा प्रत्यक्ष रह्ने नेपाल
मल्लकालीन राजा हुँदै देखि उपसक बने पुरे ? आधुनिक अनुसंधानको विषयक बनको छ ?
ललितुखाटमा यसको कुनै विशेष महत्त्व एवं प्रभाव रह्ने दृष्टिको उल्लेख देखि रूपमा। तस्थापना विविध
प्रसंगस्ति प्रभावान्त्र्य राजा हुँदै देखि उपसक बने मल्लकालीका
तालिका प्रभाव प्रमुख रह्ने गएको पाइँदै।
तलकालीन समयमा मल्लकालीका आफ्नो इतिहासको ललितुखाट छुपी पार्न अर्को तालिका पूजाहुँ गर्नेको
उल्लेख राख्ने? तस्मिन 'था पूजा' पनि एकपुरुष

1) भन्नेक ब्रजानाथरू र टेकमाहुर ब्रह्म "ललितुखाका अभिलेख" नेपाल र एवियासकी अनुसंधान केन्द्र,
नि. वि. कोटिपुर, २०७६, पृ. २९।

2) रामजी तिब्बती र साहित्यको "अभिलेख संग्रह" सारी माग, संकोचन संगठन काठमाडौं २०७६, पृ. २९।
কাঠামোকে তলেজো গীর্জাযুগুলো বিভক্ত করে মুমি অর্থাৎ কাঠামো নামক রাইকে মার্কট মাত্সুর তলেজো স্ববী রা হেবারডার গ্রাহকে উল্লেখ করে।

বনবাস বিবাসের যুগলের খ্যাতি অথবা নামকরণ করার জন্য প্রথম হয়।

বনবাস বিবাসের প্রথম হয়।

বনবাস বিবাসের প্রথম হয়।

বনবাস বিবাসের প্রথম হয়।
प्राचीन नेपाल

या पूजाको प्रारम्भ

प्राचारिक रूपमा या पूजाको एतिहासिक चुरुबार बा प्रारम्भ कहिलेदिन मगे मने कुनै अनुस्मृतिको विषय रहेको छ। यस सम्राज्यको कुनै किसिमहरूले पनि चलेको देखिदिन। या पुजाहरूको मात्रका, मात्रकालीको रात्रिको स्वभावको संग्रहको संस्कृति भएकी हुनाले, यसकारण कुनै मने विषयमा सचिनत गर्नुहुनै आवश्यक देखिदिन।

तलेजु

अन्तिम इडेटेवता तलेजुबालाई मल्ल राजाहरूले ठुलो वित्त रक्षा गरी "श्री 3 खेबट देवा" "श्री 3 तलेजुमाजु "श्री 3 सवार्य" आदी विभिन्न नामाङ्कहरूले मगे आएको ऐतिहासिक उल्लेखहरू पाइन्छ। १० मल्लकालीको समय नयाहरूले विलक्षणहरूको लागायतहरूले पनि इडेट देखि मनोरंजन गर्ने एक विभिन्न "मात्रकालीको" को विषयमा सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण उल्लेखमा पनि पुपुकट हुनै ।

राष्ट्रीयताका रूपमा काठमाडौंको उपवर्षका तीन

स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्रियहरू ११ विश्वमा बिस्मिल्ल्ह हुनु अर्थ एकै राष्ट्र
भियो र यसका राजाधामी पति मलमुर ने मराफ़े हुनाले काठमाडौं यस्वका तीनवटा तेलेजुवला तथापि सचमुच सुधारको तेलेजुवलाई महामखि़। तर राज्यनिरूपक विभाग विद्ध काठिन्य पुनः ललितपुरका राजाहनुभुति इट्टे देखि तलेजुवलाई आ-आफ्ना राजाधामा प्रतिष्ठान गरेको ।

सस्तानकाम मात्र राजाहनुभुति सांस्कृतिक पुत्र भनीले मलमुर रहेको कुरा विख्यात पर्वको दिन मलमुरका देवातहुँ दुईनारु, बुनकोली, मालेश्वरी, तलेजु भैरव आविष्कार पूजा माँग पात्रङ्गाट रक्षा हुने।

मलमुरका तेलेजु सांस्कृतिक, राजाधामी, सांगार्जङ्ग, राजाधामी, सांगार्जङ्ग, विवादांतगतिक, मालेश्वरी, भैरव आविष्कार, पूजा भनीले मलमुरका देवातहुँ दुईनारु, बुनकोली, मालेश्वरी, तलेजु भैरव आविष्कार पूजा माँग पात्रङ्गाट रक्षा हुने।

मलमुर तेलेजुको स्थापत्य कहिलेदेखि मराफ़े सांस्कृतिक रूपमा असहभागमा भएको हुन्छ। भाषा बंगाली

२३) मैत्रीसंग बजाराचर्य ‘अवकाशित धार्मिक’ (एन्तिहासिक अन्नात्मोकी) ‘पूजिमा’ १२ पृष्ठाङ्ग, संबोधन मण्डल, २०२३, पृ. ३०।

२४) ‘भाषा विद्यालय’ भाषा २, लुसराय विद्यालय, नेपाल राष्ट्रिय पुस्तकालय, काठमाडौं, २०२३, पृ. ६२।

२५) बाणाचार्य, पाद दिन्यायो न. ५, पृ. ३६।

२६) 'भाषा विद्यालय ' पाद दिन्यायो न. १२ 'ख', पृ. ३०।

२७) क) बाणाचार्य र सांगार्जङ्ग, पाद दिन्यायो न. १५, पृ. २३२-२३३।

ख) बाणाचार्य र सांगार्जङ्ग, पाद दिन्यायो न. १६, पृ. ५४।

२८) रहमान टार्कीवर देखि वि. सं. २०३५ सालमा भाषामा रहेकोले तलेजुलाई नोवेलिफ्ल मराफ़े स्थापत्य (नेपाल पहचानका दुर्लभ बनेको ठाँउलिङ) स्थापत्यण्डि भयो। स्थापत्यण्डि भयोको निमित्त २०३५ सालमा सरकारी रहेको स्थापना कम्युनिटी घरगुटाघर राख्न (सान्तीको रूपमा), रन्नराज गर्न (सांगार्जङ्ग, राज्यमा धार्मिक वि. दैविक विभिन्नश्रेणिक तलेजुको स्थापत्यण्डि गर्न) र धर्मनिष्ठ बजाराचर्य (बीड़ सांगार्जङ्गको तालिका पुगै समय पर्यंत) गर्न। यस कुराको उल्लेख रन्नराज घरमा र घरगुटाघर घरमा भनेको मराफ़े को भाषारूपको यस गरिएको हो। उक्त तलेजुको यसका स्थापना रहेकोले मराफ़े कुरा बाहास मराफ़े, तलेजु वर्ल्डका स्थापनोमा नेपालमा रहेकोले यसका भएका, तथा प्रयत्न पुजारूको रूपमा विद्यालये दर्शनीय को दिन्यायो एक पटक मात्र तर्काले बाहिर लाई बलि दिने नजारे मराफ़े उल्लेख री रन्नराज सिंहले ‘गुरु’ मराफ़े।
ललित काङ्गहुँ मान बस्ने गरिर्दो गोपक पुजा भएको हुनाले पौजा नसक्कौँ देखिएको र अन्य दिवसहरूमा थाई हुने। तर हुने अन्य दिवसहरू मा भर्जिएको हुने जरूरी र यहाँ तर हुने जरूरी। यस प्रकार यस्तो पूजा विशेषता वीणाकरी लुमेल्ली भएको मान भएको हुने जरूरी र यहाँ पौजा नसक्कौँ देखिएको र अन्य दिवसहरूमा थाई हुने। तर हुने अन्य दिवसहरू मा भर्जिएको हुने जरूरी र यहाँ तर हुने जरूरी।

ललितकाङ्गहुँ मान बस्ने गरिर्दो गोपक पुजा भएको हुनाले पौजा नसक्कौँ देखिएको र अन्य दिवसहरूमा थाई हुने। तर हुने अन्य दिवसहरू मा भर्जिएको हुने जरूरी र यहाँ तर हुने जरूरी।
त्यानांको निमित विनिवेश अधारस्तु अपनाएको देखिन्छ।
त्यामाने पिघलो पुख्त आधार आर्थिक लोग रहेको ५।
अत: अहुँ रुपमा यो स्वातन्त्र ढुँढ जासूस मसाने त्यालाई पुजा सामग्रीहरूको सर्व राष्ट्र कुत्ता गर्नुको राखीको पाइँछ।
पाठकाको राजा योगीस्तर मलामल कक्कुट पाठको तत्काल्यांका राखीको व मनोजा बृजका पीता 'बलिन्ध कवि' संस्थानले निमित पुजा सामग्रीहरूको सहित प्रस्ताव जमा जमौन नयाँ राखीका विमा ।
हयत्र रणपहाऱी ढालेर बर्षकहिँ यसको संस्थानमा पुजा सामग्रीहरू र १२२ पृष्ठ बेट चढाएका विमा ।
राजनीतिक हास्यको वि. सं. १६७७ साल भाषा
विद्युत १२ पृष्ठ ३ को तालमोहरमा यो पूजा संस्थानले निमित ३ रोपनी बेट गुदी राखीका विमा ।
यो पुजा संस्थानले निमित तालमोहरमा पनि पुमुख आधार नभएको देखिन्छ। यो पूजा करिएको हटाउने ढालेर यसको आधार बर्षकहिँ वस्त्रसम बिस्तर बई रुङ्गोँ',
'तेनुको थुङ्गट प्रति' र 'भिक्षुक रूपमा संस्थान बढी लेखा तेनुको थुङ्गट निर्माण' विशेष उल्लेख पाइँछ।
कहिँ बढी देखि रिाकलाई पाइन पसको संस्थानले पुमुख आधार बनाएको देखिन्छ।
यो पुजा-लाई कहिएले लोग र पाप गर्ने हटाएको कस्थमा 'बाट भई अनूठा वपको अपराध हैरत ज्यांत्व साथत
गर र तखाका जहान छाराकोरीहरूलाई समेट कमारा कमारी बनाईदै', २६ भर्ने उल्लेख पाइँछ।
संस्थानले पुजा निर्माण पहिले एघा धार्मिक निर्माण
मकानको उल्लेखमात्र पाणि कमारा कमारी बनाएर रहेको ले भनेर युक्ति दिन्छ।
या पूजाले वातावरण

कक्कुट पाठको तत्काल्यांका संचालन था पुजाहरू 'छोटो' र 'सानो' गरी मद्दत प्रकाशक छन्। प्रायः सबै जस्तो 'छोटो' या पुजाहरू शाह राज्यादनो र सानो था पुजाहरूमा मनिन्छ।
विहीरँ पुख्त र पुख्त आधारको रहेको तलेजुँ

२१) रमकी तिरारी र सामग्री, पाद दिप्तको नं. २, पृ. २९-३०।
२२) नमित बजाङ्गारी र टेकबहादुर ब्रेक, पाद दिप्तको नं. १, पृ. २७।
२३) वैभव घरूल पुजा, पुस्तक र लागूमा ब्रह्मा।
२४) नमित बजाङ्गारी र टेकबहादुर ब्रेक, पाद दिप्तको नं. १, पृ. २९।
२५) एसजा, पृ. २८।
२६) नमित पोहेल 'ब्राह्मीक' चोरो माग, संघोत्स संवर, कामयाबी, २०१६, पृ. २२।
ಭವಾನಿಕೋಲೆ ವಳಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟು. ರೋಟಿ ಬಣ್ಣಿಸಿದಾಗ ಮಂದಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಜೇತ್ತ ಮಹಾನ

ಕ) ಜೇತ್ತ ಶ್ರಿದು "೧೨ ರೋಜಮನೆ-ನೇಡಿ ಬಾರಾಕಾರ ಪೂಜಾ" ದೇವಾಲಯದರ್ಶನದ ವಿಮಾನ ರಕ್ಷಣ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಬಗೆಗಳ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ.

ವಲಸ್ತಿಯು ಸಮಸಾಮಯಿಕ ಭಕ್ತಿ ಸ್ವಾಧೀನವಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಿ ವಸಾಹತು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರ ಮೂಲಕ "ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ವಿದ್ಯಾಶಾಲ" ಸಹಾಯ ಇತರ ದೃಢ ಸಹಾಯ ಸೇವೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿ ಅನುಮಾನ ಇದರ ಮೂಲವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಭಾವಾಯಂ ಮಹಾನ

ಕ) ಭಾವಾಯಂ ಬಿದಿ "೫ ರೋಜಮನೆ- 'ಭಾವಾಯಂ ಪೂಜಾ' ದೇವಾಲಯದರ್ಶನದ ವಿಮಾನ ರಕ್ಷಣ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಬಗೆಗಳ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ.

ನೇವಾರಿ ಮಹಾಮುಖ ಸುಪ್ರಾರ್ಥ ಪೂಜಾ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟು. ಮಹಾತ್ಮ ಮಲ್ಯಾ ನಿಶ್ಚಿತ ಮಹಾಮುಖ ಸುಪ್ರಾರ್ಥ ಪೂಜಾ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟು.
बालको बेदभेद अथवा विविध श्रेणी भौगोलिक परिवर्तन छन् । जस्तै : देवीदेवाता मूढित हुन नै पाइलाई पनि, 'बी हार्दिक उपलब्ध पारिधान, बी तलाबु व्यवस्था पारिस्राय, कृषी और मनोरंजन मार्गमा विचारिएँ ।\textsuperscript{31}

\textbullet) आराधना शुद्धि २ रोजमा - 'नयातोलो ता पूजा' (साहो)

नेप.२२ आराधना शुक्ल प्रतिदिनका दिन यात्रा पोल मित्रदेव भनाएको उपलब्धमा \textsuperscript{32} पूजालो र स्नातक आएका थिए ।

\textbullet) आराधना शुद्धि ४ रोजमा - 'नवमिरोह सा पूजा' यसलाई 'बन्धुरङ्ग ता पूजा' पनि मननुक्त ।

कार्तिक महीना:-- लाली

मास महीना

\textbullet) मास वदि २ रोजमा - 'नौहल ता पूजा' (साहो)

रोहने मनाले तलेजुमा दीपधार कर्ता बढाउने कार्यवार फुलाको गर्नेहरू अवसरमा परिवहन भएका पूजालाई मननुक्त । यो था पूजालाई काल्पनिक र पर्याप्त परिस्थिति निर्देशित रूपमा तलेजुमा बुझ हुँदै ।

\textbullet) मास शुद्धि २ रोजमा ' लोहै देव ता पूजा' (साहो)

हुँकाले भनाएको मनिदरलाई नेपाली भाषामा 'लोहै देव' मननुक्त । यो हो लोहै देव राजा जनातकार कर्ता बनाएको जनातकारले नेप.२५ भूमिका भनाएको उपलब्धमा \textsuperscript{34} राखेको हुँकाले यसलाई 'लोहै देव' था पूजालाई मननुक्त । उनले यस मन्त्रमंत्र महाकविको विविध रूप मध्ये नृत्य रूपमा प्रतीक त्वरितमा 'नृत्यनाथ' को

\textsuperscript{31} 'मध्यमान्त वहालको शारिर सफुश्त उलट, विरोध सीमान्त गाढाला प्रकाशित, बनवाँज बनावाय विरोध लोकबाट या गाढा, नेपाल यंत्रितक परिवहन, काठमाडौं, २०२१, पृ. १९० ।

\textsuperscript{32} भोजनाचा शोध, नाम निगरानी नं. २३, पृ. २१।

\textsuperscript{33} बनवाज बनावाय र लाईबाउघर भेट पुस्तकाङ्को 'औरिहासिक रूपरेखा', नेपाल र अन्तरराष्ट्रीय अभियान जेन्ने, नेप. २३, पृ. ५५।

\textsuperscript{34} लीलालकुमार मुनिकरे, पाद दिशाप्रिया नं. २५, पृ. ३६।
श्रृङ्खला "बञ्चला देसी" को श्रृङ्खला नथापना नरेन फिए।

प्राचीन नेपाल

क) प्राचीन नेपाल "बञ्चला देसी" को श्रृङ्खला नथापना नरेन फिए।

प्राचीन नेपाल

सालो)

ख) प्रारंभित मल्लको ल्याईले हर्पका राजकालके दक्षिणी हिमाल नालाहु र बाह्यका तथा प्राचीनका ल्याईले हर्पका ल्याईले बस्थार गरेको हुनाले यस्तारुप बुझिए नयाहु नथापना नरेन फिए।

ग) प्रारंभित क) "बञ्चला देसी" (सालो)

सालो)

सालो)

ह) प्रारंभित क) "बञ्चला देसी" (सालो)

सालो)

फल्गुन महिना

क) "बञ्चला देसी" (सालो)

ख) "बञ्चला देसी" (सालो)

ल) "बञ्चला देसी" (सालो)

सालो)

नामस्तेका यो पुजा तकालीन र जानुवारिया बस्थार गरेको हुनाले राष्ट्रकालके प्रमाणित हुनु। सबै राष्ट्रकालके
মলকাঙ্গুর

ক্ষীণীঘটিত পানি দর্শারম বিশেষ প্রভাব রাখে।

g) ফালণ্গণ বর্ণ ১৪ সেপ্টেম্বর– ‘চ্যাটা বা পূজা’

(h) ফালণ্গণ– শুরু ২ রোগমার– ‘চ্যাটা বা পূজা’

(i) ফালণ্গণ শুরু ৯ রোগমার– ‘চ্যাটা জিলা পূজা’

f) ফুল ফুলনে বিভিন্ন জানা জিপি মিশিয়ে, কাসনাই নেও শাহেরা চুনোড়া” মনিচ্ছ। অতঃ রোটাকে কালে ফুল আকারকা বনাইয়ে যাব নিম্ন হয় পূজা গঠিত।

চৈতন্মহিনাড়

k) চৈতন্ম শুরু ১ রোগমার– ‘চ্যাটা বা পূজা’

k) চৈতন্ম শুরু ১৪ সেপ্টেম্বর– ‘চ্যাটা বা পূজা’

মেরিকা চানাহরা চুনোড়া শান্ত সামাজিক চালানো নেও মানান চাঁদা’ মনিচ্ছ। জন হাল লাগায় বলে গাছে। যদিও সাদা সাদা মেরিকা চানাহরা চুনোড়া শান্ত সামাজিক চালানো নেও মানান চাঁদা’ মনিচ্ছ।

মাত্র উল্লেখম থাকা পূজাহল্যমে কেবল থাকা পূজাহল্য কুল রাজার কুল অবসর রাখে মাত্র কুলকে উল্লেখ বিশ্বাস হয় যা নিশ্চিত চানাহরা মেরিকা চালানো নেও মানান চাঁদা’ মনিচ্ছ। বর্ষামে চালানো শুটার সময় পুলিটে স্থানাঙ্ক মানান বর্ষামে চালানো শুটার সময় পুলিটে স্থানাঙ্ক মানান চাঁদা’ মনিচ্ছ।

খা পুজাকে রাজনৈতিক মহর্ষি

খা পুজাকে ধার্মিক মহর্ষি ত ছাড়ে, যাই পুজাকে

ব্যাধিটের তৃকালীন সমকালে ধার্মিক, সামাজিক এবং

সাংস্কৃতিক জনিত্ব হচ্ছে, রাজনৈতিক

জনিত্ব হচ্ছে এবং মহর্ষি ব্যাধিটের

ধার্মিক যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে বিভিন্ন যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

লিখিত পুরাণের ধার্মিক যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

পুরাণের ধার্মিক যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

ধার্মিক যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

যুগান্তের মানব অনেকে

বাধামুখী বিভিন্ন নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক নিদর্শন উদ্দিক 


d) রামকে নিষিদ্ধ ও সামাজিক ধর্মীয় অনুষ্ঠান পরম্পরা, লোকে মান, নেপাল সাংস্কৃতিক পরিকল্পনা,

কাঠামো, ২০২১, প্র. ১৫।
पनि अनुसार गर्दै लगे भने हुन रहा या पूजा रणनुबाट पनि प्रमाणित हुन्छ।

सङ्कुचपुर तलेजुमा राखेका भा पूजाहरूमा रणनुबाट- हुर शाह, कान्तबरी, राजेन्द्रबिक्रम शाह, रामराजसिन्दुर- सुनदरी बालक बुनुह शाह राजाहरूको नाम उलेख गरेको पाइदेन। प्रतापसिंह शाह तन्मयरूपमा अभिप्रेय राखेर मानिनी उनले भा पूजा राखेको उलेख नपल्लुका साघ्र राजेन्द्रबिक्रम शाह पूजाका रजाहरूले यो पूजा राखेको देखिदेन।

उपसंहार

धर्ममा इतिहासको स्वरूप पनि रहेको हुन्छ।

उल्लकालीन भवमा राजपतिक क्रिमाल्याङ्को आधार पनि घर्ने रहेको देखिन्छ। लिक्ष्येकोलामा पनि इदोल्देवताको रूपमा ‘राजदेवी’ ‘मातेवरी’ मास्टर नयाँ लिक्ष्येकोलामा पनि भा पूजा राखेको राखाएको कि? मनेर ढाुँखा गर्न ठाउँ नयाँ लिक्ष्येको हुन्छ। तर लिक्ष्येकोलामा यसको उलेख करे पनि नपाइएको र मल्लकालाका माथ्य भा पूजाको प्रामाण्य उलेख हुन आएको वयस्क स्वयं मल्लकालीन समयको महत्त्वपूर्ण धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं ऐतिहासिक उपविष्कारको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ।
काठमाडौं मधनतोलस्थित गर्गडको पादपीठ अभिलेख

–यशोमुंद्र राजवंशी

काठमाडौं हनुमान्दोको दरबार इलाकाको मधन टोलमा नारायण महिदरको समुख एक प्रस्तरको गर्गड मूर्ति अवस्थित छ। केही महिदो अभिलेखमा त्यस गर्गडमूर्तिको आधा भाग जाति जमीनमा गाडिएर रहेको बियो। हाँ, त्यस गर्गडको मूर्तिलाई जमीनको माध्यमा उठाइएको छ। त्यस मूर्तिको उचाई करिब ५ पौड छ। गर्गडमूर्तिलाई यहि रुँझोले टेकर घनीबी बन्दी बनेको गुञ्जा छ। मूर्तिको दक्षिणको केही भाग पुतियाङ छ। मूर्तिको गुलाबकृति बाटोली, जुङ बायो, केही कल्लाउँदो आकृति र कामाक्षा फुल्लो, त्यसमा यस्तो माला बसेको छ।

मूर्तिको स्थान र कलाकृतिलाई हेर्नुहोस् नारायण महिदर नाजुकीको घरमा मूर्ति जस्तै देखिएको। यसको प्रतापिदित राजको 'द बार्जुरु झन्न नेपाल' भने 'पुस्तकमा त्यस मूर्तिको पोटो समेट दिएका छ र यसलाई छैटी राजाबिको मूर्ति बनी तेलिएको पाइएको। (Pal- The Arts of Nepal Sculpture I, Photo plate No.9/100) पछि प्रकाशित धह्य दुर्गाष्टिद्वारको पिनी छैटी राजाबिको मूर्ति बनेको भएको पाइएको।

प्रस्तुत मूर्तिको आधा भाग गर्गड देखिने घरी गाडिएर रहेको त्यस मूर्तिलाई अब पूरा देखिने घरी जमीन माध्यम उडाएर राखी दिन। मूर्तिको पादपीठमा अभिलेख उत्कृष्ट रहेको पाइयो। मूर्तिको पादपीठ अभिलेखमा भिटिं 'नेव. ७३३ आयो चौथ पक्ष तुलीया' उत्कृष्ट रहेको हुनाले कम मूर्ति छैटी राजाबिको समय र राजस्व साधनो को पाइ भएको हुनुभएको कुरा प्रमाणित हुनाइएको छ।

मूर्तिको पादपीठको दायि, अभिलेखको तीन ताराधेको प्रमाणित नेपाली लिखितको अभिलेख उत्कृष्ट रहेको छ। अभिलेखमा राजा तिबसिवेन र राजा प्रसन्नजीव देखि देखि सुपरक्षु शासन मनो तथा देखि मनो नेपालको समयमा लाई (भक्तपुर) मनो नेपालको देखि स्थान राजाबिको बारु भएको यस्तो उनका जहाँ हेलमारी, बाहेलमारी, योगीमारी, क्लासिफिकेत्वा, क्लासिफिकेत्वा, नारायण महिदर ज्ञाता द्वारा नियाङ्गुला चलाउन जगास मुटैर राखी दिएको कुरा उल्लेख छ। अभिलेखको केही भाग भिटियो। अभिलेखको मूलपाठ:–

"यो\\n
१. उनको नारायणस्वरूप। .................
२. बाहुल समेत करेकौ कर्त्ताक। .................
३. श्री राजाधिराज श्री श्री जै बिवरको श्रीकों।
४. जब राजाधिराज राजेको चिहकहुँढोरस विजय राख्यो यन्त्राघातात।
20

8. शी खळ्ड मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
9. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
10. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी

(भाषा) दूरौपनि 4 गामामुण्ड नम 40 रूप रूसेल का लाभोपनि 4 तवे लाभ रूपनि 4
11. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
12. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
13. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
14. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
15. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
16. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी

(भाषा) भाषाविद्या भाषाविद्या भाषाविद्या भाषाविद्या
17. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
18. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
19. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
20. शी शी मंगला छे तोण नुँझेच राजस्व उद्धार वामसुत्र शी
मछन टोलरियल महको मूर्ति
कादमबाही......

(राजा विशविस्त नेपालको अभिलेख नं. १९९ वि.स. १६६१) देखि प्राप्त हुने नेपालको पाट छ। (रेरी-मेवेदल नेपाल, पत्र दो, पृष्ठ ४६)

नेतृत्व, नेशनल पाट दो महाराजको स्वाबाहिक मल्ल र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। यता नेतृत्व, नेशनल पाट दो मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। (रेरी-मेवेदल नेपाल, पत्र दो, पृष्ठ ४६)

एकदिन राजा स्वाबाहिक मल्ल महाराजको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। यता नेतृत्व, नेशनल पाट दो मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। (रेरी-मेवेदल नेपाल, पत्र दो, पृष्ठ ४६)

बार्षिक कार्यकारी कार्यक्रम नेतृत्व, नेशनल पाट दो मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। (रेरी-मेवेदल नेपाल, पत्र दो, पृष्ठ ४७)

बार्षिक आचार्यको महाराज अनुसार, विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। (रेरी-मेवेदल नेपाल, पत्र दो, पृष्ठ ४६)

राजा विशविस्त मल्ल एक महाकाव्यका र विश्वविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। र विशविस्त मल्लको दृष्टि घाइन महास्तहको कुरा देखिन। (रेरी-मेवेदल नेपाल, पत्र दो, पृष्ठ ४६)
खानिपुरको राजा महेश्वर मल्लको वांछिति बोहर प्रजनन गरुँ भएको गुरू बन्दिसको ठिकादरमा बोहर बनाइएको भएको। यस कारणले काठिन्यमा महेश्वर मल्ल राजा हुँदै बाँच देखायको इतिहासको बारेमा भएको। यसलाई धेकोले देखायको बारे राजा ताजिबहराई राजा ताजिबहराई कैस्तिक बोहर पल्टन गरूँ भएको गुरू बन्दिसको ठिकादरमा बोहर बनाइएको भएको। यस कारणले काठिन्यमा महेश्वर मल्ल राजा हुँदै बाँच देखायको इतिहासको बारेमा भएको। यसलाई धेकोले देखायको बारे राजा ताजिबहराई राजा ताजिबहराई कैस्तिक बोहर पल्टन गरूँ भएको गुरू बन्दिसको ठिकादरमा बोहर बनाइएको भएको। यस कारणले काठिन्यमा महेश्वर मल्ल राजा हुँदै बाँच देखायको इतिहासको बारेमा भएको। यसलाई धेकोले देखायको बारे राजा ताजिबहराई राजा ताजिबहराई कैस्तिक बोहर पल्टन गरूँ भएको गुरू बन्दिसको ठिकादरमा बोहर बनाइएको भएको। यस कारणले काठिन्यमा महेश्वर मल्ल राजा हुँदै बाँच देखायको इतिहासको बारेमा भएको।
विविध सहलों ने लिपितको नेपाली सरलताले अन्तर्निर्देशको राज्यकाल निर्माण कार्यमन्त्र अधिकांश समय व्यक्ति नै विविध करेको छ। (दाराले नेपालको मल्लकालीन इतिहास, पृष्ठ 47)

ब्रिह. सं. १६७७ (नेवभ. सं. ७४०) मा काठिन्यकार राजा दक्षिणीमात्रको मल र लिपितको राजा सिधिरसिद्ध हुई दात नामके एकानि बुधु एकानि निम्न नुदु हुई स्वरूप राज्यको स्थान नाम राज्य गरेको थियो। (संघीयसम्म मललौ इतिहास संग्रहको प्रमाण रेखामा भूमिपत्र, पृष्ठ ३) राजा सिद्ध कालकता अभिलेखन ने. सं. १६७७ (ब्रिह. सं. १६७४) समय पाइँछ। (Regmi- Medieval Nepal, Part II, Page 54) किसिमु निम्न कु घु ब्रिह. सं. १६७७ (नेवभ. सं. ७४०) वेशालको मलको प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक स्त्रोतहरूको छ। (दाराले नेपालको मल्लकालीन इतिहास, पृष्ठ ४६) निम्न बुधुको विविध सहलो राज्यको राजस्व रा प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक स्त्रोतहरूको समय मात्रमा राज्यको नै विविध करेको छ। राजा सिद्धनुसार र राजीमात्रको समयमा बुधुको राजा नै विविध बुधु ब्रह्मणादित्वार १) Pal, Pratapaditya -The Arts of Nepal Sculpture, Volume One, Leiden/Kolin, E.J. Brill, 1974, Photo plate No 99/100.

3) कविअल, प्रमुखम्पाद - चागुमारामणको एविवाली नैसाधार तथा नेपाल एविवाली अनुसम्पादक, निपुण मिश्रणबाबा, प्रयोग नवयत्री प्रकाशन, २०४० आश्विन।

4) दाहल, पेल - नेपालको मल्लकालीन इतिहास, २०४१।

5) बजापाय, मनवल तथा बेद - टेकबाटुर - दोलखाको एविवाली नैसाधार, नेपाल एविवाली अध्ययन संस्थान, निपुण मिश्रण - बिद्यालय, २०१९।

6) दुर्गम, हीराम - नेपालको सांस्कृतिक तथा एविवाली नैसाधार, २०४१।

7) मुनिन, चालचाल - नेपालको एविवाली राष्ट्रवाद र नैसाधार नैसाधार, २०४१।

8) गुज्जार, बोलबाट - नेपालको एविवाली राष्ट्रवाद र नैसाधार नैसाधार, २०४१।

9) लिङ्गोपाल, नागर - नेपालको एविवाली राष्ट्रवाद र नैसाधार नैसाधार, २०४१।

10) बालकी, भए - नेपालको एविवाली राष्ट्रवाद र नैसाधार नैसाधार, २०१९।
प्रधानमन्त्री जंगबहादुर राणाका समयको नेपाल-भोट युद्धका ऐतिहासिक सामग्री
(गतांको बार्गी)

१०. श्री प्राइममिनिस्टरका हुरुमा वलबीर वकालीने लेख चढाइले पटाखाको याक्तेन्द्रियाहु गाउँ मनका पर अभ्योजन भएको जनावरको तार्यादान गरि उमा काज लेख चढाइ शिक्षा पढाउनु भएको ल्याउँछ र यहाँ गाउँ गाउँ गाउँ गहुँ मा।

दुनियाको भएको हुरुमा महुखि विविध गरी त्यादोमा आफ्नो बिनो त्याग, अब चलि आप्न बमोकिम अधिकारिकको कार्यकर्ता क्षमा, राहतन्त्रिक भएको गरिरु पुनियाको जीविका बटो भएको महेष दुनियाले विविध गरी त्याग, जनावरको देखि विविध धनात्मक छ छाडौ गम्य हो।

माष बिज्ञान १२ रोज २ मा

श्री प्राइममिनिस्टरबाट वलबीर वकालीने लेखिएको कविता बाहुताई भएको मार अभ्योजन जनावरको तार्यादान कार्यकर्ता समेत उमा जनावर ६४४६ गरी रूप भएको ल्याउँछ त्यादान गरिरु पुनियाको जीविका बटो भएको महेष।

माष बिज्ञान १४ रोज ४ मा

श्री प्राइममिनिस्टरबाट श्री जनबल बिड्री नरसिंह जुबेल राणाको लेखिएको फोज बढाइ हुने मान ६१६ रजस्को पैटन २ रूप भएको गरी बेठक पैटन घनिहुन तर प्रक जान्या भएको वस्तुको बिखिया धारिको मान्यता गरिएको, त्यसीमित, तेस्तरक जनावरमा गिराउँछ हुन्छ तरानका १२ वेदोक्र पस्तक ५० वेदो देखि मनिका लाई अन्तिम गिराउँछ धेरौ ज्यादार हुन्छ र पिरिहुन्छ ६१६ रजस्को पैटन २ जमाद तयार गर्नुहोस्।
प्राचीन नेपाल

प्राचीन नेपाल 26

ताहापिश्र नेपाल 26

प्राचीन नेपाल 26

ताहापिश्र नेपाल 26

प्राचीन नेपाल 26

ताहापिश्र नेपाल 26


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t


t

	n
गयाको विषय: जांचवाद जिकर टिप्पणी १२ दिनमा तेस
तर्क हिंदना छन्। ताहारीलाई पतन कंपनिका
मानिसको जन्म जान हाँजिरी गरी गराहा पटाकु भनि
श्रीमोहनधर दायरको उच्च तिमिलाई लेखा गयाको छु।
तत्त्व निष्क्रिय सुनेरालाई जलिका सलाम र इतनकामगरी
ताहारुपात्राको सविपालिहु गाँजिर गरी पटाकु। सुनेरालाई
संग नलप्रबादालाई गर्ने गरी चलाउनु गराहा काम गर
श्रुम्मुः

माष ढुँढ ४ रोज १ मा

श्री जनरल कल्पनवाहक हुँकार राणालाई
कार्य हिलिङ्गहुँ निर्माण के लिए विभाग को माष ढुँढ
२ रोज १ का बेहतर रसद रहनुमा गरी नजर ढूँढ़ा
यस्तो भोजन तर्क बढ़ाएका मानसुका गरी ६.२ हजार
बीता होता। यक्षाको बालको भोजनमा पहाडी पुपाली
वधपुरा गर्दै। अंडार गरी साथे धमनै
रानामुलाई ०३ हजार रहेका। कार्य हिलिङ्गहुँ
वधपाते र पर्यावरण संकटमा अभिलले रोजाँ छन्।
बोरा कम्बा माष नीतीशा आफूने पुढीला जिकरे काम
जुनका गर्दा माष पुढीला। धमनै तर्क बढाइँदै
अवितारण दियो। भनिको श्रीमोहनधर दायरको
काम हुँदै। यक्षाको बालको भोजनमा पहाडी पुपाली
वधपुरा गर्दै। अंडार गरी साथे धमनै
रानामुलाई ०३ हजार रहेका। कार्य हिलिङ्गहुँ

माष ढुँढ ४ रोज १ मा

श्री जनरल स्पाइडरवाट श्री राणालाई
सिंह कुंवर सरोंका लेखिकाको रसद रहनुमा
बोरा बेहतर रसद रहनुमा दिलाउका भनिका जिकरे हिलिङ्गहुँ
वधपाते र पर्यावरण संकटमा अभिलले रोजाँ
छन्। यसंदो भोजन तर्क बढाइँदै साइनिका
अवितारण दियो। भनिको श्रीमोहनधर दायरको
काम हुँदै। यक्षाको बालको भोजनमा पहाडी पुपाली
वधपुरा गर्दै। अंडार गरी साथे धमनै
ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dr. Ramesh Raj Kunwar

—Lecturer, Central Department of Nepalese History, Culture & Archaeology, T.U., Kirtipur

Dr. Jagadish Chandra Regmi

—Lecturer, Central Department of Nepalese History, Culture & Archaeology, T.U., Kirtipur

Mr. Purshottam Lochan Shrestha

—Assistant Lecturer, Department of History, Bhaktapur Multiple Campus, T.U.

Mr. Shyam Sundar Rajvanshi

—Assistant Epigraphist, Department of Archaeology, H.M.G.
‘प्राचीन नेपाल’ का निमित्र प्रागृ-हितिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व, लिपिविद्या, हस्तलिखित प्रसंग, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, मानववाद, संस्कृति तथा साहित्यविद्या सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाका मान सानुक र जान सानुक र विविध विषयका सारांश र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिएको भए।

रचना संक्षिप्त तथा प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अत्यन्त अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयो सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिएको भए।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित विभिन्न पठाउन सकिएको भए। रचना पृथक्को अवश्यकमा साथै लेखिएको हुनुपर्दछ। प्रकाशित लेखहुँदा असल गरिएको भवन वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो।

महानिदेशक
पुरातत्त्व विभाग
रमभावामूढ
काठमाडौँ, 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 our 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 on side of the paper only sent to:–

The Director General
Department of Archaeology
Ramshahpath
Kathmandu, Nepal.