



Nepalese Culture

Vol. II.

1981-82

Editor

Prof. Ram Niwas Pandey

Published by:

**Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology Instruction Committee
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur
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Editorial Note

Situated between the two great countries of India and China, Nepal presents a fine panorama of Hindu and Buddhist cultures which our distinguished sages and sovereigns nurtured in the mountain ranges and river valleys of different regions since the beginning of the dawn of human civilization. Man lived in the Himalayas during the palaeolithic and neolithic periods and painstakingly contributed to the growth of human culture. This fact is now attested by the discovery of the palaeolithic and neolithic tools and the fossil remains of Ramapithecus found in the Tinaukhola in the close proximity of Butwal of the Lumbini Zone. Although so far no serious work has been undertaken to determine the time of settlement of the people of the Aryan, Mongoloid and Austric races in the country, it is not very difficult to ascertain their contributions to the growth of political organisation, social life, religion, arts and crafts.

During the Vedic-Upanisadic period Nepal was a celebrated centre of study of the Vedas and philosophy. King Janaka and Maharshi Vyasa and Yajnavalkya have their great contribution in effloring Hinduism in the lap of the Himalayas. Lord Buddha, who was born at Lumbini in the sixth century B.C., is regarded as apostle of peace in the world. The message of Lord Buddha and the religio-philosophical echo of the premises of the Pashupatinatha temple of the Kathmandu Valley provide great mental satisfaction to the people and pave path to their enlightenment and liberation in the end.

That the people of Nepal possessed high artistic temperament is nicely reflected in the temples, chaityas and monasteries and sculptures, bronzes, woodworks and paintings of the Lichchhavi, Malla and Shah periods. The art-remains of Nepal are not only the great treasures of our heritage but also a perennial source of attraction for tourists, and therefore they form an important aspect in the development of tourism. Mixed up with different festivals and processions of the ethnic groups, they provide good lusture to our national culture. Despite ethnic diversity, there is great unity and harmony found among the different sections of population of the country. The institution of kingship turned to be a boon in preserving and fostering unity and development of the culture, arts and religious beliefs of various ethnic groups of the country.

Although rich in cultural traditions, there has been very little institutional effort in doing research and publishing and high-lighting the grand heritage of the country. With this view in mind the teachers of the Nepalese History, Culture and Archaeology Instruction Committee at Kirtipur commenced the publication of *Nepalese Culture*, an annual journal, and its first volume was released in 1979 under the chief editorship of late Dr. H. N. Jha. Soon after this due to Dr. Jha's illness and finally his appointment as the director of the Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies impeded its publication. However, the great zeal and active co-operation of the teachers of the Instruction Committee has now made it possible to bring out its second volume.

Finally, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Dean of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Campus Chief of the Kirtipur Multiple Campus for providing financial help to the Instruction Committee for this cause. I express my due thanks to the contributors of articles to this journal and also to my colleagues who have assiduously worked in the press for its publication. I take this opportunity to request scholars for their valuable comments on our efforts which we will be pleased to publish in the next issue of the journal.

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The Terracottas of Nepal

—R. N. Pandey

As clay was freely available everywhere and with a slight touch of fingers it could be easily moulded to any shape, since the beginning of the Neolithic age people frequently used it to make various kinds of utensils of their domestic use and figurines of the human beings, the deities and the animals, which they saw around them. Terracotta formed the most popular medium not only of the artistic expression but also for personal ornaments like beads, bangles and rings, documentations like sealings, children's toys and objects of domestic and ritualistic needs. Terracotta in its varied uses and applications, thus affords us an idea of not only the artistic attainments of the people, but about their life and culture, and fashions of the times in respect of dress, coiffures and jewellery.¹ When baked in kilns, the terracotta articles became harder like a metallic or stone-made object and sometimes they survived for several centuries of time under favourable climatic conditions.

So far very little attention has been given by the scholars to the study of the terracotta art of Nepal. The excavations of Tilaurakot, Banjarahi and Kudan of the Lumbini Zone and Dhumvarahi and Handigaon of the Kathmandu Valley have brought to light a large variety of terracotta remains which throw considerable light on the plastic trends of the Nepali artists during the pre-Christian and early-Christian centuries. At Tilaurakot, Devala Mitra alone excavated a rich

1. D. Mitra, *Excavations at Tilaurakot and Kudan and Explorations in the Nepalese Tarai*. First Edition, (Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology, 1972), p. 100.

crop of terracotta finds in which the human and animal figurines outnumber the other objects.² That the terracotta figurines of Tilaurakot have the impress of the Maurya and Sunga trends, tastes and fashions is indicated by the suspension holes which occur in several plaques. The terracottas of early phase are hand-modelled and characterised with flatness, frontality and general archaic qualities. One female figurine of the rampart-filling shows ovalish face, dignified expression and applied ornaments of simple design but it is totally hand-modelled. An advanced step in the technique is discernable in two partly broken female figurines, again from the rampart filling. They are moulded and show Sunga conception of embellishment.

Twenty-three figurines of Tilaurakot are marked with developed Sunga plastic idioms. Some figurines are characterised with rigid frontality but most of them have very sensitive and subtle modelling. Their animated flexions look very graceful within the plaques. The figurines representing the mother and child, the females holding their favourite parrots and Laksmi being bathed by a couple of elephants are very notable specimens. One female figurine, which is completely hand-modeled, is characterised with exaggerated pelvis and stunted tapering stump-like legs without the details of toes. Its large sunken naval and finger-tip decorations look very charming.³ Another figurine is depicted with ovalish face. Her faint smile and fleshy lower lip, hair parted in the middle forming inconspicuous bands hanging on the sides, disc-like ornaments and tight fitting waist-band make it a delicate figurine of high artistic level.⁴ The coiffure and the hair-embellishment in the form of discs, two with three-pronged tassels of a female figure, are again notable. The discs are beautifully decorated with floral designs.⁵ The head of one female figurine contains pins representing the forms of an elephant-goad, an arrow-head and a parasu.⁶ The other female figurines of the site follow the above-mentioned figurines in head decoration, ornaments and ornamentations of the details, costumes and plastic style. One plaque recovered from the clay filling of the

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, Pl. XXVIII-3.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 102, Pl. XXIX-1.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

defensive-wall depicts the head of a male with bicornate headdress. Its delicately shaped arched eye-brows and glowing expression of the face reveal the fact of an excellent modeller's hand in its shaping.⁷ One plaque of a figurine, which belongs to a boy, is quite notable at this place. Although partly weathered and its red slip peeled off, the ends of its scraf are artistically hanging on the side of the legs. The figurine is decked with a girdle of triple-beaded string, bangles, necklaces and armlets. Its left hand is made akimbo and a long-tailed parrot is shown pecking here.⁸

Among the 114 terracotta animal figurines which Devala Mitra excavated at Tilaurakot, elephants greatly outnumber the other animals. Their ears and tusks are separately made and applied. Many of the figurines have transverse holes through the snout, nose and tusks, suggesting thereby that they ran on wheels.⁹ They were basically the toys of the children. The eyes of the elephants have been executed in the shapes of diamonds, incised double convex or lenticular with a central raised line and the large ears of winnow form are incised with the lines denoting the veins. Some trunks have been beautified with stamp motifs, incised decorations and applied bands, solar symbols with or without circle round the central pallet, an eight-spoked symbol, a four spoked symbol and a pallet in each angle and diamonds or circles with a central punctured dot.¹⁰ Some of the elephants show very natural form, indicating close observation of the animal by the artists. One figurine of an elephant from the surface of the site shows its three legs, tusks and tail massing. Its ears are like a disc and show shallow perforations in the centre. The neck and the base of the tusks are decorated with applied bands executed with stamped circlets. Similarly applied crescent-shaped bands and rows of circlets embellish the forehead. The terracotta is treated with red slip.¹¹

The nostrils of the bulls and the cows have been shown by punctured dots and an oblong incision but the ears are applied. The eyes, as in the elephants, are diamond-shaped and the eyebrows incised

7. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

with curved lines. The dewlap is shown in a solitary specimen only. One humped bull of greyish core treated with red slip preserves seven elaborate leaves, one each below the ears and five on the back and sides and eight-spoked at the junction, one each on the forehead, hump, root of the tail and front part of the neck and four immediately above the legs.¹² One bull represented with dewlap is stamped with taurine symbol. As the clay-modellers were quite at home with this animal, very realistically they portrayed the figurines of the bulls.

The figurines of the horses were also made by the artists of Tilaurakot. The excavated specimens of the horse-figurines show better modelling; their diamond-shaped eyes and manes decorated with obliquely incised lines or stamped rows of punctured oblongs look very beautiful. The plumes, head-stalls, cheek-straps, saddles and carpets are also executed and ornamented with applied strips, incised lines and punctured oblongs. One horse figurine, excavated from Pit 1, shows its mane represented by a series of oblique rows of punctured oblongs, the top ridge being intended. Its richly embroidered carpet of the saddle looks very beautiful in the specimen. A horse whose snouts, legs and tails are missing, shows its carpet represented by four intended rows and head-staff executed with applied bands. Plume was also given to it.¹³ The figurines of the hollow birds have been also found at Tilaurakot.

Lumbini has also provided us with a few terracottas. One terracotta figure of Lord Buddha from the site shows the deity's lips full as we find it in the Gupta terracottas of Northern India. Its open eyes, prominently-arched eye-brows and stylized *dakshinavarta* curls covering the head and the *ushanisha*, however, indicate its slightly later date, perhaps the seventh century. The outer ridge of the aureole of the deity is executed with oblique double lines having a row of triangular or nail-shaped incisions.¹⁴ Devala Mitra has described fifteen other terracottas of the site. One of them represents the head of an old man. Its nose is prominently drawn and head marked with individualistic features, indicating the talent of a highly skilled modeller in its shaping. The other head shows its hair combed in spiral curls, open eyes

12. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

displaying pupils and mouth showing the upper row of teeth. Another head has its eyes half-closed in meditation and the crown peculiarly done.¹⁵ The other terracottas are fragmentary and defaced, hence, not so notable at this place.

Among the six terracotta figurines of Pipari, one figurine belongs to a male. Its ovalish face with lenticular eyes having circular holes for pupils and prominent nose and hairs indicated by oblique incisions projecting behind are worthy of note here. The other head, possibly of a female, shows an applied torque round the neck.¹⁶ Both the figurines are executed on the Sunga idioms.

The animal figurines of the site are fashioned in the tradition of the Tilaurakot clay-figurines. The site of Kadazohawa has provided us with fourteen human figurines. The earliest plaque of the site depicts the lower part of a standing figure, executed crudely in the relief. Its lower garment shows vertical folds characteristic of the late Sunga terracottas. Seven heads of outlandish features seem to have been fashioned during the fifth and eighth centuries. Characterised by an almost triangular face with prominently incised lenticular eyes and protruding circular pupils giving the impression of applied eyes, a slit mouth, applied lips, a pointed chin, a pinched nose and large elongated hanging ears, they appear to have been modelled freely by hand. Their crowns have been executed in conical form and they rise in the relief like a tuft; in one case it shows a sinister tilt. Two figurines of the site wear scarfs. The garment is emphasised by an applied double-band running diagonally from the left shoulder to the base of the right arm-pit. The hair of a figurine projects above like a diadem and the other figurine shows a pallet in the centre of its forehead. One small figurine has been modelled completely in round but it is very crude in workmanship.¹⁷

One male and one female figurine of Babbani are worth noting here. The male figurine has its mouth made in the form a crescent. Its prominently lenticular incised eyes, raised arched eye-brows meeting together, receding forehead and projecting elongated large ears

15. *Ibid*, p. 202.

16. *Ibid*, pp. 209-10.

17. *Ibid*, pp. 210-41.

with two stamped circlets indicate its Sunga date. Its crown is incised with lines and decorated with raised circles. The female figurine of the site is completely hand-modelled and practically it had no forehead as such. Its triangular face executed with pointed chin, horizontally slit mouth, lenticular eyes modelled with protruding eye balls and the eye-brows are excessively pronounced. The hairs are rolled up, tied sinisterly, tilted and stamped with circlets and applied round the neck. The scarf given in the upaviti fashion is plain. On the whole the workmanship of the figurine is marked with many primitive traits.

Several kinds of terracotta objects were found at Banjarahi in 1964 by Dr. S. B. Deo.¹⁸ They include some fragmentary animal figurines toy-legs, bangles, votive lamps and a dabber. The figurines are in round and executed by hand. The terracottas of Banjarahi show rather primitive features and are executed in some cases by pinching the clay. Their headdresses are remarkable, as also their earrings and forehead ornaments. The figurines of Period II of the site appear more elegant and show the use of moulds.¹⁹ Among these objects of Banjarahi the head of a female with pinched out ears having circular earrings and with shallow incisions along the periphery, sharp pinched up nose, slit mouth, thick lips, incised eyes and eye-balls and bunched chignon on the head with broad vertical incisions, is most notable.²⁰ The nose and the left half of the face of the male head are broken. Its three-tired headdress with a pinched out chignon at the back, incised eyes, a vertical incision between the eye-brows, trident-like pendent on the forehead and coarse red colour indicate its Sunga origin like the previous terracotta. The torso of a female figure with thin waist and prominent breasts, cast in a single mould indicates its later date. One fragmentary head and the torso of a terracotta human figure were also found in the excavation of the site. Among the terracotta animal figurines, a horse made of fine clay, grey core, half surface black and other half grey, highly burnished, mane on either sides shown by slanting incised lines, saddle shown by incised lines on the back and shallow circular perforations below the neck possibly showing some

18. S. B. Deo, *Archaeological Investigations in the Nepal Tarai*: 1964, First Edition (Kathmandu: Department of Archaeology, 1968), pp. 26-28.

19. *Ibid*

20. *Ibid*, pl. IV, No. B, p. 26.

ornament, is the best specimen. The bull with legs stride an animal with oblique hump and a sparrow with neat beak and tail, all in terracotta, are beautifully executed. The votive lamp and the dabber of the site are also quite charming.

So far Tilaurakot has been excavated by Dr. N. R. Banarjee, Mr. Tarananda Misra, Mr. Babu Krishna Rijal and the Japanese Archaeological Party. Mr. Tarananda Misra and Mr. Babu Krishna Rijal showed several dozens of terracotta human and animal figurines of above mentioned features to the present researcher which they found there in course of their excavations. Dr. N. R. Banarjee has published the photograph of a terracotta horse figurine of the site in his book. It measures 6×4 inches in size and contains bright red slip. Its impressed designs of saddle and knotted lines, which indicate the mane, are quite worthy of note. The body of the animal is nicely impressed with slender leaf motifs.²¹ Dr. Krupp has published an illustrated art book on Nepal. There he has illustrated six terracotta figurines of Tilaurakot. Four of them belong to the females and one to a lion. The headgear of the first female figurine is exceptionally typical, the second figurine shows quite primitive traits of modelling the third figurine depicts the lower-half of a female wearing sari and the last figurine shows a karadhani of three bands loosely tied round the hip. Dr. Banarjee excavated one female figurine at Tilaurakot from the grey ware phase, and, that is why, it belongs to pre-Mauryan period. The animal and the human figurines of various sites of Kapilavastu constitute the earliest art-remains of Nepal. That Kapilavastu was an important centre of art activities in the past is attested by the decoration of the extant plinths of the temples found in the archaeological excavations at Tilaurakot, Chetradai, Kudan, Paisia and Lumbini. In the seventh century when Huain Tsang visited Kapilavastu, he found the capital of the Shakyas in sheer neglect and its artistically built royal mansions connected with King Suddhodhana and Lord Buddha changed into monastic abodes of the Buddhist sectarists. The *Buddhacarita* and some early Buddhist works furnish us with a very lavish account of the beauty of the city. When comprehensive reports of the excavations of Tilaurakot come out in published form, scholars will be

21. N. R. Banarjee, *Nepalese Art*, First Edition (Kathmandu; Department of Archaeology, 1966), p. 75. Pl. V. A.

able to show conformity between its archaeological remains and the stupas and the monasteries described by the Chinese pilgrims in their accounts.

When the rule of the Guptas commenced in Northern India, various Brahmanical religions again predominated the society and people built beautiful brick-temples of their cult gods for worship in their towns and villages. Mukherjee has given the photographs, the sketches and descriptions of the ruins of some temples which he excavated in Kapilavastu and they attest that the people of the region had a highly developed tradition of art in bricks and terracotta during the ancient and early-medieval periods. These remains are quite different than those of the brick-palaces, citadels, stupas, monasteries and residential houses of the Shakyas and the Buddhists. The projecting mouldings, the half-torus and the lotus designs of the Chetradai brick temples are quite notable at this place. Chetradai represents the township of the ordinary people of Kapilvastu. One seven-bayed mandapa of Lumbini is also decorated with cyma, half-torus and floral and geometrical patterns. These temples, and the excavated temples of Paisia, are contemporary to the brick temples excavated at Kudan by Devala Mitra in 1962. The platform of Temple No. 1 of Kudan has got beautiful representations of purnaghata, cyma and row of circles, some of them with circular perforations inside and the others with mango-shaped perforations. Its one band of two courses has been treated with a row of semi-circular flowers with the interiors filled in with a plant motif; the flowers were separated by one another by a pendant ending in a motif resembling a petal leaf. The design at the second place was a row of floral motifs, very artistically composed.²² The sanctuary of Period I, on the basic platform, shows a cyma treated with slanting petals each punctuated with a set of three leaves.²³ The mahanti of its khura is decorated with the row of petals separated by a group of three leaves, circles deeply incised with mango-shaped holes and creepers. During the Period II the fallen bricks of Period I and plain bricks were used and they show the inartisticity of the present builders. Temple No. 2 of the site is also plain but it has provided us with a large number of bricks, carved out with beautiful floral designs.²⁴

22. Mitra., *op. cit.*, n. 1, p. 166.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

24. *Ibid.*, pls. XCI--CXII.

During the Lichchhavi period the valley of Kathmandu did not produce only the sculptures of high artistic idioms, but also equally significant terracottas. The excavations of Dhumvarahi by Dr. Banarjee in 1966 revealed a rich treasure of Lichchhavi terracottas in the form of an infinite variety of carved hand-pressed moulds. The range of negative patterns covered by these moulds encompasses floral and decorative foliage, animal forms of the lion, elephant, horse, cow and buffalo besides human figures including the scenes of dancing. In proportion, symmetry of composition, and disposition of carves they are extremely graceful. When fully studied, they would add a fresh chapter to the history of plastic art of Nepal. They are attributable, on the basis of the later Lichchhavi inscriptions associated with them, to seventh-eight centuries. The excavations have also yielded a large number of hollow terracotta figurines, of comparable date, of the animals, modelled by hand in two parts and joined along the medial line. The humped bull takes the pride of place in the menagerie, while the assemblage includes the horse the elephant and uniquely, the camel²⁵ Parvati and Shiva depicted sitting on one potshard, found at this site, is a fine specimen of Dhumvarahi ceramic art. The elephant trodding the plaintain grove, represented on a shard, is a quite dynamic and spirited portraiture. The humped camel, unknown to the people of Kathmandu, is a very fine terracotta. The horses show nicely executed saddles on their backs.

Although all the pagoda temples of Nepal have their walls made of backed bricks, they cannot be brought under the category of the terracotta art. The only temple of terracotta which needs some attention over here is the Mahabauddha temple of Lalitpur, built in the thirteenth century by Shree Abhayaraj Vajracharya on the model of the Bodhagaya temple of Lord Buddha. The temple is entirely made of bricks, and represents a pagoda like building with all the paraphernalia of a stupa like niches, the pinnacle, the finial and the pavement supporting the whole of the structure. The structure is flat up to the first storey, about 30 ft, but thereafter it assumes a tapering shape. There is a balcony and round the structure at the first storey, and at every corner, a miniature of the structure stands as a watching sentinel. The images in the niches are also of backed clay, all of them burnished red and could be desi-

25. Banarjee, *op. cit.*, n. 21, p. 28.

gnated as terracotta.²⁶ Burnier calls the Mahabodha temple as the "Temple of One Thousand Buddhas" It is because each brick of its outer surface has the representation of a Buddha image. Various scenes from Lord Buddha's life are shown in minute detail over the entire structure and the effect is certainly amazing.²⁷ The temple of Mayadevi built in its premises is an equally charming shrine. Its figures are very fine pieces of Nepalese terracotta and hence quite worthy of note over here.

The terracotta sculptures of the Kathmandu Valley executed during the Malla period are of a completely different style. There is marked influence of contemporary stone art in the terracotta sculptures fashioned after the fourteenth century. The images of Vishnu, Varuna, Varaha, Kubera and Durga of Dathu temple of the Ranipokhari Dohata are provided with many heads and more than one pair of arms which attests that a very ferocious ideal governed the mode of religion in the valley during the medieval period. These images were dedicated to the temple by King Pratapamalla at the time he excavated the tank. The panel of Durga killing the buffalo-headed demon is a very dynamic relief. The goddess has been represented with more than two legs. The terracotta sculptures of the mother goddesses of the National Museum, Dr. Regmi belevesi. belong to the rule of King Jitmitramalla. Vaishnavi, Indrani, Parvati and Kumari, distinguished as benevolent goddesses, are also represented here in terrific elan like Chamunda, Kali and Varahi. The terracottas depicting the Nagas and the Nagis of the National Museum were fashioned in the Shah period only. Apart from the structural features, terracotta was freely used for decorative purposes. The tympanum which is found over most doorways, is usually of hammered brass or carved wood in cases and made by burnt clay with details sharply modelled in this plastic material. Niches with the figures of dragons and foliage, running borders of snake-finials of crowning cocks and all the ornamental additions characteristic of a brick architecture are found in them.²⁸

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26. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Vol. II., Pt. I, First Edition (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965), p. 602.
27. R. M. Bernier, *The Temples of Nepal*, First Edition (Kathmandu: Voice of Nepal Private Ltd., 1970), p. 91.
28. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Vol. II., Pt. II., First Edition (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966), p.927. Quoted from the book *Picturesque Nepal*, p. 173 of Percy Brown.

The two snake figures, one of a Naga male with head under the snake canopy and holding a conch shell by his two hands, is a common sight in some of the temples of both the styles. Together they circle round the temple and their heads are seen on each side of the doorway.²⁹ The Dathu temple of the Ranipokhari Dohata has its corner-chapels decorated with the terracotta toranas depicting crocodiles and Garuda holding the tails of the snakes between his teeth.

The temple of Goddess Taleju of the Hanumanadhoka Palace Square has its *singhadwara* made completely of terracotta and its sixth terrace contains four subsidiary terracotta gateways leading to the temple. The deities represented here include Shiva, Parvati, Vishnu, Lakshmi, Ganesha, Bhairava, the Astamatikas, Varaha, and Surya besides the figures of lions, elephants, caparisoned horses, crocodiles and snakes. These representations are as charming as the contemporary stone sculptures or carved wooden figures. The figure of Surya follows the iconic formula in totality. The deity is represented in sitting posture, holds full blossomed lotuses by their stalks in the hands and is being drawn in a chariot by seven roaring horses. Vishnu, touching the heads of the personified emblems looks highly equipped in the relief. He stands on a snake base. Varaha raising the Mother Earth from the depth of the ocean is basically characterised with the element of force. The artist has very beautifully represented the victory of truth over the demonical force through the aid of this theme. The terracotta of Anantanarayan Vishnu, installed in a niche-like arched brick-built temple in the vicinity of Aryaghata at Pasupati is quite worthy of note over here. Its serpent canopy rises from the base of the pedestal and covers the whole back and the portion above the head. Although considerably elongated and made slim, its face is very beautifully modelled. The flower-pots and the lamps made of terracotta possess beautiful floral, geometrical and religious decorative motifs on their exterior body. That is why, they are also quite notable specimens of Nepalese art.

The terracotta objects of the Kathmandu Valley have been made out of *masucha*, *dyacha* and *gathecha* clay-lumps. The images of the deities were modelled by the artists with fingers and

29 *Ibid.*

incised when half-dried by a stylus. A wash of thin slip was provided on the specimens in the end. The baking was done within a brick structure where the images were laid down on a straw pile and burnt smoothly for about a day and night, upon which the terracotta was ready for the public. Percy Brown speaks very high of the moulded bricks and modelled terracottas of the Kathmandu Valley. He has written that the builders used exceptionally good quality of clay and by means of a system of firing which produced a hard, smooth, shell-like surface, their masonry seems to defy all weathers besides displaying a most artistic colouring.

The art of making pottery started in Nepal about one thousand years before Christ. Some grey ware shards found from the bottommost layers of Tilaurakot and Banjarahi, and collected in the explorations from the sites of Bedamau, Lumbini, Banjarahi and Danda are attributed to the earliest settlers of the Indo-Gangetic plain. The industry which succeeded the former ceramic is of aristocratic workmanship and known as northern black-polished ware (N. B. P.). Associated with NBP, countless shards of black-slipped and black-polished wares, datable between the sixth and first centuries B. C., have been excavated and found in explorations from more than one dozen sites of the Terai of the Lumbini Zone. Dishes, bowls, basins, vessels-on-stand, lids, tumber-like vessels, miniature vases (ghatas), frying pans, cooking vessels (handis), storage jars, jars, big vases of different shapes and forms and water-flasks were the most common types of utensils which the people of Kapilavastu used during the pre-Christian centuries. The ceramics of Kudan reveal that there was very little change in the pottery types in the region even after one thousand years. The designs of parallel bands, hatched lines, horizontal strips, criss-crossed incised patterns, dots, hooks and religious symbols, executed with proper care and style on some of the above-mentioned pots prove without any doubt the fact of high artistic genius of the potters in those days. The red ware ceramics of the Sunga, the Kushana and the Gupta periods come next. As in the former time, during the rules of these dynasties, we find the genius of the potters nicely manifested in the execution of the forms of the pots and representation of the socio-religious, geometrical and floral designs on their exterior parts.

The excavations of Dhumvarahi and Handigaon and spodic explorations of a few other sites of the Kathmandu Valley by Dr. S. B. Deo, Dr. N. R. Banarjee and the technical staff of the Department of Archaeology, HMG, have recently brought to light a new ceramic industry of early Nepal. The pottery of Period IA, which Dr. Deo has described in his report, includes only the red ware. It shows three varieties; the brilliant red-slipped, that with a light red wash and the unslipped or plain red ware. In the first type the clay is pure, the core pinkish brown and the surfaces are treated with a red slip. The second ware shows a porous core and the mixture of mica in clay, while the last type has powdery surface and a light red core. Most of the shapes in the first category are wheel-made, while the last type has some hand-made shapes as well. In quantity, the red-slipped is the maximum. Shallow grooves form the only decoration and the shapes are almost exclusively utilitarian. Bowls, dishes, basins, lids, vessels with flat base, globular pots with bulbous shoulders, storage jars, lugs, dough plates, *panti*, tall-necked pots, *kundas*, conical vessels and stemmed vessels form the most important shapes.³⁰ The site of Dhumvarahi has provided us with rich relics of the Lichchhavi and Thakuri ceramic arts. As regards the shapes of the ceramics, they reveal the same story which Dr. Deo has provided to us from the Handigaon excavation. The present researcher wants to emphasise only this fact at this place that the site of Dhumvarahi is rich both in variety and decorative forms. The ceramic arts of the Malla and the Shah periods show the continuity of the older tradition. The techniques of making and firing the clay pots were the same in all the ages. As the art of metal-craft appreciably flourished in the Malla period, the art of making utensils of terracotta declined in quality. However, even today clay pots are used by the poor and the lower-middle class families of the country for the storage of their foodgrains and cooking of meals. Thimi is the most important centre of clay-utensils in the Kathmandu Valley and its potters supply about eighty percent of the total pots for use to the people. Even today they make fine lamps, smoking-pipes and flower-pots.

30. S B Deo, *Archaeological Excavations in Kathmandu* : 1965, First Edition (Kathmandu : Department of Archaeology, 1968), pp, 1-46, Figs. 1-22.

Recently a few archaeological explorations were conducted in the region of Eastern Terai. The localities of Simaraungarh, Varahaksetra, Biratanagar, Janakapur, Murtiya and Balmikinagar are quite rich in redware shards of medieval period. When properly studied, the potshards of these sites would throw valuable light on the ceramic art of the Terai of Eastern Nepal during the medieval period. The pottery of Eastern Terai is closely related to the contemporary ceramic industry of Bihar.



The Vikramaditya Myth— Some Probabilities

—Sabha Dangol

In the last century and the first half of the present century great efforts were made in India to present the Indian history chronologically in the form of an authentic history. Whatsoever endeavours were made in the early period to write down the Indian history in an authoritative manner, they were made from the pens of the alien writers. During Chandra Gupta Maurya's rule if the envoy from Greece, Megasthenes, had contributed to compile an authoritative history, similar attempts were undertaken by the Chinese travellers Fahian and Hui'en Tsang during the Gupta period and the regime of Emperor Harshavardhan respectively. The findings traced out by them regarding contemporary India are still taken as significant and relevant contributions. About one hundred and fifty years back, a laudable venture was made in India to bring out the history of ancient India in authentic manner in lieu of old myths. But this novelty of task also was initiated from the pens of foreign historians. The book, *The Early History of India*, which was published after many years of strenuous toils and efforts under the aegis of the Royal Asiatic Society, and its president Mr. Vincent Smith, is at our access.¹ Mr. Smith and all the members of the Royal Asiatic Society deserve our thanks and appreciation for the publication of this creditable compendium on ancient history of India. However, while examining the subject and scope, several views of

1. Sister Nivedita, *Foetfalls of Indian History*, New Edition (Calcutta; Advaita Ashram, 1956), p. 169. Quoted from the book of Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India*.

Mr. Smith may not be wholly authentic. But it is worth-noting that for the new generation of scholars, its importance as an authentic book on ancient history can never be minimised.

Among the various stories of ancient rulers detailed in this book, the story of the Guptas and specially of Chandra Gupta II alias Vikramaditya is much more inspiring and holds our special attention. Gupta dynasty is that dynasty whose empire rises from the ancient city of Pataliputra of Magadha and prevails over the vast area of India. The story of the Gupta dynasty becomes much more inspiring not because that its territory extended over a large part of the present Indian territory. As efforts were made at this period towards unifying the entire land of India under one polity, religion and culture, the history of this dynasty became worth observing.

According to Mr. Vincent Smith and many other prominent historians, Hinduism together with Sanskrit literature underwent a great change and revival during the Gupta period. During this period, the Mahabharata, the greatest epic of the world, and several other books on Indian myth (the puranas) and literature were amended, re-edited and brought into a new shape. According to Vincent Smith, "the principal Puranas seem to have been edited in their present form during the Gupta period, when a great extension and revival of Sanskrit literature took place"² In the words of R.D. Banerji the principal Puranas were re-written in this period, and in their historical portions the name of the Gupta dynasty is given last of all, thus proving that the final redaction of this class of literature took place in the fifth and sixth centuries. Indian speculative philosophy apparantly obtained a strong foothold in our theology during this period, and finally obtained supremacy for the Vedanta school all over India."³ According to Sardar K.M. Panikkar, the reputed diplomat of modern India, the story of the Mahabharat was undoubtedly known from very early times. The Puranas in an earlier form were known to the Dharma Sastra writers

2. *Ibid*, p. 170, Quoted from Smith's book, *The Early History of India*.
3. R. D. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, Reprinted (Calcutta; Blackie and on India Ltd, 1939), p. 181 .

long before the Christ. But undoubtedly the texts of the great epic, as it has come down to us and the major Puranas were re-arranged, added to and edited in the Gupta period in such a manner as to make them completely new literature.⁴

Turning over the pages of Mr. Smith's book, we see the task of reviving and resurrecting Hindu religion and Sanskrit literature being initiated during the Gupta period and particularly during the reign of Samudragupta (The Emperor known as Indian Napoleon). The entire principalities of the great India had been politically unified under one rule during the regime of this emperor. Now the task was left behind was to thread into one religion, culture, literature and civilization the entire land which had in this way been politically unified. This task also is seen to be initiated by the same emperor Samudragupta which seems to be completed specially during the regime of his son Chandragupta II alias Vikramaditya. To quote sister Nivedita: "In Vincent Smith's pages we can see the great tradition of Gupta learning beginning in the person of the gifted and accomplished Samudragupta (A.D. 326-375), father of Vikramaditya and a sovereign of such military ability as to be described as 'an Indian Napoleon' while he himself had the fine ambition to be remembered rather for his love of music and poetry than for his success in war. In the reign of such a king, and in the personal influence of such a father, must have lain the seed of more achievements and events which were to make his son Vikramaditya the hero of Indian tradition through subsequent ages. It takes many lives sometimes to carry out a single great task, and we can only guess whether or not Samudra Gupta began the undertakings whose completion was to make his son illustrious."⁵

The religion, literature and culture of India takes a new shape on account of this task of re-editing and redacting the Mahabharata and Puranas during the regime of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya. As a result, the exponent of the Upanishadas at the Vedic period Seer Krishna, garbed in new attire, assumes the form of the charioteer here of the

4. K. M. Panikkar, A Survey of Indian History, Reprinted (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1957), b. 53.

5. Nivedita, *op cit.*, n. 1, p 171.

Mahabharata War and subsequently turns to be the most important incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Declaring himself lord almighty, he pronounces the sermons of the Shrimadbhagvata Gita in the battle field of Kuruksetra. In the words of sister Nivedita: "And 700 years go by, it appears, before Gupta emperor, who has just annexed Western India with its capital of Ujjain, commissioned the editing anew of the national epic of the north, causing it to teach that this Cliso-Kriso-Krishna of Jamuna is no other than a certain partha sarathi, known this long while to the Northern and Vedic India as the exponent to his disciples of all the secrets of the Upanishadas."⁶

Similarly sister Nivedita comments somewhere else in regard to the rise of Vaishnava Cult which runs: "It would appear therefore that a great formative movement to place in the history of Vaishnavism when India was potentially united under the Guptas and when Buddhism had become so highly developed and over-ripe that the story of its origin was losing definiteness in the popular mind. This epoch saw the synthesis, under indisputable suzerain authority, of doctrinal Krishna, Partha Sarathi, speaker of the Gita, and the popular Krishna, the Gopala of Gokula, and the hero of Mathura. The same period saw missions dispatched to the south for the preaching of this great consolidated faith, and the parcelling out of Garhwal and Kumaon, in the Himblayas, as pre-eminently the land of the Pandava Tirthas. This consolidation of the story and the idea of Krishna was in all probability connected with the last recension of the Mahabharata, which was probably in its turn the work of an official synod of poets under Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II, Vikramaditya, between A.D. 330 to 455. We know for a fact that the succeeding Guptas were devoted worshippers of Narayana in his incarnation as Krishna, and that in this worship Krishna the son of Devaki, and Krishna the slayer of Kamsa, were joined."⁷

In the course of this re edition and recension, even the Buddha, the epochmaking personality in the sphere of spirituality and most popular figure of this time, who rejected the very principle of incarnation, was included among the ten incarnations of the Hindus

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 204 205.

Sardar K.M pannikar writes in this context: "The re-written Puranas and the Mahabharata provided the people of India with a mythology, a corpus of unexplained heroic poetry, a rich system of popular ethics and a religious literature for the masses, catholic enough to include the worship of all creeds inside Hinduism. In fact by the sixth century the Buddha himself had been included among the avtaras of Vishnu and proclaimed an orthodox god entitled to worship by Hindus."⁸

There are several persons to hold the view that diverse motives have played their role behind the screen of these re-editing works. There are some to believe it as initial attempt to root out Buddhism from the land of India. In fact, after the accomplishment of this task, Buddhism seems to have faced a gradual deterioration. But majority of the historians do not concur with this view. They believe that after the fall of the Maurya Dynasty, Buddhism had to meet downfall on account of the lack of proper patronage from the then emperors. According to R. D. Banerjee: "The emperors of the Gupta dynasty were Vaishnavas and strong supporters of Hinduism. It is quite evident that Buddhism, which had become the predominant religion of India during the rule of the Scythians, declined for want of material support."⁹

According to sister Nivedita, the main objective behind this task was consolidating into one nationhood the entire land of India, - the India divided into various conflicting traditions and approaches. To quote her version: "The foreign reader, taking it up as sympathetic reader merely and not as scholar is at once struck by two features; in the first place, its unity in complexity; and in the second, its constant effort to impress on its readers the idea of a single centralised India with a heroic tradition of her own as formative and uniting impulse. It is in good sooth a monarch's dream of an imperial race. The Gupta emperor of Pataliputra who commissioned the last recension of the great work was conscious as Asoka before him or Akbar after of making to his people the magic statement, India is one."¹⁰

8. Panikkar, *op cit*, n. 4, p. 98.

9. Banerji, *op. cit*, n. 3 p. 181.

10. Nivedita, *op. cit*, n. 1, p. 173.

If we are to agree with the versions of Mr. Smith and with Sister Nivedita and to believe that the principal Puranas and the Mahabharata were really re-written and amended during the Gupta Period and particularly during the rule of Vikramaditya we can certainly confirm that there must be some mysteries and secrecies behind this task. Before unfolding secrecies behind this task, it will be worthwhile and pertinent to throw some light on the life and character of the outstanding personality of the Gupta dynasty,— Emperor Chandragupta II alias Vikramaditya. Some of the significant features of his life and character are as follows:

- a) Emperor Chandragupta II ascended the throne after assassinating his own brother Ramgupta. He married the widow of his brother and proclaimed her as the Empress consort publicly.
- b) He assumed the titles like Devraja, Vikramaditya, Vikramanka and Singha Vikrama which are engraved on the coins and inscriptions of his time.
- c) Composition of legends like Simhasana Dwatrimika and Vetal Panchbimsati in his name.

If we make a critical estimate of all these matters, we can come to the conclusion that Chandragupta II was a man of vaulting ambition in reality. Inspired by this ambition, he, like the hero of the Shakespearean drama "Macbeth", takes assassination as the means of securing the glorious throne of Maghadha. After assassinating his own brother Ramgupta he enters into wedlock with his brother's widow. Most of the historians take this assassination as an inevitable issue or as an indispensable event to happen by exemplifying Vishakhadutta's drama "Devi Chandraguptam" and many other similar matters. According to them, Ramgupta was a man of cowardice temperament who loosely led a voluptuous life. He faced a serious defeat in a war with the Scythians and was made a captive. He agreed to handover his beautiful queen Dhurvadevi to Scythian king in order to escape imprisonment. The people of Magadha also gave their consent to this verdict. Chandra Gupta II went to Mathura in the guise of Dhurvadevi and valiantly defeated the Schytians in the battle. Safeguarding in this way the prestige and honour of magadha and the Gupta dynasty, he returned Pataliputra. He assassinated his own brother and married the widow of his brother. But it is worth-pondering that for a shrewd

emperor like Chandra Gupta II, who could give a new life to the history, culture, religion, politics etc. of India. it was not an impossible task to restructure such a literature based on fabrications and flaws. It is hardly possible to assume that the son of a mighty emperor had had to face such an ignominious defeat and it is equally unbelievable that the people of the great empire like Magadha so readily agreed to handover their adored queen to the enemies in exchange to the freedom of their king. Taking this view in mind, historians like R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar in their book 'The Vakataka Gupta Age' have written: "It is difficult, for instance, to believe that the inheritor of the mighty empire of Samudra Gupta could be so decisively defeated by a Saka king that he had no means of saving his army or kingdom save by consenting to an act, which would be regarded as the most ignominious by any king in any age or country, not to speak of the mighty emperor of the golden age of India who had the blood of Samudra Gupta running in his veins. A story preserved in the *Mujmal Tawarikh* has been seized upon as a suitable explanation of this enigma. It has been suggested that the king and his retinue were besieged in a hill-fort, and his army having been defeated by the Saka king he was at the complete mercy of the latter. But even such a situation can hardly condone the utter infamy and disgrace involved in the proposed means of escape from it. It should be remembered that we can not explain it merely as a caprice of a monarch who might be imbecile or insane, for we are asked to believe that his action had the full approval of the people, even if it was not instigated by them. The code of honour in the golden age of India must be assumed to have been very different from the later and more degenerate days, when, in similar peril women preferring death to dishonour, are known to have thrown themselves in blazing fire, and men rushed out and fought till they avenged the insult with the last drop of their blood."¹¹

Chandra Gupta II is found adored with the title of Devraja in an inscription found out in the ancient railing of Stupa No. 1 of Sanchi besides Bhilsa at Malwa. Likewise, on most of the coins struck during his rule, he is found to assume the titles like Vikramaditya,

11 P. C. Majumdar & A. S. Altekar, *The Vakataka Gupta Age* (Delhi; Motilal Banarasisdas, 1967), p. 164.

Vikramanka, Singh Vikrama etc¹² These facts further support the view that verily Chandra Gupta II was a man of high ambition.

Out of many legends linking highlighting the name of Vikramaditya, we have at our access the books like "The Simhasana Dwatrimasika" and "The Betal Panchabimsati" for perusal. By the study of these books, we can form out the view that it is difficult to have an ideal, just and magnanimous ruler like Vikramaditya even in the heaven. Most of the historians believe that he had his upperhand in the composition of such fabulous stories. According to Mr. Banerjee "The legendary stories about the mythical king Vikramaditya of Ujjin had their origin in the munificence and liberal patronage of Chandragupta II, who assumed the surname of Vikramaditya."¹³

In the paragraphs given above I have mentioned how the tradition of writing an authentic history in India is not of remote origin. I have envisaged how according to different historians, the Mahabharata and several other books on Sanskrit literature were re-edited and revised during the Gupta period and specially during the regime of Chandra Gupta II alias Vikramaditya. I have also sketched how in the course of this re-edition and recension Seer Krishna, the exponent of the Upanishadas of the vedic age, and Krishna, the cowherd-leader of Gokula were identified as singular personality and was Presented as the great hero of the Mahabharata War and as the great incarnation of Lord Vishnu. I have also brought into focus how the Gautama Buddha, who opposed the very doctrine of incarnation, was enlisted among the incarnaions of Vishnu. Now let see what are the factors and mysteries responsible for formulating and implementing all these activities.

I have already mentioned that Chandra Gupta was a man of vaulting ambition and that he did assassinate his own brother madened by this ambition. He married Dhruvadevi, the widow of his brother and proclaimed her the chief consort with a view to conceal this assassination scandal carried out by him very secretly. Some historians do not agree the existence of a true Ramagupta and admit that Chandra Gupta II directly ascended the throne right after the demise

12. Banerji, *op. cit.*, n. 3. p. 169 & 171.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

of Samudra Gupta. But the fact which is worth pondering or noting is that the long gap existing between the period of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II can be bridged up by the historical existence of Ram Gupta alone. Mr. R. D. Bauerjee fully agrees with this view and writes: "The actual dates of his succession and death are not known to us, but the discovery of his name fills up a long gap between the reign of Samudra Gupta and Chandra Gupta II."¹⁴

After ascending the throne of Magadha Chandra Gupta II tries to present himself as the most prominent historical personality of the world. With this purpose in mind, he adorns himself with the titles of Vikramaditya, Devrāja etc. Not being satisfied with these steps alone he contrives to compose and compile the legendary stories like *Simhasana Dwatrimika* and *Vetala Panchabimsati* to link up and stabilize the value of his personality. If we go through various stories of Vikramaditya, we will find him much more superhuman and divine instead of becoming an ordinary mortal. Before undertaking these deeds, Chandra Gupta II tries his level best to erase the misdeeds and scandals recorded in his name. Of all these undertakings the prominent one is to get written the historical dramas viz. "*Devi Chandra Gupta*" and "*Mudra Raksasam*" from the pen of the dramatist Vishakhadutta of his contemporary period.

The drama "*Devi Chandragupta*" depicts the assassination of Ram Gupta carried out by Chandra Gupta II an inevitable step for safeguarding the prestige and honour of Gupta dynasty as well as of the nation Magadha whereas "*Mudra Raksasam*" attempts to present Chandra Gupta Maurya as an assassin to demolish his own generation for the sake of throne. Presenting thus the destruction of Nanda dynasty, *Mudra Raksasa* has on the one hand indirectly defended the assassination of Ram Gupta by Chandra Gupta, while on the other it has defamed Chandra Gupta Maurya as being a child of the Nanda dynasty, the dynasty of a very low descent. The main reason behind incorporating these fabulous legends lies in the fact that Chandra

14. Basudeva Bhattarai, *ShriMadbhagavata Mahapurana Vol 1* (Nepal: Nepal Bhasa Prakashini Samiti, 2020) p 48 translated from the book of Maharshi Veda Vyasa, *Shri Madbhagavata Mahapurana*.

Gupta II* always underestimated his own supremacy and glory in comparison with Chandra Gupta Maurya.

Second to Chandra Gupta Maurya, Chandra Gupta feels his personality belittled before the magnificence of Ashoka. Ashoka is such a luminous star before whose religious personality none of the historical rulers of the world can stand in comparison. Chandra Gupta II's intention was to prove that his personality and glory was not a bit low but rather higher than that of Ashoka. But it was not an easy task to perform as to conspire some other plots. To serve this end, he made the Buddha, the adorable lord of Ashoka his main target. In this process, the work of re-writing and revising the Mahabharata and the Puranas was undertaken. Lord Buddha, who vehemently opposed the doctrine of incarnation, was included in the Vishnu Purana as the ninth incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Then he became a orthodox lord and began to preach atheism in the name of religion. While going through the Puranas and Shri Madbhagavata, we fell that the sermons of the Buddha are not in reality religious sermons but rather the preachings that stress on the enhancement of breed and hatred only.

A few extracts as embodied in the Shri Madbhagavata regarding the Buddha are as follows:¹³

- 1) With the emergence of iron age (Kali Yuga), he (Lord Vishnu) in the form of Buddha will re-incarnate in the household of Ajana at Magadha for the sake of infatuating and deluding the demons who are under ill feelings against the devatas (gods) 1/3/24.
- 2) When the demons inimical to the gods (devatas) will be arrayed to destroy the people, seating on invisible supersonic city (Vimana) constructed by the demon Maya with the help of Vedic formula, during that odd hour God will re-incarnate as the orthodox Lord Buddha and will preach atheism (Upadharmā or Pakhandā Dharmā) in a charming and alluring manner so as to greed and hatred amongst demons. 2/7/37.¹⁵
- 3) Thenceforth, he manifesting himself as Buddha will allure the Shudras who are not authorised to perform sacrificial rites, with the vow of nonviolence. 11/4/22.¹⁶

15. *Ibid*, p. 138.

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 560.

After the study of the above-mentioned statements pertaining to the Buddha some questions naturally arise in our minds and they are like this:-

- I. Is it really true that the Buddha is actually the ninth incarnation of Lord Vishnu as serialised in the Vishnu Purana ?
- II Is it correct to evaluate the preachings of Lord Buddha as conducive only to breed agreed and hatred ?

Similarly, a few pertinent curiosities which generally grip our mind regarding Krishna, the hero of the ShriMadbhagavata and the Mahabharata are like this:

- I. Are the superhuman capabilities and character of Shri Krishna quite logical add within the comprehension of human beings ?
- II. Had he really Pronounced the sermons of ShriMadbhagvata Gita in the midst of the great battlefield of Kurukshetra ? etc.

All these queries can be responded satisfactorily from the stand-points of myth and intellect. But if we are really to judge religion on a scientific perspective and without giving room for any obsessed sentiment, Buddhism appears as the most potential religion which leads the entire mankind to the path of liberation without making any distinction of caste, cult, colour and sex. Historically it is the religion which revolted against priestcraft, untouchability, animal sacrifice and held the banner in defence of the downtrodden people and the mute animals. It is the religion which can be observed being a lamp into one-self without propitiating any supernatural agency deliverance. That is why, after the persual of these peculiarities of Buddhism, Dr. Radhakrishna Comments: "In Gautam the Buddha we have a master mind from the East second to none so far as the influence on the thought and life of the human race is concerued, and sacred to all as the founder of a religious tradition whose hold is hardly less wide and deep than any other. He belongs to the history of world thought, to the general intellectual integrity, moral earnestness and spiritual insight, he is undoubtedly one of the greatest figures in history."¹⁷ This appears to

17. Narada Thera *The Buddha & His Teachings* (Columbo; Vajirarama, 1964) p. 44.

be the reason why Bhagwan Rajneesh, in one of his lectures, has described the Buddha with the polar star and the rest of the incarnations with the ordinary stars. In the course of this lecture, he has also commented that the Hindus have, by enlisting the Buddha amidst the ten incarnations of Lord Vishnu, not dignified but rather degraded his status.¹⁸

I have given my views regarding the Vikramaditya myth, - the myth that lies hidden within the womb of historical obscurity. I have also elaborated a few events which probably took a twist or turn in the creation of this superficial myth. However, I am not a historian and I cannot boldly assert that the views detailed in this paper are embossed with truth and actualities. Therefore, humbly I entrust the readers and specially to the lovers of history the task of judging the views as autoentic facts or as loose sallies of the writers's wandering mind.



18. Bhagwan Rajneesh, *Sanyas Magazine*, Hindi Edition (Poona: Rajneesh Foundation) p. 1.

Antiquity and the Tradition of Priesthood of the Pashupatinath Temple

-Govinda Tandon

Of the many Hindu shrines in Nepal, the most important is that of Pashupatinath of Deopatan. The area is known as Pashupati Chetra, the domain of Lord Pashupatinath. The term Pashupati Chetra is mentioned in one inscription of the Lichchhavi period dated sake 455 (533 A D.).¹ The inscription, erected by Dhruvasangha at the time of installation of five Shiva Lingas in the area of Pashupatinath temple interprets Pashupati Chetra to mean an area covered by the shrine of Pashupatinath. This inscription is important also in that it shows how Lord Pashupatinath was looked upon during the early Lichchhavi period. Indeed, it is the first written record of Pashupatinath in Nepal. Various traditions, legends, chronicles and literary sources like *Nepala Mahatmya*, *Himavatkhanda*, *Pashupati Purana*, however, furnish us with details about the ancient origin of Pashupatinath. There are several stories in these sources about the origin of the Linga of Pashupatinath. One of the popular legends runs as follows: Once a dispute rose between Brahma and Lord Vishnu as to who was the more powerful. Lord Vishnu said it was he. On the other hand Brahma, argued that he was more powerful because he was the creator of the earth. At that very moment a dazzling Jyotirlinga (resplendent phallus) appeared and there was a divine sound which said that any one of them who would be able to find the origin and the end of the dazzling Linga would be declared more powerful than the other. Thereupon, Brahma went to

1. Ramji Tewari, Dhanavajra Vajracharya, etc. ed. *Abhilekha Sangraha*, (Kathmandu: Sanshodhan Mandala, V. S. 2018) p. 16.

the Heaven, and Vishnu to the Hell. But neither Lord Vishnu nor Brahma succeeded in his mission. But Brahma decided to tell a lie and brought Kamadhenu (celestial cow) and a flower named ketaki (Agane) as witness in his favour. At that time they heard another divine sound which pointed out that Brahma was not telling the truth and that the witness were bribed. Since then Brahma lost his prestige as a sectarian deity, the mouth of Kamadhenu was considered unclean, and the Ketaki (Agane) flower became unacceptable to Lord Shiva.² Shiva was very pleased with the truthfulness of Lord Vishnu. So he gave him the darshana (sight) of Jyotirlinga, which is known as Pashupati Linga. After that episode the sacred Linga became very famous. Gods often came and worshipped this Linga. *Nepala Mahatmya* gives another story which is slightly different from the one cited above.³ After a long lapse of time, the Linga was covered beneath the soil. Finding this, Kamadhenu came there to propitiate to Shiva. She regularly offered her milk over the mound. Watching this strange behaviour of Kamadhenu, the Mlechchha (wild tribe) dug out the holy place where Kamadhenu used to pour down milk from her udder. They discovered the resplendent Linga which radiated with blazing light as a result of which they all were burnt to ashes. There-after God Brahma came and covered the Linga with precious Jewels. Then Lord Vishnu came and set up another Linga with Nilamani (blue jewels) at the place of the blazing Linga of Pashupatinath stood. Indra and Kubera then erected the third Linga in the same place. After that, the Valley was inundated by water and it became a great lake. At that time, the Valley was ruled by Mahendradamana, a son of the demon King Banasura. He was very powerful and even Heaven was under his domain. At that time the Linga of Pashupatinath could not be seen because the Valley was wholly covered by water. Pradhuma, the son of Lord Krishna, was very illustrious at that time. He came to Nepal and married Prabhavati, the sister of Mahendradamana. After that, Lord Krishna cut the hill of Chobhara with his Sudarsana Chakra (the discus of Lord Vishnu) and the water of the Kathmandu Valley flowed out.⁴ It is believed that after the

2. Somanath Sigdyala ed. *Saparichya Sudharakarya, Bibarana*, First Edition. (Kathmandu: Somanath Sigdyala, V. S. 2012), pp. 1-2.
3. Muktinath Khanal (Trans.), *Nepala Mahatmya*, First Edition, (Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, V. S. 2038), pp. 2-4.
4. Sigdyala, *op. cit.*, n. 2, pp. 2-3.

Valley was cleared of water a cow began to visit it daily at a certain place and began to pour down milk from her udder. This fact came to be known to a man named Nema Gopala of Kirtipur. One day he followed the cow as he wanted to know all the secrets in this regard. After locating the place where the cow used to offer her milk, he dug out the place and found the Linga of Pashupatinath. The man died in the burning flame of the Jyotirlinga. At that time there was a famous sage named "Ne" knowing the incident, he came and gave the throne of the Valley to the son of the same cow-herd named Nema-Gopala. For several generations the Progenies of this king ruled over the Valley. According to the Gopalaraja Vamsavali, after this the Mahispala dynasty began to rule over Kathmandu Valley. Later the Kiratis under the leadership of "Yalamba" conquered this Valley and began to rule.⁵ Finally, they themselves were defeated by the Lichchhavis of Vaishali.⁶ The above mentioned stories apart, there are many other legends about the origin of Pashupatinath. In the Nepala Mahatmya, it is written that Shiva wanted to live in the Shlesamantaka bana (this is the name of a forest located on the eastern side of the Pashupatinath temple) in the guise of an animal, which would then be Popularly called Pashupati meaning the Lord of the Beasts.⁷

The Gopalaraja Vamsavali attributes the construction of the pashupatinath temple to Supuspadeva, a king of the Lichchhavi dynasty.⁸ However, it was written at the time of Jayasthitimalla⁹ Therefore, that Vamshavali account cannot be taken as a wholly authentic evidence for an incident of earlier period. Whatever may be the date of the installation of the Linga of Pashupatinath, this deity of eminence has ever exercised deep influence on the socio-cultural and religious life

5. D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal* part III, First Edition (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966), p. 113.
6. Madhusudana Risal (Trans.), *Pashupati Purana*, First Edition, (Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, V. S. 2026), p. 125.
7. Khanal, *op. cit.*, n. 3, p. 4.
8. Regmi, *op. cit.* n 5., p. 113.
9. Baburam Acharya, "Lichchhavikalaka Silalekhama Kiratakalako Jhalaka Devapatana, Bhadagau, Patana ra Kathmanduka Kiratanama", *Nepal*, no. 16, (V. S. 2020), p. 9.

of the people of Kathmandu Valley. This fact is substantiated also by the sculptures found in the premises of the Pashupatinath temple.

Before the Lichchhavis, Nepal was ruled by the dynasty of the Kiratas. According to the Pashupati Purana, the Kiratis were very faithful disciples of lord Pashupati.¹⁰ Almost all the inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period are in the Sanskrit language but they also use many non-Sanskrit terms to denote the name of the localities, hills, taxes ponds and administration.¹¹ There are some stone sculptures in the Pashupatinath area and other places in Kathmandu Valley which seem older than the more well known Lichchhavi icons. Some are also distinguished by mongoloid features, and in the style of dress coiffure and ornament. All these facts indicate the existence of the rule of a dynasty before the Lichchhavi period, in all probability that which the local chronicles identify as the Kirata dynasty. There is one Shiva Linga at Deopatan which is described as an image of Kiratesvara Mahadeva. This shiva Linga is also distinct from the Shiva Lingas of the Lichchhavi period. The name of this Linga is linked to the Kirata dynasty. So, the argument that the Kiratas ruled over Nepal before the Lichchhavi seems to be quite convincing. There are many other Shiva Lingas, which also appear to be of ancient origin. Some other Shiva Lingas in the Pashupatinath area have inscriptions on their Jalaharis. Towards the western side of the Dakshinamurti temple of Deopatan, a Shiva Linga is seen lying on the ground. According to an inscription, it was consecrated by a man named Ratnasangha in Saka 399 (477 A. D.).¹² In the courtyard of a house at Deopatan, there is another Shiva Linga dated Saka 402 (480 A. D.).¹³ On the northern side of the Pashupatinath temple is placed a huge trident below which there is a Jalahari with an inscription. The Shiva Linga is missing. However, the inscription identifies it as Javavora, a Shiva Linga, insta-

10 Risal *op. cit.*, n. 6, p. 12.

11. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, *Lichchhavikalaka Abhilekha*, First Edition, (Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, T. U. V. S. 2030), p. 131.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

lled by a man named Jayalambhu in Saka 413 (491 A. D).¹⁴ Three years before its installation, another Shiva Linga was erected there in Saka 410 (488 A. D) because of the defacement of the inscription, further details about this particular Shiva Linga are not known.

There is an image of Uma-Mahesvara of Lichchhavi period, which is now at Deopatan¹⁵ on the way to Guhesvari. The above mentioned Lingas and images are enough to show the great role played by Lord Pashupatinath in the social and cultural life of Nepal since the ancient times. Undoubtedly, all those Shiva Lingas and images were consecrated because of the importance of Lord Pashupatinath and the Pashupati area. Beyond this evidence we are not in a position to say more about the origin and antiquity of the Lord Pashupatinath in Nepal until further exploration and excavations.

The late historian, Baburama Acharya, has said in one article that the temple of Pashupatinath was first built in 572 A. D.¹⁶ In another article, however, he mentions 450 A. D. as the initial date of construction.¹⁷ He also writes in his book that Pashupatinath "had occupied second position after Vaisnava sect in the Gupta Empire in India. In Nepal, after the establishment of the Lichchhavi dynasty, the Pashupata sect was introduced along with the Vaisnava sect and according to the wishes of Pashupatacharyas, in the first phase of the 5th century A. D., the image of Pashupati and the temple of Pashupati were installed on the right bank of the Bagmati river."¹⁸ However, these views of the late Baburama Acharya are not convincing because there do not exist a single document to substantiate them. Moreover, the antiquity or origin of Lord Pashupatinath can be traced to the pre-Lichchhavi period, as indicated earlier. The

14. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, ed... *Itihasa Sansodhanako Pramana Prameya*, I part, (Lalitapur: Jagadama Prakasana, V.S. 2019), p. 268.

15. Vajracharya, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 581.

16. Baburama Acharya, 'Lichchhavalina Rajaniti ra Sanskriti,' *Nepali*.

17. Acharya, *op. cit.*, n. 9, p. 12.

18. Baburama Acharya, *Sri Pancha Badamaharajadhiraja Prithivi-Narayana Shahko Samsipta jivani*, Part II (Kathmandu: His Majesty King's Press Secretariate, Royal Palace, 2024 B. S.) pp. 211-12.

name of different Pashupata sects--Mundasingkhalika Pashupata,¹⁹ Dana Sringkhalika Pashupata,²⁰ Dana Pashupata,²¹ Vasa Pashupata²² have been mentioned in the Lichchhavi inscriptions. It is significant that these were the indigenous Pashupata sects of Nepal for the records of contemporary India do not contain any reference to them. All these sects are named after Lord Pashupati. This indicates that Lord Pashupatinath existed prior to the Lichchhavi period. Worshipping Lord Pashupatinath or Siva was prevalent not only during the Vedic period but also during the days of Indus Valley civilization. On the basis of research on the remains of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, several scholars have forwarded the view that the tradition of worshipping Lord Pashupati was in vogue during the period of the Indus valley civilization.²³ Available chronicles of Nepal also confirm that Lord Pashupatinath is being worshipped by the people of Kathmandu Valley since the dawn of its habitation. However, due to the lack of authentic records it is difficult to give a detail and definitive account about the antiquity of this deity.

The same confusion exists with regard to the priests of the temple of Pashupatinath. There are only a few documents that provide us information about the priests of the Pashupatinath temple but they were written only after the seventh century. There are documents-copper plate inscriptions, palmleaves Lalmohars (sealed letters of the king) and Sanadas (Royal orders) in possession of Government and semi-Government offices, including the temple itself. However, they are beyond the reach of the researcher.

19. Vajracharya, *op. cit.*, n. 11. pp. 426-28.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

21. *Ibid.*, p.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 514-18.

23. (a) A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, First Edition, (India: Orient Longmans Limited, 1963), p. 303.

(b) A. D. Pusalker, "The Indus Valley Civilization", *The Vedic Age*, Third impression (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1957), pp. 169-200.

(c) J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Econography*, Third Edition, (New Delhi: Munsiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 1974) p. 447.

This is the main reason why many things about Lord Pashupatinath remain unknown. Even the concerned temple functionaries do not appear to know much about the deity and temple priests, or if they do they wish to keep it secret.

Available records about the Pashupatinath temple indicate that the daily worship of Lord Pashupatinath under the patronage of the State itself had started after the seventh century A. D. king Amsuvarma of the Lichchhavi period (605-621 A. D.) refers to himself as one "who is favoured by the feet of the Lord Pashupati (bhagabatpashupatibhattaraka padanugrihito). Since Amsuvarma's time, bhagabatpashupatibhattaraka padanugrihito became a popular title of this Lichchhavi kings and of dignitaries like Jisnu Gupta and Vishnu Gupta. One inscription of Amsuvarma dated 32 (498+78+32=608 A.D.) gives the names of many gods and goddesses. It refers to Amsuvarma as having allocated money for different deities in order of preference, with the first preference going to Lord Pashupatinath.²⁴

At present, priests from Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh of India are employed in the temple of Pashupatinath. It is difficult to say definitely when the tradition of employing the south Indian priests in the temple of Pashupatinath was started. The late historian Baburam Acharya, has surmised that vegetarian Karnataka Brahmanas might have been first brought to Nepal to perform the ritual religious functions in the temple of Lord Pashupatinath during the rule of Arjunmalla. After it was reconstructed by Jayasimbhambardhana in 1360 A. D., according to Acharya, this tradition continued till the rule of Jayasthitimalla.²⁵ After the fall of Hindu state of Vijayanagar in India in 1565 A. D. the Karnataka Brahmanas discontinued coming to Nepal for working as priests in this temple. That is why during this period the Sanyasi Brahmanas of Varanasi were invited to take the position of priest.²⁶ The same is the view of Dhanavajra Vajracharya.²⁷

24. Vajracharya, *op. cit.*, n 11, pp. 320-21.

25. Acharya, *op. cit.* n. 18, p. 212.

26. *Ibid.*, p. p. 212-13.

27. Dhanavajra Vajracharya, "Etihāsika Pristhebhumi" *Mechidekhi Mahakali*, Part II (Kathmandu: His Majesty's Govt. Communication Ministry, Information Dept., V. S. 2031), p. 739.

However, it is difficult to support the views of these scholars because no document, where in the Karnataka Brahmanas have been mentioned as having worked as priests till the last decade of seventeenth century A. D. is yet available. There exist two inscriptions of the Bhatta Brahmanas one in the premises of the Rajesvari temple and the other in those of the Pashupatinath temple. The inscription of the Rajesvari temple was installed by Raj Bhatta during the joint rule of Dharmamalla and Jayajotirmalla in 1408 A. D.²⁸ The other inscription was erected by Narayan Bhatta at the time of the installation of the image Unmatta Bhairab on the southern side of the Pashupatinath Linga in 1471 A. D. According to the inscription this image was installed in 1468 A. D.²⁹ The surname Bhatta occurs in both the inscriptions. However, these do not indicate whether these Bhattas were the priests of Pashupatinath temple. Had they been the priests of Pashupatinath temple they must have been so referred in these inscriptions.

It should appear that the priests of the temple of Pashupatinath during the Lichchhavi period were Sanyasi Brahmanas. The tradition of employing a Sanyasi Brahmana as a priest of Pashupatinath was in vogue until the later Malla period. It is possible that this tradition had been followed since the Lichchhavi period. In support of this view, we can cite the two inscriptions of Acharya Bhagavatapranardanapranakausika found inside premises of the Pashupatinath temple. In these inscriptions Jisnu Gupta (624-633 A. D.) has been mentioned as the ruler. According to the inscription, Acharya Bhagavatapranardanapranakausika was a sanyasi who had renounced his house and relatives (Varnasramodabasito).³⁰ In the same inscription it has been mentioned that he built a compound wall around the temple of Mahadeva. As this inscription lies in the south-east side of the Pashupatinath temple, the Mahadeva mentioned in the inscription could be Pashupatinath himself. Probably Bhagabatapranardana was appointed as the priest of the Pashupatinath temple,³¹ and that is why he got permission to erect the compound wall. From his

28, Regmi *op. cit.*, n. 5, p. 45.

29. *Ibid.*, P. 82.

30. Vajracharya, *op. cit.*, n. 11, p. 429.

31. *Ibid.*, 429-30.

second inscription, it seems that he was a rich man, because he had given some land to the association of Mundasringkhalika Pashupata, Varahasvami, Upasoma-Krasoma Khaduka for the reconstruction of the water conduits (Dharas) of Chhatra Chhandesvora and Ra-Kugrama. All these things indicate that he was a priest of the temple of Pashupatinath. Because of the lack of proper exploration, it is impossible to tell more about Pashupatinath and the priests of the Pashupatinath temple till the reign of Ratnamalla (1509-1520- A. D.)

It is important here to note that Sultān Samasuddin of Bengal plundered the Kathmandu Valley in 1349 A. D. At that time he also caused damage to the Pashupatinath temple, as well as to Svayambhunath Chaitya and Pimvahala. An account of this attack is given in the Gopalaraja Vamsavali, in the inscription of Pimvahala of 1357 A. D. and the inscription of Arjunamalla and Sthitimalla of Svayambhu dated 1372 A. D. According to the Gopalaraja Vamsavali the Siva Linga of Lord Pashupatinath had been broken into three pieces.³² In 1360 A. D., that is Eleven years after that sacrilegious attack, Jayasimharamabardhana, the Mahamatya of Arjun Deva, installed a new Siva Linga in the Pashupatinath temple.³³ In the absence of documents, it is not possible to say for certain as to how the daily worship (Nityapuja) and occasional worship (Naimittika puja) used to be performed during that eleven year period.

It is similarly, difficult to say how long the tradition of routine performance of religious rituals at the Pashupatinath temple by a Sanyasi priest continued. The Bhasa Vamsavali tells us that this traditions was observed till the time of Bhupalendramalla (1687-1790 A. D.) of Kathmandu. This chronicle states that a Sanyasi named Somasekharananda came to Kathmandu and was appointed the priest of Pashupatinath by Ratnamalla, the first king of the separate kingdom of Kathmandu. To help him two Newars from Banepa were appointed as Bhandare to look after the treasury of the Pashupatinath temple and two from Kathmandu to manage the Guthi

32. Vajracharya. *op. cit.*, n. 14, pp. 92-96 .. "Sri Pashupati Trikbandikrita Nepala Samasta Bhasmi Bhabana haha bhavanti lokasche"...

33. *Ibid.*, pp 95-95.

(trust) of the temple. Ratnamalla erected the images of Dakshinakali, Saptarsi, and Astamatrika in the courtyard of the Pashupatinath temple on advice of this Sanyasi.³⁴

At the time of Laxminarasimhamalla of Kathmandu (1620-1641 A. D.) too, the priest of the Pashupatinath temple was a Sanyasi and his name was Nityananda.³⁵ In *Bhasa vamsavali*, there is an account of bad incident which occurred between king Laxminarasimhamalla and Nityananda. It says that a talkative man told the king that Nityananda, the priest of Pashupatinath, never bowed his head before the Lord Pashupatinath at the time of his daily worship. One day king Laxminarasimhamalla himself came to the temple to find out the truth. Nityananda already knew that the king was visiting the temple. So after finishing his worship of Pashupatinath he came out and bowed before the Kamadeva. As he bowed before the Kamadeva the feet (Paduka) of Kamadeva was broken. Similarly, when he bowed to the Dharmasila (the place where the Mahabhoga ceremony is observed) it also broke into two pieces. Then he tried to enter the garvagriha (inner chamber) of the Pashupatinath temple from the southern gate but the king stopped him fearing bad consequences of the Linga of Pashupatinath. Because of the public revelation of the secret Mantra of Pashupati to the common people, Nityananda felt sad and after entering into Samadhi he breathed his last. After the death of Nityananda, Gyanananda became the priest of Pashupatinath.³⁶ It is stated in the chronicle that the arrival of Gyanananda at Deopatan was known to king Pratapamalla (1641-1674 A. D.). Therefore, he personally visited the temple of Pashupatinath to test the competence of Gyanananda. Only after examining the new priest thoroughly did the king order him to enter into the temple and to function as the priest of the temple.³⁷ Gyanananda was succeeded by Bimalananda as the priest.³⁸ At that time Nripendramalla (1674-1680 A. D.) was

34 Devi Prasad Lamsal, ed., *Bhasa Vamsavali*, First Edition, (Kathmandu: Nepal National Library, V. S. 2023), p. 52.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

the king of Kathmandu. Bimalananda was also selected after a careful scrutiny of his career and education. After Nripendramalla his brother Parthivendramalla became the king of Kathmandu. During his reign Raghabananda was the priest of Pashupatinath.³⁹ Pratapamalla died leaving behind his minor successors. After his death there ensued a conflict among his sons with the result that the late king's ministers began to exercise considerable power in the court. At that time, Parthibendramalla died suddenly in 1687 A. D. as a result of poisoning. This provided a good opportunity for Laxminarayana Joshi to make Bhupalendramalla, the minor son of Parthivendramalla, his puppet. He held Chautara Chikuti and Vamsidhara responsible of poisoning Parthivendramalla and finally he got them killed by his men.⁴⁰ When Bhupalendramalla, was the ruler of Kathmandu, Laxminarayana Joshi became the most powerful man of the court. One son of Pratapamalla named Mahipatendramalla was alive at that time. Fearing that this son of the late king could be a important of source trouble to himself and his puppet king, Laxminarayana managed to kill Mahipatendramalla also. Mahipatendramalla who was then living in the house of Raghabananda located in the Pashupatinath temple area. Because of the brutal assassination of Mahipatendramalla, Raghabananda felt much grieved and he left Kathmandu and went to patan.⁴¹ But the chronicle mentions that he came back to Kathmandu and began to worship the Pashupatinath temple again.⁴² If we examine the details of this incident in the Bhasa Vamsavali we would get an idea about the conflict which existed between Raghabananda and Laxminarayan Joshi. The conflict could have been due to the action of Raghabananda in giving shelter to Mahipatchdramalla in his house. The desire of Raghabananda that a Sanyasi should continue the priesthood also supports the above arguement. So he wanted to go into meditation to fulfill the desire. He demanded that if his desire to continue as the Sanyasi priest was accepted he should be given permission to meditate on the left bank of the Bagmati river facing the temple, not at any other places unacceptable to him. On finding

39. *Ibid.*, pp 96-100.

30 *Ibid.*,

41. *Ibid.* p. 98.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

it difficult to retain a Sanyasi as the priest of the Pashupatinath temple, the authorities of the state granted him permission to hold meditation only on the confluence of the rivers Bagmati and the Rajesvari. As this decision of the authorities was contrary to his desire, he entered in meditation and ended his life.⁴³ According to the chronicle, after that episode a competent Sanyasi never came forward to become the priest of the Pashupatinath temple. Thus, it was during the rule of Bhupalendramalla that a dispute as to whether to keep a Sanyasi as a priest of Pashupatinath or not started. This view is also substantiated by a Lalmohara dated N. S. 855 (1735 A. D.).⁴⁴ It shows that the tradition to engage priests of the Pashupatinath temple from the south Indian Tailingal Brahmana families viz., Karnataka, Maharastriya, Dravidian and Andhra Brahmanas began after Raghavananda. The south Indian Brahmana priests have since been worshiping Lord Pashupatinath uninterruptedly.

The Lalmohara, mentioned above, was given to Shambasadashiva Bhatta by Jagajjyamalla in N. S. 855 (1735 A. D.). In this Lalmohara King Jagajjyamalla commanded Shambasadashiva Bhatta to work as a priest in the Pashupatinath temple. It also stipulated that he would get the same remunerations which his grandfather used to get from the previous kings. The Lalmohara mentions that King Jagajjyamalla had chosen Shambasadashiva Bhatta as the priest of Pashupatinath after examining his qualities and education. This Lalmohara proves that previously the Pashupatinath temple priests were the Sanyasis. As such the argument that the tradition to engage south-Indian Brahmanas as priests started during the rule of Bhupalendramalla is correct. In the Lalmohara it is mentioned that as long as the successors of Sambasadashiva Bhatta are there, they will not be removed from their post. The appointment of Sambasadashiva Bhatta as the priest of Pashupatinath in N. S. 855 (1735 A. D.) shows that in the early phase, unlike at present the priesthood in the Pashupatinath temple was conferred on a hereditary basis. The Lalmohara which contains all these details is not available in its original form today. Only its copies which are in the Nepali language are found today.

43. *Ibid.*

44. The copy of this *Lalmohara* is in my possession.

From the available documents, it is clear that at beginning there used to be only one priest for the Pashupatinath temple. Later on, it became a tradition to appoint four priests for worshipping the four faces of the Pashupatinath Linga. The first reference to four priests is found in one document of Girbanayuddha Vikram Shaha dated V. S. 1867 (1810 A. D.)⁴⁵

Worshipping the Siva-Lingas became a popular religious tradition in Nepal since the days when the south-Indian Brahmanas were appointed as priest of the Pashupatinath temple. This fact would become clear if one visited the premises of the temple of Gokarnesvara at Gokarna. There are some other Siva temples also where the priests are the progenies of the south-Indian Brahmanas, who are now Nepali citizens. For instance, one may mention the temples of Kilesvara, Chagu; Gobratesvara, Kathmandu; Tripuresvara, Kalamochana; Nandikesvara, Naksala; and Saubhagesvara, Gyanesvara.

The priests of the Pashupatinath temple take the Pashupatinath, as otherwise they are not allowed to enter in the sacred chamber of Pashupatinath temple. They follow the holy code for priests of the Pashupatinath temple, remain vegetarian and there should not be scars of any kind on their body. If, after being appointed as the priest of the Pashupatinath temple, develop any scar on their body they are relieved of their routine priestly duties. The priests are handsomely paid for their services in the temple. The remunerations of the Chief priest (Mula Bhatta) and other priests are different. The former gets more money and allowances than the latter. The salary of Mula Bhatta is equivalent to the yields of 190 Ropanis of lands, while the other priests get subsistence allowances from 50 ropanis of land. In addition, they receive, money and materials which are offered to the temple of Pashupatinath. The materials which are offered to the temple until the arrival of Bhatta (a common name by which the priests of the Pashupatinath temple are called) in the morning, are shared by the Bhadares. However, they

45. A copy of this document is in the possession of Chandra Man Rajbhandari.

cannot get the money which falls on the Jalahari, which goes to Bhatta priests. The materials offered to the deity after the arrival of the Bhatta priests are ultimately divided into three parts. One part is given to the Bhadares and the remaining two parts are shared by Mula Bhatta and Bhatta priest. The share of the Bhattas is again divided into five parts. Out of this two parts go to the Mula Bhatta and the remaining three parts to the other three Bhattas. But valuable materials like gold, silver, jewels, various kind of utensils and rich and colourful brocades offered to the temple are stored in the treasury of the temple.



नेपालमा कर्जा प्रथाको ऐतिहासिक परम्परा

— पेशल टाहाल

मानिसको विकास क्रममा जब मानिस आफ्नो जंगली अवस्था छोडेर खेतिपातितिर संलग्न हुन थाल्यो त्यसैबेलादेखि उसमा सर-सापटी र लेनदेनको आवश्यकता देखिन थाल्यो। वास्तवमा मानिसले आफूलाई पारिवारिक र सामाजिक जीवनसँग सम्बन्धित गराएपछि उसका आवश्यकताहरू पनि बढ्न थाले, उ विभिन्न चिज-बिजको इच्छा गर्न थाल्यो। यसरी मानिसलाई आफूसँग भएको सामानले मात्र नपुगेर अरूसँग आफूलाई आवश्यक पर्ने चिज लिदा आफूसँग भएको सामानसँग साटेर लिनेदिने गर्न थाल्यो। आजभन्दा पाँच हजार वर्ष पहिले सिन्ध उपत्यकाका मानिसहरू आफ्नो उत्पादन फसलले माटाका भाँडाहरू साट्टे गर्दथे भने वैदिक आर्यहरूले गाईलाई विनिमयको महत्वपूर्ण साधन बनाएका थिए भन्ने कुरा ऋग्वेदमा उल्लेख भएको 'कस्ले दश वटा गाई दिएर घनद्वारा मेरो इन्द्रलाई (इन्द्रको मूर्तिलाई) खरीद गर्न सक्तछ ?' भन्ने मंत्रले स्पष्ट पार्दछ। रूपैयाँको चलन-चलित नहुञ्जेलसम्म एस्तै साटासाट प्रणालीबाट मानिसको लेनदेन व्यापार आदि चल्ने गर्दथ्यो। विस्तारै विस्तारै मानिसको दिमागी क्षमता बढ्दै गएपछि यस्तो किसिमको प्रणालीबाट मानिस असजिलो भएको महसूस गर्न थाल्यो। साटासाट व्यवस्थामा भएको एउटा ठूलो दोष के त भने आफूले चाहेको चिजको बदलामा दिइने चिज पनि अर्को समूहलाई आवश्यक भएकै चिज हुन पर्दछ। अतः मानिसले पछाडि गएर घातु वा अन्य किसिमका मान्य मुद्राहरू चलाउन थालेको हो र मुद्राको प्रचनन भएपछि भने मानिसको सम्पूर्ण व्यापार सरसापटी, लेनदेन सबै मुद्राको माध्यमबाट नै चलन थाल्यो। यसरी मानिसले आफूमा भएको कमी पुरा गर्ने अरूसँग जुन केही सरसापट गर्न थाल्यो त्यसमा उसले केही प्रतिशत नोक्सान पनि व्यहोर्नु पर्ने भयो। केही फाइदा नभैकन कसैले सापटी वा कर्जा दिने कुरो भएन। त्यसमा पनि समाजमा जब मानिसमा शोषण प्रवृत्ति आग्न थाल्यो उ जसरी भए पनि आफ्नो फाइदा मात्र

१. द्विजेन्द्रनाथ शुक्ल, प्रतिमा विज्ञान, पहिलो संस्करण (लखनऊ: वास्तु-वाङ्मय प्रकाशनशाला, १९५६), पृ. ३५. ऋग्वेद, ४. २४. १० बाट उद्धृत- "क हम् दशभि-
मंमेन्द्रं क्रीणाति धेनुभिः "

हेने गर्न थाल्यो । यिनै विभिन्न कारणले त पछि आएर यो सरसापटीले आम्दानीको साधन तथा व्यवसायको रूप लियो । यसरी 'अर्थरथो नबध्यन्ते गर्जरिव महागजाः' अथात् हानीले हात्ती तानेसरी सम्पत्तिले सम्पत्ति तान्दछ भन्ने महाभारतको उक्तिको तात्पर्य महाभारत युग-भन्दा धेरै पहिलेदेखि नै समाजमा व्याप्त भइसकेको विदित हुन्छ । प्राचीन वैदिक युगदेखि नै समाजमा यस किसिमको कर्जा र व्याज व्यवस्था शुरू भइसकेको कुरा विभिन्न वैदिक मंत्रहरूबाट बुझ्न सकिन्छ । त्यहाँ प्रसंगानुसार ऋण लिएर एकै पटकमा चुकाउन नसक्नेले विस्तारै चुकाउने र चुकाउन नसक्नेले दासता स्वीकार गर्नु पर्ने कुराको चर्चा परेको छ । पूर्वजले गरेको ऋण पनि वंश परम्परासम्म चलिरहन्थ्यो २ । त्यसैले ऋग्वेदिक युगमा नै यस किसिमको व्याज खान लगानी लगाउने चलन भएको देखिन्छ । अरु कतिपय मंत्रहरूले त यस किसिमको प्रथाको नै विरोध गरेको देखिन्छ । 'हे इन्द्र अधिक धन पाउने आशाले धन लगानी गर्नेहरूका धन पनि हाथो निम्ति लुटेर ल्याऊ' ३ तथा 'जसरी सबै धनलाई ऋणले समाप्त गरिदिन्छ' ४ आदि ऋग्वेदिक मंत्रहरूमा स्पष्टरूपमा व्याज खाने निर्हुँले लगानी लगाउने प्रथाको विरोध नै गरिएको छ । यसबाट हेर्दा यसको प्राचीनता अरु स्पष्ट हुन जान्छ । प्राचीन वैदिक युगपछि यस किसिमको कर्जा व्यवस्था हिन्दू समाजमा समयानुसार व्यापक हुँदै गयो । ईशापूर्व छैटौं शताब्दीसम्म आइपुग्दा नपुग्दा यस कर्जा प्रणालीमा निकै विकृति आइसकेको बुझिन्छ । दास बनाउनलाई नै पनि धनिवर्गहरू ऋण दिने गर्नु थाले । ऋण तिर्न नसकेमा दास बन्नुपर्ने चलनले गर्दा आसामीहरू अब आएर दासत्वबाट बच्न भिक्षु बन्न थाले किनभने भिक्षुलाई दास बनाउन पाँदैनथ्यो । यसरी ऋणहरू भिक्षु बन्न थालेपछि महाजनहरूको विरोधको खतरा आएकोले 'ऋणहरूलाई प्रवज्या (सन्यास) दिन हुन्न भनेर स्वर्ध बुद्धले समेत घोषणा गर्नुपरेको थियो । ५

ई. पू. तेस्रो-चौथो शताब्दीतिर कौटिल्यले अर्थशास्त्र लेख्ने बेलासम्ममा त कर्जा र व्याज व्यवस्थामा अनेकता आइसकेको थियो । त्यसले कौटिल्यले आफ्नो अर्थशास्त्रमा कर्जा सम्बन्धी निकै चर्चा गरेका छन् । कस्तो रूपमा व्याज लिन नपाइने, व्याज कति लिने, कस्तो अवस्थामा बाबुको ऋण सन्तानलाई तिर्न बाध्य गराउन नसकिने आदि विभिन्न विषयमा कौटिल्यले स्पष्ट उल्लेख गरेकोबाट समाजमा कर्जा व्यवस्थामा अनेक किसिमका व्यक्तिगत

२. स्वामी प्रपन्नाचार्य, वेदमा के छ ?, पहिलो संस्करण (प्रयाग: वेदान्तदेशिक सेवा संस्थान, वि. सं. २०३८), पृ. ८४.

३. मदनमणि दीक्षित, " त्यो युग " रूप-रेखा अंक २४२ (वि० सं० २०३८), पृ. २१. ऋग्वेद, ३. ५३. १४ बाट उद्धृत ।

४. उही, पृ. २२. ऋग्वेद, ४. २४. ७ बाट उद्धृत ।

५. नवराज चालिसे, प्राचीन हिन्दू अर्थशास्त्रको रूप-रेखा पहिलो संस्करण, (काठमाडौं: मदन पुरस्कार गुठी, वि. सं. २०२१) पृ. ६०

नियम र धाकहरू विकसित भइसकेको बुझिन्छ । त्यस्तै मनु (अन्दाजी ई. पू. दोस्रो शताब्दी देखि ई. पू. को चौथो शताब्दी बीचको कुनै समय), शुक्र एषारी शताब्दी आदि आचार्यहरूले कर्जा व्यवस्थाबारे विभिन्न रूपमा चर्चा गरेका छन् । वास्तवमा कर्जाको माध्यमद्वारा पनि आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक स्थितिहरूमा इच्छित परिवर्तन र व्यवस्थापन गर्न सकिने हुँदा कर्जाको सम्बन्धमा पनि कौटिल्य लगायत प्राचीन आचार्यहरूले नियन्त्रण तथा नियमको व्यवस्था गरेका हुन् । कर्जा र व्याज सम्बन्धी कुरा साहू र आसामीका निजी कुरा मात्र नरही सामाजिक कुरा पनि रहेका हुँदा यस क्षेत्रमा पनि राज्यले चाहेको बेलामा र चाहेको मात्रामा र रूपमा हस्तक्षेप गर्न सक्छ र गर्नु पर्दछ भन्ने कौटिल्यको विचार छ । यस क्रमले नेपालमा पनि ऐतिहासिक कालदेखि नै यस किसिमको लेनदेन विभिन्न रूपमा चलने गरेका थुप्रै उदाहरणहरू उपलब्ध छन् । प्राचीन काल (लिच्छवि काल) का खास उदाहरणहरू उपलब्ध नभएतापनि मल्लकालका थुप्रै प्रमाणहरू पाइएका छन्, जसलाई तल यथा प्रसंगमा चर्चा गरिने छ ।

बन्धकी राख्ने चलन

शुरुशुरुमा मानिसहरू आफ्नी विश्वासको भरमा लेनदेन गर्ने गर्दथे तापनि क्रमशः मानिसमा अपराध प्रवृत्ति बढ्न थालेपछि ठोस प्रमाण विना कसैलाई ऋण दिदा मूल धन नै डुब्ने डर हुन थाल्यो । लेखन कलाको विकास भइसके पनि निकै पछाडि गएर मात्रै लेनदेनको विस्तृत वर्णन अर्थात् कति सापटी लिएको हो; कुन शर्तमा कहिले भुक्तानी गर्ने गरी लिएको हो आदिको अभिलेख राख्न थालियो तापनि लेखन कला अथवा भर्ना तमसुक लेख्ने चलन चलनु भन्दा पहिले भने मानिसहरू केही वस्तु बन्धकी स्वरूप राखेर मात्रै लगानी लगाउने गर्दथे । वास्तवमा कपाली तमसुकजस्तो कुनै प्रकारको कागज गराइ आसामीको सुरक्षणमा वा अरु कुनै व्यक्तिको जमानीमा सामान्य कर्जा दिनुभन्दा कुनै वस्तु बन्धकी लिएर कर्जा प्रदान गर्नु सुरक्षित रहने हुँदा धन बराबर भन्दा बढी मूल्यको वस्तु बन्धकी राखेको खण्डमा ऋण दिन विशेष रुची मानिसहरूमा पछि पछि आएर निकै देखिन थाल्यो । यसरी बन्धक राख्ता घर, खेत, सून चाँदी आदि बहुमूल्य वस्तुहरू नै राखिन्छ । प्राचीन काल देखिनै यस किसिमको बन्धकी वा धरोटी प्रथा प्रचलित थियो । यस सम्बन्धमा पनि प्राचीन आचार्यहरूले विभिन्न नियमहरू बनाएका छन् । तर कौटिल्यको समयताका अचल सम्पत्तिको र खासगरी भू-सम्पत्तिको सुरक्षण राख्ने व्यवहार प्रचलित नरहँदा चल सम्पत्ति बन्धकी राखी कर्जा प्राप्त गर्ने व्यवहार निकै प्रचलित थियो । ६ हाम्रो इतिहासको मध्यकालमा त यसरी बन्धकी राख्ता घर, खेत तथा अरु मूल्यवान पदार्थहरू राखिनुका अतिरिक्त

कमारा कमारी समेत बन्धकी स्वरूप रहने गरेको बुझिन्छ । प्राप्त एक टचासफू (ऐतिहासिक घटनावली हस्तलिखित टिपोट) मा उल्लेख भए अनुसार ने. स. ७२६ (वि. सं. १६६३) तिर एक जनाले रु. ६। ऋण लिदा ज्ञान नामकी एक दासी बन्धकी राखेको थियो । ७ कतै त आफ्नो बित्तिको प्रजालाई समेत बन्धकी राखेर ऋण लिने गरेको देखिन्छ । कान्तिपुरका मल्लराजा जगज्जय मल्लको पालामा वि. सं. १७८२ तिर रु. ६।- ऋण लिदा यस्तो लेखेको पाइन्छ:-

“कयाचितोपि ध्व दाम पूले मफ कुन्हुया थास, थाडिया थओ मुसाप्रजा, रामदेओया छघ मिलमह् धाति जुलो”- अर्थात्, केही गरी यो दाम तिर्न मकिएन भने त्यसको लागि थाडो भन्ने ठाउँको आफ्नो मुसा प्रजा रामदेउका छोरा मिलमह् (कान्छा) धरोटी राखियो । ८

अधिक कारण बस कहिलेकाहि मानिस रूपयाँ लिएर आफै बन्धक बसेका उदाहरणहरू पनि पाइन्छन् । वि. सं. १६०३ तिर नुवाकोट भेकको एउटा कागत पत्र अनुमार मुना मिभार भन्ने व्यक्तिले साढे साठी रूपिया कर्जा लिएर आफै बन्धक बसेछ । सो तमसुकमा यस्तो लेखिएकोछ । “... साहुको काम हानी कतै गजा भन्या भागी नासी गजा भन्या दिनका २ पायि अन्न भहोला ।” ९

यस किसिमले मध्यकालमा दासहरू बन्धकी स्वरूप राखिने गरेको बुझिन्छ । यस किसिमको चलन प्राचीन समयमा पनि नभएको होइन । प्राचीन विभिन्न आचार्यहरूले यसको चर्चा गरेकाछन् । शुक्राचार्यले दासत्व उद्गमका विभिन्न कारणहरू मध्ये ऋण तिर्न नसक्नु पनि एक मानेका छन् । आसामीले ऋण तिर्न नसकुञ्जेल साहुको दास बन्नु पर्दथ्यो । यस किसिमको चलन त ईशा पूर्व छैटौं शताब्दी तिरै समाजमा व्याप्त थियो भन्ने कुरा स्वयं बुद्धले ऋणिलाई सन्यास दिन हुँदैन भनेकोबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । भिक्षु भएमा ऋणतिर्न नसके पनि दास हुन पर्ने (भिक्षुलाई दास बनाउन नपाइने हुनाले) भएकाले ऋणहरूमा यस्तो प्रवृत्ति देखा पर्ने बित्तिकै बुद्धले यस्तो घोषणा गरेको हो ।

सामान्यतया धरोटी राख्ता भाका गरिएको निश्चित समयसम्म घन नहुने हिसाबले राखिन्छ । नेपालमा हिजोआज पनि साहुसँग ऋण लिएर जग्गा लेखिदिने चलन छ । पैसा

७. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, टोलखाको ऐतिहासिक रुपरेखा, पहिलो संस्करण (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, वि. सं. २०३१), पृ. १६३.

८. उही, पृ. १४३.

९. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकबहादुर श्रेष्ठ, नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रुपरेखा, पहिलो संस्करण (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, वि. सं. २०३२), पृ. १०३.

चुक्ता नगरुञ्जेलसम्म सो खेत साहुले नै उपभोग गर्न पाउँछ । यसलाई बन्धकी परेको खेत भन्ने चलन पनि छ । यस्तै धरीटी कति राख्ने भन्ने सन्दर्भमा कान्तिपुरका अन्तिम मल्ल राजा जयप्रकाश मल्लले एकपल्ट ऋण लिदा लेखेको पत्रको केही अंश यहाँ उल्लेख गर्नु प्रासङ्गिक देखिन्छ । १०

“ उप्रान्त ६ हजार महिन्द्र मल्लिमे हामरा काम अतका हए. आगेमे हामरा काम बहुत कलदिया अर्भि मेरा काम यतना करवेना चाहय. विश तिस हजारका बिज लकें ६ हजार देना परा ... ” यहाँ ५ दोब्बरसम्म धरीटी राख्नु परेको देखिन्छ । ११

हिजोआजको बैंक कर्जा व्यवस्थामा धरीटी राख्ने आफ्नै नियम छ । बैंकले सापटी दिनु पर्दा लामो समयसम्म आफ्नो रूपया हुबन् नसक्ने रूपले वस्तु बन्धकी राखेर मात्र दिने गर्दछ । सुन चाँदी धितो राख्नु परेमा, बैंकले आफैँ भाउ निर्धारण गरेर २५, ३० प्रतिशत माजिन छोडेर मात्र कर्जा दिने गर्दछ । जस्तो-उदाहरणको रूपमा, एक तोला सुन धितो राख्ता:-

तोल	—	बजार भाउ	—	बैंक भाउ	—	ऋणदिने
सुन १ तोला (११½ ग्राम)		रु. २७५०।-		रु. २३००।-		रु. १७२५।-

धरीटी राखिएको वस्तुमा गडबडी पैदा भएमा वा हुने देखिएमा तुरुन्तै सतर्कता बढिने चलन छ । जस्तो आफूमा धरीट रहेको सुनको भाउ एकाएक घट्न गएमा बैंकले ऋणीलाई आवश्यक अरु धरीटी राख्न वा ऋण चुक्ता गर्न सूचना गर्दछ । ऋणीले त्यसो नगरेमा धरीटमा रहेको वस्तुलाई तुरुन्तै लिलाम गरी आफ्नो ऋण असुल्ने गर्दछ । हिजो आज मात्र होइन प्राचीन कालमा पनि यस्तो चलन थियो । जस्तो कौटिल्य लेख्छन्-
“बन्धक राखी रहँदा उत्तमर्ण (साहू) लाई लाभ हानि जे भैरहे तापनि निकट भविष्यमा नष्ट हुने आशङ्का भएमा वा त्यसको मूल्यभन्दा कर्जाको मूल्य बढी हुन लागेमा अधमर्ण (आसामी) को अनुपस्थितिमा पनि धर्मस्थको अनुमति लिएर साहूले त्यस बन्धकलाई बेचिदिनु पर्दछ । धर्मस्थको अनुपस्थितिमा आधिपालबाट अनुमति प्राप्त गर्न सकिन्छ ।”

१० शंकरमान राजवंशी “ऐतिहासिक निरीक्षण र त्यसको उपलब्धि,” प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या २ (माघ २०२४) पृ. १२.

११. वास्तवमा त्यसवेला जयप्रकाश मल्ललाई ठूलो संकट परेको थियो । वि. सं. १८०३ तिर उनले आफ्नी पत्नी र भारदारहरूको षडयन्त्रले गर्दा राज्यच्युत भई आत्मरक्षाका निमित्त ४ वर्षसम्म यताउति भौतारिनु परेको थियो । दरवार छोडेर यता उता लाग्दा उनलाई आर्थिक समस्या परी नुवाकोट भेकका कमलवन गोसाईंहरूसँग अत्यधिक मूल्यका सामान राखेर भए पनि रूपया सापटी लिनु परेको हो ।

हाम्रो इतिहासको मध्यकालतिर त धरोटीमा विभिन्न कचिङ्गल पनि उठ्ने गर्दथ्यो । वि. सं. १७८३ मा लन्हसिंहले कर्माचार्य महीन्द्र सिंहलाई सयकडा १० व्याज कबोलेर ३२० मोहर ऋण दिएको रहेछ । सो बापत थिकंदो नाम गरेको खेत बन्धकी राखिएको थियो । वि. सं. १८३० सम्म पनि ऋण चुक्ता नहुँदा साहूले उक्त खेत हडप्ने विचार लियो तर उक्त खेत कहाँ छ पत्ता लाग्न सकेन । मुख्य ऋणि भरिसकेको हुँदा भन्न समस्या उत्पन्न भयो र उजुरी पत्रो । यस सम्बन्धमा वि० सं० १८३० आषाढ कृष्ण दशमीका दिन श्री केहर सिंह भारदारको घरमा बसेको सभाले यस्तो निर्णय दिएको थियो—“ ... यस पत्रमा उल्लिखित खेत खोजी गराउँदा तस माथि दुबैतिर पत्ता लाग्न सकेन । उधारो लिएको कुरामा भने ऋणको हस्ताक्षर भएको हुँदा तिर्नु नपर्ने भनी महीन्द्रसिंहका छोरा बालगोविन्दको परिवारले भन्न सकेनन् । यसकारण ऋण लिएको कुरा सत्य हो भन्ने निर्णय गरियो । यसमा कसैले पछि कचिङ्गल उठाए भने त्यस-संग १२० रूपियाँ राजाले दण्ड गरिलिनु । पत्ता नलागेको उक्त खेतवारे नाइके तर्फबाट पत्ता लाग्यो भने खेतको दोवर अन्नको तेवर लिनु ... ” १२

यस किसिमले, ऋण दिदा बन्धकी राखेर मात्रै दिने र बन्धकीमा कचिङ्गल उठेमा त्यस-को निमित्त समूचित कानून समेत बनेको बुझिन्छ । नमासिने चिज जे पनि बन्धकी बापत रहने गर्दथ्यो भन्ने कुरा पनि उपर्युक्त चर्चाबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

व्याजको दर

केही मुनाफा कमाउने उद्देश्यले नै सापटी तथा कर्जा दिने परिपाटी समाजमा व्यापक हुँदै गएको हो । त्यसैले हिन्दू समाजमा प्राचीन समय देखि नै विभिन्न आचार्यहरूले यस सम्बन्धी अनेक किसिमका नियम उपनियमहरू बनाउँदै गए । प्राचीन कालमा व्यापारको अतिरिक्त कर्जा दिने काम पनि वैश्य वर्णको पेशा थियो । यसकारण कर्जा दिएर व्याज खाने कामलाई उत्तम पेशा मानिएको थिएन । यसको प्रमाण ऋग्वेदिक विभिन्न मंत्रहरू (माथि प्रसंगबस परिसकेका) बाटै दिन सकिन्छ । त्यसैले ब्राह्मण र क्षत्रीहरूले व्याज लिनु हुन्न भनेर उनीहरूलाई यस पेशाबाट अलग राख्ने चेष्टा समेत गरिएको पाइन्छ । अशक्तावस्थामा रहेका व्यक्ति, नावालक, विधाध्ययनमा र यज्ञ कर्ममा लागेका मानिसहरूले तिर्न पर्ने ऋणमा व्याज जोडिनु हुन्न भन्ने कौटिल्यको विचार देखिन्छ भने त्यस्तै मनुको विचारमा 'उच्च वर्णको मानिसले तल्लो वर्णको मानिससँग लिएको ऋण तिर्न सक्ने भएपछि क्रमशः तिर्न सक्तछ र

१२. धनवज्र वजाचार्य र टेक बहादुर श्रेष्ठ, पाञ्चाली शासन पद्धतिको ऐतिहासिक विवेचना (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, वि. सं. २०३५) पृ. २१४

यतिञ्जेल उसको ऋणमा ब्याज जोडिनु हुन्न' भन्ने बुझिन्छ । तर एकातिर ब्राह्मण क्षत्रीयहरूलाई ब्याज लिनमा निषेध गरिएता पनि (गुरुमा मात्र) प्राचीन आचार्यहरूले ब्याज अनुचित हो वा चर्को ब्याज लिनु हुन्न भन्ने कति चर्चा गरेका छैनन् । त्यसको विपरित चर्को ब्याजकै अनुमोदन गरेका छन् ।

कौटिल्यले ऋणि समूहलाई चार भागमा वर्गीकरण गरेर ब्याज दर तोकिदिएकाछन् । जस्तो-सामान्य अवस्थामा १५ प्रतिशत, व्यापारी भए ६० प्रतिशत, वनमा बसेर व्यापार गर्ने भए १२० प्रतिशत तथा समुद्रपार व्यापार गर्ने भए २४० प्रतिशत । मनुले भने जातीय वर्गीकरण गरेर यसरी ब्याज निर्धारण गरेका छन्:- ब्राह्मणसंग २४ प्रतिशत, क्षत्रीयसंग ३६ प्रतिशत, वैश्यसंग ४८ प्रतिशत तथा शुद्रसंग ६० प्रतिशत । वशिष्ठले त एक ठाउँमा कुनै अवस्थामा ७०० प्रतिशत ब्याज लिनु हुन्छ भन्ने मत व्यक्त गरेका छन् ।

यसरी प्राचीन कालमा नै ब्याज सम्बन्धी घुनै निश्चितता नहुने कुरा माथिको उदाहरणबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । 'कर्जा र ब्याज सम्बन्धी कुरा साहू र आसामीका निजी कुरा मात्र नरही सामाजिक कुरा पनि रहेका हुँदा यस क्षेत्रमा पनि राज्यले चाहेको बेलामा र चाहेको मात्रामा र रूपमा हस्तक्षेत्र गर्ने सक्तछ र गर्नुपर्दछ' भन्ने कौटिल्यको उल्लेखबाटै कर्जा र ब्याज सम्बन्धी सामाजिक विभिन्नता भएको स्पष्ट भल्किन्छ । नेपालकै मध्यकालीन इतिहासको अध्ययन गर्दा पनि कर्जाको ब्याजको दर कुनै निश्चित हुँदैनथ्यो भन्ने देखिन्छ । मध्यकालतिरका केही तमसुकहरूको अध्ययन गर्दा २ देखि लिएर २५ प्रतिशतसम्म ब्याज दर चलेको बुझिन्छ । मानिसलाई अवर पावर परेको बेला ईच्छा अनुसार ब्याज लिन प्राचीन वैश्यहरू जस्तै मध्यकालीन साहूहरू पनि चुनैन्थे । कान्पुरका मल्ल राजा जयप्रकाश मल्लले वि०सं० १८०३ तिर अवर परेको बेलामा सापट लिदा मूल धनको दोब्बर समेत तिर्ने कबुल गर्नु परेको थियो । उनले गरिदिएको पत्रमा यस्तो उल्लेख भएको छ- ".... जिस रोजमे हमारा काम होगा तिसो हमारा काम होयके दिनमे जतना हमारा पास आइ रहा सा पैसाका बुगना माहादेवका सेवा करएगे . . ." १३. त्यस्तै वि. सं. १८३१ तिर श्री ५ रणबहादुर शाहले काशीवासको बेलामा ऋणलिदा २४ प्रतिशत ब्याज कबोलिका दिए ।

ब्याज केवल रूपया पैसामा मात्र नलिएर अन्नपातमा पनि लिने चलन थियो । वि०सं० १८०१ तिर दोलखा भेकको एउटा तमसुकमा १ मोहरको ५ पाथी घान ब्याज वापत लिएको दर्शन छ । वि० सं० १८५३ तिर भने रु. १ को ३ पाथी मात्र ब्याज तिरेको बुझिन्छ । उक्त

१३. बजाचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पूर्ववत, नं. ६. पृ. ६८.

रहेको छ । यस साल माघ शुक्ल दशमीको दिन जगज्जयमल्लको मृत्यु भएको हुँदा जयप्रकाश-मल्ली रहनु पर्नेमा यस पत्रमा जगज्जयमल्ली टंका नै रहेको छ । ऋण लिनाको कारण पनि खुलाइएको छैन । साक्षीहरू पनि छैनन् । वारम्बार म्याद थपेको कुरा पनि जनाइएको छैन । ३६ वर्ष पछि धनीले ऋण उठाउन जाँदा झगडा पन्यो र काजीका अड्डामा आएर उजूर गरे । अनि थप्पे कोदेशका पञ्चहरू जम्मापारी कुराको सुनवाइ भयो : सो ऋण पत्र अकण्ठ (भुठ्ठा) ठहराइयो । पछिका लागि यो व्यहोरा लेखि राखियो । शुभ ।” १७

यसबाट तमसुकमा साक्षी, ऋण लिएको कारण, आदि स्पष्ट उल्लेख नभएमा सो ऋण पत्र भुठ्ठा मानिन्थ्यो । तर यदि ऋणिले आपत्ति नदेखाएको खण्डमा भने यस्तो भ्रम देखिने कुरै भएन । जस्तो श्री ५ रण बहादुरशाहले बनारसमा लिएको ऋणको तमसुकमा त्यस्तो साक्षी आदि केहि नभए पनि उक्त ऋण पछाडि चुक्ता भएकै थियो । अझ सो ऋण तिनै त सम्पूर्ण भारदारहरूसँग सलामीको केहि रकम समेत उठाइएको थियो । १८. तर यस्तो नमूना एउटा अपवाद मात्रै हो । वास्तवमा प्राचीन समय देखिनै कुनै काम गर्दा साक्षी राख्ने गरेको पाइन्छ । मध्यकालमा आएर त जुन सुकै कार्य गरे पनि साक्षीको उल्लेख हुन्थ्यो । यो साक्षी पनि कतै मान्छे त कतै सूर्य, चन्द्र, मूक्तिनाथ, बद्रीनाथ आदि देवदेवीहरूको नाम उल्लेख गरिने गरेको पाइन्छ । कर्जा लिए दिएको तमसुकमा मात्रै नभएर अन्य विशेष कडा नियम बनाउनु परेमा पनि यसकिसिमका साक्षीहरू राखिने चलन थियो । कर्णाली प्रदेशका शासक मेदिनी वर्मा र बलिराजले गरिदिएको एउटा आदेशमा “... .. अत्र साक्षि बुद्ध धर्म संघाः सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ, ब्रह्माविष्णु महेश्वराः...” भन्ने परेको छ । १९. यसका अतिरिक्त भूमण्डल साक्षी भनेर मानिसको नाम, लेखन्दासको नामका साथै कतै त दर्शकको नाम पनि लेखिएको पाइन्छ । अभय मल्लको वि. सं. १४३३ तिरको एउटा प्रमाणमा दर्शकको रूपमा अजु खँडका भन्ने व्यक्ति परेका छन् । २०

यति गर्दा पनि कसैले बेइमानी पो गर्लाकी अथवा आज्ञा पालन नगर्लाकि भन्ने थंका रहेकै हुन्थ्यो । त्यसैले धार्मिक डर, श्राप आदि पनि तिनीहरूमा उल्लेख गर्ने गरिन्थ्यो । कर्णाली प्रदेशतिरका शासक सुरतीशाहले वि. सं. १६८३ मा गरिदिएको एउटा दानपत्रमा त

१७. वज्राचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पूर्ववत्, नं. १२, पृ. २४८ मा छापिएको ट्यासफुबाट ।
 १८. चित्तरञ्जन नेपाली, श्री ५ रणबहादुर शाह, पहिलो संस्करण (काठमाडौं: मेरीराज भण्डारी, २०२०) पृ. १४१.
 १९. बालकृष्ण पोखरेल, पाँच सय वर्ष, पहिलो संस्करण (काठमाडौं: साझा प्रकाशन, वि. सं. २०३१) पृ. २३.
 २०. उही, पृ १६.

“... .. ई कुडा (कुरा) बवेतिजा भन्पा सरग (सगर-आकास) फुटी जाउस् कपीलास (कौलास) ढली जाउस कागको हास पल्टी जाउस् । इ कुरा सांचो हो सांचो हो १-२-३-” सम्म लेखिएको छ । २१. अन्न वि. सं. १४६४ तिरको एक पत्रमा त यस्तो समेत उल्लेख छः—
 “... .. कागको पुष्टो मापकि माङ जो षज् षज् गर, तस्को एक स पुर्वा नर्क भुञ्च, तास्कि मा सुप्रि वाप गच्छ ।”

(कागको खुट्टो आमाको भाङ (नास) जसले खिचोला गर्ला त्यसका एकशय पुर्खाले नर्क भोगून त्यसकी आमा सुगुनी वाबु गधा होस् ।) २२

यसरी आफूले गरिदिएका पत्रहरूमा साक्षी राख्ने तथा कडाभन्दा कडा श्राप उल्लेख गर्ने गरिन्थ्यो । हिजो आज आएर भने यस किसिमका शब्दहरू नपरे पनि बिना साक्षी भने कुनै पनि कुरा ठोस रूपमा स्वीकार गरिन्न । फेरी हिजो आज गरिने तमसुकहरू पनि पहिलेका भन्दा केही वेग्लै किसिमका छन् । साक्षी, लेखन्दास आदिका साथै ऋणिको बाबु बाजेको नाम उमेर, स्थायी ठेगाना, ऋण लिएको कारण सबै उल्लेख गर्ने चलन छ । कानूनी अड्चन देखाउने तथा समाजमा फटाइ प्रवृत्ति बढ्दै गएकोले यस किसिमको तीन पुस्तै उल्लेख गर्न थालिएको हो । यति हुँदाहुँदै पनि ऋण उठाउन नसकेर साहूहरू कानूनको शरणमा जान परेका छन् ।

कर्णाली प्रदेशतिर भने केहि वर्ष अगाडि सम्म तमसुक नलेखी धार्मिक विश्वासको भरमा पनि ऋण दिने गरेको पाइयो । तामा तुलसी छुवाएर किरिया खुवाएछि असत्य बोल्न हुन्न भन्ने धारणाले गर्दा त्यहाँ घेरै लामो समयसम्म कर्जाको लेखापढी भएन । २०३३ साल तिर यस पंक्तिका लेखकको एक वर्ष जतिको मुगु (कर्णाली अञ्चल) वसाइ तथा २०३५ सालको सुर्खेतदेखि दैलेख, कालीकोट, मुगु, जुम्ला, डोल्पा आदि जिल्लाको पैदल भ्रमणको सिलसिलामा लेखकले यस्तै अनीठा कुराहरू निकै देखेको थियो ।

मुद्दा हेर्ने अदालतहरू

कर्जा तथा अन्य विभिन्न भैभगडाको निष्पक्ष छानविन गर्ने हिजो आज जिल्ला, अञ्चल, क्षेत्रीय तथा सर्वोच्च आदि विभिन्न अदालतहरूको व्यवस्था गरिएको छ । तर प्राचीन तथा मध्यकालीन नेपालमा आजको भन्दा वेग्लै प्रकारको व्यवस्था गरिएको थियो । प्राचीन (लिच्छवि) कालमा प्रत्येक ग्राममा पाञ्चाली (पञ्चायत) रहेको हुन्थ्यो । आफ्नो इलाकामा

२१. उही, पृ. ७२.

२२. उही, पृ. २७.

भएका जुनसुकी प्रकारका भौमगडा तथा मुद्दा मामिला हेर्ने छिन्ने काम यिनै पाञ्चालीहरूले गर्दथे । यस कार्य मापत मुद्दा छिन्दा उठेको रकमको ३ भागको एक भाग पाञ्चालिकहरू (पञ्च-हृह) ले पाउँदथे । २३. पाञ्चालिकहरूलाई अधिकार दिनुको साथ-साथ प्राचीन शासकहरूले पाञ्चालीबाट कहिले काही पठापात हुन सक्ने संभाव्यतावारे पनि विचार गरेका थिए । त्यसैले कसैलाई पाञ्चालीले गरेको फैसलामा चित्त नबुझेमा दौवारिक (राजदरवारका द्वारे) कडा दर्ता गराउने, र दौवारिकले पनि महीना दिन भित्रमा राजाको भित्री इजलास (अन्तरामन, परमासन) मा जाहेरी गरी निकास गराउ 'दिनु' भन्ने खालको आज्ञा नै जारी गरि थिएका थिए । २४. मदा पाञ्चालिकैनिर्णयितुन्न शक्यते तदा राजभिः स्वयमन्तरासनेन विचारयितव्यम् भनेर स्पष्ट भनिएको छ । २५

मध्यकालमा पनि यस सम्बन्धमा पञ्चप्रमानहरू नै सक्रिय थिए । कर्जा अथवा भनी लेनदेन सम्बन्धी मुद्दा मात्र नभएर जग्गा सम्बन्धी, अंश सम्बन्धी आदि सबै मुद्दाहरू पञ्च-हरूले नै हेर्दथे । पञ्चहरूको सहयोगको लागि एकजना विचारी, एकजना मुखिया पनि नियुक्त हुन्थे । पञ्च प्रमानहरू भक्ति प्रभाशाली थिए भन्ने कुरा दोलखाका शासकहरूले समेत आफ्नो परिवारको अंशवण्डा गर्दा पञ्चहरूलाई साक्षी राख्ने गरेकोबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । २६. मध्यकालमा आएपछि दौडाहा जस्तो काम गर्ने 'छरिदार' पनि देखिन्छ । यसले मुद्दा मामिला सम्बन्धी उजूरीको छानबीन गरी तुरुन्तै निर्णय दिने काम पनि गर्दथ्यो । २७. प्राचीन कालको जस्तो मध्यकालमा पनि ग्राम पंचायतहरूले छिन्न नसकेका तथा पंचायतको निर्णयमा चित्त नबुझेका मुद्दाहरू स्वयं राजाले नै पनि हेर्ने गर्दथे । तत्कालीन अभिलेख कागत-पत्र आदिमा 'इटाचपली' को ठाउँ ठाउँमा उल्लेख आएको बाट त्यसबेला राजाकोमा पर्ने आएका उजूरीहरू राजदरवार भित्रको इटाचपली नामक अदालतले हेर्ने गर्दो रहेछ भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

पृथ्वीनारायणशाहको उपत्यका विजय पछि पनि शुरू शुरूमा पंचायतहरूनै सक्रिय थिए तापनि प्राचीन र मध्यकालको परम्परा भन्दा एउटा कुरामा त्यस बेला अलि अन्तर आएको हामी पाउँछौं । अब आएर सिधै राजाद्वारा मुद्दाको फैसला हुन छोड्यो ।

२३. धनवज्र वजाचार्य, "लिच्छविकालमा चलेको पाञ्चाली शासनपद्धतिको परिचय," पूर्णिमा पूर्णाङ्क १२ (माघ २०३३) पृ. ११.

२४. उही.

२५. धनवज्र वजाचार्य, लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख, पहिलो संस्करण (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३०) पृ. ४७५.

२६. वजाचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पूर्ववत्, नं. ७. पृ. ४७.

२७. उही, पृ. ४६.

राजाकोमा पर्ने आएका मुद्दाहरू राजाद्वारा नियुक्त उच्च अधिकारीले हेर्ने गर्न थाले । यो मुद्दा हेर्ने सम्बन्धमा पनि देशभरीनै एक रूपता भएको छैन । वास्तवमा अब आएर मल्ल-कालको जस्तो सीमित घेरा भित्रको देश रहेन । त्यसैले राजधानी बाहिर पञ्च प्रमानले छिन्न नमकेका मुद्दाहरू प्रमान (बडाहाकिम) ले पनि हेर्ने गरेको अनुमान हुन्छ । तर जुन प्रकारले हेरे पनि प्रतिष्ठित पञ्च समुदायको बीचमा बसेर मात्रै फैसला गर्नु पर्ने भै अनिवार्य थियो । राजदरवारमा पर्ने आएका मुद्दाहरू दरवारभित्रको 'इटाचपली' नामक अदालतले हेर्ने गर्दथ्यो २८. तर कहिले काहिँ राजप्रतिनिधिले यस्ता मुद्दा आफ्नै घरमै हेरेको पनि पाइएको छ । वि. सं. १८३० मा दरवारमा परेको एउटा लेनदेन मुद्दा हेर्ने खटिएका श्री केहर सिंह भारदारले आफ्नै घरमा छरफल गरेर फैसला गरेका छन् । यसका अतिरिक्त काजी वंशराज पाँडे, श्री मैया साहेव (श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहकी बहिनी पद्मकुमारी देवी) आदिको भारदारीमा पनि विभिन्न लेनदेन सम्बन्धी मुद्दा छिनिएका छन् । २९. तर जसरी छिन्दा पनि पञ्चहरूको उपस्थिति भने अनिवार्य जस्तै थियो ।

यसरी प्राचीन काल देखिनै समय अनुसार कर्जा सम्बन्धी तथा अन्य मुद्दा हेर्ने विभिन्न अदालत तथा सभाको व्यवस्था भएको पाइन्छ । यिनै अदालतहरूले बाबुको ऋण कस्तो अवस्थामा छोराले नतिरे पनि हुन्छ अथवा कसरी ऋण फर्क्यो हुन वा नहुन सबै आदि बारे पनि विचार गर्ने गर्दथे ।

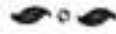
कर्जा उठाउने सम्बन्धमा तथा कुनै एक जनाले लिएको कर्जा कस्तो कस्तो अवस्थामा अरु क-कमले तिर्नु पर्दछ भन्ने कुरा उत्तराधिकारत्व, जमानी तथा हिस्सेदारी सम्बन्धी नियम अनुसार नै परिकल्पित गरिन्छ । प्राचीन आचार्यहरूले पनि यस सम्बन्धमा नियम उपनिषदहरू बनाएको पाइन्छ । कौटिल्य अनुसार कुनै सामूहिक ऋण भएमा आसामी मरे पनि छोराले, जमानीले र हिस्सेदारले तिर्नुपर्ने र घरायशी खर्चमा लिएको भए छोरा नातिले तिर्नुपर्ने बुझिन्छ । पतिले लिएको ऋण तिनै पत्नीलाई विवण गर्न सकिन्न तर पत्नीले लिएको ऋण भने पतिले तिर्ने पर्ने, र यदि भालाको पत्नीहरू भएको खण्डमा भने पतिले लिएको ऋण पनि तिर्ने पर्दछ भन्ने पनि कौटिल्यको विचार छ । आसामीले ऋण नतिर्ने भएमा वा मरेर गएमा सर्वप्रथम जमानीले तिर्नु पर्दछ भन्ने कौटिल्यको राय छ, तर यदि कुनै साहूले दश वर्ष भित्र पनि आफ्नो ऋण उठाउन नसकेमा त्यस घनमा उसको कुनै अधिकार रहने छैन (यदि त्यस्तो कर्जाको घन बालक, बृद्ध, विरामी, आपदग्रस्त, प्रवासी, देशत्यागी वा राजकार्यले बाहिर गएको व्यक्तिमा भए यो नियम लागू हुँदैन) समेत कौटिल्यले उल्लेख गरेका छन् । हार्न मध्यकालीन इतिहास

२८. बजाचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पूर्ववत् नं. १२. पृ. २१६.

२९. उही, पृ. २१४.

अध्यायन गर्दा पनि यस किसिमका उदाहरणहरू पाइन्छन । '३६ वर्ष सम्म ऋण तिरेन भनेर उजुर गर्न जाँदा तमसुकमा बेला बेलामा म्याद मथिएको' भनी तमसुक अभान्य टह्र्याएको कुरा माथि उल्लेख भए पनि सकेको छ । बाबुको ऋण छोराले तिर्नु पर्ने कुरा त हाँफो परम्परा नै हो तर यहाँ त बाबुको ऋण भाइले तिर्नु परेको कुरा पनि उल्लेख भएको छ । वि० स० १८१३ को एउटा ऋणपत्रमा 'आपनु बाबु धनले नेपालदाः सत्ये छोडदाः आपना विहाक्षेका भाइको पोल्टा पन्या, भनेर बाबुको ऋण भाइलाई भिराइएको छ । ३०. तर यदि बाबुको अंश, अपुताली नलिएको खण्डमा भने छोरालाई पनि बाबुको ऋण तिर्न कुनै बाध्यता त्यसवेला पनि हुँदैनथ्यो । 'बुढाछेया, स्वांजुया काय, दुर्गादास, रघुनाथ निह्यासेन, धनिया कारनं अबुया अबतारि मकाओ'-बुढाछेका श्यामजुका छोरा दुर्गादास, रघुनाथ दुर्जे जनाले साहूको कारणले गर्दा बाबुको भपुताली लिएनन भनेर एउटा ठभासफूमा टिपिएकोबाट सो कुरा बुझ्न सकिन्छ । ३१

यस किसिमले सामाजिक रूपको बनोटको साथसाथै समाजमा कर्जा प्रथा र व्याजमा विभिन्नता हुँदै आएको पाइन्छ । एकातिर कर्जा प्रथा विकसित हुँदै आएको देखिन्छ भने साथ-साथै ऋण लिनु उचित होइन, यसले सर्वे धन समाप्त पाछं भन्ने खालका विचारहरू पनि प्राचीन आचार्यहरूले भन्दै आएको कुरा वैदिक ऋचाहरूबाटै बुझ्न सकिन्छ । यस्तो क्रममा कर्जा प्रथा समाजमा व्याप्त हुँदै आयो । नेपाली समाजमा पनि प्राचीन कालदेखि नै यसका विविध रूपहरू देख्न पाइए । वर्तमान समयमा त यसलाई कानूनी रोक लगाइयो- अर्थात् व्याज निर्धारण गरियो । कतिपय ऋणहरू त्यसै माफी हुने मौका दिइयो, तापनि समाजबाट यस प्रचलनलाई हटाउन भने सकिएन । यो हट्न नसक्ने प्रकृत्या भइसकेको छ । अब त व्याजमा जुन वृद्धि गरिँदै आएको छ त्यसले त भन्न यसको विकृत रूप देखाइरहेकोछ तापनि प्राचीन आचार्यहरूले निर्धारित गरेको व्याजदर भन्दा कमै व्याजदर समाजमा चलेको छ ।



३०. बजाचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पूर्ववत्, नं. ७. पृ. १७१.

३१. बजाचार्य र श्रेष्ठ, पूर्ववत्, नं. १२. पृ. २४१.

प्रतापमल्लको धार्मिक सहिष्णुता

-रुक्मिणी प्रधान (वन्त)

नेपालको इतिहासमा 'नेपाल संवत्'को शुरुदेखि वा भन्नु वि. सं. ६३७ देखि मध्यकालको शुरु मानिएको छ । प्राप्त सीमित सामग्रीको राम्रोसंग अध्ययन मनन समेत हुन नसकेको हुँदा मध्यकालको शुरुका केही काल अझ स्पष्ट हुन सकेको छैन । गोपाल राजवंशावलीमा तिथिमिति सहित विस्तारपूर्वक वर्णन गरिएका राजा शिवदेव हुन् । यी राजा योग्य थिए । यिनलाई भैरवको अवतारको रूपमा वर्णन गरिएको छ (गोपालराज वंशावली ३१ पत्र) । यिनी पछि उपत्यकामा जयस्थितिमल्ल तथा यक्षमल्लजस्ता योग्य राजाले शासन गरेथे । ने. सं. ६०२ मा यक्षमल्लको मृत्युपछि उनका छोराहरूले उपत्यकालाई तीन भागमा विभाजित गरे । त्यसमध्ये कान्तिपुरको राजगद्दी ने. सं. ६०४ मा रत्नमल्लले स्वतन्त्र पारे । यो कुरा व्यासकु एफले पुष्टि गर्दछ । पछि टुक्रिएको राज्य संयुक्त पार्ने प्रयास शिवसिंहले पुनः एक पटक गरेथे । उनले ललितपुरलाई कान्तिपुरमा मिलाई आफ्नो जेठा छोरा हरिहरसिंहलाई प्रतिनिधि शासकको रूपमा ललितपुर नियुक्त गरी पठाए । हरिहरसिंह बाबुको जीवनकालमै मरे । शिवसिंहको मृत्युपछि जेठा नाति लक्ष्मीनरसिंह मल्ल कान्तिपुरको गद्दीमा बसे । उता पाटन लक्ष्मीनरसिंहका भाइ सिद्धिनरसिंहले हत्याए । यसरी वर्षौपछि शिवसिंहले संयुक्त बनाउने प्रयास गरेको राज्य लक्ष्मीनरसिंहको कमजोरीले पुनः टुक्रियो । यी कुरा युवक युवराज प्रतापमल्ललाई चित्त चुभेको थिएन र बाबुको जीवनकालमा राजनीतिमा अग्रसर भै ललितपुर आक्रमण गर्न पुगे । १८ वर्षको उमेरमा काजी भीममल्लको सहयोगले बाबु लक्ष्मीनरसिंहलाई नजरबन्द गरी आफू राजा भए । यसरी कलिलै उमेरदेखि महत्त्वाकांक्षी भए पनि प्रतापमल्लको चाख राजनीतिमा मात्र सीमित थिएन । उनी कला, वास्तुकला आदिको साथै धार्मिक क्रिया-कलापमा पनि त्यतिकै अग्रसर थिए । उनका अभिलेखहरूले यस कुराको पुष्टि गर्दछन् । प्रतापमल्लको समयका अभिलेखहरू र अन्य सामग्रीहरूको अध्ययन गर्दा मल्लकालीन राजाहरूमा प्रतापमल्लको महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको थाहा हुन आउँछ । राजा प्रतापमल्ल विविध प्रकृतिका राजा थिए । उनको व्यक्तित्वमा विविधता रहेको पाइन्छ । अभिलेखहरूबाट यस कुराको

पुष्टि हुन्छ । उनका अभिलेखहरूबाट धर्मप्रति उनको विशेष भुकाव रहेको देखापर्छ । तर उनका प्रशस्तिबाट भने विशेष कुन धर्मप्रति उनको भुकाव रहेको थियो त्यो भने थाहा पाउन सकिदैन । उनका पुर्खाहरूले आफूले लिएको प्रशस्तिको माध्यमबाट उनीहरूको कुन धर्मप्रति बढी भुकाव छ भन्ने औल्याउन खोजेको पाइन्छ । कान्तिपुरका राजा लक्ष्मीनरसिंह मल्लले आफूलाई पशुपतिको चरणकमलको घुलोले कपाल फुस्रो भएको र इष्टदेवता मनमानेप्वरीबाट वरप्रसाद पाएको भनी गर्व गरेका छन् । (१) त्यस्तै उनी पछिका उनका उत्तराधिकारीहरूले पनि त्यस्तै प्रशस्ति लिने गरेको कुरा उनीहरूको अभिलेखबाट थाहा हुन्छ । तर प्रतापमल्लले भने आफ्नो प्रशस्तिमा प्रायः 'शस्त्रशास्त्र संगीतादि सकल विद्या पारग 'राजराजेन्द्रकवीन्द्र' भनी लेखिएका छन् जसबाट उनका धार्मिक भावनाभन्दा आफूलाई विद्वान, सर्व कलामा निपुण भनी देखाउनामा नै गर्व मानेको कुराको भल्को मिल्दछ । हुनत उनले आफ्ना अभिलेखहरूमा कर्त-कर्त पुर्खाहरूले धारण गरेको (जुन पछि उनका उत्तराधिकारीहरूले पनि लिए) प्रशस्ति लाई नै लिएको देखिन्छ । सरकारी तहबाट लेखिएका चिठीपत्र, लालमोहर आदिमा प्रतापमल्लको प्रशस्ति पनि प्रायः उही नै छ । तर आफ्ना अभिलेखमा भने उनले परम्परागत प्रशस्ति लिएका छैनन् । यस प्रसङ्गमा एउटा अर्को पनि विचारणीय कुरा छ । उनका प्रायः बौद्ध विहार र चैत्यहरूको सानिध्यमा रहेका अभिलेखमा पराम्परागत प्रशस्तिको झलक पाइन्छ । उदाहरणको लागि स्वयम्भू अनन्तपुर र सुनौला वच्च राखिएको मण्डलको अभिलेख लिन सक्छौं । (२) उनको अन्य अभिलेखहरूमा यस प्रकारको प्रशस्ति कम परेको छ । बौद्ध देवस्थलहरूमा भने बढी रहेको छ । यसबाट उनले आफ्नो धार्मिक सहिष्णुता देखाउन यद्यपि बौद्ध देव-देवीहरूको स्थापना, आराधना, गुठी राख्ने आदि काम गरे तापनि आफूमित्र रहेको परम्परागत हिन्दू छापलाई यस माध्यमबाट प्रकट गर्न खोजेको आभास मिल्छ ।

तात्कालिक समयमा उनको राज्य क्षेत्रभिन्न पर्ने प्रत्येक जसो प्रसिद्ध देवस्थलहरूमा प्रतापमल्लका अभिलेखहरू रहेकोबाट उनको धार्मिक सहिष्णुता, प्रत्येक धर्म (तात्कालिक नेपालमा प्रचलित) प्रति रहेको उनको आस्थालाई हामी उल्लेख नगरी रहन सक्तैनौं । यहाँसम्म कि आफ्नो क्षेत्रभन्दा बाहिर पर्ने भक्तपुरमा रहेको महाकालीको (३) उनको अभिलेखबाट समेत उनको धार्मिक गतिविधि सीमित नरहेको थाहा हुन्छ ।

१. गीतमवजू वज्राचार्य हनुमानढोका राजद्वार, प्रथम संस्करण (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, वि. सं. २०३३), पृ. १६८.
२. गीतमवजू वज्राचार्य र महेशराज पन्त (सं.) अभिलेख संग्रह, तेश्रो भाग (काठमाडौं: संशोधन मण्डल, वि. सं. २०१८), पृ १७.
३. उही

नेपालको प्राचीन इतिहास कलाएर हेर्दा राजा प्रतापमल्लभन्दा पहिलेका प्रसिद्ध राजाहरूमा धार्मिक सहिष्णुता रहेको पाउँछौं। लिच्छवि युग पनि यस परम्परादेखि अलगिएको थिएन। आजसम्ममा ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिले प्रामाणिक मानिआएका मानदेवका अभिलेखहरूको अध्ययन गर्ने हो भने व्यक्तिगत रूपमा उनको भगवान विष्णुप्रति गहिरो आस्था रहेको थाहा हुन्छ। यो कुरा उनको चाँगुनारायणको अभिलेखले पनि संकेत गर्दछ।^(४) उनले बनाउन लगाएका विष्णुविक्रान्तका मूर्तिहरूले यो कुरा अझ प्रमाणित गर्दछन्। यसको साथै मानदेवले जिर्वालिग स्थापना गरी शैवधर्मप्रतिको^(५) आस्थालाई स्पष्ट रूपमा व्यक्त गरेको कुरालाई बेवस्ता गर्न सक्तीनौं। उनले आफ्नो नाउँमा 'मानविहार'^(६) बनाउन लगाएकोबाट बौद्धधर्ममा उनको त्यत्तिकै श्रद्धा रहेको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ। राजा अंगुवर्माको पनि प्रत्येक धर्मप्रति आस्था थियो। हुनत उनको प्रशस्ति 'भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारकपादानुगृहीत' माथि हृदयंगम गर्ने हो भने उनको शैवधर्मप्रति रहेको विशेष भुकाव ज्ञात हुन्छ। साथै उनको हाँडीगाउँमा रहेको एक अभिलेखमाथि विचार गर्दा उनको धर्म सहिष्णुताको परिचय मिल्दछ।^(७) त्यस्तै राजा नरेन्द्रदेवले पनि आफूलाई 'पशुपति भट्टारक पादानुगृहीत' भनेका छन्। चीनिया राजदूत वाङ युन चेको विवरणलाई मान्ने हो भने उनी बुद्ध मूर्ति अंकित कम्मर पेटो बाँध्ये भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ। उनका अभिलेखहरूले यस कुराको पुष्टि गर्दछन्।

यसबाट नेपालमा राजा र जनताहरूमा धर्म समन्वय थियो भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ। तात्कालिन समाजमा धर्मप्रति कट्टरता वा कुनै बन्देज थिएन। एकै परिवारका व्यक्तिहरूले समेत आ-आफ्नो इच्छानुसारको कुनै पनि धर्मलाई अंगीकार गर्ने स्वतन्त्रता रहेको थियो। यसको अनुरूप मध्यकालका राजा प्रतापमल्लमा समेत धार्मिक सहिष्णुता थियो भन्दा कुनै आश्चर्यको कुरा हुँदैन। तर उनका वरपरका राजाहरूमा र उनमा तुलनात्मक दृष्टिले विचार गर्दा भने धार्मिक सहिष्णुताको क्षेत्रमा पनि प्रतापमल्लको केही विशेषता भल्किन्छ। उनको धार्मिक भावना एक पक्षीय मात्र रहेको छैन। उनी हरेक देव-देवीप्रति समान भाव राख्दथे। कहीं कहीं हिन्दू देव-देवीका साथै बौद्ध देव-देवीको उपासना गरिएको जस्तो अनौठो भावना समेत प्रतापमल्लमा रहेको देखा पर्छ। विष्णुमतीको पुल निर्माण गराउँदा उनले बौद्ध देवता अक्षोभ्य, रत्नसम्भव आदिको नाम उल्लेख गराउनु उनको धार्मिक उदारताको प्रतीक हो भन्न

४. योगी नरहरिनाथ (सं.) "श्री मानदेवजयस्तम्भा अभिलेखः" सस्कृत सन्देश, वर्ष १, अंक ६ (वि. सं. २०१०) पृ. ४०.
५. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य, लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख पहिलो संस्करण (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३०) पृ. ४१.
६. उही, पृ. ७७.
७. उही, पृ. ३२०.

गाहो पर्वन (८) त्यस्तै उनको समयमा उनले राख्न लगाएको एक ताम्रपत्रको अध्ययन मननबाट पनि उनको प्रत्येक देव-देवीलाई समान रूपमा मानेको कुराको पुष्टि मिल्दछ । पशुपतिमा रहेको उक्त ताम्रपत्रको उठानमा तलेजु, गुह्येश्वरी, पशुपति, मछीन्द्रनाथ, हरिवंश कालिका पुराण, हरिसीडि, लक्ष्मीनारायण सालिशाम आदि विभिन्न देव-देवीहरूलाई साक्षीको रूपमा राखिएको छ । (९)

स्वयम्भूमा रहेको एक अभिलेखको शुरूमा प्रतापमल्ल आफैले स्तोत्र रचना गरेको वर्णन परेको छ । यस अभिलेखको स्तोत्रका केही पंक्तिहरूमाथि ध्यान दिने हो भने प्रतापमल्लको विचित्र धार्मिक भावनाको भल्को मिल्दछ । उक्त अभिलेखमा प्रतापमल्लले स्वयम्भूलाई महेश्वर र भनी शिवको कल्पना गरेको पाइन्छ । फेरि यसै शैव, बौद्ध, शक्ति वैष्णव, सौर दर्शनका कारण (१०) भएको भनिएकोबाट उनले कुनै धर्ममा भेदभावको भावना नलिएको स्पष्ट देखा पर्न आउँछ ।

ने. सं. ७७५ मा उनले बनाउन लगाएका वा गुठी आदि दिई राख्न लगाएका केही जिलापत्रहरू माथि विचार गर्दा उनले एकै वर्षमा विभिन्न (प्रायः प्रत्येकजसो) धर्महरूमा समान आस्था राखेको थाहा हुन्छ । उदाहरणकोलागि पशुपतिमा कोटिलिग स्थापना गराएको, (११) स्वयम्भूमा रानी सहित भइ उग्रतारा स्थापना गराएको, (१२) सांखु बज्रयोगिनीको मन्दिर निर्माण गराउन लगाएको, (१३) हनुमान डोका क्षेत्रमा हनुमदुध्वज र मनिध्वज राख्न लगाएको (१४) आदि लिन सक्छौं । यसै प्रकार उनले हरेक समयमा समान रूपले प्रत्येक धर्मको सम्मानार्थ कुनै न कुनै प्रकारका कृतिहरू राख्न लगाएको पाइन्छ ।

ने. सं. ७७७ मा स्वयम्भूमा आफैले स्तोत्रको रचना गरी राख्न लगाएको अभिलेखमा उनले बौद्ध धर्म र शैवधर्ममा भेद नरहेको वा नमानेको भावना व्यक्त गरेको जस्तो लाग्छ । (यो माथि वर्णन गरिसकिएको छ) । हनुमानडोका दरवार क्षेत्रमा ने. सं. ७७७ मा विश्व

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८. वज्राचार्य र पन्त, पूर्ववत्, नं. २, पृ. २२
 ९. डी. आर. रेग्मी, मिडिएभल नेपाल भाग ४, पहिलो संस्करण (कलकत्ता: फर्मा के. एल. मुखोपाध्याय, १९६६), पृ. ११२.
 १०. उही, पृ. १०७.
 ११. डी. राइट, हिस्ट्री अफ नेपाल, दोश्रो संस्करण (कलकत्ता: सुशील गुप्ता प्रा. लि., १९५८), पृ. १३०.
 १२. रेग्मी, पूर्ववत् नं. ९, पृ. १०५.
 १३. वज्राचार्य र पन्त, पूर्ववत्, नं. २, पृ. १२.
 १४. वज्राचार्य, पूर्ववत्, नं. १, २१२.

रूपको सुनीला मूर्ति बनाई राख्न लगाएका थिए । (१५) जुन आजसम्म पनि इन्द्रजात्राको अवसरमा प्रदर्शन गरिन्छ ।

गसरी प्रतापमल्लका प्राप्त प्रकृत ताछपत्र र शिलापत्रहरूको अध्ययनबाट जिलापत्र कुंदाइमा केही नौलोपना रहेको देखा पर्छ । उनीभन्दा पहिलेका राजाहरूले जिलापत्रको अन्तिम भागतिर फलप्राप्ति वा पापलागोस् भन्ने भाव व्यक्त गर्ने 'पंचमहापातक लाक जुरो' वा 'ब्रह्महत्या, गोहत्या आदि पञ्चमहापाप लागोस्' कुदिएको छ । तर प्रतापमल्लले यस शब्दमा अगाडि 'कोटि' थपि 'कोटि पञ्चमहापाप, कोटि गोहत्या, कोटि जिबलिग गरेको पाप लागोस्' आदि भनिएको पाइन्छ ।

उपर्युक्त कुराहरूबाट उनको अभिलेखहरूमा धार्मिक भावनाको पक्ष निकै भल्किएको देखा पर्छ । साथै उनी आफूलाई अन्यभन्दा केही फरक देखाउनमा अग्रसर रहन्थे भन्ने कुराको पनि संकेत मिल्दछ । उनको प्रायः प्रत्येक क्रियाकलापबाट प्रतापमल्लको विशेषताको भल्को मिल्दछ र केही नौला कुराको चिनारी पनि हुन्छ ।

प्रतापमल्लका अभिलेखहरूमध्ये ने.सं. ७६० को रानीपोखरीस्थित अभिलेखहरू महत्त्वपूर्ण छन् । हुनत सरसरी हेर्दा प्रतापमल्लका प्रायः सबै अभिलेखहरूको आ-आपनै विशेषताहरू छन् । प्रत्येक अभिलेखले उनको समयको कलाकारीता, संस्कृति आदिमा प्रकाश पारेको पाइन्छ । तापनि रानीपोखरीमा रहेको उक्त अभिलेखले नेपाली इतिहासमा अझ नौला नौला कुराहरूमा जोड दिइरहेको देखा पर्छ । प्रतापमल्लको यस अभिलेखले तात्कालिक नेपालको सामाजिक र धार्मिक पक्षलाई औत्प्याइरहेको पाइन्छ । यसबाट त्यसवेलाको समाजमा नेवारी भाषाले बाहेक नेपाली भाषाले पनि प्रवेण पाइसकेको थाहा हुन्छ । अर्कोतिर समाजमा रहेको तीर्थस्थलहरूको महत्त्वलाई यसले बुझाएको छ ।

तिनताक नेपाली समाजमा तीर्थगर्ने प्रचलन रहेको थियो भन्ने कुरा रानीपोखरीको उक्त अभिलेखबाट स्पष्ट हुन्छ । अझ त्यसबखत भारतका प्रसिद्ध तीर्थस्थानहरू काशी, गया, त्रिवेणी आदिमा श्रद्धापूर्वक गई भक्तिसाय स्थान पूजा गर्ने, धर्म गर्ने परम्परा थियो । तर नेपाली क्षेत्रभित्र पर्ने कैयौं तीर्थस्थानबारे नेपालीहरू अज्ञान थिए । यस्ता नेपालका विभिन्न स्थानहरूमा छरिएर रहेका तीर्थस्थलहरूलाई समेत प्रतापमल्लले महत्त्व दिएको कुरा उनको यस अभिलेखको अध्ययनबाट थाहा हुन्छ । उनको यस अभिलेखमा रानीपोखरीको निर्माण गराउन लगाई उक्त पोखरीमा विभिन्न तीर्थस्थानहरूबाट जल ल्याउन लगाएको र पोखरीमा

भर्न लगाएको ब्यहोरा परेको छ । आफना मृत छोरा चक्रवर्तीमल्लको संभ्रनामा बनाउन लगाएको उक्त पोखरी आफनी रानीलाई सान्त्वना दिनको लागि थियो । यसरी आफ्नो मृत छोराको संभ्रनामा निर्माण गर्न लगाएको रानीपोखरीमा स्नान संध्या मात्र गनलि पनि विभिन्न तीर्थस्थानको पुण्य प्राप्त होस् भन्ने भावना रहेको थाहा हुन्छ । प्रतापमल्ल आफैले संकल्प गरी विभिन्न तीर्थस्थानहरूबाट जल ल्याउन लगाई पोखरीमा हालेको कुरा अभिलेखमा परेको छ । यसै सन्दर्भमा यहाँ वाराणसीको गंगाजल, मुक्तिक्षेत्र, वराहक्षेत्र आदि प्रसिद्ध स्थानहरूको पनि नाम परेको छ । (१६)

रानीपोखरीको निर्माणको साथै उनले नारायणको सुन्दर मूर्ति पनि स्थापित गराएथे । यो कुरा त्यहीं रहेको मूर्तिको पादपीठको अभिलेखले स्पष्ट गर्छ । (१७)

यसपछिको प्रतापमल्लको धार्मिक दृष्टिकोणले अर्को महत्त्वपूर्ण अभिलेख हनुमानढोका (कवीन्द्रपुर) को पाटीमा रहेको छ । यस अभिलेखबाट उनको अभिरूचिवारे थाहा पाउन मद्दत मिल्दछ । उनलाई प्रायः उनका अभिलेखहरूमा भनिने 'शास्त्रशास्त्रसंगीतादि सकल विद्या पारग' भनाइको पुष्टि यस अभिलेखबाट हुन्छ । मल्लकालीन राजाहरूमा यी राजाको व्यवहार तथा स्वभाव केही भिन्न खालको रहेको कुराको चर्चा हामीले अगाडि पनि गरिसकेका छौं । यसले उक्त कुराको अझ समर्थन गरेको पाइन्छ । यिनी आफै कविता रचने, संगीत र नृत्य आदिमा पनि भाग लिने विद्वान् राजा थिए भन्ने कुरा सर्वमान्य छ । रानीपोखरीको अभिलेखमा परेको 'अतः परंभाखा ॥ श्री श्री जय प्रतापमल्ल देवेन आफूले शास्त्र हेरिकन' भन्ने वाक्यले पनि प्रष्ट पार्दछ । हनुमानढोकाको एउटा अभिलेखले पनि उनको त्यस सम्बन्धी ज्ञानको बोध गराउँछ । (१८)

१६. योगी नरहरिनाथ, "कान्तिपुरभूपस्य श्री प्रतापमल्लस्य शिलालेखः" संस्कृत सन्देश, वर्ष १, अंक ११, (वि. सं. २०१०), पृ. ५५.

१७. वज्राचार्य र पन्त, पूर्ववत्, नं. २, पृ. २४.

१८. वज्राचार्य, पूर्ववत् नं. १, पृ. २१३,

'तस्मिन्दिने महाराजाधिराज भूपकेशरी श्री श्री कवीन्द्रजय प्रतापमल्ल
ट्रे प्रभु ठाकुरसन थम शास्त्रस सोयाव पिकायाव श्व भूगोल पृथ्वी
चोस्य विज्याळा जुरो ॥ शुभमस्तु सट्वंटाकाल ॥

(त्यसदिन महाराजाधिराज भूपकेशरी श्री श्री कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल देव प्रभु ठाकुरले आफै शास्त्र हेरी त्यस अनुसार यो भूगोल पृथ्वी लेखी राख्न लाउनु भएको हो । सर्वं शुभहोस्) ।

उपर्युक्त कुराहरूबाट उनको ज्ञानबारे जानकारी मिल्दछ । उनका ज्योतिष आदि शास्त्र हेर्नमा समेत देख्न रहेको कुरा अस्वीकार गर्न सकिदैन । उनको दरवारमा प्रसिद्ध ज्ञानानन्दजस्ता शैव तान्त्रिक, काठमाडौं उपत्यकाको प्रसिद्ध जामुना गुभाजुजस्ता बौद्ध तान्त्रिक, दक्षिण भारतबाट आएका लम्बकर्ण भट्टजस्ता विद्वानहरूले प्रथम पाएकोबाट पनि प्रतापमल्लको हिन्दूधर्मको तान्त्रिक परम्परामा झुकाव थाहा हुन आउँछ ।(१९)

यसरी प्रतापमल्लको विद्वान् प्रतिको कदरले उनको विद्वताको परिचय मिल्दछ । हनुमानढोकास्थित ठूलो जलद्रोणीको पन्द्रह किसिमको लिपि लेखिएको अभिलेखले उपर्युक्त कुराको पुष्टिको लागि बल मिल्दछ । यसमा यी लिपिहरू बुझ्ने विद्वान्, नबुझ्नेको जन्म व्यर्थ भन्ने व्यहोरा समेत परेको छ ।(२०)

त्यस्तै प्रायः उनका अभिलेखहरूमा तत्सम्बन्धी देव-देवीहरूको स्तोत्र लेखेको वर्णन पाइन्छ । जुन प्रतापमल्लको आफ्नै रचना भन्ने संकेत गरिएको हुन्छ । यी कुराहरू प्रायः उनको अभिलेखमा रहेको संस्कृत भागको अन्ततिर वा बीचमा परेका छन् ।(२१) यी सबबाट प्रतापमल्लको शास्त्रशास्त्र, संगीत आदि प्रतिको चाख बुझ्न महारो पर्दैन । यसको साथै उनको अनीठो व्यवहारको परिचय पनि हनुमानढोकाको अभिलेखबाट मिल्दछ । प्रतापमल्ल कुनै अवसरमा विष्णुको नरसिंह अद्यतारको रूपमा नर्तक भई रंगमंचमा उत्रेको कुरा यस अभिलेखले बताउँछ । यसवेला भगवान नरसिंहको आक्रोश स्वरूपको नाना शब्दहरू सुनिए र नरसिंहलाई शान्त पार्न प्रतापमल्लले नरसिंहको भव्य मूर्ति बनाई दरवारमा राख्न लगाएका थिए ।(२२) यो घटना अभिलेख अनुसार, ने. सं. ७६२ हो ।

१९. डी आर. रेग्मी, मेडिएभल नेपाल, दोश्रो भाग, पहिलो संस्करण (कलकत्ता: फर्मा के. एल. मुखोपाध्याय, १९६६) पृ. ६९.

२०. शंकरमान राजवंशी (सम्पादक), कान्तिपुर-शिलालेख सूची (काठमाडौं: श्री ५ को सरकार शि. सं. पुरातत्व विभाग, राष्ट्रिय अभिलेखालय, २०२७), पृ. ७८.

२१. पूर्ववत्, नं. २, पृ. १३

'इति श्री नेपाल महीमण्डलाखण्ड श्री श्री कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्लदेव विरचितं वज्रयोगिन्याष्कामद्रं स्तोत्र समाप्त ॥'

(श्री नेपाल मण्डलका अधिपति श्री श्री कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल देवले बनाएको इच्छा पूरा गरिदिने वज्रयोगिनीको स्तोत्र सिद्धियो) ।

२२. योगी नरहरिनाथ, "जय प्रतापमल्लदेवस्य शिलालेखः" संस्कृत संन्देश, अंक ४, वर्ष एक (२०१०) पृ. १.

'इति श्री महाराजाधिराज श्रुपकेसरी श्री श्री कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्लदेव

ने. सं. ७६२ को एउटा अर्को अभिलेख तलेजु मन्दिरको खापामा रहेको छ । यसको भाषा अन्य अभिलेखहरूमा भन्दा संस्कृत र नेवारी रहेको छैन । यसको अन्तमा रहेको नेवारी भागबाट यो स्तोत्र देवीको प्रार्थना स्वरूप लेखिएको थाहा हुन्छ । तर माथिल्लो भाग कुन भाषामा कुनैको हो भन्न सकिदैन । तात्कालिन नेपालमा मैथिलि भाषाको पनि प्रयोग हुन्थ्यो । यो कुरा प्रतापमल्लले विजयपुरका सेनराजालाई लेखेको व्यक्तिगत पत्रमा मैथिली भाषा प्रयोग गरिएको थाहा हुन्छ । (२३) त्यसकारण तलेजुको खापामा रहेको अभिलेख पनि मैथिली भाषामा लेखिएको हुनु पर्छ । (२४)

प्रतापमल्लको धार्मिक गतिविधिको सिलसिलामा उनले बनाउन लगाएका राधाकृष्णको मन्दिर र त्यहाँ रहेको अभिलेखलाई पनि विसर्जु हुन्न । यद्यपि यो कृष्ण मन्दिर उनले पाटनको कृष्णमन्दिरको प्रतिस्पर्धामा बनाउन लगाएका थिए भन्ने विश्वास गरिन्छ । तापनि तात्कालिन समाजमा उनले नजानीदो गरी वैष्णव धर्म अन्तर्गत रहेको राधाकृष्णको परम्परालाई प्रचारमा ल्याएका थिए । उक्त मन्दिरमा रहेको सत्यभामा र रुक्मिणी सहितको वंशगोपाल मूर्ति प्रतापमल्लले आफ्ना मृत बुइ रानीहरूको संभ्रामा, अर्को जन्ममा समेत

विरचित नृत्येश्वर दशक समाप्त ॥ श्री श्री श्री नरसिंहरूपाय नमः ॥
महाराजाधिराज भूपकेशरी श्री श्री कवीन्द्रजयप्रतापमल्ल देव प्रभु ठाकुर
श्रम श्री श्री नरसिंह अवतार जुयाव प्याखन धुछानलि प्याखन छायतया
थास श्री श्री श्री नरसिंह परमेश्वर प्याखन छायस दुवियाव, नानाशब्द
द्वयके चिन्ह द्वयकु निमित्तन, तोल तयके निमित्तन महाराजाधिराज
भुपकेशरी द्यौ द्यौ कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल देव प्रभु ठाकुरस थश्री नामन
कवीन्द्रपुरस द्यौ द्यौ नरसिंह परमेश्वर सालिक स्थापन याङ विज्याङ ।”

(श्री महाराजाधिराज, भूपकेशरी श्री श्री कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल देवले बनाएको नृत्येश्वर दशक सिद्धियो । श्री श्री श्री नरसिंहलाई नमस्कार । महाराजाधिराज भूपकेशरी श्री कवीन्द्र जयप्रतापमल्ल देव प्रभु ठाकुरले आफैँ श्री श्री नरसिंहको रूप लिई नृत्य गर्नु भयो । नृत्य सकिएपछि नृत्य गरी राखिएको ठाउँमा श्री श्री श्री नरसिंह परमेश्वर अभिर्भाव भई भित्रिइ अनेक प्रकारको शब्द गर्नुभयो; चिन्ह देखाउनुभयो; यसकारण परमेश्वरलाई विदा गराउन महाराजाधिराज भूपकेशरी श्री श्री जयप्रतापमल्ल देव प्रभु ठाकुरले आफ्नै नामले कवीन्द्रपुरमा श्री श्री श्री नरसिंह परमेश्वरको मूर्ति स्थापना गर्नुभयो) ।

२३. मोहन प्र. खनाल, अभिलेख संकलन, (काठमाडौं: साक्षा प्रकाशन, २०२८, पृ. ३१.
२४. रेग्मी, पूर्ववत् नं. ६, पृ. १४७.

साथ रहोस् भन्ने उदेशपले बनाउन लगाएका थिए । यो कुरा त्यहीको उनको अभिलेखले व्यक्त गर्दछ । वे. सं. ७६६ मा बनाउन लगाएको यो मन्दिर धार्मिक दृष्टिकोणले निकै महत्वपूर्ण छ ।

त्यस्तैगरी उनको शान्तिपुर प्रवेशले पनि उनको धार्मिक समन्वयको भावनालाई व्यक्त गर्दछ । यसबाट खासगरी उनको तन्त्रविद्याप्रति रहेको अभिरुचिलाई प्रष्ट गर्दछ । प्रतापमल्लको शान्तिपुर प्रवेशलाई पुष्टि दिने अन्य साधन प्राप्त छैनन् । तापनि शान्तिपुर भित्रको वर्णन, त्याहाको वातावरणको उल्लेखको साथै राखिएका ने. सं. ७७८ को शिलापत्र साथै चित्रपटले पनि यसलाई केही आड दिन्छ । यसमा वर्णित कैयौं कुराहरू स्वयम् पुराणसंग मिल्ने हुँदा यो कुरा कल्पना मात्र हो पनि भन्न सकिदैन । तीनताक नेपालमा खडेरी प-यो । शान्तिपुर भित्र रहेको नागको रगतले लेखिएको पुस्तक बाहिर ल्याए पानी पछि भन्ने जन-विश्वास अनुसार पुस्तक बाहिर ल्याउन उपायहरू गरिए, तर सफल भएन । अन्तमा प्रतापमल्ल आफैँ विभिन्न पूजा सामग्रीका साथ शान्तिपुरभित्र प्रवेश गरी पुस्तक ल्याउन सफल भए । फलस्वरूप पानी प-यो । यी सम्पूर्ण कुराहरू स्वयम्भू शान्तिपुरस्थित एक शिलापत्रमा अंकित छ । यस अवसरका घटनालाई चित्रपटमा चित्रित समेत गर्न लगाएका थिए । (२५)

उपर्युक्त कुराहरूमाथि ध्यान दिने हो भने प्रतापमल्लको धार्मिक सहिष्णुता वा उनमा रहेको धार्मिक समन्वयको भावनाबारे थाहा पाउन गाह्रो पर्दैन । उनका अभिलेखहरूमा उनले सोभै कुनै धार्मिक पक्षलाई अँल्याउने खालका प्रशस्तिहरू नलिएको कुरा पनि स्पष्ट भइसकेको छ । उनले आफ्नो प्रशस्ति अनुसार विचित्र प्रकारका क्रियाकलाप गरेको कुरा पनि उनका प्रकाशित अभिलेखका आधारमा वर्णन गरिसकिएको छ । यद्यपि उनको प्रशस्तिमा उनको घर्मप्रतिको भुकावबारे स्पष्ट संकेत मिल्दैन, तापनि अभिलेखहरूमा परेका उनका कुराहरूले उनको भावनामा घर्मको निकै स्थान रहेको बुझिन्छ । अभिलेखहरूमा कुँदिने पञ्चमहापातकलाई उनले कोटि पञ्चमहापातक गरे । यसबाट उनको हृदयमा रहेको पाप पुण्यको लेखाजोखा मिल्दछ । उनले हिन्दू देवीप्रति भक्ति-प्रदर्शन गर्न प्रस्तर स्तम्भ खडा गरी देवीका वाहन सिंह राख्न लगाउनुका साथै (तलेजु त्रिशुलचोकको सिंहध्वज, गुहर्चेश्वरीको सिंहध्वज, त्रिशुलडवलीको प्रस्तर स्तम्भ) स्तम्भमाथि देवीको सम्मानार्थ आफ्नो र आफ्ना परिवारका सालिकहरू राख्न लगाएका थिए । उनले बौद्ध देवस्थल स्वयम्भूमा मन्दिर मूर्तिहरूका साथै सुगौला वज्र चढाई बुद्धप्रतिको भक्ति दर्शाउन छाडेनन् । काठे

२५. गौतमवज्र वज्राचार्य, "प्रतापमल्लको शान्तिपुर प्रवेश" पूर्णिमा, वर्ष १ अंक ४ (वि. सं.

२०२१) पृ. ३७-३७.

सिम्भूको जिर्णोद्धारमा उक्त स्तूपको अन्तिम चक्र प्रतापमल्लले आफ्नो नाममा चढाएथे । यसै-
गरी शैव र वैष्णव धर्ममा पनि उनको श्रद्धा छुँदै थियो । उनले नृत्य घर, कोटिलिग आदिका
सार्थ पशुपति मन्दिरमा गजुर चढाई आफ्नो र रानीको सालिक भक्तजनको रूपमा राख्न
लगाएको कुरा त्यहाँ रहेको अभिलेखले नै व्यक्त गर्दछ । शाक्त धर्ममा पनि उनको आस्था
थियो । यसकारण उनले गुहघोषवरी कुण्डमा अष्टदलकलमले छाँपेथे । अष्टमातृकाको कला-
त्मक मूर्ति बनाई आफ्नो दरवारमा स्थापित गराए । (२६)

यसरी समय-समयमा प्रतापमल्लले हरेक देव-देवीप्रति आफ्नो भक्ति प्रदर्शन गरेका
छन् । कान्तिपुरस्थित प्रत्येक देवस्थलहरूमा उनले केही न केही कृतिहरू छोडी आफ्नो
धार्मिक सहिष्णुताको परिचय दिएका छन् । तापनि उनको अभिलेखहरूको मनन गर्ने हो भने
उनको विशेष गरी वैष्णव धर्मप्रति नै बढी रुचिरहेको थियो भन्ने मलाई लाग्दछ । उनले
अन्य धर्मका भन्दा वैष्णव धर्मका देव-देवी तथा मन्दिरहरूको नै बढी स्थापना गराएको
पाइन्छ । दरवार क्षेत्रको रुक्मिणी, सत्यभामा सहित कृष्णको मन्दिर, पशुपतिको वामुकी
मन्दिर, काठमाडौं भीमसेनस्थानको द्रौपदीको मूर्ति, रानीपोखरीस्थित वंशगोपालको मूर्ति
आदि । अझ राजाजस्तो व्यक्तिले विष्णुको एक अवतार नरसिंहको रूप लिई रंगमंचमा
उत्रेको भन्ने बाख्यले (अभिलेखमा परेको) उनको अन्य धर्ममा भन्दा वैष्णव धर्ममा बढी
भुकाव थियो भन्ने भन्ने कुरामा बल मिल्दछ । हुन त अभिलेखहरूवाट यो कुरा स्पष्ट थाहा
पाउन सकिदैन, न त अन्य कुनै साधनवाट यो कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ । फेरि अन्य राजाहरूका
भै उनका प्रशस्तिले पनि यसतर्फ संकेत गरेको पाइदैन ।



नेवारहरूले मनाउने “सी का भव्य” : एक अध्ययन

-रमेशराज कुँवर

मेचीदेखि महाकालीसम्म छरिएर बसोबास गर्ने नेपालका विभिन्न जातिहरूमध्ये नेवार जाति पनि एक हो । जातीय संस्कृतिको दृष्टिकोणमा नेवार संस्कृति ज्यादै महत्त्वपूर्ण छ । यो जाति भित्र अनेक थरहरू पाइन्छन्, तापनि भाषा भने एउटै देखिन्छ । वि. सं. २०२८ सालको जनगणना अनुसार यिनीहरूको संख्या ४,५४,६७६ भएकी कुरा श्री बालकृष्ण पोखरेलले उल्लेख गर्नु भएको छ । (१) यस जातिका सम्पूर्ण थरहरूले एउटै भाषा बोल्ने भए तापनि तिनीहरूको चालचलन पूर्णतया मेल खाँदैन । यसका एक समूह हिन्दू धर्मावलम्बी छन् भने अर्को समूह बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बी छन् । (२) यसैले गर्दा नै चालचलनमा भिन्नता देखिन गएको हो । सामाजिक स्तर अन्तरगत श्री गोपाल सिंह नेपालीले छो ब्राह्मण, गुभाजु अथवा बज्राचार्यलाई र वाँडा अथवा बरेलाई पुरोहित जातमा; छ थरी श्रेष्ठ, पाच थरी श्रेष्ठ र उदाश लाई उच्च जातमा; पहाडी ज्यापु र हले (अथवा ग्वाला) लाई मध्यम स्तरको जातमा; गठु, नाउ, खुस, चित्रकार, छिपा, मानन्धर अथवा शाल्मी, कौड, लाई सानो जातमा; डुङ्गा, बलमी, संग अथवा संगत अनि भा, कशाही, कुश्लेलाई निम्न जातमा र पोडे, कुल्, च्यामे र हलाहलुलाई अछुत जातमा राख्नु भएको छ । (३) यसै क्रममा कोलिन

१. बालकृष्ण पोखरेल, राष्ट्रभाषा, तृतीय संस्करण, (काठमाडौं: साप्ता प्रकाशन २०३६), पृ ८३
२. Diliram Dahal, "Anthropology of Nepal," *Nepalese Cultural Heritage*, (Kathmandu: Hotel Management & Tourism Training Centre, 1978), p. 214
३. Gopal Singh Nepali, *The Newars*, (Bombay: United Asia Publications, Jan. 1965), p. 150.

रोजरले प्याङ गाउँको नेवार समाजलाई जु गी (पानी चल्ने जात) र मजुपी (पानी नचल्ने जात) ४) भनी सम्बोधन गर्नु भए तापनी जेराङ टोफिनले यसमा टिमजुपी (अछत जात) (५) समेत धपी जातीय स्तरिकरण गर्नु भएको कुरालाई अर्भसम्म पनि स्वीकारनै करे लाग्छ । शिक्षित नेवारमा यो भावना नभए तापनि आशिक्षित तथा मध्यम स्तरको नेवारहरूमा सो भवाना आज सम्म विद्यमान छ ।

जेहोस, अति मिश्रित संस्कृति लिएर वसेको नेवार जातिको अध्ययन "सी का भव्य" संग सम्बन्धित छ । उनीहरूको भाषामा भोजलाई "भव्य" भनिन्छ । वाह्र महिना भोज खानमा ब्यस्त रहने नेपाली जातिहरूमा नेवार नै मुख्य हुन् । केही नेवारहरूको भनाइ अनुसार एक वर्षमा जति पैसा कमाइन्छ त्यसको आधि रकम भोजमा खर्च हुन्छ । केही हद सम्म यो कुरालाई स्वीकारनै पनि सकिन्छ ।

प्रायगरी नेवारहरू गुठी, व्रतवन्ध, विवाहमा, वरेखी, जात्रा तथा पर्व या उत्सवको वेलामा भोज खान्छन् । विवाहमा खाने भोजलाई ब्या भव्य, गुठीमा खाने भोजलाई गुठी भव्य, मान्छे मरेको तेह्र दिनमा खाने भोजलाई घ : सु भव्य, पैतालिस दिनमा खाने भोजलाई लट्टे भव्य, छ महिनामा खाने भोजलाई खुला भव्य, र एक वर्षमा खाने भोजलाई ब कीला भव्य, भनिन्छ । चाहे गुठीको अवस्थामा होस् या देवाली गर्दाको अवस्थामा या अन्य कनै परिस्थितिमा जनावर र पंक्षीहरूलाई देवताको थानमा बलि दिइएको छ भने त्यस अवसरमा गरिने भोजलाई "सी का भव्य" भनिन्छ ।

यसवारे मनमैजु (वालाजुदेखि आधा घण्टा उत्तरपट्टि अवस्थित नेवार गाउँ) टोखा, (६) टुपेक, टुशाल र गाम्वा (यी तीनै गाउँ टोखा देखि पूर्व पट्टि अवस्थित छन्,) नामक नेवार गाउँमा अध्ययन गरिएको छ । केही कुराहरू शहरका नेवारहरूबाट पनि नलिइएको होइन । यसै क्रममा टाउकोको विभिन्न भागलाई 'सी' भनिन्छ भनी श्री जनकलाल

४. Collin Rosser, "Social Mobility in Newar Caste System," *Caste and Kin in Nepal India and Ceylon*, (ed) by C. Van Furer Haimendorf, (Bombay: Asia publishing House, 1966), p. 88
५. Gerard Toffin, Inter" Caste relations in a Newar Society," *Himalayan Anthropology*, (ed) by James Fisher, (Mouton Publishers, 1978), p. 467
६. यो ठाउँ काठमाडौंदेखि करिब २ घण्टा टाढा उत्तरपट्टि अवस्थित छ । सो ठाउँमा करिब १००० नेवार घरहरू छन् । २०३८ साल श्रावण महिनादेखि २०३९ साल आषाढ महिना सम्मको लागि नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र मार्फत "टोखाको सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन" नामक शीर्षकमा अनुसन्धान गर्दै आएको छ ।

शमलि लेखनु भएको छ । (७) कायगुलाई छोड्करीमा 'का' भनिएको हो भनी जेराड टोफिनले लेखनु भएको छ । (८)

साधारणतया "सी का भव्य" बलि दिए पिच्छे गरिन्छ । तैपनि सना गुठीको भोजको अवसरमा देवाली पूजाको भोजको अवसरमा, महा अष्टमीको भोजको अवसरमा यसको विशेष महत्त्व हुन्छ । टोफिनको भनाइ अनुसार, यदि बलि गुठी भोजको अवसरमा गरिएको छ भने त्यो भाग, आफना दाजु-भाइ मध्येका जेठाहरूले भेट्दाउँदछन् । दशैं भोजमा परिवारका बाबुहरूमा जेठाका हिसावले यो भाग बाडिन्छ । यदि परिवार त्यति ठूलो छैन भने टाउकोलाई पाँच टुक्रा गरेर मात्र काटिन्छ । (९)

यसै शिलसिलामा श्री जनकलाल शर्मा लेख्नु हुन्छ की हरेक देवाली गुठीको भोजमा बलि दिइएको बोकाको टाउकोलाई आठ भाग र खुरहरू पनि यसै प्रकार भाग लगाएर दिने चलन छ । यसरी बोकाको टाउकोलाई भाग लगाउँदा कानका दुइ टुक्रा, तल्लो बंगाराका दुइ टुक्रा, आखाका दुइ टुक्रा, नाक र जिभो एक एक टुक्रा गरेर भाग लगाइन्छ र त्यो समेत मिलाएर बाँडिन्छ । (१०) यसै कुरा श्री नगेन्द्र शर्माले र गोपाल सिंह नेपालीले पनि उल्लेख गर्नु भएको छ तर खुरको वारेमा भने उल्लेख गर्नु भएको छैन । (११)

उल्लिखित कुराहरूमा नेपालका सम्पूर्ण नेवारी समाजमा एकरूपता पाइन्छ पाई-दैन भन्ने कुरामा स्पष्ट रूपमा उल्लेख भएको छैन । त्यसकारण यसलाई विस्तृत रूपमा केलाएर हेर्न सकेमा मात्र जातीय संस्कृतिको महत्त्व बुझ्न सकिन्छ । यसै परिप्रेक्ष्यमा मैले नेवारहरूकै शब्दमा "अछूत जात" (पोडे, च्यामे, हलाहुलु आदि) भित्र बाहेक नेवारी भाषा बोल्ने अरु नेवार जातिमा "सी का भव्य" कसरी गरिन्छ विषयलाई लिएर साधारण रूपबाट अध्ययन गरेको छु ।

७. जनकलाल शर्मा, "नेपालको नेवारी समाज," मधुपर्क, वर्ष १४, अंक ८, (२०३८),

पृ. १५२-१५३

८. Gerard Toffin, "Newar Jatile Manaune Sika Bhoc," *Kailash Vol. IV, No. 4, (1976), p. 332.*

९. *Ibid.*

१०. जनकलाल शर्मा, पूर्ववत, नं. ७ पृ. १५२-१५३.

११. नगेन्द्र शर्मा, नेपाली जनजीवन (दार्जलिङ्ग: अचला भगवती प्रकाशन, जनबरी १७६), पृ. ६८-६९.

राछो, चोका, अथवा भुम्मा र कुखुराको भाले अथवा हाँस बलि दिदा "सी का भव्य" हुन्छ तर कसैहीँ समाजमा सुगुर बलि दिदा 'सी' बाँड्ने चलन पाईदैन । 'सी' बाँड्ने प्रकृत्यामा केवल थकाली लगाएत जेठा मुठीयार अर्थात आठ जना नभएमा पाँच जना सम्मले पाउँछन् । (१२) तर देवताको मन्दिरमा कहिलेकाहीँ अथवा ठूला ठूला अवसरमा बलि दिदा संकल्प गरिने प्रकृत्या पनि नपाइने होइन । त्यस किसिमको संकल्पमा हिन्दु नेवारहरूले आचाज्यूलाई लगाउँछन् भने वीष्द नेवारहरूले गुभाजुलाई लगाउँदछन् ।

यदि आचाज्यू अथवा गुभाजु द्वारा बलिका संकल्प गराइएको छ भने त्यस स्थितिमा आठ भागमध्ये एक भाग संकल्प कर्तालाई पनि दिइने चलन छ । प्राय यस किसिमको कार्य देवाली पूजाको अवसरमा र महा अष्टमीको पूजाको अवसरमा गराइन्छ । सो अवस्थामा 'सी' आठ भाग नलगाई केवल सात भाग मात्र लगाइन्छ । तर आचाज्यू र गुभाजुद्वारा संकल्प नगरिएको बेलामा उल्लिखित दुई व्यक्तिलाई 'सी' बाँड्नु पर्दैन । अझ कुस्लेहरूको आचाज्यू र गुभाजु हुवै पुरोहित नहुने हुँदा यो थरमा 'सी' तिनीहरूलाई बाँड्नु पर्ने देखिदैन । उनीहरूको चलन अनुसार बलिको संकल्प मुख्य थकालीले गर्ने हुँदा त्यस स्थितिमा गुभाजु र आचाज्यूले पाउने 'सी' सो मुख्य थकालीलाई नै दिइन्छ ।

'सी' लिने क्रममा टोफिनले उल्लेख गर्नु भए अनुसार थकालीले दाहिने थुतुनो, नोकुले देब्रे थुतुनो सोकुले दाहिने आँखा प्येकुले देब्रे आँखा, झाकुले दाहिने कान खुकुले देब्रे कान, न्हेकुले तल्लो दाहिने बंगारो र च्याकुले, तल्लो देब्रे बंगारो पाउँदछन् । (१३) नेपालीको भनाइमा पुरोहितलाई नाक अथवा बंगारो (Snout) दिइन्छ र न्हेकुलाई जिब्रो दिइन्छ । (१४) तर टोखा गाउँबाट थाहा भए अनुसार थकालीले दाहिने आँखा, नोकु (दोस्रो) ले देब्रे आँखा, सोकु (तेस्रो) ले दाहिने कान, प्येकु (चौथो) ले देब्रे कान, झाकु (पाँचौ) ले थुतुनो, खुकु (छैठौ) ले जिब्रो, न्हेकु (सातौं) ले दाहिने बंगारा, र च्याकु (आठौं) ले देब्रे बंगारा पाउने कुरा न टोफिनको भनाइ संग मिल्छ न त जनकलाल शर्मा र नेपालीको भनाइ संग नै । उल्लिखित कुराहरू केवल चार खुट्टेलाई बलि दिनमा मात्र सम्भव हुने कुरो हो । जुन कुरा चित्र नं. (१) मा देखाइएको छ ।

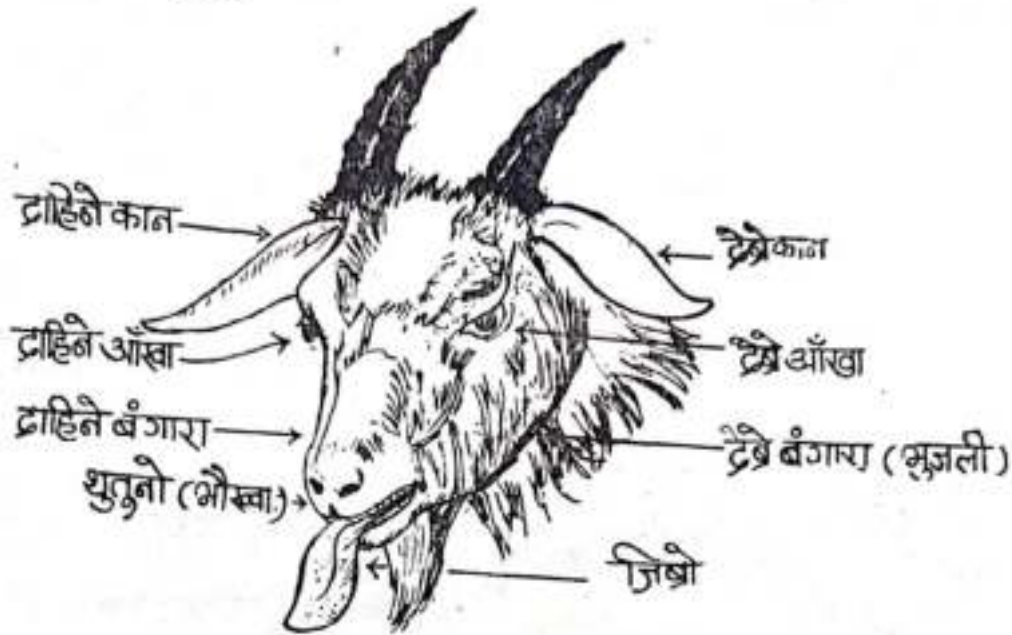
यदि कुखुराको भाले अथवा हाँस बलि दिएमा 'सी' कसरी र कसलाई बाँडिन्छ भन्ने कुरा पनि त्यत्तिकै महत्वपूर्ण छ । यस स्थितिमा 'सी' बाँड्दा एउटा सिङ्ग टाउको

१२. Gerard Toffin, *op. cit.* no. 5, pp. 330-331.

१३. *Ibid.*

१४. Gopal Singh Nepali, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

चित्र



(चित्र नं. १.)

थकालीलाई दिने चलन टोखाको नेवार समाजमा पाइन्छ । तर सोही ठाउँको कसाहीहरू र टुपेक, टुसाल, गाम्चा र मनमैजुका अन्य धरका नेवार समाजमा दुइ खुट्टे बलि दिए पछि टोखाको जस्तो 'टाउको' मात्र 'सी' को रूपमा नबाँडी, टाउको थकालीलाई, दायाँ पखेटा नोकुको लागि, बायाँ पखेटा सोकुकुको लागि, दायाँ खुट्टा प्यकुको लागि, र बायाँ खुट्टा हाकुको लागि 'सी' को रूपमा बाँडिन्छ । टोखाको श्रेष्ठहरूको चलन अनुसार दुइ खुट्टे बलि दिए पछि दायाँ पखेटा र दायाँ खुट्टा देवताको थानमाने चढाउँदछन् । कुखुराको भाग चित्र नं. (२) मा देखाइएको छ । कसाहीहरूको भनाइ अनुसार 'सी का भव्य' मा पुरोहितका आवश्यकता पर्दैन ।

नेवारहरू जीवलाई बलि दिँदा भगवतीको मन्दिरमा, गन दयो (गणेशको मन्दिरमा) नाशः दयो (नाचको देवताको मन्दिरमा) तथा भैरवको मन्दिरमा दिन्छन् । उनीहरूको चलन अनुसार पञ्च बलि दिएमा पनि नियम अनुसार 'सी' छप्तिएर बाँडिन्छ । तर जहाँ सम्म 'सी' आठ जनामा बाँडिने कुरा छ त्यसमा आठ जनाको सट्टा तीन जना देखि सात जनासम्म पनि हुन नसक्ने होइन । यस परिस्थितिमा 'सी' कसरी बाँडिन्छ भन्ने कुरा उठ्न सक्छ । यदि फुको (दाजुमाइ खलक) कम हुन गएको अवस्थामा सर्व प्रथम त मान्यता क्रमको हिसावमा 'सी' बाँडिन्छ र साथै मान्यता क्रम सकिए पछि 'सी' बढ्ता हुन गएमा

खान्दछन् । त्यसपछि ऐला र अनि ध्वो पनि पिउँदछन् । यसै क्रममा साधारण खाना खाने काम शुरु हुन्छ । यो खाना खाने प्रकृत्यालाई उनीहरू 'समाय भव्य' अथवा 'समाय' पनि भन्दछन् । च-सन अनुसार 'समाय भव्य' मा प्रसस्त खाना खान दिई दैन । प्राय दुई बुई मुठी चिउरा, छीयला, अहुवा, भट्मास, सीद्रा अथवा माछा अलि अलि राखी खान दिइन्छ या खाइन्छ । वास्तवमा यो 'भव्य' आधुनिक 'पिकनिक' (वनभोज) को दिनमा मुख्य खाना खानु अगाडि खाइने या खाइने साधारण 'ब्रेकफास्ट' (विहानको खाना) जस्तै देखिन्छ । सगुनको रूपमा दहीलाई खुबै महत्वपूर्ण खाना मानिन्छ ।

'समाय भव्य' सकिए पछि अनि 'सी का भव्य' सुरु हुन्छ । तर 'सी का भव्य' देवताको मन्दिर स्थल नजिकै हुनु पर्छ भन्ने कुनै अनिवार्यता छैन । कहिलेकाहीँ सो भोज घरमा पनि गरेको नपाइने होइन । जेहोस यस भोजमा सबै फुकीहरू जम्मा भइ थकाली पछि क्रमसः मान्यताक्रमको आधारमा खान बस्छन् । खाना बाँड्ने सदस्य कान्छो हुन्छ । सबैलाई लपेश बाँडी त्यसमा घेरि चिउरा राखी त्यसको वरिपरी अनिवार्य रूपले आठ प्रकारका चिजविजहरूले घेरिन्छ । विशेषगरी ती खानाहरूमा साग, मस्याङ, बोडी, केराउ, सिमी, मासु, मासको बारा, मुलाको चाना त्यस पछि खेंपी र चेंपी नामक फर्सीका टुक्राहरू पनि राख्छन् । यस सम्बन्धमा फर्सेले आठको सट्टा बाह्र वा सोह्र प्रकार सम्म पनि राख्छन् । जेहोस चलनमा आठ प्रकार नै छ र त्यो राख्नाको उद्येय अष्टमङ्गलकोलागि हो भनिन्छ ।

खाना खाइसके पछि शिसवसु (सुन्तला, केराउ, उखु, शखर, दही.) बाँडिन्छ र त्यो पनि खाइसके पछि मान्यताक्रमको आधारमा 'सी' बाँड्ने काम सुरु हुन्छ । 'सी' पाउने प्रत्येक सदस्यले विवाहित छोरीबेटीबाट ल्याएको फुलहरूमा एक एकवटा खान पाउँछन् । खाना खाने क्रममा 'सी' पनि बाँडिसके पछि कान्छो अथवा जसले देब्रे बंगारा पाउँछ उसले सबैको लप्टे (लपेश), हाडहरू, सिन्का र बत्ती वाली फाल्न लँजानु पर्छ तर यो चलन प्याङ गाउँको चलन संग मिल्दैन । जिब्रोमा हड्डी नभएको हुँदा सो को सट्टा सिन्का राखिएको हो भनी टोखाको नेवारहरू भन्दछन् । उल्लिखित वस्तुहरू फाल्नुको उद्येय जीव दान गरेको हो भन्ने कुरा बताउँछन् । यसरी 'सी का भव्य' अन्त हुन्छ र वचेका खानाहरू र बाँकी मासुहरू आफ्ना घरका परिवारहरू खाने गर्दछन् । (१६)

१६. Gerard Toffin, *op. cit.*, no. 5, उहाँले प्याङ गाउँमा देख्नु भएको 'सी का भव्य' को वर्णन गर्दै लेख्नु भए अनुसार 'बेलुकीतिर यस भोजका जमातका ठिटाहरूले गाउँको प्रवेशद्वारमा एउटा डोरी टाँग्छन् र बाँकी बोकाको मासुलाई ४४ भाग लगाउँछन् ।'

'सी का भव्य' सम्बन्धको कुरालाई लिदा, सन् १८११ मा मासौले बयान गरेको बलि सम्बन्ध सामान्य सिद्धान्त चर्चा, जस्तै बलि चढाउने कार्यमा मानिसको यस माध्यम-द्वारा यो संसारबाट अर्को संसारमा आवागमन र सम्पर्क गर्ने इच्छा प्रकट हुने, बलि तयारीको वातावरण बलिको किसिम र काट्ने बेलामा गरेको त्यसको शृंगार सर - सामग्रीहरूको विधान बोका पोलेको, चोखो आगोमा बलिको मासु पाकेको, बलि भाग लगाएको, सामुदायिक भोज खाएको र अन्तमा अर्को संसारबाट पुनः यस संसारमा फर्कन गरिने विधीको वर्णनसंग मेल खान आउँछ । यस पद्धति अनुसार 'सी का भव्य' एउटा सामुदायिक भोज खाने अवसर हो र यस भोजमा बलिको कार्य एउटा अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण अंग हो भन्ने देखिन आउँछ, किनभने यतिखेर यस सिद्धान्त अनुसार मानिसको र देवताको संसार नष्टहुनेगरी मिलेको हुन्छ । (१७)

जेहोस यस समाजमा 'सी का भव्य' ले निकै राम्रो भूमिका खेलेको पाइन्छ । किंव र कुन परिस्थितिमा टाउकोको विभिन्न भागलाई 'सी' को रूपमा बाँडिन थालियो या ती भागहरू 'सी' को रूपमा बाँडिनाका कारणहरू के के हुन् भन्ने कुरामा दार्शनिक पक्षलाई लिइ गहिरो अध्ययन गर्नु जरुरी छ ।

राजगढको युद्ध र सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरूङ्ग

-जगमान गुरूङ्ग

श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज गीर्वाणयुद्ध बिक्रम षाहको समय वि . सं . १८६०मा पुनः गढवाल विजय गर्ने अभियान प्रारम्भ भयो र काजी अमरसिंह थापा , कौसलिया सुब्बा हस्तदल शाही, काजी रणधीर बस्नेत, सर्दार भक्ति थापा, सर्दार रणजीत कुँवर र सर्दार अंगद घले दल-मुखी भई कुमाउँमा सामेज्र भए ।(१) मन्दाकिनी, खेडाघाट , घामागढी आदिको युद्ध जितेर सर्वै सैनिक श्री नगरमा आई बसेका थिए । त्यसै बीच वि. सं. १८६२ मा राजा र मुस्तियार भीमसेन थापाले काँगडाको किल्लामा पनि आक्रमण गर्ने निश्चय गरेकोले काजी अमरसिंह थापा को महत्को लागि काठमाडौँवाट काजी नयनसिंह थापा , काजी जसपाउ थापा , सर्दार भोट्ट, सुब्बा तोरध्वज शाही, सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरूङ्ग र सुब्बा नाथु गुरूङ्ग दलबल सहित काँगडा तर्फ खटिए ।(२)

काँगडा जानु भन्दा अघि नयन सिंह थापा केही काम काज सिक्नको लागि पाल्पा गएका थिए । वि .सं . १८६२ को श्रावणमा नयनसिंह थापालाई काठमाडौँ आउनु भन्ने आदेश भयो ।(३) काठमाडौँ आएपछि वि . सं . १८६२ को असोजमा नयनसिंह थापालाई काजी अमरसिंह थापा सरह काँगडा र १२ कम्पनिको तैनाथी दिई काँगडा पठाएको थियो ।(४) जिल्ला जिल्लाका अमालीदार, तलप्या, वितलप्या, वित्तवार, ढाक्रे, छाप, छुप्याली र

१. रमेशजङ्ग थापा (सं), "नेपाल देशको इतिहास," प्राचीन नेपाल, संख्या २४, (वि. सं. १९३०), पृ. ११
२. मालपोत विभाग, लगत शाखामा भएको पोका नं. ४, बहि नं. १६, पृ. २४०, संख्या १०२३ को पत्र
३. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व. नं. १६, पृ. १३, सं. ५७
४. त्यही, पो. नं. ४ व. नं. १६, पृ. २१६, सं. ६२२

सिपाही लाई काजी नयनसिंह धापाका साथ सामेल भै वि. सं. १८६२ को असीज भरमा गडवाल पुग्नु भन्ने आदेश भएको थियो ।(५)

यसै गरी जितला जिल्लाका गुरुङ्गहरूलाई घरै पिच्छै एक एक जना काँगडाको युद्धको लागि काजी नयनसिंह धापाको साथ गडवाल जानु भन्ने आदेश भएको थियो । काँगडाको युद्धमा गएका र नगएका गुरुङ्गहरू माथी कडा निगरानी राखेको थियो । गडवाल गएका गुरुङ्ग जतिलाई रुद्रवीर शाहीले एक एक जाँचिेर प्रमाणित गरिदिएको हुन्थ्यो । गडवाल पुगेर सुब्बा रुद्रवीर शाहीबाट प्रमाणपत्र लिई काँगडा नगएर छली घर फर्कने गुरुङ्गहरूलाई नेल हाल्नु र सवालमा लेखेको भन्दा दोब्बर दण्ड गर्नु भन्ने आदेश भएको थियो । तर काँगडाको युद्धमा गएका गुरुङ्गहरूलाई भने दण्ड (सलामी) माफ गरिदिएको थियो । (६) दण्ड (सलामी) माफ गरिदिनुका साथै आ-आफुले खाई पाई आएको बित्ता पनि थमौति गरि दिएको थियो । (७) यसरी काँगडाको युद्धमा गुरुङ्गहरूले अनिवार्य रूपमा भाग लिएको थियो ।

सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्ग र नाथु गुरुङ्गलाई ४ कम्पनि र मुखेतको तैनाथी दिएर काँगडा पठाएको थियो ।(८) वि. सं. १८४७ मा नाथु गुरुङ्गले कास्कीको पुरानु रिमान बित्ता पाएका थिए ।(९) यिनका पिता जिवा गुरुङ्ग वि. सं. १८५१ ताका बारूदखानाका डिट्टा थिए ।(१०) वि. सं. १८४७ मा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गका पिता घने गुरुङ्गले कास्कीको चौद भराभरि बित्ता पाएका थिए ।(११) वि. सं. १८५१ मा घने गुरुङ्गको बित्ता उनको छोरा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको नाममा थाभिएको थियो ।(१२) प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्ग र नाथु गुरुङ्गले वि. सं. १८६२ मा सुब्बाजी पाएका थिए तापनि वि. सं. १८६१ तामा नै यिनीहरू जागिरे भई सकेका थिए ।(१३)

५. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व.नं. १६, पृ. ११०, सं. ४१४

६. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व.नं. १६, पृ. २०७, सं. ८४८, ८४९

७. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व.नं. १६, पृ. २०६, सं. ८६३

८. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व.नं. १६, पृ. २१७, सं. ९१४

९. त्यही, पो. नं. १, व. नं. १, पृ. ३८, सं. २३१

१०. त्यही, पो. नं. २, व. नं. ७, पृ. ५२, सं. ३५६

११. त्यही, पो. नं. १, व.नं. १, पृ. ३७, सं. २१७

१२. त्यही, पो. नं. २, व. नं. ८, पृ. १३, सं. १०३

१३. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व. नं. १६, पृ. २०१, सं. ८६६

काजी अमरसिंह थापाको साथमा रहेर काँगडाको युद्धमा सहयोग गर्नकोलागि हिरा गुरु-
ङ्गले केसी लामाले खाएको जग्गा विर्ता पाएका थिए ।(१४) सुवेदार बिरु गुरुङ्गले सार्दी र वा
भल लुवाङ्को २ खेत भागा चामल पाएका थिए ।(१५) वि. सं. १८७२मा सुवेदार हिरा गुरुङ्ग
र बिरु गुरुङ्ग काठमाडौंवाट २८ धान बाजा जिम्मा लिई नाहानका शासक काजी रणवीर
थापा कहाँ गएका थिए । (१३)

काँगडाको युद्धमा जाँदा काशीराम गुरुङ्गले कास्कीको घल्याल विर्ता पाएका थिए । वि.सं.
१८६३ मा अरुवर गुरुङ्गले काशीराम गुरुङ्गको घल्याल छाप विर्ता पाए । वि. सं. १८६४
मा पुनः काशीराम गुरुङ्गको नाममा घल्यालको छाप थमोति भयो ।(१७) वि. सं. १८७१ ताका
अरुवर गुरुङ्ग जमदार थिए र काजी अमरसिंह थापाका साथ अकिमा बसेका थिए ।(१८) काशी-
राम गुरुङ्गले घल्यालको अतिरिक्त कास्की लामडाँडाको २ खेत पगि काँगडाको सुरक्षामा रहन्ने-
लको लागि माना चामल पाएका थिए ।(१९) पछि अरिदमन कम्पनीका जमदार खाँगे गुरुङ्गले
कास्की लामडाँडाको जग्गा विर्ता पाए ।(२०) यसै गरी काँगडा जाने कवोल गर्दा भुजवल
गुरुङ्गले भुर्जुङकोट विर्ता पाएका थिए । (२१)

सुन्दा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको मातहतका ४ कम्पनिका सुवेदारहरू बहादुर गुरुङ्ग, कालु गुरुङ्ग,
विराज गुरुङ्ग र चन्द्रमणि गुरुङ्ग थिए । यी सुवेदारहरूले २।२ खेत माना चामल पाएका
थिए ।(२२) सुवेदार बहादुर गुरुङ्गले थाक ठेनि को २५०।- रूपैया तनखा पाएका थिए ।(२३) सु-

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१४. त्यही, पो. नं. ६, व. नं. २६, पृ. ८३, सं. ४४६
१५. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व. नं. १७, पृ. ५८, सं. २२५
१६ सुवेदार हिरा गुरुङ्गका वंशज कास्की रिभान निवासी श्री डिल बहादुर गुरुङ्गको घरमा
भएको पत्र
१७. मालपोत विभाग, उही, पो. नं. ६, व. नं. २६, पृ. २०, सं. ७०
१८. योगी नरहरिनाथ, (सं.) इतिहास प्रकाशना सन्धि पत्र संग्रह, भाग १
(काठमाडौं: इतिहास प्रकास संघ, वि सं २०२२), पृ. २६
१९. मालपोत विभाग, उही, पो. नं. ६, व. नं. २६, पृ. ४४, सं. १६६
२०. शङ्कर मान राजवंशी (सं.), शाहकालीन ऐतिहासिक चिट्ठो पत्र संग्रह, भाग १,
(काठमाडौं: बीर पुस्तकालय, वि. सं. २०२३), पृ. १६१
२१ मालपोत विभाग, उही, पो. नं. ११, व. नं. ४२, पृ. १७७, सं. ६४४
२२. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व. नं. १६, पृ. २१३, सं. ८६१
२३ त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व. नं. १६, पृ. २१६, सं. ६०५

वेदार कालु गुरुङ्गले भेडी गोठ राखनको लागि मु'गा वाक्रिया भन्ने लेक खरक पाएका थिए । (२४)
 नाथु गुरुङ्गको मृत्यु पछि कालु गुरुङ्गको नाउमा नाथु गुरुङ्गको विर्ता थामिएको थियो । (२५)
 सुवेदार बिराज गुरुङ्गले खाँदजुङको भणना विर्ता पाएका थिए । (२६) सुवेदार चन्द्रमणि,
 गुरुङ्गले खडका गाउँको तोरिवारी विर्ता पाएका थिए । (२७)

काँगडा विजय गर्ने नेपालीहरूको अभियान यथावत चालु थियो । यसका लागि काँगडाको
 यथार्थ वस्तुस्थिति बुझ्नु पर्ने आवश्यक भयो । केसो गुरुङ्गले काँगडाको नक्सा बनाई श्री ५का
 हजूरमा चढाएर यस समस्या लाई सजिलो पारि दिए । यस बापत केसो गुरुङ्गले रु. ३२५१-
 धप वालि खर्च पाए । (२८)

वि. सं. १८७० मा सीखसंग भएको भटौली मंडला र रोरी टिप्पा आदिको युद्धमा शत्रु
 लाई परास्त गर्न सुवेदार बहादुर गुरुङ्गको महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान थियो । यस सिलसिलामा सुवे-
 दार बहादुर गुरुङ्गले तानको बैराठ टिप्पा, सिगोल टिप्पा आदि स्थानमा मोर्चा बाँधी बसेका
 थिए । सुवेदार बहादुर गुरुङ्गका अतिरिक्त यस युद्धमा जमदार घनवर गुरुङ्ग, जमदार प्रा
 दल गुरुङ्ग र संसेर जंगका सिपाही बासु गुरुङ्गको पनि भूमिका रहेको थियो (२९)

वि. सं. १८७१ मा काली कुमाउँबाट अंग्रेज सर्दार हाँसीलाई पक्रेर सुब्बा हस्तदल
 शाही कुमाउँमा चौतारिया बम शाहसंग सामेल हुन आए पछि अंग्रेजले कटारको बाटो बाट
 गणनाथको टिप्पामा आक्रमण गरे । चौतारिया बम शाहले गणनाथको सुरक्षाको लागि सुब्बा
 हस्तदल शाही लाई पठाएका थिए तर बाटैमा अंग्रेज सैन्यसंग मुठभेट भई ठूलो लडाई हुँदा
 सुब्बा हस्तदल शाही त्यस युद्धमा परे । त्यही बेला सर्दार भक्ति थापा र सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्ग
 सूर्य गढको सुरक्षामा थिए । उनीहरूले लोहारभन्ज्याङमा आ-आपना मातहतका एक एक
 कम्पनि राखेर सुरक्षाको राम्रो प्रबन्ध मिलाएका थिए । (३०)

२४. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व. नं. १९, पृ. २१२, सं. ८८५

२५. त्यही, पो. नं. १५, व. नं. ५४, पृ. १२८, सं. ६४८

२६. त्यही, पो. नं. १४, व. नं. १९, पृ. २१२, सं. ८८३

२७. त्यही, पो. नं. ४, व. नं. १९, पृ. २१२, सं. ८८५

२८. योगी नरहरी नाथ (सं), इतिहास प्रकाश, अङ्क १, (काठमाण्डौ: इतिहास प्रकाश
 मण्डल, वि. सं. २०१२), पृ. ५०

२९. महेश राज पन्त, "वीर भक्ति थापा" पूर्णिमा, वर्ष ६, अङ्क १, (वि. सं. २०२६), पृ. ३०

३०. थापा, उहाँ, नं (१), पृ. १८

अंग्रेजसंगको यस युद्धमा नेपाली सैन्यमा शौर्यता र धीरताको ज्वलन्त उदाहरण पाइन्थ्यो तापनि चतुर अंग्रेजको फूटगोति पूर्ण व्यावहारले गर्दा विजित प्रान्तका जनताहरू नेपालीका विरोधि बन्दै गए । त्यसको फलस्वरूप नालागढ, रामगढ, देउथल आदि मुख्य किल्लाहरूबाट नेपालीको अधिकार छुट्दै गयो । तैपनि नेपालीहरू कति पनि हतोत्साही नबनी ती किल्लाहरूमा पुनः अधिपत्य जमाउन प्रयत्नशील थिए । यसै सन्दर्भमा राजगढको युद्धमा सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गले धीरगति प्राप्त गरे ।

श्री ललितजंग सिजापतिद्वारा प्रस्तुत राजगढ युद्धको वर्णनको सारांश यस प्रकार छ -

"... .. शतरुद्राका बायाँ किनारामा पूर्व पश्चिम लम्बाई भएका तीन पहाड छन् । तिन मा दक्षिण पट्टिको पहाडमा नालागढ, माझका पहाडमा रामगढ र उत्तर तिरको मलाउ भन्ने पहाडमा राजगढ दियो । यी नेपालीका मुख्य गढीहरू थिए ।

कप्तान बलभद्र कुँवरले नालापानी छोड्ने बखतमा अक्टोबर्लोनि रामगढ देख्न गने उद्योगमा थिए । बि. सं. १८७१ मार्ग ५ गते अक्टोबर्लोनिले कर्नेल टाम्सनलाई रामगढमा आक्रमण गर्न पठाए । उनले बि. सं. १८७१ मार्ग १६ गते हमला गरे तर जित्न सकेनन् । त्यस पछि उनले त्यस प्रान्तका जनतालाई भडकाउन थाले । रामशरण, महेश्वर र बाह्रठाकुराईका नायक समेत अंग्रेजसंग मिल्न जाँदा गढीका आसपासका जनता सबै नेपालीका विद्रोही भए । यसबाट नेपालीहरूको बल घटन गयो । त्यस कारण काजी अमरसिंह थापाले राजगढलाई नै बलियो बनाउन अरु गढीका सेनालाई राजगढमा जम्मा हुन लगाई आफु पनि रामगढबाट त्यही गए । जनतालाई नेपालीहरूका विरुद्ध भडकाई सके पछि अंग्रेजले रामगढ देख्न गरे । त्यसपछि अक्टोबर्लोनिले मलाउका गढीहरूमा आक्रमण गर्न शुरु गरे । बि. सं. १८७१ को चैत्र २१ गते अंग्रेजले सूर्य गढमा घेरा हाले । सूर्य गढ र राज गढका टिप्पाहरूमा नेपालीहरूले आड बनाई बसेका थिए । बि. सं. १८७२ बैशाख ४ गते अक्टोबर्लोनिले रैला र देउथलमा आक्रमण गर्न पठाए । ती दुवै ठाउँ अंग्रेजको कब्जामा परे । त्यस पछि कप्तान बाबर राजगढका पछाडी र कप्तान शावेस अगाडिका छाउनीमा पुगे । राजगढबाट नेपाली सैनिकहरू निस्केर दिन भर अंग्रेजसंग लडे । रात परेपछि नेपालीहरू राजगढमा घुसे ।

देउथलमा अंग्रेजले मोर्चा जमाएपछि त्यहाँ बाट राजगढ सम्म तोपको गोला पुग्ने हुनाले नेपालीहरूलाई राजगढमा टिकन गाह्रो भएको थियो । त्यस कारण काजी अमरसिंह थापाले बि. सं. १८७२ बैशाख ५ गतेका राति देउथलमा आक्रमण गर्ने निधो गरे । राजगढबाट बेहि तल ओर्लेर देउथलमा चढ्नु पर्दथ्यो । जुनेली रातमा नेपाली सैनिकहरूले अंग्रेजसंग खुब डटेर लडेका थिए तर सर्दार भक्ति थापा प्रभृति घेरै सैनिकहरू त्यस युद्धमा परेकोले बाँकी बचेका सैनिकलाई समेटेर अमरसिंह थापा राजगढमा नै फर्के ।

वि. सं. १८७२ बैशाख ६ गते अंग्रेजले नारायणगढ दखल गरे। त्यसपछि सूर्यगढ पनि बचाउन नसकिने देखी त्यहाँका नेपाली सैनिकहरू राजगढमा सामेल भए। त्यसैदिन अंग्रेजले राजगढ पनि घेरे। नेपाली सैनिकमा अफिसरमा भर्ना भएका त्यहाँका बासिन्दाहरूले आत्म-समर्पण गरिदिदा नेपालीहरूको घेरै बल घट्यो। त्यस पछि काजी अमरसिंह थापासंग केवल खास नेपाली २०० जवान सैनिक मात्र बाँकी रहे.....”(३१)

उपरोक्त बर्णनमा सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको स्पष्ट उल्लेख छैन तर उनका छोरा सुवेदार जय मंगल गुरुङ्गको बिन्ती पत्रमा उनको बाबु प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्ग राजगढका लडाईंमा परेको उल्लेख भएको र जयमंगल गुरुङ्ग पनि काजी अमरसिंह थापाका साथ काँगडामा बसेकोले उनको बिन्ति गराई विश्वासनीय छ। (३२)

राजगढको युद्धमा सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको मृत्यु भएपछि उनका साहिला भाई दलपति गुरुङ्गले सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको नगरा निशान लिई श्री ५का हजूरमा जाहेर गर्दा नगरा निशान को गुठी र प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको मरवट बापत कास्की लामा चौरमा २।४० खेत पाए। वि. सं. १८६६ ताका दलपति गुरुङ्ग मृम्भेदान थिए। (३३) वि. सं. १८६४मा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको नगरा निशानको गुठी र मरवट भिकिदिए। भीमसेन थापाको पतन पछि उनी स्वयंको र उनले दिए का सबै थप मरवट आदि जवद भएको थियो। (३४) त्यही बेला प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको नगरा निशान को गुठी र मरवट पनि भिकिदिएको देखिन्छ। वि. सं. १९१९मा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गका छोरा सुवेदार जयमंगल गुरुङ्गले श्री ३ महाराज जंग बहादुर राणालाई सबै ब्याहोरा उल्लेख गरी बिन्ति गर्दा नगरा निशानको नित्य नैमित्य पूजाको लागि १०० मुरि खेत गुठी राखि दिए। (३५) सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्ग एवं सुवेदार जयमंगल गुरुङ्गका वंशज कास्की चौर गाउँ निवासी श्री गम बहादुर गुरुङ्गको घरमा सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको नगरा निशान अद्यावदि सुरक्षित छ।

३१. ललित जङ्ग सिजापति, विशाल गोस्वा राज्यका केही प्रसिद्ध राजाहरू, (काठमाण्डौं:

ने. भा. प्र. स., वि. सं. २०१४), पृ. ६५-१०२

३२. मालपोत विभाग, उही, पो.नं. ८, व. नं. ३०, पृ. ८७, सं. ४७२

३३. रमेश जङ्ग थापा (सं.), "ऐतिहासिक पत्र स्तम्भ," प्राचीन नेपाल, संख्या २८,
(वि. सं. २०३०), पृ. ३१

३४. कौशी तोवा खानाको पोका नं. ३, थान ७३, संख्या ५३को रुक्का

३५. सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गका वंशज कास्की, चउर गाउँ निवासी श्री गम बहादुर गुरुङ्गको घरमा भएको रुक्का

श्री ५ बडामहाराज पृथ्वी नारायण शाहको मरवट नीतिलाई उनका वंशजहरूले पनि अनुसरण गर्दै आएका थिए तर मरवटको साथै उसको तैनाथको कम्पनिको नगरा निशान समेत उनका वंशजलाई सुम्पेर दिवंगत योद्धालाई सम्मान गरेको उदाहरण भने कर्म मात्र पाईन्छ । राजगढको युद्धमा सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको भूमिका विषयमा अध्ययन गर्नु बांकी नै छ तापनि उनका छोरालाई मरवटको साथै उनको नगरा निशान समेत दिएर उनी प्रति सम्मान प्रदान गरेको देखिएकोले अवश्य पनि राजगढको युद्धमा सुब्बा प्रल्हाद गुरुङ्गको महत्वपूर्ण योगदान थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ ।