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# Finding the Khassa Malla: Preliminary Investigations of the Surkhet Valley, West Nepal

- Jason D. Hawkes, Bryan Alvey, Christopher Evans, Tim Harward, Ram Bahadur Kunwar

## Introduction

The developments that took place in West Nepal during the early medieval period (c. eighth to fifteenth centuries A.D.) were perhaps some of the most formative in the history of Nepal and the entire Central Himalayan sector. Following the end of Licchavi suzerainty in the eighth century, there was a realignment of the geopolitical map of Nepal. Associated with this were a series of social and economic transformations: social hierarchies and structures became more complex, economic specialisation intensified, and various religious institutions grew and spread.<sup>1</sup> In West Nepal, these developments reached their peak during the reign of the Khassa Malla from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries A.D. The origins of the Khassa Malla are unclear. Epigraphic evidence testifies to the existence of a group called the *Malla* in the mountains of western Nepal as early as the fifth century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Yet, a number of references in the early Sanskrit literature suggests that the *Khaśas* originally inhabited the mountainous areas of present day northern Pakistan, and gradually moved eastwards during the first millennium A.D.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, by the ninth century, they are mentioned in copper-plate inscriptions from Kumaon (Sankritiyan, 1953); and in the early twelfth century they established a Khassa kingdom, *Khaśadesa*, in West Nepal and began to include the title 'Malla' in the late thirteenth century, presumably reflecting the assimilation of these two lineages and groups.<sup>4</sup>

At height of their power, the Khassa Malla kingdom stretched from Southwest Tibet in the north to the western Terai in the south, and from

Garhwal and Kumaon in the west to the Kathmandu Valley in the east (Adhikary, 1997) (Fig.1). The extent of their kingdom is marked by pillar stones, *kirti khambas*, which were erected throughout their territory (Naraharinath, 1956; Tucci, 1956). Many of these pillars bear inscriptions that record the names, dates and exploits of the Khassa Malla rulers. These, together with a number of copper-plate inscriptions found throughout West Nepal, are written variously in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Siñjali, the official language of the Khassa. This range of languages reflects not only the different cultural origins of the Khassa, but also the scale of cultural diversity within their kingdom.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, judging by what can be gleaned from epigraphic and textual sources regarding Khassa society, and the seemingly rapid assimilation of the different cultural and social groups within the kingdom, the makeup of Khassa Malla society can be understood to have provided a strong foundation for the Pahali socio-cultural system visible in Nepal today (Adhikary, 1997).<sup>6</sup> In addition, the integration of these different groups over such a large geographical area would undoubtedly have helped facilitate even greater interaction between other parts of India and Tibet through networks of communication, pilgrimage and trade. An important element of this may have been the movement of people, objects and ideas along the Silk Road – part of which is likely to have passed through this area of Nepal connecting India and Tibet. These contacts and exchanges would undoubtedly have led to an increase in economic specialisation, as well as other social and political transformations. That this was indeed the case is borne out by evidence of an increase

in trade and craft production throughout West Nepal at this time, as well as a renaissance of architecture, sculpture and literature.<sup>7</sup> Such changes would have played an important role in the development of society, not only in West Nepal, but also the rest of Nepal and the entire Central Himalayan sector.

1958; Bajracharya, 1962; Gyawali, 1962; Regmi, 1965; Joshi, 1971; Malla, 1976; Adhikary, 1997; Pandey, 1997). Notwithstanding this evidence, however, there remains only the sketchiest of outlines of the Khasa Malla and the nature of the developments that took place during their reign. Many questions exist

regarding the socio-economic, religious and political dynamics of West Nepal during the early medieval period.

In part, this is due to a traditional bias towards the Kathmandu Valley in the study of ancient and medieval Nepal, meaning that West Nepal has perhaps not received the attention it deserves. In addition, West Nepal and contiguous areas of Tibet are remote, and, until relatively recently, fairly inaccessible for all but the most intrepid of researchers. Yet, more fundamentally, our understanding is limited by an

over-reliance on epigraphic and textual sources. What little is known about the Khasa Malla is mainly that which has been inferred from the inscriptions and ancient texts. The archaeological evidence, on the other hand, has received little or no attention. Since the discoveries of Naraharinath and Tucci in the 1950s, the only investigative archaeological works targeted specifically towards the elucidation of the Khasa Malla have been the recent excavations at Sinja (Evans & Gibson, 2003). Archaeological investigation has the potential to ground the inferences that can be made from the inscriptions and texts in the archaeological and geographical realities of West Nepal, and to expand the range of questions that can be asked of this important period far beyond the current scope of inquiry. There is, therefore, a serious need to develop archaeological understanding of Khasa Malla. Then, and only then, can some of the larger questions pertaining to the development of society in West Nepal and the wider Central Himalayan sector begin to be answered.

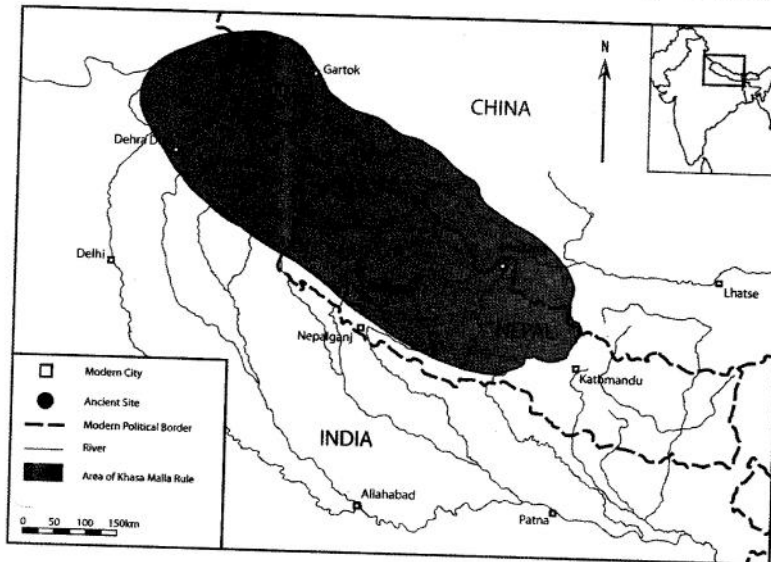


Fig.1 Map of the Khasa Malla Empire c. 12th-15th century AD

### Problems and Limitations

Despite their importance, relatively little is known about the Khasa Malla. That is not to say that there is a paucity of evidence—a large number of archaeological sites and inscriptions are known throughout West Nepal, Tibet and Garhwal-Kumaon. Many of these were discovered during the pioneering surveys of Yogi Naraharinath (1956) and Giuseppe Tucci (1956, 1960, 1962); with subsequent surveys having been carried out by Mohan Prasad Khanal (1973), Raja Ram Subedi (1979, 1984), Harka Bahadur Gurung (1980), Surya Mani Adhikary (1986), and the Government of Nepal Department of Archaeology. Many of the architectural and sculptural remains of the Khasa Malla from West Nepal have been since been reviewed by Prayag Raj Sharma (1972), and the epigraphic evidence has been well documented and incorporated into histories of West Nepal by various scholars (Petech,

## Points of Departure: the Surkhet Valley

As a first step towards reinvigorating the examination of the archaeology of the Khasa Malla, the Surkhet Valley Project (SVP) was established in order to examine the archaeology and geography of the Surkhet Valley in the Bheri Anchal (Zone) of West Nepal.<sup>8</sup> Geographically, the Valley is located in the southern extent of the Mahabharat range before they fall away to the western Terai further to the South (Thapa & Thapa, 1969). The Valley is almost circular, with the modern settlement of Birendranagar located at its northern edge; and at its centre is a prominent and distinctive hill that dominates the valley floor. Topographically, Surkhet is fairly inaccessible; even today roads are only able to enter and exit the valley in five locations. These points of ascent and decent enable movement across the Mahabharat Range in this area, and thus suggest that the Valley is important nodal point in the network of routes that spread throughout this region.

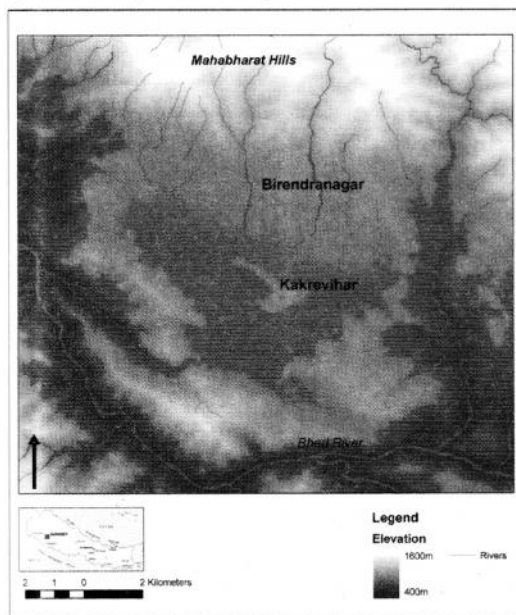


Fig.2 Map of the Surkhet Valley

Historically, Surkhet would probably have fallen within the Khasa Malla sphere of influence, and was most likely part of the wider Khasa kingdom. This is suggested by the existence of four

pillars in the Valley that correspond to the type of *kirti khamba* erected by the Khasa Malla throughout the kingdom, which are still visible in a number of locations such as at Dullu (Naraharinath, 1956, II, i; Tucci, 1956). In this connection, it is also worth mentioning that Bheri Anchal is contiguous to the Karnali Basin, which remained the heartland of the Khasa Malla kingdom throughout their rule. The Valley is also home to a large and important Buddhist temple, marked by the remains of the temple at Kāṅkrevihār located on the summit of the hill that dominates the centre of the Valley. First discovered by Naraharinath in the 1950s, the site was excavated in the early 2000s by the Government of Nepal Department of Archaeology.<sup>9</sup> These excavations focussed exclusively on the main temple building, and revealed the original foundation of the temple platform, which was subsequently reconstructed. The site has been assigned an approximate date of between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. (i.e. during the reign of the Khasa Malla). However, the basis for this date is not clear.<sup>10</sup> A clue as to the importance of the site in antiquity is provided by a manuscript of the Buddhist text, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, currently preserved in the sPon K'an monastery in Tibet.<sup>11</sup> In the colophon of this manuscript is inscribed a note that records the fact that it was copied from an original in Surkhet (Petech, 1980: 108-109). Given the size and importance of the temple at Kāṅkrevihār, it is likely that this original copy would have been housed there.

Other archaeological remains found in the Surkhet Valley include a series of mounds located in the modern settlement of Birendranagar, in which fragments of bricks are visible (Gurung, 1980: 125). It has been suggested that these date from the thirteenth century A.D. (*Ibid.*). However, the basis for this date is unclear, and appears to have been based primarily on the proximity of Birendranagar to the nearby site of Kāṅkrevihār. Two of these areas have been protected by the Department of Archaeology: one at Chaughanchaur, and another adjacent to the Danda Primary School. These sites have not been excavated, and, due to a lack of diagnostic surface remains, they have not yet been dated securely. Also in Birendranagar is a fragmentary inscription

dating to A.D.1292 that has been built into the wall of the modern temple of Mahānkāla. The inscription records the name (or names) 'Āsāsāhu Rudrādevī', the identity of whom remains unclear (Adhikary, 1979-80: 176). In addition, recent work in the area by Tim Harward has revealed the locations of isolated spot finds of undated carved architectural fragments in the grounds of the Department of Cottage Industries (adjacent to the site at Chaughanchaur) and a modern army base at Mangalgadhi to the south of Birendranagar (Harward, 2009).

The known archaeological remains of the Surkhet Valley clearly demonstrate its perceived historical importance and potential for further investigation. Yet, the relative lack of archaeological work that has been undertaken in the area restricts the interpretations and conclusions that can be made of this material. The limited extent of the excavations at Kāhkrevihār means that the precise chronology, original extent, and nature of activities that took place at the site are unknown. At the same time, the lack of any detailed examination of the other sites in the Valley means that they have not yet been identified or dated satisfactorily. As a result, many of the interpretations regarding the archaeological remains of the Surkhet Valley remain tentative at best. Of specific concern is the identification of the two sites currently protected by the Government Department of Archaeology in the modern town of Birendranagar. It is not clear if they are the remains of an earlier settlement, and if so whether or not this settlement was contemporary to the temple complex at Kāhkrevihār.

As such, the starting point of the SVP's work in Surkhet has been to undertake preliminary survey of the known remains of the Surkhet Valley in order to establish a picture of the archaeological and geographical realities of the Valley, assess the archaeological potential of sites that exist, and formulate a coherent strategy for future research. To this end, the known archaeological sites of Kāhkrevihār and Birendranagar were surveyed during April 2010 to more properly identify them and establish a picture of the overall extent of archaeological remains in each location. This was then combined with a survey of the surrounding area

to establish an overall picture of the characteristic features of the archaeology and geography of the Valley.

### The Kāhkrevihār Temple

Looking first at the site of Kāhkrevihār, the site is located on the summit of a large isolated hill near the centre of the Surkhet Valley. The site itself is topographically defined by a flat 35m<sup>2</sup> area that drops away sharply to the north, south and west, and slopes gradually downwards extending for another 45m before also falling sharply to the east. Aside from a small clearing at the highest point of the site, much of the area is covered by open forest comprised mostly of Sal trees (*Shorea robusta*) that extends across the entire hill. The temple platform reconstructed by the Government Department of Archaeology (Structure 1) is located in the centre of the clearing (Figs. 3 and 4). Immediately to the east is a modern structure that has been erected to provide temporary shelter for the best preserved sculptural fragments. In order to account for any other remains that might be associated with the excavated temple, the survey frame was defined as a large (5000 square metre) area delineated by the topography of the hill. The entire site was digitally planned using a Total Station, and was then field walked intensively using one metre transects to identify and record any archaeological material on the surface and establish a detailed picture of the site.

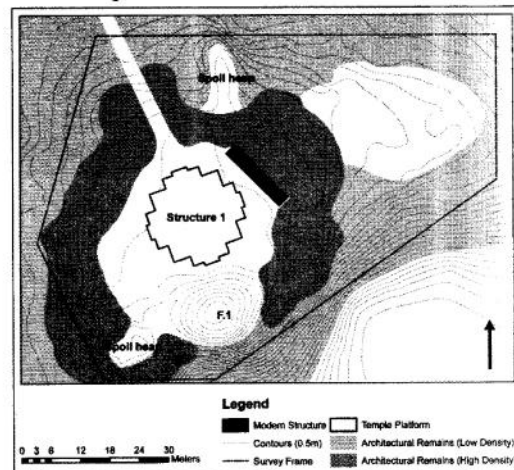


Fig.3 The Site of Kāhkrevihār



Fig.4 Reconstructed temple platform at Kāṅkrevihār

The reconstructed temple platform that dominates the site is composed of two parts: the base plinth (*piṭha*), above which is the foundation block, or socle (*vedibandha*). This is decorated with a distinct series of mouldings, which would have supported the main superstructure of the temple itself. Based on the dimensions of the platform (as it has been reconstructed), the socle and main temple superstructure would have measured 13m by 13m. Four staircases extend from both the lower plinth and the socle at each of the main compass points. In addition to this platform, survey of the site revealed the existence of one other structural feature (Feature 1) located immediately to the south: a large mound, measuring 19m east-west by 13m north-south, and 4m high. Most of the surface of the mound is obscured by trees. Yet, irregular shaped stones, possibly roughly hewn, are partially exposed on the northern face of the mound. Taken together, these characteristics enable the feature to be identified as the possible remains of a structure: the exposed stones being identified as either the possible 'fill' of a rubble-built structural wall, or else the remains of a foundation platform. A more precise identification of this structure is not possible without excavation. Two other smaller mounds are visible to the northeast and southwest of the main temple platform. These, however, were identified as spoil heaps resulting from the earlier excavation of the site by the Department of Archaeology.<sup>12</sup>

The surface of the rest of the site was found to be covered by a large number of carved architectural and sculptural fragments. Preliminary examination

of the carvings enabled their identification as the remains of a temple superstructure, most likely all pertaining to the main temple building. It is not the intention to provide the results of a complete analysis of these carved remains here. These will form part of a more substantive publication that is forthcoming (*The Medieval Temple Site of Kāṅkrevihār, Surkhet*). However, to briefly summarise, certain fragments can be identified as the remains of the original plinth (*piṭha*) and socle (*vedibandha*) on the basis of their architectural form. Other fragments would have formed part of the original superstructure of the temple. Here, one can identify fragments of the wall (*janghā*) of the temple building, including: door lintels and window sills carved with simple mouldings, and door jambs decorated with various sculptural representations. A number of fragments also remain of the entablature (*varaṅḍikā*) that would have capped the main building, as well as various constituent parts of the four sided tower (*śikhara*) that would have crowned the entire structure. These include fragments of miniature and chest spires (*śrīṅga*, and *uraṅ-śrīṅga*) that would have decorated the sides of the tower, the main spire (*mula śrīṅga*) itself, as well as a number of capstones carved into a grooved disc-shape (*āmalasāraka*), and pot-shaped finials (*kalaśa*) that would have decorated the top of the spires. Taken together, the architectural fragments and the reconstructed temple platform (which one assumes mirrors the foundation plan revealed during excavation), enable us to identify the original temple as belonging to the general *Nāgara* style of temple architecture.<sup>13</sup> Yet, due to the fragmentary nature of the remains, it is not possible to identify the precise plan and specific type of temple superstructure.

Many of the architectural fragments are carved with a variety of sculptural scenes. These depict a variety of subjects, including decorative motifs and iconographic representations. Many of the iconographic scenes depict the Buddha and Dhyani Buddhas in a variety of different poses (*mudras*). These are carved on large panels that would have decorated the wall of the main temple building, and on small panels in both horizontal and vertical registers decorating door jambs and

lintels. Representations of the Buddha include both formal iconographic depictions, as well as narrative scenes illustrating various episodes from the life of the Buddha (Sharma, 2006: 86). In addition, a number of minor deities are represented, including: *apsaras* (celestial singers and dancers), *gandharvas* (celestial musicians), *dvārapālas* (guardian figures), and *ganas* (dwarf-like, auspicious nature-spirits). Other than the representations of *dvārapālas*, which are limited to the central registers of the door jambs, all of these figures appear in a variety of poses and are carved on a number of different constituent parts of the temple. Most common among the decorative motifs are the *gavākṣa* (horseshoe arch form), *purīa-ghaṭa* (vase over-flowing with foliage), lozenges, and *raigāni* (flower ornaments in small squares) motifs. These, too, are not limited to any particular part of the temple. The range of sculptural representations visible at Kāṅkrevihār is typical of those found at other Buddhist temples from the early medieval period throughout North India.<sup>14</sup> Preliminary consideration of the style of the sculptures and comparison with those from other sites enables them to be dated to at least as early as the thirteenth century, and may even date from as early as the eleventh or twelfth century A.D.

With no published details of the excavation of the temple and different phases of construction (if any) that may have been recorded, most of the identifications and interpretations regarding the temple and the wider site can only be made on the basis of the reconstructed platform and associated carved remains. Yet, enough survives to enable the identification of the architectural form of the temple as belonging to the *Nāgara* style, and typical of the general type of Buddhist temples that also existed across North India during this time. Given the size of the temple and possible presence of another building at the site, Kāṅkrevihār was almost certainly home to a permanent religious community. In lieu of any inscriptions naming the group that founded the temple, it is not possible to identify the exact community that used the site. However, in this connection an important clue is provided by the reference to Surkhet made in the copy of the *Abhisamayāṅkāra* manuscript housed in the sPon K'an monastery in Tibet noted above. If this manuscript was indeed copied from an earlier original at Kāṅkrevihār, then the community at Kāṅkrevihār would have to have belonged to a Buddhist school that subscribed to the philosophical perspective espoused in this text. As a commentary on the



Fig. 5 Buddhist sculptures from the temple at Kāṅkrevihār

*Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*, it is of course known that the *Abhisamayāṅkāra* was related to both the *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* Schools of thought (see further Sparham, 2006-2009; Conze, 1978).<sup>15</sup> Given the later predominance of the *Yogācāra* School in Tibet, where a copy of the Kāṅkrevihār manuscript was ultimately found, it is possible that the community at Kāṅkrevihār were, in fact, attached to the *Yogācāra* School of thought.



## The Settlement of Birendranagar

Turning now to the city of Birendranagar, the two sites previously identified by Gurung (1980) and currently under the protection of the Department of Archaeology were surveyed in detail. The sites at Chaughanchaur and the Danda Primary School (SKT001 and SKT002 respectively) are located in the northern sector of the modern settlement on slightly higher ground than main part of the city, at the foot of the Mahabharat hills (Fig. 6). Chaughanchaur is defined by a pronounced mound (Feature 1), measuring 67m by 40m, with an elevation of 3.5m (Fig. 7). The feature is surrounded by modern roads, and forms the centre of a roundabout. Roughly hewn stone fragments (all <math>< 50\text{cm}^2</math> in size) are partially exposed across the surface. Based on its physical characteristics, the mound was identified as the remains of a structural feature; the precise identification of which is not clear on the basis of the surface remains alone.

Contiguous to this structure, large areas of open land extend to the northwest, southeast and southwest that were considered part of the same site for the purpose of survey. A number of additional structural features were noted in the area to the southeast. These are characterised by low, raised linear features composed of roughly hewn stone aligned in square plans. However, these were identified as the remains of modern structures on the basis of comparison with extant buildings evident in all three areas, which have roughly similar dimensions and the same ground plan. Immediately to the southwest, fragments of bricks are visible in shallow exposures that extend along the edge of the modern road. These were of noticeably different dimensions to modern bricks used in the modern settlement of Birendranagar, being at least  $20\text{cm}^2$  and approximately 5cm thick. Such dimensions suggest that they date from an earlier (i.e. pre-modern period). Yet, it is impossible to ascertain more precise dates without more scientific dating techniques. No other remains were noted surrounding the structure at Chaughanchaur.

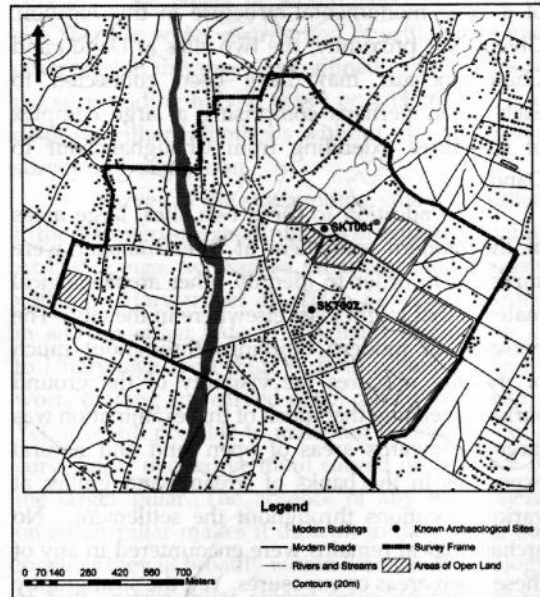


Fig. 6 The modern city of Birendranagar and the locations of Chaughanchaur and Danda



Fig. 7 Structural mound at Chaughanchaur

The site at Danda Primary School is defined as a raised area of open ground approximately 50m by 60m that falls sharply to the south and east to a depth of 6m. No visible features or surface remains were recorded on the surface of the site. However, large pieces of roughly dressed stone were noted in the grounds of the adjacent school building that have been used in the construction of a modern building. These appear to have been excavated from the area contiguous to the protected site during the construction of the school, and suggest the presence

of a large monumental structure in this location. Given their proximity, the two sites at Danda and Chaughanchaur may have been connected to each other, perhaps comprising a large complex of structures extending from Chaughanchaur to Danda.

In addition to these two sites, large areas of the modern settlement at Birendranagar were surveyed in order to identify other archaeological material that might exist elsewhere in the city. The presence of modern buildings throughout much of the city obscures the visibility of the ground surface, meaning that much of this examination was targeted towards areas of open land and natural exposures in the banks of streams and gullies at various locations throughout the settlement. No archaeological remains were encountered in any of these open areas or exposures. Yet, the stratigraphy of the exposed sections revealed thick layers of loose sandy soil and gravel, interspersed with layers of natural stone. These were identified as episodes or phases of colluvial deposits from the Mahabharat hills, and suggest that any archaeological deposits that might exist in the city are buried under thick layers of colluvium.

Survey of the built environment of the city revealed a number of isolated displaced architectural remains preserved in the grounds of modern buildings. Besides the worn thirteenth century inscription built into the wall of the Mahānkāla temple (Adhikary, 1979-80), and the pillar stone recorded by Gurung (1980), five architectural fragments were encountered that had been reused in the construction of a modern temple building at the Department of Cottage Industries, to the north east of Chaughanchaur. First noted by Harward (2009), these were identified as fragments of two pillars, an architrave, a finial stone and a cap stone. All fragments are badly weathered, but enough remains of their decoration to enable them to be identified as temple fragments broadly datable to the early medieval period. Survey also revealed the existence of a single sculptural fragment in the grounds of the main Police Station. The sculpture is carved in the round, and depicts a lion approximately 1m

by 0.6m in size (Fig. 8). Comparison with other known examples, most notably those at Sinja (Evans & Gibson, 2003), enables the carving to be dated to between the twelfth to fifteenth century A.D. It is typical of a very distinctive type of lion sculpture that is found on Khasa Malla palaces and forts, where it appears to have been used as a symbol of Khasa Malla kingship and political authority.



Fig. 8 Lion sculpture associated with the structure at Chaughanchaur

The presence of this sculpture in Birendranagar provides another clear link with the Khasa Malla, and adds further weight to the idea that the Surkhet Valley lay within the territory ruled by the Khasa Malla kings. Perhaps most importantly, at least as far as the interpretation of the archaeological remains at Birendranagar is concerned, the sculpture was originally found at Chaughanchaur during the construction of the modern road across the site.<sup>16</sup> The association of the carved lion with the structural remains at Chaughanchaur suggests that this structure may date from the reign of the Khasa Malla.<sup>17</sup> If the two are indeed associated, the existence of the lion also enables further interpretations to be made regarding the function of the structure at Chaughanchaur. As it was mentioned above, where they appear elsewhere in West Nepal, these sculptures seem to have been used in forts and palaces, suggesting that the monumental structure at Chaughanchaur may, similarly, have had a secular use. Whether this was

an isolated structure or part of a larger complex of buildings connected with a settlement is still unclear. Yet, the presence of such a large and monumental building as the structure at Chaughanchaur seems to have been does itself suggest the possible existence of a larger settlement in the vicinity. It is possible that the remains of such a settlement are preserved beneath the layers of accumulated colluvium visible in the exposed sections throughout the modern city.

### The Wider Surkhet Valley

Areas of the wider valley floor were also surveyed in order to identify archaeological signatures of other sites and activities that may also have existed in the Surkhet Valley. Much of the valley floor is topographically flat land that is used almost exclusively for agricultural production.<sup>18</sup> With one or two exceptions, village settlements are located at the base of the Kāñkrevihār hill and the more densely forested hills at the edge of the Valley. Open agricultural areas were surveyed by field walking in transects set at regular 500m intervals across the entire area, and special attention was paid to exposed sections on the banks of streams and rivers. No archaeological remains were encountered on the surface of the valley floor. In part, this may have been due to the visibility of the ground surface, which, while uniformly free from agricultural crops, had not been ploughed recently. Yet, at the same time, archaeological remains were also absent from all of the exposed sections encountered throughout the valley. These mirror those found in the settlement of Birendranagar: layers of loose soil alternating with loose gravel and stones, which were again interpreted as colluvial deposits alternating with alluvium from the flood zones of the nearby rivers. Given the presence of such widespread deposits across the valley floor, the absence of archaeological material does not necessarily indicate an absence of archaeological sites. It may be that they are buried

beneath these layers of accumulated material, or else that the wider distribution of settlements and other sites in the area was confined to the slopes of the surrounding hills. It is not possible to prove or disprove either hypothesis without more intensive survey and excavation.

Survey of the surrounding villages resulted in the discovery of a small number of isolated remains. At Uttarganga, two carved pillar stones previously noted by Harward et al. (2009: 8) were recorded in situ on either side of the main Birendranagar to Uttarganga road (Fig. 9). Both pillars are badly worn, making any carved detail difficult to discern. Yet, it is still possible to make out the remains of a curvi-linear decorative motif carved on one face of the larger pillar. The absence of any inscriptions on either pillar makes it difficult to date them, but together they fit broadly within the overall typology of *kirti khamba* pillar stones recorded throughout western Nepal that were erected during the reign of the Khasa Malla, and may thus be dated to anywhere between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries A.D. Interestingly, both pillars are still standing in their original position, on either side of the main road that connects Birendranagar to the route traversing the surrounding hills to the southwest, suggesting that this road was used in antiquity.



Fig. 9 Pillar stones located at Uttarganga

In addition to these pillars, remains displaced from their original context were encountered at the Mahadevi temple (also in Uttarganga village), and in the grounds of the Mangalgadhi army base. At the Mahadevi temple, the remains of two further pillars are preserved in the temple grounds. Both are badly worn and heavily covered in white paint, but one still bears the remains of a sculptural representation of a horse. Stylistically, this pillar fits into a wider typology of memorial stones (or *vir khamba*) that existed alongside the *kirti khamba* pillars mentioned above (Sharma, 1997). These were also erected throughout the Khasa Malla kingdom between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, which enables this pillar to be dated to this general period. At Mangalgadhi, a single architectural fragment carved with stepped moulding and a series of dressed stone blocks were encountered in a modern temple complex within the army barracks. The carved fragment is similar to one or two examples recorded at the Kakrevihar temple, yet in the absence of any other more diagnostic carving it is not possible to identify the type of building that it once belonged to, or to date it to anything other than the wider medieval period. Given the absence of any additional architectural or sculptural remains in the Valley, it is doubtful that these fragments indicate the existence of an earlier site. Instead, they were most likely transported here for the construction of the modern temple.

## Discussion

Taken together, the findings of this survey of the Surkhet Valley have not only added to the existing corpus of evidence from Surkhet, but also enable more interpretations and conclusions to be made regarding this material. Thinking first of all about the remains in the modern city of Birendranagar, it is now possible to identify the features at Chaughanchaur and Danda as the remains of structures dating from the early medieval period. More specifically, these can now be understood as the remains of monumental buildings associated with the Khasa Malla kingdom, which were most likely connected to a wider settlement in

the immediate area. This in turn enables the entire Surkhet Valley to be placed more securely into the wider historical and geographical context of the Khasa Malla kingdom.

The monumentality of these structures and the existence of the Khasa Malla lion sculpture both indicate that the settlement at Birendranagar was an important site in antiquity. It is hard to imagine that stone buildings of such a scale (let alone one embellished with the royal lion-symbol) would have been built in a place of little or no social or political importance. As it has been discussed above, the exact scale and function of the site at Birendranagar has yet to be ascertained through targeted excavations within the city itself, as well as more exhaustive investigation of the surrounding area. Yet, in this connection it is also interesting to consider the evidence provided by the pillar stones at Uttarganga that still mark the alignment of the ancient road from the southwest to Birendranagar. The convergence of ancient roads at the settlement at Birendranagar not only reinforces the idea received from the geography of the Valley – that it was an important nodal point in the geographical setting of West Nepal – but also that the settlement at Birendranagar was itself at the centre of this nexus. It is known from other sources that the Khasa Malla kingdom was divided into smaller administrative districts (*Viṣayas* or *Maṇḍals*), each of which was governed from a main settlement: it may be that this was one such centre.<sup>19</sup>

Returning to Kāṅkrevihār, examination of its remains positively reinforces what is already known about the site: that it was home to a large and presumably very important Buddhist temple. Moreover, the identification of the architectural and sculptural style of the temple also helps to place it more securely into its wider archaeological and historical context. The construction of the temple in the *Nāgara* style, and use of a sculptural style and iconographic elements commonly associated with contemporary Buddhist groups that existed in North and Central India both suggest that the religious community at Kāṅkrevihār were themselves part of a much larger network that had its roots in India. This suggestion is further supported by the identification of the

religious community at Kāṅkrevihār as belonging to either the *Mādhyamika* or *Yogācāra* Schools of Buddhist thought, which are known to have originated in India during the preceding centuries and continued to exist there at this time.<sup>20</sup> Of course, it is widely known that throughout the eleventh to thirteenth centuries A.D. the dominance of Hindu traditions and successive military campaigns by the Ghaznavid and Ghurid Sultanates were responsible for a rapid decline of Buddhism in India (Thapar, 1990). It may be that presence of Buddhist groups in West Nepal during this period represents a relocation of some religious communities in response to this. Yet, despite a decline in their fortunes, the various Buddhist schools in India were by no means destroyed and major Buddhist centres continued to exist throughout North and Central India until at least the early fifteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, the fact that the religious community at Kāṅkrevihār were part of a much larger Buddhist institution and network of religious groups that spread throughout South Asia is not necessarily very surprising. What is interesting, in terms of understanding of the Surkhet Valley and its place within the wider Khasa Malla kingdom, is that the Buddhist community at Kāṅkrevihār seem to have been part of a larger institution that had its roots and possibly much of its ecclesiastic authority in another state. Considered in this light, the remains of the Kāṅkrevihār temple begin to speak not only of the religious dynamics within the Khasa Malla kingdom, but also of much wider connections and interactions that transcended its political boundaries.

Such interpretations of the archaeological remains in Surkhet Valley raise a number of questions that have significant implications for future approaches towards the examination of both Surkhet and the wider Khasa Malla kingdom. Certain ambiguities regarding the scale and function of the settlement at Birendranagar, and by extension the wider socio-economic and political dynamics of the area, have already been noted above. In addition, the very existence of what may have been a large and important settlement in close proximity to such a large religious centre forces one to consider the nature of

the relationship between the Khasa Malla state and the Buddhist monastic institution, and the ways in which this changed over time. In this connection, it will be remembered that the temple at Kāṅkrevihār is situated on the summit of a prominent hill in the centre of the Valley. Such a visible and commanding location would undoubtedly have been a factor in deciding where to build the temple, and may also have played a role in the activities that took place there. Given the importance of this location, one must thus also consider who authorised the building of the temple (whether at the bequest or simply by the grace of the Khasa Malla political authority in the area), and why. With regards this issue, the question of the exact date of the temple's foundation, and whether or not it pre-dates the establishment of the Khasa Malla kingdom becomes especially important. Furthermore, the size and sheer visible presence of the temple also leads one to reflect on the ways in which the Buddhist community at Kāṅkrevihār continued to be related to the rest of society in the local area. An important aspect of these relationships must surely have been the international connections of the community at Kāṅkrevihār; and, indeed, all of the wider trans-Himalayan interactions that took place within the Khasa Malla kingdom with the movement of people and ideas along the roads that are still marked by pillar stones. The nature of these various interactions and the ways in which they were negotiated, both politically and socially all require significant research.

A reinvigoration of the archaeological examination of the remains in the Surkhet Valley has thus improved one's knowledge and understanding of these remains, and has distilled certain key topics that need to be addressed regarding the Khasa Malla. To wit: the dynamics of social and political organisation within Khasa Malla society, the relationships between religion and state, the nature of the interactions that took place within and throughout the Khasa Malla kingdom, and the effects that these interactions had are all critical areas for future research. Moreover, this preliminary examination of the Surkhet Valley has also demonstrated the ways in which these questions

can begin to be answered. Excavation of the sites at Birendranagar together with more intensive surveys and excavation of targeted locations of the surrounding valley would generate valuable data that could be used to reconstruct the different agricultural and economic activities that took place in the area. Such information, together with the distribution of settlements in the area would, in turn provide valuable insights into the socio-economic divisions within society, levels of socio-political organisation, and how these changed over time. At the same time, renewed excavations at the site of Kakrevihar have the potential to fix the chronology of the site, and to reveal its full extent (beyond the main temple) and the range of different activities that took place at the site. Finally, the changing relationships between these activities and the wider societal dynamics that they indicate could then be identified through the analysis of the spatial and temporal relationships between archaeological sites on a regional scale. It is hoped that the SVP will be able to achieve these aims through its continued work in the area. Doing so would undoubtedly improve the general picture of the area, and make a major contribution to the archaeological understanding of the Khasa Malla and this important period of Nepalese history.

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## Foot Notes

- 1 The societal developments that took place in the centuries following the end of Licchavi rule need not be repeated here. For a useful overview of the political, cultural and economic history of the early medieval period, see Petech, 1958; Regmi, 1965; Pandey, 1997.
- 2 The Caṅgu Nārāyaṅ pillar inscription records the victory of Mānadeva over the city of the Malla in the western lands (Levi, 1908: 14). Due to differences in geographical location, the Malla referred to here can be considered separate and distinct from the Malla from the Eastern Terai (Petech, 1958).
- 3 For Sanskrit texts mentioning the Khaśas, see: Bhāgavata Purāṇa (2:4:18; 9:20:30), Harivaṅśa (2:85:19), Kāūyapsamhitā (8:7:42), Mahābhārata (1:174:36,37,38; 6:9:67, 68; 7:121:42, 43; 8:20:10, 11; 8:44:47; 8:73:19, 20, 21), Manusmṛiti (10:44), and Vrihatsaṅhitā (10:12; 14:30); all of which refer to the Khaśas as a tribe living in the area that can be identified as the northwestern mountains of the Indian subcontinent.
- 4 The precise date of the foundation of the Khasa kingdom is unclear. In part, this is due to the nature of the sources. Various inscriptions and texts from Nepal and Tibet record the name of Nagarāja as the founder of the Khasa dynasty, but differ slightly in their accounts of his origin and genealogy (Adhikary, 1997: 34). The earliest inscription to have been found so far is a copper-plate inscription from Sui, Kumaon, which records the name of Krāchalla and the date A.D.1223. Krāchalla was the fifth descendent of Nagarāja, for whose rule one can thus infer a date of the early twelfth century (Sharma, 1972: 17). The term Khaśadesa is first mentioned in an inscription of Sahanapala dated to A.D.1278 at Bodh Gaya (Bihori, 1913-14: 30). It is then clearly recorded in the Dullu pillar inscription that the title 'Malla' was adopted by king Aūokachalla's son, Jitārimalla, in the late thirteenth century (Naraharinath, 1956, II, i: 58-61; Tucci, 1956: 46-49).
- 5 Linguistically, Siṅjāli belongs to the Pahāli group of languages that originated from the northwest of the subcontinent (Grierson, 1968, 4: 1).
- 6 Various epigraphic and textual sources allow one to reconstruct elements of the Khaśa kinship system, and religious beliefs. These not only appear to be the earliest instances of many of the elements of the Pahāli caste system evident in Nepal today, but also differ in one or two important aspects from the Pahāli system that also existed and in North India at the same time. These differences include: the surnames of Khaśa Brāhmaṅas and Chhetris in Nepal, which, having been derived from

- religious and political titles of the Khasa Malla or the names of villages in the Karnali and Kumaon region, differ from those of the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas of North India; the lack of a Vaiśya caste in the Khasa Malla social hierarchy; and the recognition of intercaste marriages (Adhikary, 1997: 31-32).
- 7 The wealth of artistic material is well attested to by the existence of a number of temples, sculptures and manuscripts produced in West Nepal during this time. In addition, a number of inscriptions, such as the Kanakapatra inscription of Puṇyamalla, testify to Sinja (the capital of the Khasa Malla kingdom) having become an important trade centre (Naraharinath, 1956, I: 761).
  - 8 The Surkhet Valley Project (SVP) was set up in collaboration between the Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge; the Institute of Archaeology, University College London; the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Aviation, Government of Nepal; and Tribhuvan University, Nepal.
  - 9 For discovery of the site, see Naraharinath, 1956 I ii: 170. For later excavation, see 'Surkhetisthan Kāṅkrevihār ko Adhyayan Prativedan', unpublished report of the excavations at Kāṅkrevihār printed by the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Aviation, Government of Nepal (Acharya, 2002).
  - 10 Naraharinath first ascribed a thirteenth century date for the temple, and posited a connection with the Khasa Malla king Aśokachalla (1956, I, ii: 170-172). This suggestion was based on the fact that the Khasa Mallas were the strongest political power in the area during the early medieval period, and that Aśokachalla himself was known to have patronised Buddhism. During later excavations at the site, no conclusive dating evidence was found, and the continued ascription of the site to the thirteenth and fourteenth century seems to be based on Naraharinath's earlier observations alone.
  - 11 In Sanskrit, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāranāmaprajñāpāramit opadeśaśāstra*; and in Tibetan, the *Shes rap kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba*.
  - 12 Pers. Comm. Ram Kunwar, Government of Nepal Department of Archaeology.
  - 13 For further discussion of temple architecture and the Nāgara style, see Hardy (2007).
  - 14 Stylistically, all of the sculptures at Kāṅkrevihār are typical of those found at Buddhist temple sites found throughout North and Central India at this time. Specific examples of Buddhist temples built during the reign of the Candella, Kalachuri, Palla and Paramara dynasties in modern day Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh are too many to list.
  - 15 There is, in fact, some disagreement as to which School of thought is most properly reflected in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. Obermiller (1936) argued that in commentating on the *Prajñāpāramitā*, a Mādhyamika text, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* was thus wholly reflective of the Mādhyamika School. Conze (1978: 102-103), however, while noting that referenced to some of the main philosophical ideas of Yogācāra are missing, identifies a number of affinities with Yogācāra teachings within the text. This has led others, such as Sparham (2006-2009) to suggest that the text is an intermediate stage between these two philosophies.
  - 16 Pers. Comm. Chied Officer, Department of Town Planning, Birendranagar, Surkhet.
  - 17 Albeit with the caveat that such an identification is based on the association of remains, and not stratigraphic context.
  - 18 The main crops are varieties of rice, including: Asian cultivated rice (*Oryza sativa*), as well as a number of wild varieties (most commonly *Oryza rufipogon*).
  - 19 The Dullu pillar inscription, for instance, refers to the administrative districts of Goha Viṅaya and Jhumkār Viṅaya; as well as various Mallals, such as Achham, Jumla, Dailekh and Suvarṅabhūmī, each of which was governed by an administrator (Naraharinath, 1956, II, i: 58-61; Tucci, 1956: 46-49).
  - 20 For a useful overview of the development of both Mādhyamika and Yogācāra philosophies, see Warder (1970) amongst others.
  - 21 This is reflected by the remains of many temples throughout Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Some of these continued to function (albeit on a more reduced scale) until the early fifteenth century A.D. Nalanda, for instance, received royal patronage from Chagalaraja of Bengal in c. A.D.1400 (Mishra, 1998: 206-213).



# Popularity of Lokeshvara in Nepal

- Dr. Ranjana Bajracharya

## 1. Introduction:-

Buddhism has been well-received all over the world for its universal love (*Maitri*) and compassion (*Karuna*). In the Mahayana Buddhism, Bodhisattva Lokeshvara or Avalokitesvara is the most prominent figure who renounces his own personal salvation and passes through countless rebirths to dedicate his numerous lives for liberation of all living and suffering beings of the world. Such benevolent saviour deity figure is called Lokeshvara, Karunamaya in Nepal, Chenrezi in Tibet, Lokeshvara in South and South East Asian Countries, Kuanyin in China and Kannon in Japan. In Mahayana Buddhism, there is probably no figure more important than Lokeshvara or Avalokitesvara. In Nepal, different forms of Lokeshvara or Avalokitesvara are worship by the people of the country. Among them Padmapani Lokeshvara, Amoghpath Lokeshvara, Sadaksari Lokeshvara, Hariharivahana Lokeshvara, Sristikanta Lokeshvara, Rakta Aryavalokitesvara, Anandadi Lokeshvara, Jatadhari Lokeshvara, Sukhavati Lokeshvara, Sahasrabhuja Lokeshvara are the most prominent iconographic forms of Avalokitesvara.

## 2. Origin & Development of the Bodhisattva Doctrine:-

The *bodhisattva* doctrine may be regarded as one of chief features of Mahayana Buddhism, which kept it distinct from other religion of the world. The word '*bodhisattva*' seems to be very old and primitive, which occurs in the *Pali Nikayas*, *Jatakas* and *Avadanas*. The earliest significant of the word *bodhisattva* is recorded in *Majjhima*

*Nikaya*. In the *Katha- Vatthu* there are mentions about the *bodhisattva's* actions ; the signs on his body etc. Though the *bodhisattva* doctrine was probably originated before the *asankheya - kalpa*, its rise and development seems to have been old as second century B.C. It is obviously clear that the previous lives of Gautama Buddha indicated as *bodhisattva*. But there was no new systematic or definitive doctrine in the middle of the third century B.C., when the *Katha - Vatthu* was composed. The renunciation of personal *nirvana* of a *bodhisattva* is mentioned in *Asta- sahasrika Prajna-paramita* and the new concept of *bodhi* is set up in the *Saddharmapundarika*. Both these texts belong mainly to the first century B.C.

About the origination of the Mahayana doctrine, different scholars have different views. Most of them indicated that Mahayana, whose proper name is *Bodhisattvayana*, was originated immediately prior to the Christian era. S. Dutta suggests that the Mahayana doctrine in its earliest form was definitely formulated in 100 B.C. Har Dayal suggests the second century B.C. as the chronological starting point for the development of the *bodhisattva* doctrine.

In the Mahayana Buddhism, Avalokitesvara happens to be the foremost principal legendary *bodhisattva* conceptionized in the *Mahavastu Avadana*, a work of Mahasanghikas about the time of Asoka in the third century B.C. He is described as the "Bhagvana who takes the form of *bodhisattva* whose duty is to look round ( *avalokita* ) for the sake of instructing the people and for their welfare

and happiness" ( Bhattacharyya : 1993 : 51 ). It is this Lord 'who looks round' that finally took concrete shape in Avalokitesvara by the second century A.D. He appears as a son of the Buddha Amitabha or Amitayas in the *Sukhavati - Vyuha* or *Amitayus Sutra*. The date of composition of *Sukhavati - Vyuha* is uncertain but it was translated into Chinese between 148 A.D. - 178 A.D. (Bhattacharyya : 1993 :4 ). This *sutra* mentions for the first time the name of Amitabha who resides in the *Sukhavati Bhuvan* or the *Akanistha* heaven ( the western parradise of Amitabha ) where he remains in constant meditation and where he is believed to have brought forth the *bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara into existence (Bhattacharyya : 1993 : 4 ). Besides that the originated place of Avalokitesvara is considered as *Potalaka Parvat*.<sup>1</sup> Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityan has described in his book 'My Journey - Life' that he has seen about a six / seven inches stone image of Avalokitesvara found during archeological excavation in 1935 A.D. at Lumbini, the birth place of Siddhartha Gautama, now preserved it in Department of Archeology (HM. G / Nepal ), dated back first century A.D.<sup>2</sup>

Among the *Navagrantha* ( Nine official texts ) of the Newar Buddhist, *Arya Gunakaranda Vyuha* deals entirely to the praise of Avalokitesvara and his mission of mercy toward suffering beings in all the world. The earliest Chinese translation of this text was made in 270 A.D. Similarly the other text *Saddharmapundarika* in 285 A.D. gives detailed description of the quality of Avalokitesvara, how he brings peace to those sufferings and how he assumes different forms in different ages to help people in distress. If the living beings in any realm must be saved, the *bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara appears as the great compassionate one there.

The *bodhisattvas* are not equal to the Buddhas in the beginning of Mahayana, they are inferior in comparison to the Buddhas. When they acquire greater importance and help others for Enlightenment they are regarded as equal to the Buddha. The *bodhisattvas* have to possess with ten *balas*, four *vaicardyas* and eighteen *avenika - dharmas*.<sup>3</sup> Due to their ideals, they are

to be worshipped like the Buddhas. Among them Avalokitesvara is one of them, who is declared to be a kind of Buddha - maker.

The early Mahayana gave equal importance both to Wisdom ( *Prajna* ) and Mercy ( *karuna* ) and a *bodhisattva* must possess these double qualities of Knowledge and Merit ( *jnana - sambhara, punya - sambhara* ).<sup>4</sup> Manjusri, as the master of wisdom and knowledge is praised in the *Saddharma pundarika* and in several treatises in which he is invoked with the opening verses. But later Mahayana gave much importance to Mercy than Wisdom. Mercy or *karuna* is very important for a *bodhisattva*. Later this ideal gains much importance as the *bodhisattva* Avalokitesvara culminates in greater importance till he becomes the supreme and unique *bodhisattva*. As a result the Mahayana slowly passes from the ascendancy of Manjusri to the reign of Avalokitesvara.

### 3. Ideal & Career of a Bodhisattva:-

The ideal and career of a *bodhisattva* are prominent and unique features of Buddhism. It may be regarded as one of causes which has survived Buddhism in the world several centuries after Gautama Buddha's death (*Nirvana*). In the Buddhist philosophy and history, *bodhisattvas* acquire greater importance and they are respected and revered as equal to the Buddhas in many respects. Buddhist literatures abound in stories and legends of *bodhisattva's* self- sacrifices for the welfare and liberation of all the living beings of the universe. The whole previous lives as well as the biography of Gautama Buddha are the basis and starting point of all the doctrines and theories of Buddhism. Gautama Buddha before his Enlightenment is regarded him as a *bodhisattva*. The events of his previous lives as a *bodhisattva* have been related in the *Jataka* (*bodhisattva* lives of the Buddha) and the *Avadanas* (*Budhavacana* or words and stories of Buddha) literatures devoted to that inspiring ideal of the *bodhisattva*. The ideal of a *bodhisattva's* career was also promulgated in order to explain and interpret the historic fact of his marvellous virtue and wisdom.

In fact, *Jataka* stories usually describe to the past life of the Buddha when he was a *bodhisattva* in various lives event of animals like the deer, the hare, the elephant, the monkey whereas *Avadana* stories also deals with the previous lives of Buddha in human form. We find the accounts of the *Avadana* stories of Gautama Buddha as a *bodhisattva* in the *bodhisattva vadanamala* which is divided into four great Ages i.e., *Satya-Yuga*, *Treta-Yuga*, *Dvapara-Yuga* and *Kali-Yuga* in chronological order.<sup>5</sup> There are altogether thirty two stories within these four ages - eleven in *Satya-Yuga*, ten each in *Treta* and *Dvapara* and one in *Kali-Yuga*, in which age the *bodhisattva's* last birth as Siddhartha Gautam has taken place. The important events of his life have been regarded as necessary experiences of all advanced *bodhisattvas* in their last life during which they attain Enlightenment. All such *bodhisattva* must be born and must live in the same manner. Gautama Buddha's life and career are regarded as a concrete instance of the general law relating to a *bodhisattva's* last earthly existence which he at last reaches after three *asankhyegas* (incalculable) of aeons.

It is already clear that the word '*bodhisattva*' seems to be very primitive and it occurs in *Pali Nikayas*, *Jatakas* and other Buddhist literatures. Shakyamuni Buddha speaks of himself as a *bodhisattva* before his attainment of Enlightenment. This shows to be the earliest signification of the word '*bodhisattva*'. The sanskrit word '*bodhisattva*' has been defined in various ways :

The word '*Bodhi*' is derived from the root '*budhi*' which means come to one's sense; to wake up, awake; to admonish. The Buddhist understood the meaning of '*bodhi*' as, to know, understand. In Buddhist philosophy it signifies supreme knowledge; Enlightenment; perfect wisdom.

The conception and interpretation of the word '*sattva*' has been explained in different ways. Basically *sattva* may mean essence, nature, true essence. It also signifies any living or sentient being. Sometimes it may mean spirit, mind, sense, consciousness, strength, energy, power, courage.

Thus the word *bodhisattva* means one whose power and energy or strength is directed toward *bodhi*. The *Pali* word *satta* may also mean '*substance*' a living being, creature, a sentient and rational being, person (*Pali*, Dicy, S.V.). According to the *Samadhi-rajassutra*, *sattva* signifies as being, creature whereas the word '*bodhisattva*' means one who admonishes or exhorts all beings.

A *bodhisattva* aims at the acquisition of *bodhi* and *buddha-jnana* for the welfare and liberation of all creatures. A *bodhisattva* needs not be in a hurry to become a Buddha as he can help and succour all living beings more effectively during his mundane career as *bodhisattva*. So he does not seem to think seriously of becoming a Buddha. In Mahayana Buddhism, *bodhisattvas* are to be worshipped like the Buddhas and they are regarded as equal to the Buddhas in many respects. They are also endowed with four grounds of self-confidence (*vaisardyani*) and eighteen "*avenika-dharmah*" (special, exclusive, unique attributes).

In the career of *bodhisattva*, the production of the thought of Enlightenment (*bodhi-citta-utpada*) is most important. A *bodhisattva* is a being, who has special qualities from those of ordinary people. There are three events that mark the conversion of an ordinary people into a *bodhisattva*. Firstly he must think of becoming a Buddha for the cause of the liberation of all the sentient beings, secondly he makes certain great vows and thirdly his future greatness is predicted by a living Buddha.

A person, who try or desire to become a *bodhisattva* and then to develop into a Buddha, must have passed or ready for preliminary preparation for his mission, otherwise he cannot be successful for producing the thought of Enlightenment and taking the vows.

All the human and sentient beings in the universe have essence of Buddha nature deep within. Every being possesses loving kindness and wisdom of the Buddha. In other words, all beings are inherent to the Buddha in nature by birth. However, due to our discriminating and wandering thoughts and attachments on account of our own ignorance

(*Avidya*) which are root causes of all our sufferings and disasters, we have apparently lost our innate Buddha nature temporarily and we continue being born into the endless cycles of birth and death.

#### 4. Forms of Lokeshvara:-

Among numerous *bodhisattvas* found in the Mahayana Pantheon, Lokeshvara or Avalokitesvara is the most earliest and prominent leading *bodhisattva* who has distinct feature and form. The earliest form of Avalokitesvara is most common and has two armed standing figure of white complexion. He is often shown with right hand granting a boon (*Varadamudra*) and the left hand holding the stem of a white lotus (*padma*) - the symbol of the Buddhism. He is of Amitabha's lotus family (*Padma-kula*) and is often shown holding a lotus. As time went on, the lotus and the rosary became his basic symbols. Because of the lotus in hand, Avalokitesvara is called Padmapani (lotus in the hand) Lokeshvara, who continued to return in countless rebirths and forms according to the needs and dispositions of people in different places and various ages. For the purpose of meditation or *dhyana*, the description conceptions of the deity is also most important.

The Buddhist of the Kathmandu Valley enlists twelve different Lokeshvaras for the twelve months of the year, and they also perform *Astami Vratas* in holy rivers (*Tirthas*) in the glory of the twelve different Lokeshvaras. Jana-baha (Kanak Chaitya Mahavihar), a down-town *Vihara* in the heart of the Kathmandu city has the pictures of 108 forms of Avalokitesvaras. In addition of these, there is another lists of 360 forms of Lokeshvara, one for each calendar day of the year. Tibet has one thousand Lokeshvaras to list. Although, the colour of the family of Amitabha is red, many of the forms of Lokeshvara or Avalokitesvara are white. According to the *Sadhanamala*, a single deity may be of any colour because of the tantric rite in which he is invoked.

As Avalokitesvara carries the image-head of his cosmic father Amitabha on his crown and is untiring and conscientious *bodhisattva* who vows never to take rest until he rescues and provides

*Nirvana* to all sentient beings who are suffering in the world due to their ignorance and unsatisfactory conditions. He is therefore, found always standing and industrious. He could not bear to see the sufferings and unsatisfactory conditions of the sentient beings. Because of that, he has spread all his hair strips loops over his arms, expressing his sadness over the existential sufferings of the sentient beings. It is said that he prepares the same number of hair loops over his head as much as the numbers of the sentient beings achieve *Nirvana* through his saviourness. Avalokitesvara is always accompanied by two consorts Taras-Arya Tara, the white Tara personifying compassion (*karuna*) at right and Bhrikuti Tara, the green Tara personifying love (*Maitri*) at left who were created from two drops of tears fallen from his two eyes due to his unbearable pains caused by the sufferings and unsatisfactory conditions of the worldly sentient beings. The two Taras are always seeking his saviour sermons to rescue all those sentients struggling to cross-over the typhoon of the seas of worldly sufferings.

Among the numerous forms of Arya Avalokitesvara mentioned in the Sanskrit treatises. Sadaksari Lokeshvara, Padmapani Lokeshvara, Amoghapasa Lokeshvara, Anandadi Lokeshvara, Hariharivahana Lokeshvara are most outstanding and invoked by the Newars Buddhists in worshipping as well as in meditating.

One of the passages of *Gunakarandavyuha* characterises him as taking the different forms which is necessary for the welfare the world (*Lok*).

*Yena Yenaiva rupena sattoayanti Vineyatama  
tena taineva rupena sthetoam Lok heytaawa.*

**Gunakarandavyuha Sutra**

The whole volume of *Gunakarandavyuha* describes an accounts of his character, moral teachings and miracles. In the *Karandavyuha* also it is mentioned that he manifests all possible forms of the godhead for the welfare of all sentient beings and to put them in the way of salvation.

*....yena Yena rupena vaineayah sattvah  
tena tena rupena dharman desayanti".*

**Karandavyuha**

The *Sadhanamala*, a manuscript mentioning the list of thirty-one *Sadhanas* which describe Avalokitesvara or Lokeshvara in a variety of different forms.<sup>6</sup>

Among different varieties of Avalokitesvara's images, fifteen forms of his images are described by B. Bhattacharyya. Fourteen forms of Avalokitesvara bear the figure of the Dhyani Buddha Amitabha on the crown and the fifteenth, Vajradharma is said to bear the figures of the five Dhyani Buddhas in the crown (Bhattacharyya : 1993: 32-33).

Fifteen forms of Avalokitesvara are as follows:

1. Sadaksari Lokeshvara
2. Simhanada Lokeshvara
3. Khasarpana Lokeshvara
4. Lokanatha Lokeshvara
5. Halahala Lokeshvara
6. Padmanritesvara
7. Hariharivahana Lokeshvara
8. Trailokyavasankara
9. Rakta Lokeshvara
10. Mayajalakrama Avalokitesvara
11. Nilakantha Lokeshvara
12. Sugatisandarsana Lokeshvara
13. Pretasantarpita Lokeshvara
14. Sukhavati Lokeshvara
15. Vajradharma Lokeshvara

In the Mahayana treatise these above Lokeshvaras are most outstanding and invoked by the Buddhists of Nepal in worshipping as well as in meditating.

#### 4. a) Nepal:-

Lokeshvara or Avalokitesvara is the most popular and most often invoked *bodhisattva* throughout the Himalayan region. The large popularity of the Avalokitesvara in Nepal is very much pronounced that his images are found along with transcendent Dhyani Buddhas and historical Gautam Buddha in all *Bahas* and *Bahis* and individual worshipping place-*Agam* of the Newar Buddhist community of the Nepal Mandala of the

Kathmandu valley. Avalokitesvara has multifarious names in Nepal as *Karunamaya*, *Lokeshvara*, *Bodhisattva*, *Matsyendranath*, *Mahasattva* and others. The most famous Avalokitesvaras of the Kathmandu valley are Jana Baha-dya (Seto Matsyendranath) of Jana Baha or Kanaka Chaitya Mahavihara in the heart of the Kathmandu city in Kel Tole, Bungama Lokeshvara (Rakta Matsyendranath) of Lalitpur, Nala Karunamaya in Themi in Bhaktapur District and Chovar Hill's Anandadi Lokeshvara in Kirtipur. Nepal has the largest numbers of forms of Avalokitesvara - 360 numbers to worship every calendar day of the year. There are 108 different forms of Avalokitesvara engraved in wooden slabs fixed on the north-east walls in Jana Baha Temple structure in down-town Kathmandu. The three jewels of the Buddhism are the *Buddha*, the Enlightened one his Law the *Dharma* and the *Sangha*, the organization. Every worship by the Newar Buddhist begins with the worship puja of the *mandalas* of the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*. The central figure of the *Sangha Mandala* is Aryavalokitesvara and he represents *Sangha* iconographically to enlighten every one with disciplines and controls (*Sila*) and obliterate their sufferings through his compassionate *Karuna* and thereby provide *Nirvana* the Enlightenment and liberation to all sentient beings entrapped in the whirlpool of the worldly sufferings due to their ignorance (*Avidya*).

In Nepal, the cult of the *bodhisattva* in the Mahayana is perhaps the most popular and the beginning of the figures of Buddhist pantheon was introduced by the Mahayana. The most prominent were the images of the Buddhas, *bodhisattvas* and later five Dhyani Buddhas. Among the *bodhisattva*, the most prominent are the *Astamahabodhisattva*, the Eight Great *bodhisattvas* who are always to help the sentient beings through their compassionate '*Karuna*' and wisdom '*Prajna*'. The prevalent names of *Astamahabodhisattva* in Nepal are Samantbhadra, Ksitigarbha, Akashgarbha or Khagarbha, Sarvanivarana Vishkambhin, Gaganganja, Vajrapani, Manjusri and Maitreya. On the occasion of performing *Astami-Vrata*, Newar

Buddhists worship these *bodhisattva* which are also associated with eight great pilgrimage (*Tirtha*) sites around the Valley called the *Asta-Vaitaragas*.

In Nepal, Buddhist Pantheon, different forms of Avalokitesvara are also equally important. Among them Padmapani Lokesvara, Amoghpath Lokesvara, Sadaksari Lokesvara, Hariharivahana Lokesvara, Sristikanta Lokesvara, Rakta Aryavalokitesvara, Anandadi Lokesvara, Jatadhari Lokesvara, Sukhavati Lokesvara, Sahasrabhuja Lokesvara are the most prominent iconographic forms of Avalokitesvara. The historical background of Avalokitesvara in Nepal dates back to first century B.C.<sup>7</sup>

### Licchavi Period

The popularity of Aryavalokitesvara in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal can be seen at the time of the Licchavis. The earliest dated inscription of this period is that of king Manadeva at Changu Narayan which is dated samvat 386 (A.D. 464, V.S. 521) (Bajracharya: 2053: 18). A partly damaged inscription of this Licchavi period was discovered besides the Chaitya of Chabahil which surely predates this some earlier than Manadeva's Changu Narayana inscription. This inscription of Chabahil refers to the construction of a monastery and establishment of a trustee of landed property by a Buddhist lady for arranging regular worship of Mahamuni (Buddha) and entrusted a trust to support the *Bhikshu Sangh* by frequent feasts.<sup>8</sup> So Buddhism was flourishing in the Valley during the Licchavi period.

The first mention of Avalokitesvara of this period is in an undated inscription at Lagan Tole in Kathmandu which can be most probably from the time of Ramadeva samvat 479 (A.D. 557).<sup>9</sup> On the basis of the inscription, it is known that *Paramopasaka* Mani Gupta and his wife Mahendramati installed the image of Avalokitesvara.<sup>10</sup> Avalokitesvara is mentioned in an inscription dated samvat 479 (A.D. 557) at the Brahma Tole which is also important to know the development of *bodhisattva's* doctrine in the Licchavi period.<sup>11</sup> In the inscription of the Bandahiti from the time of Amsuvarma, we find the

mention of Avalokitesvara and *Aryasangha* which indicate the popularity of the *bodhisattva* cult. Besides that an inscription of a Chaitya at Tyaga Tole in Patan from the time of Amsuvarma<sup>13</sup> as well as an inscription dated samvat 180 (A.D. 258) at Yangabahal from the time of the later Manadeva indicates towards the devotion of the people to the Buddha and the *bodhisattva*.<sup>14</sup> According to the *Goplaraja Vamsavali* the festival of Bugama Lokesvara was inaugurated by the Licchavi King Narendradeva (C.A.D. 644-680) and his acharya Bandhudatta.<sup>15</sup>

### Medieval & Malla Period :

The significance and popularity of Avalokitesvara continued and grew through the Medieval and Malla period.

Below are some of the references of the inscriptions, manuscripts and chronicles of Medieval and Malla period which show the deep devotion of the king and people towards Avalokitesvara, Bugamya or Bugama Lokesvara, Karunamaya, Loknath and Matsyendranath.

In the biography of Dharmasvamin, a Tibetan monk who stayed for eight years from N.S. 347 to N.S. 355 (A.D. 1226-34) studying under an Acharya at Swayambhu, we find the references of Bu-kham Vihara and a miraculous image of Avalokitesvara made of sandal wood of red colour.<sup>16</sup> In N.S. 408 (A.D. 1287-88) when Jitarimalla of *Khasa* dynasty of Karnali basin invaded the Valley, he also went to pay respects to the chaitya of Swayambhu and Bugama-Lokesvara.<sup>17</sup> Again in N.S. 410 (A.D. 1290) he prayed and offered treasury to the temple of Bugama.<sup>18</sup>

In N.S. 433 (A.D. 1313) another Khasya Naga King Ripumalla made several offerings at the bathing ceremony (*nhawom*) in Buga (Bugamati).<sup>19</sup> He was considered to be an incarnation of Avalokitesvara being styled in one colophone as "Rajrajesvara-Lokesvara-Sri-Ripumalladeva".<sup>20</sup> He has also engraved "*Om Mani Padme Hum, Shree Ripumalla Shicharanjayatu 1234*", the eternal *mantra* of Avalokitesvara in Ashokan pillar in Lumbini, the birth place of Lord Gautam Buddha. This pillar was

placed by Ashoka, a Mauryan emperor of India during his (Ashoka) religious pilgrimage visit of Lumbini in 249 B.C.

Arimalla, Ripumalla and Prithivimalla of Khasa dynasty inscribed this famous '*Om Mani Padme Hum*' Mantra in their inscriptions of Dullu, Dailekha of Western Nepal.

An inscription dated N.S. 502 (A.D. 1382) at Itum Baha in Kathmandu put up by Madanarama Varddhana mentions that his wife had offered a beautiful golden *torana* to Sri Sri Bugama Avalokitesvara.<sup>21</sup>

In N.S. 507 (A.D. 1387) Jayasthitimalla and his sons attended the festival of Bugam (Bugamayaha).<sup>22</sup>

Besides, some of the kings of later Malla period such as Siddhinarsmihamalla, Srinivasmalla and Yoganarendramalla, Pratapmalla and his successors had great respect to Avalokitesvara, Karunamaya Lokanath. Srinivasmalla and his successors consider Avalokitesvara-Karunamaya to be one of the their *Ista-devatas*.

According to the modern chronicle in N.S. 741 (A.D. 1621) Siddhinarsimhamalla added a storey to the temple of Macchindranath. In N.S. 757 (A.D. 1637) Siddhinarsimhamalla constructed the famous Krishna Mandir in Patan Durbar Square in Shikhara style with Lord Krishna on first floor, Lord Shiva on second floor and Lord Bugma Lokesvara Avalokitesvara on the top floor of the temple.<sup>23</sup>

Srinivasmalla, son of Siddhinarsimhamalla was the great devotee of Lokanath - Karunamaya. The inscription dated N.S. 793 (AD 1673) at the temple in Tabaha by Srinivasmalla refers the lavish grants of land to various guthis for conducting of Lokesvara's annual festival.<sup>24</sup> Because Srinivasmalla considered to Bunga-dya as his *Ista-devata*. He made Bunga-dya as the national deity of the kingdom of Patan. There are a number of still current stories linking Srinivasmalla to the deity. One popular legend makes Srinivasmalla himself a son of Karunamaya. Another legend refers that the queen of Srinivasmalla donated all her ornaments for the making of a golden window in the palace

with the image of Padmapani Lokesvara at the front entrance of Keshavnarayan chowk. Shrinivas's son Yoganarendramalla also paid deep respect to Lokesvara-Karunamaya. Like the kings of Patan, the Malla Kings of Kantipur and Bhaktapur also are the great devotees of Avalokitesvara.

There are several coins of Malla period on which the legend of Karunamaya is inscribed. In the coins of Siddhinarsimhamalla, Srinivasmalla, Yoganarendramalla, Lokaprakasmalla, Yogamati, Visnumalla, Ranjitmalla, the legend *Sri Sri Sri Lokanath, Sri Sri Sri Karunamaya* are inscribed, which show their great devotion to Avalokitesvara. Though Nepal Mandala, the Valley of Kathmandu is always ruled by the Hindu Kings and Pashupatinath and the Siva is their traditional guardian deity, similarly Swayambhu and Bunga-dya as Avalokitesvara are the traditional guardian deities for Newar and other Nepalese Buddhists. But one finds all the Buddhist, Hindus and other Shaktas have been celebrating the spectacular chariot festivals of Bunga-dya, Lokanath or Matsyendranath (Red one in Patan) and white one in Kathmandu. All these view attest the very popularity of Avalokitesvara as the universal saviour *bodhisattva* or Lokesvara for the Buddhists and Hindus alike.

Besides that in Nepalese Buddhist society Six-syllabled Sadakshari Lokesvara is widely used for devotional practice of *Ista devata* (Yidam). His Six-syllabled *mantra* "*Om Mani Padme Hum*" has become so popular that it has been a household *mantra* for every Buddhist in Mahayana tradition of Nepal.

The *Gunakarandavyuha* and *Karandavyuha* are very popular Buddhist literatures of Nepal in which several chapters are devoted to deal and explain the importance and grandeur of this *mantra*. In the Kathmandu Valley, about a dozen images of Six-syllabled Lokesvara is found in stone and wood sculptures at baha and bahi. Among them the images of Sadaksari Lokesvara of Badigaon (Vandepur), Baudhanath, Vijayshori temple, metal image of Sadaksari Lokesvara of Hiranyavarna Mahavihara and wood image of Sadaksari Lokesvara of *torana* of Duganbahi are noteworthy.

## 5. Conclusion:

In Nepal, the worship of Lokeshvara or Avalokitesvara is very popular and prominent. Among the *Tri-Ratna* (Three Jewels) - Buddha, Dharma and Sangha of Buddhism, it is a form of Lokeshvara that is usually symbolized the *Sangha-Ratna*. In fact, the bodhisattva of compassion, Lokeshvara, renounced his own Nirvana in order to rescue all sentient beings of the world. The earliest conception of bodhisattva Lokeshvara (Avalokitesvara) is found in the *Mahavastu Avadana*, where he is described as the bhagavan who takes the form of a bodhisattva for the sake of people's happiness. The most important characteristic of Lokeshvara are his compassion or mercy and his assumption of different forms according to the needs of people in different places and different ages. His important in Nepal is attested by the fact that some of the earliest Buddhist images found in the Kathmandu Valley are of Avalokitesvara. In Malla period, Karunamaya was an *ista devata* of the Malla Kings of Lalitpur. Now-a-days also his chariot festival, the festival of Bunga Dya, is one of the most important, biggest and longest festivals of Nepal. To this day numerous Buddhist of Nepal perform the monthly ritual in honour of an Avalokitesvara, the *astami vrata* of Amoghapasa Lokeshvara.

Every individual in the North and South or West and East is trapped into his own self-ego to enrich his own individual social and material life struggling fearfully for survival against all others. The modern age or the modern world or *Samsara* are thus inflicted with '*duhkha*', strife and violence due to *avidya* (ignorance).

Our mental attitude through awareness for universal consciousness has greater values than all scientific, political and philosophical doctrines because it shows the new path of the humanity for betterment of present and future world. This requires to awaken within ourselves loving - kindness and *Karuna* (compassion) as universal consciousness of other sufferings and strife as his own by obviating our self-ego. This Awakening or Enlightenment of every individual which is called *Bodhicitta*

inherent in every one is called *Bodhisattva Marga* - the way to the realization of the Buddhahood within ourselves to deliver all sentient beings from *Samsara* through loving kindness of compassion.

## Foot Notes

1. Hemaraj Shakya (trans. & ed.). *Arya Bhadrachari Pranidhana*, (Lalitpur: Hemaraj Shakya, V.S. 2028, N.S. 1093).
2. Pt. Hemaraj Shakya "Avalokitesvara", *Yashodhara*, No. 1. Yashodhara Samaj Sewa Parishada, Lalitpur (2054) P.35. Hari Ram Joshi (ed.) *Nepalko Prachin Abhilekha* (Kathmandu: Nepal Rajkiya Pragya Pratisthan, V.S. 2030) P.134-135
3. Sakaki Kyoto (ed.). *Maha Vytatti*, (1929), Sections 26, 28, 29.
4. "संभारो द्विविधः । तद्यथा ॥ पुण्यसंभारो ज्ञानसंभारश्चेति ॥ - नागार्जुनपादविरचितोऽयं धर्मसंग्रहः
5. Pt. Ashakaji Bajracharya (trans.). *Bodhisattvavadanamala*, Parts 1 & 2, (Kathmandu: Nepa Baudha Prakashan, N.S. 1103)
6. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, (Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1993) P.32
7. Hemaraj Shakya. "Avalokitesvara", *Amrit*, Shree Amrit Pushtakalaya (2026, Jestha, 30<sup>th</sup>) P.25.
8. Dhanavajra Bajracharya. *Lichhavigalaka Abhilekha*, (Kirtipur: Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, T.U. 2053) P.1-18.
9. Ibid, P. 177-178.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid, P. 185-186.
12. Ibid, P. 386.
13. Ibid, P. 387.
14. Ibid, P. 591.
15. Dhanavajra Bajracharya, Kamal Prakash Malla (eds.) *The Gopalaraja Vamsavali*, (Kathmandu: FSVWG: Nepal Research Centre, 1985) P.4.
16. John K. Locke, *Karunamaya*, (Kathmandu: Sahayogi Prakashan, 1980) P.300.
17. D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part I (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1965) P. 241
18. Ibid, P.242
19. Ibid, (F.N. 15) P.14.
20. Luciano Petech *Medieval History of Nepal* (Rome: 1958) P.108.
21. Dhanavajra Bajracharya. "Saktisali Bhardar Ramvardahanaharu ra Tatkalika", *Purnima*, 7. P. 34.
22. Ibid (F.N. 15) P. 24.
23. Hemaraj Shakya, *Sri Karunamaya Bungamlokesvaraya Samskrita Pristhabhumi* (Yala, Thaina: Rajkumar Shakya, N.S. 1111, V.S. 2048) P.12-13.
24. Dhanavajra Bajracharya, *Madhyakalka Abhilekha* (Kirtipur: Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies V.S. 2056) P.170-181.



# Following Religion or Tradition: A matter of social confusion<sup>1</sup>

- Sushila Manandhar Fischer<sup>2</sup>

*What is religion? Where is God? Is God in the Temple, in the Monastery or in the Church? Praying and doing puja- is that religion? Are rituals, ceremonies and belief religion? Is all that makes people nearer to God? In this paper I compare the moral teaching of Buddha with the Sermon of the Mount (Divine Law). Through this analogy between the Precepts of Buddha and the Ten Commandments, I am questioning myself the meaning of religion.*

## Tradition and religion: Introductory remarks

'To define the God and his precise action is a difficult task, if a person tries to do so, his finding becomes the descriptions done by four blinds on the form of an elephant: snake, mountain, pillar, hand fan' (Nepali proverb).

Contemporary Theologians insist in knowing God by studying and interpreting the religious sacred books. Hence their manner of conceiving God and interpreting him is always influenced by their religious concepts and traditions. To separate oneself from the inheritance in which one has lived is difficult. Frederic Lenoir expressed his own experience in the following words:

'... We find the Buddhists converted in Christianity preserving a profound attachment to the religion followed during their childhood and, vice versa, more and more Christians became Buddhists who came back towards Christianity while conserving the practices of Buddhists "education" or the "culture of Buddhism"...' (Lenoir, 2006: 23).

As we observe, it is complicated to receive the exact meaning used in the language of religious texts and the vocabulary employed by the theologians.

The explanations given by priests and current researchers for the words are very complex. A 'non-spiritual' mind or brain may prevent understanding the scientific readings on religion and God. It is a very ambitious matter to research on the two great religions of the world which are Buddhism and Judeo-Christianity.

There are many theological and philosophical literatures on these two religions. Even the Christians who believe in only one God and one religious book - The *Holy Bible*, neither the interpretation of the Bible nor the manner of their perception of the God is unique. They interpret their God and the Holy Bible according to their religious doctrine linking with the church where they are affiliated. Moreover, their religious belief is influenced by their living space, its geo-political situation, local culture and tradition, and existing different branches of religious practice in Judeo-Christianity. The Christians identified themselves according to dogmas of their churches: Orthodoxies, Catholics, Protestants, Evangelicals, Anglicans, Baptists, Bethany, the seventh days Adventists, scientific Christians, etc. Ametefe Nomenyo described in his article "Gospel and Culture", how to develop the Gospel with people of different cultures (Nomenyo, "*Evangel et Culture*", 1982: 25-33). He further specifies:

"One cannot preach the gospel in the same manner, with similar patterns in all cultures." (Nomenyo, A.,1982:27).

Buddhism also has different branches. Just inside Nepal, the various ethnic, such as Newar, Sherpa, Tamang, Magar, are declaring themselves "Buddhists" but none of them have the same concept of Buddhism or the image of Buddha. Each ethnic group has a very different conception of being Buddhist. Only among the Newar community, we find various types of Buddhist disciplines: Hinayana/Theravada, Mahayana/Vajrayana<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, inside the *MAhAyAna* and *VajrayAna*, there existed several cults: the cult of Tara ("stars"), the cult of Karunamaya (perform *astami brata*), cult of full moon (*purnimA*), etc.<sup>4</sup>

Hence, the comparison between Buddhism and Christianity is not an easy task. Most of the authors who try to compare them, usually take examples of Buddhism and Christianity practiced by various communities in different countries and describe them as it is rather than defining the principles, notions or concepts implicated in both religions clearly. Expressed in the Buddhism practiced by the Taos, the Confucians (China), the Zen, the Shinto (Japan), the Indian, the *MAhAyAna* (Tibet), the *HinanAya* (Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka) or Judeo-Christianity practiced as Orthodoxies, Catholics, Protestants, Evangelicals, Anglicans, Baptists, Bethany, the seventh days Adventists, etc. They described the existing local texts and ritual ceremonies without evoking the question of comparison, either examining or analyzing the points of similarities and the dissimilarities between these two religions (Cobb, John B., 1982, Vinson, Eric, 2006, Standaert, Benoit, 2005, Vallet, Odon, 1996, etc.).<sup>5</sup> Somehow, Odon Vallet indicated some points of similarities in life passages of two great Masters: Jesus-Christ and Lord Buddha in the description of their significant roles (Vallet, Odon, 1996).

Being born in a *VajrayAna* Buddhist family, I have been initiated in its diverse rituals. Socially, I am recognized as a member of the Buddhist community. But, for me, becoming Buddhist is not

only to have a social identity as an associate of a social group but also to adopt the Buddhist nature of *maïtri* (tolerance and brotherhood), *karunA* (compassion), *kCama* (forgiveness), *dAna* (donation), etc. I adopt Gandhi's concept about religion '... religion does not mean only considering itself as in a belief of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam or Zoroastrism. Religion consisted essentially as a kind of devotion towards God or the truth, in the spirit of primacy, and taking good steps in a moral or ethical component which are common in all religious beliefs'. In Gandhi's word:

I believe in the fundamental truth of all the great religions of the world. (...) In the beginning they all are one and they served mutually for better service'. (cited in Gangal S. C., 2090: 105)

A person becomes Buddhist by conducting one's life by following the right path and in charitable functions as well as respecting the precepts of Buddha which demand living with strong conscience and morality.

In the Nepalese context, the *Vajrayan* religious texts have been kept secret and till it is prohibited to explain them publicly; their interpretation is reserved only for the initiated priests of the *Vajracharya* or the household monks. The *Vajracharya* live in the courtyard called *bAhah, bahi* or *nani*.<sup>6</sup> They are responsible for *puja*: offering, protecting, preserving and maintaining the monasteries with which they are associated. During the *puja* in the Buddhist shrine "monasteries"<sup>7</sup>, the responsible priests pray in front of the statutes, they read some extracts of the *sutras*, generally written in Sanskrit.

They are also responsible for promoting the socio-cultural and religious links among the associated members of the monasteries. They officiate as priests<sup>8</sup> among the particular *Vajrayanis* during their life cycle rituals and funeral rites. Moreover, they perform all types of occasional offerings, *puja* organized either individually (personal/familial) or associatively (*guthi*): *homa, tArApuja, astamibrata, kalasapuja, satva-puja, degupuja, daCamipuja*

:hhAhAykegu, etc. In all those *pujAs*, the officiated priests play a directive role to serial offerings. They direct their clients, *jajamAns* to do such and such specific offerings and prescribe to repeat after them certain sentences of the *sutras*, without giving any explanation on the signification of these offerings and *sutras*.

As I observed in my family and the society, I never noticed that the performers of the *pujA* are curious to know the exact meaning of the *sutras* and offerings. The meaning of all these ritual and religious practices are mainly unknown. In various occasions, I have asked the significance of those *sutras*, with the officiated priest, my parents and grand-parents who are following all those rituals and perform such religious offers time to time. I never got any explanation either from the officiated priest or from the senior family members. Hence, I am asking myself: on which fundamental basis the *VajrayAna* Buddhists believe in that religion? Do they continue to follow all these things uniquely as their traditions? Whether they are imitating the tradition or not, but they permit the *VajrayAna* Buddhism to stay alive.

Similarly, in Judeo-Christianity, there are doctrinal disputes among the Christians, even though they believe in only one God. The Jewish, the Catholics, the Protestants, the Evangelists, the Adventists, follow their ritual differently. Certain pray in the name of Virgin Mary (Pillar in Zaragoza of Spain, and the most of the Latin-American countries), the others in the name of God father who is considered as the "true God". The rest of the people pray addressing Christ. They think that the true God abides in him and he is the only Savior of the humanity.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, each Church has its own manners and processes to perform the socio-religious rituals of the *last supper*, foot washing, baptism, marriage, funeral, etc. The different religious institutions do not agree among themselves on the process of their rituals performances. Even the utilization of the ritual objects usually becomes a matter of great discussion. Similarly, the manner of conducting

rituals varies greatly from one church to another. Even in Nepal, where the existence of Christians has not been noticed before the seventeenth century, there is discussion on their diverse traditions<sup>10</sup>.

Empirical observations have revealed that most of the Judeo-Christians and Buddhists have a great attachment to the doctrine of their respective Churches and in the rituals of their monasteries. Relative to the religious worships and practices, the Christians all belong to a specific Church and the Buddhists themselves affiliate to a monastery or *sangha* with an expectation to find the path towards God and eternal life. By accepting the doctrines or rituals prescribed by their Churches or *sanghas*, both of them believe that they will be safe from a sinful life and achieve eternal life, *nirvana*. Hence, both blindly follow all rituals and doctrines proposed by the tradition without question.

*VajrayAni* Buddhists practice their religion with faith or reverence to various divinities. Similarly, the Christians do not like to question about the existence of God. Neither do they like to discuss nor do analytical research on the subject. They just believe in an active and powerful God for whom nothing is impossible. The Christians often say: '*existence of the God is in the faith*', it is not a matter of investigation.

Today many people, in Nepal, practice *Theravada* Buddhism following the *Cila* or precepts of good conduct or imperative moral life<sup>11</sup>. There are three different levels of *Cila* (percepts): *pancha Cila* (five precepts), *asta Cila* (eight precepts) and *daCa Cila* (ten precepts); they are written as pronounced by Buddha in front of his disciples, in *PAlI* or "*PrAkRt*" language (Appendix I, II, III respectively). Certain Nepalese Buddhist, *upasak/upasika*, consider these *Cilas* as "speech of Buddha" *Buddha vachana*. Every day, at least once if not twice a day, in the *Theravada bihArs* "monasteries" the *upasik/upasika* repeat these percepts after the responsible monk, *bhante/anAgArika*. Time to time, the responsible *bhante* or *anAgArika* of *bihArs*, delivers speeches on these *Cilas* by interpreting them in a current language and explain them as simply as possible. They are neither

secret nor is it prohibited to ask them some questions and receive full explanation.

Similarly, the Christians gather to pray on the day of Sabbath, either on Sunday or on Saturday, according to the dogma of the Church to which they are associated. They solicit God's help and grace to save them against the sins they have committed consciously or unconsciously. They submit themselves under God's will and agree to live under his protection and thus, they express their entire faith in him.

By observing and repeating such rituals, can the Christians get rid of their sin and be free of all passions and possession? Can the Buddhist or the Hindu drain out from their *pApa*? Do they find their God?

It is an ambitious matter trying to find out the response to these questions within the official religious institutions, doctrines, dogmas and traditional beliefs. Hence, I would like to explore the ethics of Buddhism and Judeo-Christianity by understanding the points of similarities and dissimilarities between the ten precepts of Buddha and the ten commandments of God.

### The returning to the Christ and Buddha's moral insight

Buddha and Christ announced the great and unique message to 'keep away from the sinful life'. Buddha prescribed to observe at least *pancha Cila*, if possible *asta Cila* and even *daCa Cila* (Appendix IV)<sup>12</sup> as strictly as possible and to conduct themselves in a particular way of moral life and virtue ethics.

Danis Gira wrote in his book *Comprendre le Bouddhisme (Understand Buddhism)*: '... to become a Buddhist monk, *viksus/viksunis*, one should engage in observance of the Ten precepts ...' (Gira, 1989: 92-93). According to the explanations of the *Bihar*, Buddha himself observed these precepts in his life, and exhorted his disciples to engage them as well. Thus, Buddha prescribed his disciples a way to conduct one's life honestly, harmoniously, and virtuously, to withdraw all their sorrows and sufferings (*dukha*) as well the spiral rotten-life cycle. To live by strictly

observing the Buddhist *Cila*, means to avoid all the evil habits or wrong actions and live with strong moral, i.e. not to do sinful acts, *pApa karma*. Thus, the *panca Cila*, *asta Cila* and *daCa Cila*, are not the miraculous remedies to cure the "sickness of sin" rather a kind of a prudential imperative or ethical principle to follow as a precaution (Appendix IV)<sup>13</sup>.

In Judeo-Christianity, Moses pronounced the God's Ten Commandments which a man should follow as the Devine Law without questioning them. These commandments are described in the Bible repeatedly, in the Ancient as well as in the New Testament (Appendix V). Christ emphasized not only on obedience to the Ten Commandments but also on the necessity of repentance to God.<sup>14</sup>

Most of the Christians believe that those Ten Commandments were pronounced at Mount Sinai by Moses on behalf of God for the Israelites people who were elected by him. By crucifying Jesus-Christ, God's son on the Cross, those commandments were abolished; and replaced by *forgiveness, true love, and compassion*. Jesus-Christ sacrificed his life to wash the sin of people. Nevertheless, grace will be provided to the people who bow down towards God or who have faith in God.

By reading the *Ancient Testament* and a few articles on these commandments, I found that these commandments existed since the creation of the world and the man.<sup>15</sup> And, according to the dialogue between a young man and Jesus, it seems that the Ten Commandments given by God are never abolished<sup>16</sup>.

- ... a man came up to and asked: Lord, what good thing must I do to get the eternal life? (Matthew, 19: 16)<sup>17</sup>.
- Why are you ask me about what is good? If you want to enter life, obey the Ten Commandments. (Matthew, 19: 17)
- Which one? The man inquired, Jesus replied: Do not murder; you do not commit adultery; do not give false testimony, do not steal; (Matthew, 19. 18)
- Honor your father and mother: and love your neighbors as yourselves.' (Matthew, 19. 19)

Hence, the Ten Commandments exist for ever: to provide a safe life against sin and the way towards eternal life (Appendix V). Christians should follow them and not do whatever they like to do with the "illusion of freedom". The Buddhists have to observe the ten precepts, *daCa Cila* in the same way (appendix III and IV C).

I would like to analyze more precisely the points of resemblances and differences in the texts of The Ten Commandments and the *daCa Cila* and try to examine the possibilities of rapprochements between these two religious points of view relating to the actual socio-cultural contexts.<sup>17</sup>

The 'religious' people pose various problematic questions about the topic of such a research: one argues how can it be possible to compare the God's Ten Commandments with the Ten Precepts of a man 'atheist'? Another gives emphasis that there are no points of comparison possible between Buddha and Christ. The Buddhists and the Christians, themselves do not understand mutually each others' theological ideas. Denis Gira wrote in his article "*The ambiguities of the occidental Buddhism*:"

'... the Christians are always convincing that in Christianity there should be a God. In Buddhism, one reality corresponding to God, a personal God which is love, and at the same time the order of absolute truth. There is nothing more "natural" because, in the Christianity, nothing is explained without God and mostly there are no phenomena of the humane. Yet, in the Buddhism, all things are explained without mentioning God... Nevertheless, the Buddhists born in Buddhists countries do not consider themselves as "atheist". And they do not appreciate that the Occidentals compel them to reply such question, which they do not show any concern about: the existence of God. In reality, this question does not cross their mind: they are neither "atheist", nor "agnostics", nor "believers", they are somewhere else.' (Gira, 2006: 36-37) (Translated from French into English by me)

Regardless of Gira's comments, there are lots of similarities between the verses of the ten commandments of God and the ten precepts of Buddha which analyzed as follow:

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| 1st precept  | : <i>Panatipata veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami</i>   |
| 6th command  | : You shall not murder (Exodus. 20: 13)   |
| 2nd precept  | : <i>Adinnadana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami</i>   |
| 8th command  | : You shall not steal (Exodus. 20: 15)  |
| 10th command | : You shall not covet your neighbor's house. You shall not covet you neighbor's wife, or his manservant or maidservant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor steal (Exodus. 20: 17). |
| 3rd precept  | : <i>Abrahmacariyaveramanisikkhapadam samadiyami</i>  |
| 7th command  | : You shall not commit adultery (Exodus. 20: 14)  |
|              | - You have heard that it was said, 'Do not commit adultery' (Matthew. 5: 27)  |
|              | - But I tell you that anyone who looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery with her in his heart (Matthew. 5: 28)   |
| 4th. precept | : <i>Musavada veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami</i>   |
| 9th command  | : You shall not give false testimony against your neighbors. (Exodus. 20: 16)   |

Hence, these four precepts are identical to the five last commands of God. These commands are not pronounced in the same order - Buddha pronounced the above four precepts at first, with preference -, but God put them at the end of his ten commands by mentioning at first five sentences for ego. Whatever the preference order are both of them suggest following the identical principles, with the same ethical and theological virtues in life.

Although, nowadays, Buddhism and Christianity became worldwide popular "religion"

while originally they were known as oriental and occidental respectively. Why and how is it possible to find such similarities in the Commandments of "occidental religion" and the precepts given by Asian Buddha? In this debate, there are different conceptions among the "religious people".

- Most of the Christians used to say that God, creator of the Universe gave Ten Commandments among which Buddha picked up the four last commands and included them as his precepts. God is super power, nothing is impossible for him; only through his help a man can conduct his life safely and obtain an eternal life. So a man has to respect God and request for his help: Buddha is not as powerful as God and he could not dare to command as God but mixed-up four simple clues among the Ten Commandments in his precepts which a man can follow.
- On the other hand, most of the Buddhists believe that Jesus gave emphasis on those four commandments among the ten given by God which are identical to Buddha's precepts. Buddha has never pronounced the formula "faith in God" as Christ commanded to his followers. Buddha's conception is self perfection.
- Contradictorily, Christ preached on the name of God, who is considered as his father and commands the people for respecting him and suggest taking refuge under God's protection. For him a man can not be perfect, one's life is sinful. Only through God's help, it will be possible to relief oneself from his sins. More over, he always suggests the people to respect the Ten Commandments and often emphasized on the last four which are identical to Buddha's first four precepts, as mentioned just above.

Thus, Jesus-Christ seems to be influenced by the Buddha's thought. What is the reason of this influence?

According to Swami Rama, '...Jesus-Christ came to India when he was around 12/13 years old... (Swamiram, 1999: 273-74, ) He passed 18

years in India. During this period, he came to Nepal and stayed for 6 years. He improved his spiritual knowledge of the then Hindu and Buddhist society' (Shrestha, 2059: 4)<sup>19</sup>.

According to the description of his character, he preferred to adopt the Buddhist philosophy rather than the orthodox Hindu thought. His actions and commands show his disagreement on the racial differences among the people, disobediences of unnecessary tradition and orthodox rituals. He was charitable towards the needy people as Buddha did in his life. Both of them step towards to bring changes in the orthodox principles of the traditional society. In fact, Christ and Buddha, both are guided by the same motives and interests.

In reality, the precepts of Buddhist and preaching of Christ emphasize to adopt a true conduct in life without excess and exaggeration which must be practiced individually. Even though, the Christians missionaries interpret that God forgives men's sin who have faith in him, this interpretation is not correct. In fact, the profound meaning of forgiveness is: God tries to save the people by stopping them to follow an immoral path. God created the man, the most intelligent creature among his creations and left him in liberty, he imposed on him nothing. The men are free for their actions either good or bad, and they themselves will be responsible for their acts. We should not forget here the story of the two brothers: Cain and Abel. Cain committed sinful act by killing his brother Abel due to jealousy. His sin has not been forgiven but punished by God (Genesis, 4: 3-14). Thus, God never pardoned Cain for his crime despite his devotion, and all the agricultural products he offered to him.

Buddha suggested men should control themselves, stay away from all human evil passions such as anger, envy, greediness, cupidity, jealousy, and be aware and sensitive to one's own actions, refrain themselves from any wicked acts, try to suppress unnecessary desires, and the luxury life which are the utter cause of sorrow and suffering (*dukha*).

According to Buddha, eyes, heart, tongue, ears and nose are the principles parts of the human

body. They are the most sensitive parts whose functions can be good as well as evil. On one hand they make the perfect and active man by providing necessary sensitivity to the body, but, on the other they can also incline to the bad habits. Hence, Buddha suggested that each individual should pay proper attention to one's personal inclinations, be careful and give away their destructive desires.

Christ said similar things in following verses:

- If your right eye causes you to sin, gouge it out and throw it away. It is better for you to lose one part of your body than for your whole body to be thrown into hell. (Matthew, 5: 29)
- The eye is the lamp of the body. If your eyes are good, be your whole body will be full of light, (Matthew, 6: 22)
- But, if your eyes are bad, your whole body will be full of darkness. (Matthew, 6: 23)

Through these sentences Christ exhorts us to stay conscious of our acts and keep away from selfishness, to limit our appetite for the luxurious life, and to control our desires so that our life does not fall down in an infernal circle.

In the same spirit, Buddha suggested to his followers, 'do not care what others think and say, ignore the opinions and prejudices of the world; try to become the master of oneself and be awakened and sensitive on our own senses and acts. Serve oneself to people in need. In other words: he asked his followers to be charitable and compassionate (*karunA*), practice the love of each other, maintain brotherhood and keep friendly relations (*maitri*), be tolerant and develop forgiveness (*kCmA*) within oneself. Buddha invites us to 'give ourselves in donations and be *dAni*<sup>20</sup> and *tyAgi*<sup>21</sup>. These teachings of Buddha seem to have exerted a great influence upon Christ directly or indirectly. We can notice the sense of *kCmA*, *dAna*, *tyAga*, etc. in his expressions:

- "- But I, I tell you do not resist against the malicious or miserable's or evils. If some one strikes at your right cheek, turn to him the other also (Matthew, 5: 39)." Here, Christ is explaining his sense of forgiveness and tolerance which we find in Buddha's teaching as *kCmA*.

"...Someone wants to take your tunic, let him have your overcoat as well (Matthew, 5: 40)." In this verse he's expressing tolerance and donation which we find in the teaching of Buddha as *kCmA* and *dAna*.

"- Give him who ask you, and do not turn away from the one who wants to borrow from you (Matthew, 5: 42)". Here Christ is asking to his followers for renouncing to their self (particular interests) which is called *tyAga* in the teaching of Buddha.

In the New testament, Mark and John described that Christ cured lots of sick people without any consideration of race or religion. He gave them treatments voluntarily. Even Christ helped those sick people during the day of Sabbath observation. To care and cure the sick people, he did not hesitate to violate the socio-religious tradition of Sabbath. Here, Christ's actions reflected the liberty of consciousness and the responsibility towards the man who needs his help (Lanarès, 1990)<sup>22</sup>. When, Christ cured a blind boy during the Sabbath observation, people became furious and questioned 'who works against the God's prohibited day?' The boy's parents were afraid of replying them. The young boy who got back the sight replied:

- The man, they called Jesus made some mud and put it on my eyes and told me: go to wash them. So I went, I washed and then I could see (John, 9: 11).

The above verses can be interpreted in two different senses: through Christ, God provides a miracle which makes it possible to restore a blind person's sight. Through Christ the expression towards the boy is encouraging us to watch with our own eyes, not to be a blind follower.

After healing a paralytic, Christ told him: 'get-up and go to your home'. We can interpret this text that God provides miraculous help, nevertheless the man has his own part of responsibility to manage himself and go ahead in the life.

Even though the ten commandments of Christianity and the Bible when referring God, and described him with a capital 'G', and that in the ten

precepts of primitive Buddhism (*theravAda*), there is no mention of God (any Gods), it seems that perfect similarities do exist between the principal precepts or commandments of these two religions. Above, mentioned biblical verses the reply given by Christ to a young boy (Matthew, 19: 16-19). Above mentioned biblical verses and their significance are directly or indirectly similar to the Buddhist *pancha Cila*.

Christianity and Buddhism either with or without God rooted themselves in the world. They are identical in their purposes: which is to exhort people to behave and act in a way that they know is right, proper or acceptable to save themselves from their sins, *pApa*.

### The way of realizing God

The history of early Buddhism and Judeo-Christianity presents a number of similarities. For example: Siddhartha Gautama and Jesus, were both born on the road during the journey of their parents (Majupuria and Majupuria, 2008: 33-34, Shrestha, 2008: 98 and Luke, 2:1-7, respectively)<sup>23</sup>. Buddhism and Christianity existed in the 'primitive form', a long time ago before the birth of Siddhartha and Jesus. Siddhartha Gautama, who after obtaining the illumination, *Bodhigyan*, was identified as Buddha, Master of Buddhism. In the same way, the *Ancient Testament*, the book of primitive Christianity or Judaic religion described that Jesus was born in the world according to the God's plan in sending him as the savior. After his crucifixion, he was called Jesus-Christ and the existing primitive Judaic religion was named Christianity. Thereafter, Buddhism has popularly been known by the name of Buddha and Christianity by the name of Christ. Strictly speaking, neither Buddha nor Christ are the primary seeds underlying these religions, they only assumed the continuity of the existing religions with modification.

In Buddhism, Buddha indicated 'the right path' of wisdom, sensitivity and awareness in opposition to the nasty *mAra* which embodies the evil way<sup>24</sup>. In Christianity, God is "the saviour of humanity, being good loving, and compassionate

contrary to Satan "the deposed Angel" who is the incarnation of Evil (more details: the *Lalitbistara*, the *Bible* and Vallet, Odon, 1996). Therefore, the strong message transmitted by these religions is that there are good and evil paths, and it remains for each individual to choose the good one by eliminating the evil temptations to achieve a healthy and joyful life. Buddhism asserts that people who always behave or act immorally (*pApa karma*) are sinful. Nevertheless, one can release oneself from sin by performing right or fair actions. Not only can one rid oneself from sin, but also can achieve Heaven – a place of eternal happiness where God is supposed to live –, gain "nirvAna", hence seek an end to the painful spiral life. Buddha said:

*"O Ananda, be lamp unto yourselves. Be ye refuges to yourselves. Hold fast to the Dharma as a lamp. Hold fast to the Dharma as a refuge. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves"* (*MCEhEparinibbCEna Sutta*, cited in Narasu, 2005: 2).

Therefore, Buddhists do not search for God exterior to *oneself*. Neither do they affirm that having *Buddhichitta* 'to be self-aware' is proper to Buddha "The Awakened" nor does it belong to his disciples but it exists inside each individual.

In contradiction to Buddhist thought, Christianity affirms that man is sinful in his essence or nature; he cannot escape from his sins without God's forgiveness and by his favour "grace". A man can only be relieved from his sin through God's salvation. God provides his gratuitous pardon to the people who have faith and bow down to him. One accepts God into ones life by agreeing to be baptized. Afterwards one is considered as becoming one of his children. Hence, one can benefit from God's gratitude "grace/favour", "forgiveness" and "salvation". To say it in other words, that one should be baptized according to the dogma of the Church where he/she is going to be affiliated. Thus, for the Christians, the baptism is a kind of "approval testament" which attested one's personal link with God who dispenses his "grace", "forgiveness" and "salvation".

I was born in a Buddhist family which taught me "to research the God inside oneself". I grew up



in Nepal, a Hindu kingdom<sup>25</sup> where traditionally more gods and goddesses prevail in the land than its total population<sup>26</sup>. They are called through various names in accordance with the inner perception of the people. Thus they are used to create different images (emblems and symbols) of 'God' according to their own beliefs and needs. Thus, the presence of its numerous images became inevitable among the Nepalese as their "Accessible God" of the locality.

Even though Nepalese people have various perceptions of "God" according to their local beliefs, in reality there is a unique "God" known as *Iswara* (sounds as Jesus "Isus") and *Parmeswara*. When the Nepalese pray to *Iswara* or *Parmeswara*, they do not identify the God, either its image or gender. *Iswara* is perceived as an invisible supernatural power which is omnipresent at any moment to help and save its devotees<sup>27</sup>.

Most of the Nepalese profoundly believe that every human can tie a link with God by his personal reverence, *CraddhA*, and spiritual devotion (*bhakti*) towards him. Devotee (*bhakta*)'s internal reverence (*CraddhCE*) in God is the main route to link with him. So, a devotee can perfectly conceive God as unique without being forced to open the doors prohibited<sup>28</sup>.

On the other hand, particularly Hindu conviction insists that the churches' doors are opened for all the people, but the Christian authorities advert: "only the people who are socio-culturally affiliated in a Church can get link with God". Moreover, only one who is outwardly recognized as accepting the Christian dogma can establish a direct contact with God. His "salvation", his "forgiveness" and his "grace" are reserved only for those being affiliated at a Church and accepting the baptism ritual, as prescribed by the Christian authorities. Hence, it seems that the way towards God indicated by the Christians is very cramped.

Being a member of the Newar Buddhist, I learned to conceive God *inwardly* by internal spirit. He presents himself either in a visible or invisible form; one can find him inside oneself as Buddha indicated. He is known either as Christ (trinity: father, son, saint spirit) or as Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswar, he is

*Unique*. I believe that a God who is kind, charitable and loving, will not throw out his devotee even though one is not a member of an existing Church (Christianity) or *sangha* (Hindu/ Buddhist). In addition, it is repeatedly written in the *Bible* that we meet God by our faith (*CraddhCE*). As described in the *New Testament*, Christ provided services to the needy people and served himself to cure several sick people saving their lives, without questioning them on their religion or race. Even, two non baptized thieves who were crucified with him were taken to heaven.

Therefore, the meaning of the word faith (*CraddhCE*) and devotion (*bhakti*) is this: a kind of stairway or elevator (*mArga/mAgga*) to go towards God, who is called differently by his followers. For the Buddhists, he is invisible and living canceled inside everyone as a kind of internal voice<sup>29</sup> and vision (*dristi*). For the Hindus, he is called *Iswara* or *Parmeswara* and is omnipresent in diverse forms (*avatAra*). For the Christians, he embodied himself in Jesus-Christ as his Son. Christ told:

« ...the kingdom of God does not come with your careful observation nor will people say, 'here it is,' or there it is, because the kingdom of God is within you » (Luke, 17: 21).

Hence, even for the Christians, God is invisible, He is among us or inside us, and he will not appear himself in front of us. Neither does he belong to any particular person or group nor is he the property of somebody but he exists for the entire world !!! Even though the Christian community would like to keep the Christ in its own possession, it is impossible to keep him "chained and imprisoned". By reading the *New Testament*, we come to know that Christ presented himself as the "Universal God". He helped those who were requesting his favour, cured their sickness without any discrimination of race and religion. When Mahatma Gandhi talks about Christ as "sweet" and "unchained", he insisted that he is not the possession of the Christian community. In Gandhi's own words:

"The Christianity belongs to the Christ, but the Christ is not belonging to the Christianity" (cited in Chenu, B., 1987: 177).

Therefore, the true God is neither sectarian nor communitarian but universal and live among us.

### Conclusive remarks:

Only humans conceive God differently according to the religious conceptions and traditions of their community. Whatever our religion is (Hinduism, Buddhism or Christianity), there is 'a universal God', even though the explanations given on his existence are forcefully different. These three religions have more or less similar precepts which are to construct an ideal world which 'is not' but 'should be' resided by the moral people.

Instead of identifying himself with a particular religious community, as an active member of a Monastery, a Church or a Temple, one should submit to a proper life under strict moral precepts as required by the Buddha or God's commandments in the Sermon of the Mount. To act morally or ethically means: be good, i.e. to be correct, accurate, and completely honest with a sense of great integrity and not pretentious (Nussbaum (1986) Only a pure morality assures the individual of obtaining God's grace and salvation from the painful spiral life, attaining *nirvAna* (the eternal life by releasing painful spiral life - according to Buddhism), the eternal life near to God (according to Christianity) and the *mokCa* (the *Atma* remains alive in peaceful paradise (according to Hinduism). It is not merely by observing the religious rituals and ceremonies<sup>30</sup> but by following the imperatives of morality (symbol of absolute awareness) and inward spirituality that a man can achieve eternal life. Or obtain a home in an ideal space, here or there, but so close to God which will be in peace. Philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer is right to say:

"... l'esprit et la tendance morale, et non pas les mythes dont elle les habille, voilà la partie essentielle d'une religion..." (lit. Trans: '... the spirit and the moral tendency, and not the myths in which it dressed up, that is the essential part of any religion...') (Schopenhauer 1966: 1394).

The religious mind is the mind that is utterly free from all doctrinal attachment, from all

theoretical conclusions and concepts; it is dealing only with 'what actually is' - what we are doing, the way we are doing it. It is dealing with one's life and with what is happening inwardly and outwardly every day; understanding the whole complex problem of moral living. Only when the mind is swept clean of images, of rituals and ceremonies, or belief, of symbol, of all words, mantra, sutras and purely mechanical repetitions, and of all fear or sorrow, then what one sees is the Real, the Absolute, the Divine which can be called 'God'. Only one will know what *true* religion is.

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## Appendix

### Appendix I : Pancha Cila of Buddhism

1. *Panatipata veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
2. *Adinnadana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
3. *Kamesu micchacara veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
4. *Musavada veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
5. *Suramerayamajja pamadatthana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*

### Appendix II : Asta Cila of Bouddhisme

1. *Panatipata veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
2. *Adinnadana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
3. *Abrahmacariya veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
4. *Musavada veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
5. *Suramerayamajja pamadatthana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
6. *Vikalabhojana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*

7. *Nacca-gita-vadita-visukkadassana mala-gandha-vilepana-dharana-mandana-vibhusanathana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
8. *Uccasayana-mahasayana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*

### Appendix 3: The daCa Cila of Buddhism

1. *Panatipata veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
2. *Adinnadana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
3. *Abrahmacariya veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
4. *Musavada veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
5. *Suramerayamajja pamadatthana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
6. *Vikalabhajana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
7. *Nacca-gita-vadita-visuka-dassana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
8. *Mala-gandha-vilepana-dharana-mandana-vibhusanathana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
9. *Uccasayana-mahasayana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*
10. *Jatarupa-rajata-patiggahana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*

### Appendix IV The three levels of Cila with English translation

#### Appendix IV a : Pancha Cila.

1. *Panatipata veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from destroying living creatures.
2. *Adinnadana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from taking that which is not given.
3. *Kamesu micchacara veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from sexual misconduct.
4. *Musavada veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from incorrect speech.
5. *Suramerayamajja pamadatthana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from intoxicating drinks and drugs which lead to carelessness.

#### Appendix IV b : Asta Cila

1. *Panatipata veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from destroying living creatures.
2. *Adinnadana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from taking that which is not given.
3. *Abrahmacariya veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from sexual activity.
4. *Musavada veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from incorrect speech.
5. *Suramerayamajja pamadatthana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from intoxicating drinks and drugs which lead to carelessness.
6. *Vikalabhajana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from eating at the forbidden time (i.e., afternoon).
7. *Nacca-gita-vadita-visukkadassana mala-gandha-vilepana-dharana-mandana-vibhusanathana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from dancing, singing, music, going to see entertainments, wearing garlands, using perfumes, and beautifying the body with cosmetics.
8. *Uccasayana-mahasayana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from lying on a high or luxurious sleeping place.

#### Appendix IVc : The daCa Cila

1. *Panatipata veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from destroying living creatures.
2. *Adinnadana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from taking that which is not given.
3. *Abrahmacariya veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from sexual activity.

4. *Musavada veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from incorrect speech.
5. *Suramerayamajja pamadatthana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from intoxicating drinks and drugs which lead to carelessness.
6. *Vikalabhajana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from eating at the forbidden time (i.e., after noon).
7. *Nacca-gita-vadita-visuka-dassana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from dancing, singing, music, going to see entertainments.
8. *Mala-gandha-vilepana-dharana-mandana-vibhusanathana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from wearing garlands, using perfumes, and beautifying the body with cosmetics.
9. *Uccasayana-mahasayana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from lying on a high or luxurious sleeping place.
10. *Jatarupa-rajata-patiggahana veramani sikkhapadam samadiyami*  
I undertake the precept to refrain from accepting gold, silver and money.

#### Appendix V: Ten commandments

1. "You shall have no other gods before me. (Exodus, 20: 3)
  - You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below. (Exodus, 20: 4)
  - You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to third and fourth generation of those who hate me, (Exodus, 20: 5)

- But showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments. (Exodus, 20, V. 6)
2. You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name. (Exodus, 20: 7)
  3. Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy (Exodus, 20: 8)
    - Six days you shall labor and do all your work
    - But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you, nor your son or daughter, nor your manservant or maidservants, nor your animals, nor the alien within your gates (Exodus, 20: 10)
  4. For in six days the Lord made the heavens and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy. (Exodus, 20: 11)
  5. Honor your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the Lord your God is giving you. (Exodus, 20: 12)
  6. You shall not murder (Exodus, 20: 13)
  7. You shall not commit adultery (Exodus, 20: 14)
  8. You shall not steal (Exodus, 20: 15)
  9. You shall not give false testimony (Exodus, 20: 16)
  10. You shall not covet your neighbor's house. You shall not covet your neighbor's wife, or his manservant or maidservant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor." (Exodus, 20: 17)

## Foot Notes

- 1 In this paper, I present my three months research on the analogy between the Ten Commandments of God and ten precepts of Buddha. This is my first attempt to study religion. The study has been done in Nepal and France (affiliated at Faculté Adventiste de Théologie du Salève (FAT), Collonges-Sous-Salève, France. Hence the project report was written in French entitled *Les DaCa Cila (dix préceptes) du Bouddhisme et les Dix Commandements du Christianisme : étude comparative*. It was presented at FAT on the 2th March 2010 and then submitted at Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), on 10 March, 2010. On the base of that report this article is written in English. My humble gratitude goes to Mr. Gilles Fischer for his attentive lecture of this article and his suggestions along with philosophical flavor. I would like to thank Rosemary Edgson for her keen interest in reading this article thoroughly and for her suggestions to change some prepositions and editing some long sentences to put them in simplified English - Sushila
  - 2 Contact: Sushila Manandhar (Fischer), e-mail: sushilamf@yahoo.com, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies/ Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal, Post box no 3757, Kathmandu.
  - 3 For the explication of: *HinayAna* "small vehicle", *MAhAyAna* "great vehicle", *VajrayAna* "vehicle of diamond" or "vehicle of formula", *TheravAda* "the most ancient way" and their adoption in divers countries, I invite to consult the following publications for the details:
- In English:**
- Narasu, : Lalshmi, 1985, *The essence of Buddhism*,  
 Lillie, Arthur, 2000, *Buddha and Buddhism*,  
 Keith, A. Berridale, 1995, *Buddhist philosophy in India and Ceylon*,  
 Eitel, Ernest J., 1993, *Buddhism: Its history theoretical and popular aspects*,  
 Holland, Edith, 2003, *The story of the Buddha*,  
 Davids, T. W. Rhys, 2000, *Buddhism, its story and literature*,  
 Davids, T. W. Rhys, 2002, *Early Buddhism*,  
 Davids, Rhys, 1978, *Outlines of Buddhism*,  
 Davids, Mrs. Rhys, 2004, *A manual of Buddhism for advance studies*,  
 Hardy, R. Spence, 1993, *The Legends and Theories of the Buddhists compared with introductory notices of the life and system of Gautama Buddha*,  
 Thera, Narada, 1991, *The Buddha-Dharma or the life and teachings of the Buddha*,  
 Saher, : J., 1970, *Happiness and Immortality (George Grimm's Investigations into the Secrets of Buddhism)*,  
 Grimm, George, 1999, *The doctrine of the Buddha: the religion of reason and meditation...*

## In French:

- Gira, Denis, 1989, *Comprendre le Bouddhisme*,  
 Bacot, Jacques, 1987, *Le Bouddha*,  
 Faure, Bernard, 1997, *Bouddhisme*,  
 Schweitzer, Albert, (S. D.), *Les grands penseurs de l'Inde*  
 Baudouin, Bernard, 1995, *Le Bouddhisme : une école sage*,  
 Tincq, Henri, 2007, "Bouddhisme les trois grandes écoles In *Le monde*, (Vendredi, 5 oct. 2007) thème Focus, etc.
- 4 For more detail: Singh, Harischandra Lal, 2004 (3<sup>er</sup> ed.), *Buddhism in Nepal*
  - 5 For the details:  
 Cobb, John B., 1982, *Bouddhisme-Christianisme : delà du dialogue?*  
 Gira, Dennis et Midal Fabrice, 2006, *Jésus Bouddha Quelle rencontre possible ?*  
 Vinson, Eric, 2006, "Les dix clés du face-à-face", in *Monde des Religions*, no. 18.  
 Standaert, Benoît, 2005, *L'espace Jésus : La loi pas dans l'espace des religions*  
 Vallet, Odon, 1996, *Jésus et Bouddha : Destins croisés du christianisme et Bouddhisme*, etc.,
  - 6 *bAhAh, bahi or nani* are the typical Newar Buddhist quarter or neighborhood with Buddhist shrine where the Newar household monks live. Those quarters equivalent to the monasteries, *GumbA* and *BihAr* the *GumbA* and *BihAr* are habited by only the monks and nuns who should have abandoned their household attachment.
  - 7 *bAhAh, bahi, nani, GumbA* or *BihAr* whatever named they all are the Buddhist shrine functioning monastery, hence here after I am mentioning all them as monastery.
  - 8 According to the nature of offerings, the officiate priest may be alone or several.
  - 9 For more details: Lehmann, R. 1987, *Fils d'Abraham : Les Adventistes du septième jour / Vie et Santé*, (Ed.), 1995 *Ce que croient les adventistes... : 27 vérités bibliques fondamentales*
  - 10 According to historical descriptions, for the first time during the regime of Pratap Malla (1639-1674 A. D. two Christian fathers named Grover and Dorville entered Nepal while travelling from China towards India. King Pratap Malla welcomed them and received a telescope as a gift from Father Grover. He request father Grover to stay in his kingdom "Kathmandu" with the preaching right of Christianity. At the moment father Grover did not accept the request to stay in Nepal (Sharma 2027 V. S. (1960): 167). Then after, on 21 February 1707, two Romano Catholics (Romains Catholics) Christians arrived in Kathmandu. Since then, slowly the Christianity built its nest in Kathmandu valley. The

- Malla kings of the valley gave them right of preaching gospels in their kingdoms. Until the end of the Malla regime the Christians exercised the right to preach and diffus gospels in the valley. In 1769, Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered the valley and enthroned himself as the king of Nepal. He prohibited the Christianity in his territory. He expelled all the Christians from Nepal. Since then, till 1940s, there are not noticed of the diffusion of Christianity. Even though, since 1940s, various Christians communities providing financial supports to the Nepalese hospitals, schools, dispensaries, they are prohibited to talk about the Christ and preach in Nepal, until 1990. Hence, the Christians did not preach openly but existed in secrecy (Joshi, 2004: 12-20/ Timothy, Ramchandra, 2060 V. S. (2003): 23-26). In 1990, multi party's democracy has been reestablished and the new constitution provided freedom to preach Christianity. Even though, the openly preaching gospels is tolerate, the Nepalese law is still remains anti-proselytes. (Pandey, S., 2003: 17-33). During these short periods of freedom, the diverse form of Christianity is diffusing quickly in Nepal, such as: Catholic, Protestant, Evangelic, Adventist, Jehovah's Witness. It is even difficult to make citation of them as numbers minor communities of them are still working secretly.
- 1 In the Buddhism, *Cila* (well behave) is considered as the *mAgga* (way) of the salvation to liberate oneself from the *dukha* (sufferance), the *pApa* (sin), and try to obtain *nirvAna* (an eternal life).
  - 12 These precepts are freely interpreted in English by me, according to the explanation given in *TheravAda bihAra* in Nepal. These ten precepts simply translated into French are given in below:
    1. s'abstenir de détruire la vie.
    2. s'abstenir de voler – ou plus exactement s'abstenir de prendre ce qui n'est pas donné
    3. s'abstenir de fornication et de toute impureté
    4. s'abstenir de mentir
    5. s'abstenir de liqueur fermentée, d'alcool et de toute boisson forte
    6. s'abstenir de manger aux heures défendues (après-midi)
    7. s'abstenir de danser, de chanter et de tout spectacle
    8. s'abstenir d'orner et d'embellir sa personne au moyen de guirlandes, de parfum et d'onguents
    9. s'abstenir de faire usage d'un lit ou d'un siège élevé ou spacieux
    10. s'abstenir de recevoir de l'or et de l'argent (Gira, Dennis, 1989: 93/ Brück, Michael von et Lai Whalen, 2001: 344-345)
  - 13 I propose to examine the texts of *these Cila* along with translation in English to better understand the related concepts. They are translated (by me), according to the explanation given in *TheravAda bihArs*.
  - 14 The moral teaching of Buddha presents a remarkable analogy with that of the Sermon of the Mount. Where Buddha is most himself, then he is most like Christ. The difference between them is merely due to the Buddha's acceptance of the inherited doctrines of *karma* and *mAyA*. The barrier which separates Buddha from Christ is due, to the last resort, more to the intellectual concepts or theories which he inherited more than to disagreements in the findings of his own very original moral insight – the supreme virtues of compassion, self-control and detachment (See Streeter, 1932: 41-71).
  - 15 For the chapters and the exact verses on the subject may suggest to read: Chapters of *Romains* and *Genesis* in the *Bible* and following two small articles: "*Les Dix Commandements ont-ils précédé Moïse ?*" by Jean Richard (2008), published by L'Eglise de Dieu Restaurée, in which the author is discussing the following matter: The majority of the people suppose that the Ten Commandments which were given with Moses and which have been put an end with Christ's sacrifice, but is this true? Did the Ten Commandments exist before Moses? If the answer is yes, is there any proof of their existence in the Bible?, source: <http://www.thereg.org/fr/articles/dttem-fr.html>
  - "*Les Dix Commandements Donnés par Dieu sur le Mont Sinai*", West Virginia: The Church of God (7th. Day Publishing House, [www.dixcommandements.fr](http://www.dixcommandements.fr)
  - 16 Consult also: *The Ten Commandments* of Rodric C. Meredith, (2004) <http://www.thereg.org/fr/articlesdttem-fr.html> and *The New Testament in The Holy Bible: New International Version, 1978/* For more detail. Thompson, Frank Charles (Ed.), *Le nouveau Testament in La bible Thompson, 1998*
  - 17 The biblical verses are copied from *The Holy bible New international version* edited by International Bible Society (IBS) in 1987
  - 18 The main purpose of the article is not to develop an analysis of the two religions, but more to analyze the socio-cultural aspects of the people who are adhering in one kind or another institutional belief. Hence the article is focused on the socio-cultural aspects of religious rules and their implementation.
  - 19 The whole paragraph is cited in Joshi, 2004: 12
  - 20 *DAni* is a donor who gives without expecting any compensations or rewards for his actions.
  - 21 *TyAgi* is who can renounce his property, his possessions and up to himself.
  - 22 For more details concerning the Jesus' conception of conscience, liberty of religion and responsibility towards God and the humanity, read an article titled: "*Jésus et la liberté de conscience et de religion*", by Pierre Lanarès (1990).



- 23 For more details about Buddha's biography:, Vajracharya, Nisthananda, N. S. 1034 (1912), *Lalitbistara, (thyEsaphu)* Vajracharya, Astamuni, (S. D.), *Lalitbistara, (thyEsaphu)*, Kathmandu: Both are manuscript written in NepAlbhACA and Holland, Edith, 2003, *The story of the Buddha*, (in English).
- 24 Buddha indicated eight principal ways :
1. *Right Views, that is faith and orthodoxy*
  2. *Right judgment, which dispels all doubt and uncertainty*
  3. *Right words, that is perfect truthfulness, a horror of falsehood under whatever form and a strict avoidance of it*
  4. *Condition of salvation, Right Aims, that is ever to pursue a pure and honest line of conduct;*
  5. *A Right Mode of Livelihood, seeking for maintenance in an upright and sinless occupation, in other words by a religious profession*
  6. *A Right Application of the Mind to all the precepts of the Law;*
  7. *A Right Memory, which retains a clear and exact recollection of past actions;*
  8. *Right Meditation, which leads the intellect, even here below, to a quietude bordering on that of the Nirvana.*"(Saint-Hilaire, J. B., 2000: 96-97), see also: M. Sivaraksa analyses these eight paths in an article published in French and titled: «Le Bouddha et la liberté de conscience et de religion»: 54.
- 25 Nepal was a Hindu kingdom till 2006. After a short period of people's movement against the then King Gyanendra Bir Bikram Shah, in July 2006, he was compelled to renounce his throne in favor of establishing Republic. Afterwards Nepal was declared as a secular state.
- 26 The Nepalese believe in the existence of almost thirty-three hundred millions divinities which they represent as their "God" and "Goddesses". As recorded in 2007, Nepal is inhabited by more or less twenty-seven millions people, thus the number of divinities is superior to the total population of the country. Everywhere in Nepal, we find divinities called by diverse names as the local people's belief and devotees (*bhakta*).
- 27 The most of the Nepalese believe that the "God" will incarnate himself in different forms, (*avatAra* or *rupa*) according to the pray and demands of the needy devotees.
- 28 In Nepal, the Hindu temples are not accessible for the Muslims and the Christians. If the temples' doors are shot down for an individual, then is it possible for him to link with the God without going inside? According to my cultural and religious background, even the "religious guards" shut down the temple's door they can not prohibit anybody to dialogue individually with "God". Neither can they stop them to present personal reverence (*CraddhÆ*) and spiritual devotion (*bhakti*) towards God. Concerning the matter, I think that one can be a devotee (*bhakta*) of God with or without entering in a temple.
- 29 Socrates mentioned it as *Daimon* or *Daemon* (see: Apulée, 1971, "Du Dieu de Socrate").
- 30 Accepted religions appear as merely the vain and absurd repetition of phrases, all gibberish, a form of 'personal entertainment' without much meaning.

# कैलालीका रैतीलाई सुव्यवस्थाको प्रयासः वि.सं. १९४४

- डा. भवेश्वर पंगेन

## परिचय

बस्ती विकासका दृष्टिले राणाकालको पूर्वार्द्धसम्म पनि पश्चिम तराई तुलनात्मक रूपमा पछि परेको पाइन्छ। त्यसमाथि 'नयाँ मुलुक' अर्थात् बाँके, वर्दिया, कैलाली र कञ्चनपुर, सुर्खेतलगायत जङ्गली क्षेत्र नै थियो भने पनि हुन्छ। यस्तो क्षेत्रमा बस्ती बसाउने प्रयास स्वरूप प्रधानमन्त्री जङ्गबहादुरले सुर्खेतमा बसोबास गरेका खण्डमा दासलाई मुक्त गरिने घोषणा गरेको सन्दर्भ पनि पाइन्छ।<sup>१</sup> यसबाट सो क्षेत्रलाई गुलजार गर्न उनी कति उत्सुक रहेछन् भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ। राज्यका यस्ता कदमबाट ती क्षेत्रमा बस्ती बढाउन मद्दत मिल्ने तथा त्यसबाट राजस्व बृद्धिसमेतमा सघाउ पुग्न जाने विश्वास लिइएको देखिन्छ।

यसै सन्दर्भमा खासगरी कैलाली जिल्लाका रैतिको अवस्थाका बारेमा प्रकाश पार्ने एउटा सामग्री फेला परेको छ। अन्तिम भाग खण्डित यसमा निश्चित तिथि मिति स्पष्ट नभए तापनि पेटबोलीमा बारम्बार ४३ सालको उल्लेख छ। त्यसैकारण ४३ ले १९४३ उल्लेख गरेको तथा सो सामग्री त्यसको अर्को वर्ष अर्थात् वि.सं. १९४४ सालको हुनुपर्ने देखिन्छ। नजामुलुक जिल्लाको कैलाली मालका हाकिम तथा कारिन्दालाई निर्देशन दिइएको यो सामग्रीमा विभिन्न ८ विषय संलग्न गरिएका छन्। खासगरी कैलाली मालअन्तर्गत विभिन्न क्षेत्रका ११ जना चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूको अनुरोधका आधारमा यो रुक्का दस्तखत जारी गरिएको थियो। यसले त्यहाँका रैती, चौधरी एवम् जिमिदारलाई परेको अप्ठेरो तथा तिनबाट पार पाउनका लागि गरिनु पर्ने सुधारका बारेमा जानकारी दिएको छ। त्यतिमात्र नभएर उनीहरूको सुभावसमेतका आधारमा सरकारका

तर्फबाट चालिने कदमका बारेमा पनि यस सामग्रीले प्रकाश परेको छ। प्रस्तुत लेखमा सोही सामग्रीका आधारमा खासगरी कैलालीका रैतिसमेतको सुव्यवस्थाका लागि सरकारले गरेको व्यवस्थाका बारेमा यथाशक्य विस्तृत चर्चा गरिएको छ।

## सामग्री परिचय

२४.५ X ५७.५ से.मि. को नेपाली कागजको ५ पृष्ठ जति लामो यो सामग्रीलाई 'सनद' तथा 'रुक्का' भनिएका कुरा यसैमा यसप्रकार उल्लेख छन्<sup>२</sup>

"...तपसिल्मा लेपीयाका हाकिम्, कारिन्दाका नाउमा. सनद गरि. पठाउनु पर्न्या हाप्पा. चीत्तन् ठहराञ्चुं भनि नत्राया मुलु क वंदोवस्त अडाले बोलेको तोकमा. मुलकी अडाने मनासीव ठहराई. हु कुम्. मर्जिवाट सदर. गरिवकस्या मोताविक्. कैलान् मालका हाकिं कारिं दाका नाउमा. रुक्का दषत्. गरिवक्यन् पर्न्या ठहराञ्चुं..."

चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूले आफुलगायत रैतीन् भोग्नु परेका समस्या र तिनको समाधानका लागि गरिनु पर्ने सुधार सम्बन्धी सो रुक्काको शिरबोलीमा देहायको प्रसङ्ग परेको छ<sup>३</sup>

"...आगे जिल्लै नजामुलुक कैलाली. मालका हाकिं कारिन्दाके यथोचीत्त.

उप्रांत यो कैलालि. मालतालुकमा तपसिल. वमोजी  
सर्कार. वाट हामि दु  
नित्राहरुलाई. वमोजी तपसिलको थिति. तसल्लह  
गरिवक्स्या सुविस्ता.  
पाई. सर्कारको पर्ति रह्याको जमीन पनि. अवाद  
भै सर्कारको फैदा हुन्या  
देषीन्या हुन्याले वीत्ति चढायाकाछौ. जो मर्जि  
हुकुम्...”

विद्यमान नियम सुधारका लागि यस क्षेत्रमा  
कार्यरत चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूमध्ये तप्पे वोगटान्का  
चौधरी माहादेव वोगटी, तप्पे रैकवारका चौधरी केसरी  
सङ्खडा, तप्पे परिहारका चौधरी नहरु दायेतको काका सजू  
नेसन दा (?), मौजे मालाखेतिका जिमिदार. मगु थारु, मौजे  
नत्राघाटका जिमिदार मुसी थारु, मौजे जोगेडाका जिमिदार.  
जोधे थारु, मौजे विनौरिका जिमिदार दुक्रा थारु, मौजे  
नसुरियाका जिमिदार छेडी थारु, मौजे मादाका जिमिदार  
जोगा थारु, मौजे चौमोहोलाका जिमिदार(?) कलु थारु तथा  
जैजे उमीका जिमिदार सगा थारुहरूले लिखत अनुरोध गरेका  
थिए। माथि उल्लिखित ११ जनामध्ये तीन जना चौधरी तथा  
अठ जना जिमिदार थिए। उनीहरूले दिएको लिखतलाई  
कैलाली मालमा सम्भवतः १९६ नम्बरमा दर्ता गरिएको थियो।

यसै (रिपोर्ट) निवेदनका आधारमा नत्रामुलुक  
बन्दोबस्त अड्डाले आफ्नो रायसमेत लेखी मुलुकी अड्डालाई  
सिफारिश गरेको देखिन्छ। यो सिफारिशलाई मुलुकी अड्डाले  
ननासिव ठहराई हुकुम मर्जिवाट सदर गरेको थियो। यसरी  
सदर भएको सिफारिशअनुसार कैलाली मालका हाकिम  
कारिन्दाका नाउमा रुक्का दस्तखत गर्नु पर्ने आवश्यकता  
जनाउँदै नत्रामुलुक बन्दोबस्त अड्डाका हाकिम कारिन्दाले  
केन्द्रमा अनुरोध गरेको र उक्त अनुरोध उपयुक्त ठहरिएकाले  
उल्लिखित विषयमा लेखिए वमोजिम काम गर्नका लागि  
उपप्रकार निर्देशन दिइएको थियो;<sup>४</sup>

“... ४३ सालमा वंदोवस्त. जील्ला जील्लामा गै  
जाच बुझ गर्दा. जंग  
ल. लात्. मुलुक हुनाले तपसिल. मा लेषीया  
वमोजीको वेहोरा. मा तपसिल  
मा लेषीया वमोजी गर्नु. भनि. तपसिलमा लेषीयाका  
हाकिम्. कारिन्दाका.

नाउमा. सनद. गरि. पठाउनु पर्न्या हाम्रा. चीत्तले  
ठहराव्युं भनि नत्राया मुलु  
क वंदोवस्त अडाले बोलेको तोकमा. मुलुकी अडाले  
मनासीव ठहराई. हु  
कुम्. मर्जिवाट सदर. गरिवक्स्या मोताविक. कैलाली.  
मालका हाकिं कारिं  
दाका नाउमा. रुक्का दषत्. गरिवक्सनु पर्न्या  
ठहराव्युं भनि नीज नत्रामुलु  
क वंदोवस्त अडाका हाकिं कारिन्दाले हाम्रा हुजुरमा  
विन्ति पादा जाहेर भयो त  
सर्थ सो वमोजिं तपसिल. मा लेषीया वमोजिको  
वेहोरा. मा तपसिल. मा ले  
षी. या वमोजी. गर्न्या काम गर...”

यहाँ सो रुक्कामा परेका सन्दर्भलाई बुँदागत रूपमा  
चर्चा गर्ने प्रयास भएको छ।

### सर्पट नापी

कैलाली क्षेत्रको कुनै एक ठाउँमा ३/४ वर्षसम्म  
लगातार खेती गरेपछि सो स्थानमा उब्जनी नहुने हुनाले  
त्यसपछि कतिपय किसानहरू अन्य मौजामा तथा कतिपय  
भारत (मुगलान) मा जाने गरेको पाइन्छ। यस्तो अवस्थामा  
नेपाल सरकारले निर्धारण गरेको ‘पंचसाला लम्बीरी पोत’  
अर्थात् चौधरी/जिमिदारले पाँच वर्षसम्मका लागि कबुल  
गरेको राजस्व सङ्कलन हुन नसक्ने अवस्था आउँथ्यो। ३/४  
वर्षमा खेती गरेको जमिन छाडेर रैती अन्यत्र लागेपछि  
राजस्व सङ्कलन गर्ने चौधरी तथा जिमिदारले सरकार समक्ष  
कबुल गरेको रकम उठाउन नसकी आफ्नै घरघरानाबाट  
बुझाउनु पर्ने बाध्यतात्मक स्थिति थियो। त्यतिमात्र नभएर  
राजस्व नतिरी मुगलानामा गएका किसानहरू फर्कन चाहेका  
खण्डमा बुझाउन बाँकी रहेको रकम जरिवाना समेत बुझाउनु  
पर्ने भएकाले पुरानो मौजामा फर्कन चाहँदैनथे।

यस्तो अवस्थामा राजस्व उठाउनका लागि  
देखापरेको यो समस्या समाधानका लागि उनीहरूले हरेक  
वर्ष सर्पट नापी (जन्जिरद्वारा गरिने जग्गाको नापी)<sup>५</sup> गर्ने  
अख्तियारको माग गरेका थिए। यसरी प्रति वर्ष सर्पट नापी  
गरेका खण्डमा किसानबाट उठ्नु पर्ने राजस्व रकम पनि  
‘वेमाष’ (कुनै अंश बाँकी नरहेको; सबै चुक्ता वा फछ्यौट  
गरिसकिएको)<sup>६</sup> नरहने हुनाले आफ्नो घरघराना नलाग्ने तथा

मुगलानबाट मानिसहरू भिकाई बाँझो जमिन आवाद गर्न सजिलो हुने र सरकारको राजस्वमा पनि बृद्धि हुन जाने कुरा जिमिदारहरूले अनुरोध गरेका थिए ।

नजामुलुक अन्तर्गत कैलाली तथा कञ्चनपुर दुई जिल्लामा बैरान (आवादी नभई रहेको)<sup>९</sup> पर्ति जमिन प्रशस्त भएकाले रैती (किसान) ले १/२ वर्ष बिराएर नयाँ जमिन आवाद गर्दथे । यसरी नापी नगरिएको नयाँ आवादी जमिनबाट पोत अर्थात राजस्व लिन नपाइने नियम रहेको देखिन्छ । यस्तो व्यवस्थाबाट मानिसहरूको स्थायी बसोबास हुन गान्हो थियो । चौधरी/जिमिदारले आवादी जमिनका आधारमा राजस्व रकम कवुल गर्दथे । पोत उठाउने समयमा रैतीहरू नयाँ ठाउँमा बाँझो जमिन आवाद गर्न गएका कारण चौधरीहरूले निर्धारित रकम उठाउन नसकी घरघरानाबाट सरकारलाई बुझाउनु पर्दथ्यो । यो यथार्थतालाई सम्बन्धित निकायले राम्रोसँग बुझेको देखिन्छ । यति हुँदाहुँदै पनि राजस्व सङ्कलन गर्नका लागि 'पंचसाला' अर्थात प्रत्येक पाँच वर्षका लागि निर्धारण गरिने कानुनी व्यवस्थालाई निश्चित चौधरी तथा जिमिदारको अनुरोधका आधारमा उलङ्घन गरी तत्काल नयाँ कानुन बनाउनेतर्फ सरकार लागेको देखिँदैन । बरु यस्तो अवस्थामा खासगरी नजामुलुक जिल्लाका चौधरीहरूलाई बढी सुविधा दिएर भए पनि सरकारले आवादी बृद्धि गर्ने निर्णय लिएको थियो । यसरी सुविधा दिने विषयमा चौधरीलगायत रैतीसमेतको सल्लाह बमोजिम के कति सुविधा दिन उपयुक्त हुन्छ भन्ने कुरामा पनि सरकार सचेत देखिन्छ । यसै सन्दर्भमा सरकारका तर्फबाट यसप्रकारको जवाफ दिइएको थियो;<sup>९</sup>

“...तर पंचसाला. नतोडनु. भन्या रैरकमका १ लम्बर.  
का अैनमा. लेषीयाको हुनाले. पंचसाला थीति तोडी.  
सालसाल. नापी हुदै.  
न पंचसाला थीति बमोजी योसाल नापी. हुन्छ. रैती.  
तसल्लह गरि. अवाद  
गुलजार. गराउना. नीमीत. ७ जिल्ला भंदा नजा  
मुलुक जील्लालाई. चौध  
रि ज्मीदार. षान्नी. धेरै. वक्सी तीमी. चौधरि.  
ज्मीदार. राषी. वक्स्या प  
छि रैतीको तरतसल्लह गरि. अवाद गुलजार. गर्नु.  
भनि. चौधरि ज्मीदा  
रहरुलाई. सुनाई. दिनु...”

समग्रमा नियमानुसार सर्पट नापी गर्न नमिल्ने भन्नापनि चौधरीहरूलाई अन्यत्र भन्दा बढी सुविधा दिन भन्ने सरकार सकारात्मक थियो । उनीहरूलाई के कति सुविधा दिने भन्ने विषय भने रैतीसमेतको सल्लाहबाट टुंगो लगाउने व्यवस्था गरियो । रैतीसँग सल्लाह गरी निर्णय गरिने भन्ने यो व्यवस्था भने राणाकालको उल्लेख्य मानिन्छ । यद्यपि यसको कार्यान्वयन भने कसरी गरियो भन्ने विषय अध्ययन गर्नु पर्ने देखिन्छ ।

### खेतको दरबन्दी

कैलालीका बोगटान्, परिहार र रैकवार तीन तप्पामा नापीअनुसार रैतान् (रैती वा मोहीहरूको समूह)<sup>९</sup> १ विगाह जमिनको ५ आना २ पैसा, भले मानिस चाकर १ विगाह जमिनको ३ आना २ पैसाका दरले जिमिदारको खेतकं दरबन्दी बाँधी दर्ता गरिएको थियो । सोही दरबन्दीअनुसारकं जम्मा रकममा पर्जौट (?) र सलामी बाहेक मालपोतकं (रू ?) ११५ मा (रू ?) १५ का दरले जिमिदारहरूलाई खान्ना दिइएको देखिन्छ । सोही दरबन्दीअनुसार जिमिदारले पन्काम गर्दै आएका थिए । अर्कातर्फ कञ्चनपुर जिल्लामा भने १ विगाहालाई ४ आन दुई पैसा र भले मानिस चाकरलाई १ विगाहाको ३ आना १ पैसाका दरले दरबन्दी निर्धारण गरिएको रहेछ । यसरी एकै क्षेत्रका दुई जिल्लामा फरक फरक दरमा राजस्व सङ्कलन गरिने व्यवस्था देखिन्छ । यस्तो विभेदलाई अन्तगरी कैलालीमा पनि कञ्चनपुर जिल्ला सरह राजस्व रकम निर्धारण गरिदिनका लागि चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूले माग गरेका थिए । कैलालीमा पनि कम् दरमा राजस्व उठाउन निर्देशन पाएका खण्डमा आफुहरूलाई पनि राहत हुने तथा मुगलानबाट मानिसहरू आएर बस्न बस्न गई सरकारको आमदानी पनि बढ्न जाने जिमिदारहरूकं तर्क थियो । उनीहरूको यस माग तथा तर्कलाई सरकारले यसप्रकार अस्वीकार गरेको देखिन्छ;<sup>१०</sup>

“...नजामुलुक आया दे  
पी जील्ला. सरह. दरह वसाई. नापी लम्बरि ज्मावर्द  
४३ सालसम्म. अ  
सुल तहसिल चली आयको हुनाले. र. जाहादेर्प  
अधि सो वेहोरा  
को उजुरात. गन्याको पनि श्रेस्तावाट. नदेषीनाले  
कंचनपुर. सरह द

रवदी. हुन सक्तैन भनि चौधरि जमीदार. लाई सुनाई दिनु...”

### बन्दुकको प्रयोग

चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूको तेस्रो माग जङ्गली जनावरबाट आफ्नो वाली जोगाउने विषयसँग सम्बन्धित थियो। जङ्गल भित्रको वस्ती तथा जमिन भएकाले जनावरबाट खेती बचाउन ज्यादै कठिनाइ हुने गर्दथ्यो। किसानले आफ्ना खेती खान आउने तर मार्न नहुने जनावर खासगरी हात्ती र गैडालाई खाली बन्दुक पड्काएर भगाउनु पर्दथ्यो भने मार्न हुने मृगलगायतलाई मार्ने गरेको पाइन्छ। उता सो क्षेत्रका वनजाच, काठमहाल तथा अमिनि अड्डाका हाकिम-कारिन्दाका नाममा भएको सनदमा भने 'सीकार खेलन नदिनु' भन्ने उल्लेख छ। सम्भवतः सोही सनदले दिएको अधिकार प्रयोग गरी खेती बचाउने क्रममा किसानले बन्दुकको प्रयोग गर्न नपाउने उर्दी दिएको देखिन्छ। यस्तो अवस्थामा जिमिदार तथा चौधरीहरूले सरकारसँग यसप्रकार माग गरेका थिए:

“... अडा अडालाई. भयाका सवाल. वमोजिम अ डा अडाका. हाकिम कारि. न्दाले. हट्क गर्न्या हुनाले. सो वनजाच काठमहाल. अमिनिलाई. भयाका सनदमा सीकार. खेलन नदिनु. भन्या छ तापनि. हा म्ना रयेत्. दुनीजादारले. आफ्ना वेति. षान आउन्त्या मृगलाई. वंधुक लि. वेति. वालि. मा वसि जनावर. लाई धपाउं. गर्ना निमीत्त वंधुक हान्या दा ग्यामा पक्राउ नगर्नु. भन्या सोहि. काठमहाल. अमीनि. वनजाच अडालाई. स नद गरि. वक्स्या हामी दुनी. जादारको वेती. पाती. वचाउ गर्दा हुं...”

यो मागका सम्बन्धमा सरकार पनि सकारात्मक देखियो। आफ्ना जमिनमा लगाएको खेती बचाउने क्रममा मृग, चित्तल, जरायो, चौगडा, दम्सीलगायत मारेका खण्डमा कुनै कारवाही नगर्नका लागि वनजाँच अमिनि र काठमहालका नाममा निर्देशन दिइयो। त्यति मात्र नभई सो विषय सम्बन्धमा जानकारी गराउन गाउँ गाउँमा इस्तिहार प्रिन्त यसप्रकार उर्दी दिइएको थियो;<sup>91</sup>

“...आफ्ना वालि. षान आयाका मृग चीतल्. जरायो. चौगडा. दम्सी. गै ह मान्त्याका. कुरामा. वात लाग्दैन. भन्या चौपायाका २८ लम्बर. का अैन. मा लेषीयाको हुनाले. हाती गैडा. बाहेक आफ्ना वालि षान आयाका मृग. चीतल. जरायो. चौगडा. दम्सी. गैह वालिमा मार्नु. जंगल्मा. गै सी. कार. नषेलनु. आफ्ना. वालि. मा मां (न्या ?) का. कुरामा. कसैले. पक्रने छैनन्. नप क्रनु. भन्या. वन जाच अमीनि. काठ महाल. का नाउमा. पनि. सनद गरि व कस्याको. छ. भनि. गाउ गाउ इस्तीहार टासी. उर्दि दीन्या काम गर्नु...”

उल्लेख्य कुरा के देखिन्छ भने आज भन्दा १२३ वर्ष जति पहिले जङ्गल क्षेत्रमा वसोवास गर्ने जनतालाई पनि सरकारले सिकार खेल प्रतिबन्ध लगाएको थियो। व्यवहारिक रूपमा यो प्रतिबन्ध अनुपयुक्त देखिन्छ। त्यसो त खेती जोगाउनका लागि चौपायाका २८ नम्बरको ऐन अनुसार हात्ती तथा गैडा बाहेक अन्य चौपायालाई भने मार्न हुने व्यवस्था थियो।

### घरसङ्गा र हरसङ्गा

यस क्षेत्रका जनतालाई घरसङ्गा (घर बनाउन चाहिने मालसामान-खाँबो, बल्लो आदि काठपात)<sup>92</sup> हरसङ्गा (हल्लो आदि बनाउने काठपातका साधन)<sup>93</sup> बनाउनका लागि १० जात भित्रको लकडी (काठ) पनि सरकारले उपलब्ध गराउने निर्देशन दिएको देखिन्छ। सरकारको यस्तो निर्देशन भए तापनि त्यसका लागि काठमहालबाट पुर्जि भने लिनु पर्ने व्यवस्था थियो। यो व्यवस्था अनुसार काठमहालमा पुर्जि लिन जाँदा २/३ दिन लाग्ने तथा कर्मचारीले १० जात बाहेकका अरु जातका काठ मात्रका लागि पुर्जि दिने गरेको देखिन्छ। नियमानुसारको काठ नपाइए तापनि पुर्जि अनुसारको काठ काटेका खण्डमा समेत वन जाँचका हुद्दा-सिपाहीले गाउँ गाउँमा गई पक्राउ गरी दुःख दिने गरेको यस क्षेत्रका जिमिदार तथा चौधरीको गुनासो थियो। त्यतिमात्र नभई उनीहरूले घर निर्माणसमेतका लागि १० जात भित्रका लायेकका तथा आवश्यकता अनुसार अन्य जातका काठ

काठान गर्न माल कचहरिबाट पुर्जि दिने व्यवस्था मिलाउन पनि अनुरोध गरेका थिए ।

वनजाँच सम्बन्धी ऐनमा १० जातका रुख काट्न पाइने व्यवस्था थियो । यति भए तापनि वि.सं. १९२६ साल फागुन सुदि २ रोज ६ मा महाकाली पूर्व नारायणी पश्चिम नर्नामुलुक तथा बुटवल जिल्लाका माल, काठमहाल र ठीगुरि (ठिँगुरी-काठमहालको रकम; काठका टुक्राटाक्री वा मसिना ठेउका), ठिँगुरी महाल/माल (तीन फुटभन्दा कम मोटाइ भएको काठको किता वा तह; त्यस्ता काठको वा त्यसै सम्बन्धी काम गर्ने अड्डा)<sup>१५</sup> गोलाका अमला तथा कारिन्दाका नाममा एउटा रुक्का जारी गरिएको थियो । सो रुक्काले ऐनमा १० जातका रुख काट्न नदिनु भन्ने लेखिएको भए तापनि १० जातका रुख भए पनि काटेर घर बनाई खेतीपाति गर्नका लागि स्वीकृति दिइएको थियो । त्यसो त १० जातका रुख केवल घर बनाउने प्रयोजनका लागि मात्र काट्न पाइने, विक्री गर्नका निम्ति काट्न नपाइने कुरा भने रुक्कामा स्पष्ट पारियो ।

कैलालीका जिमिदार तथा चौधरीहरूले दुई दशक जति पहिलेको उक्त रुक्कामा उल्लेख भएको १० जातका रुख काट्न पाउने सन्दर्भलाई आफ्नो लिखतमा प्रमाणका रूपमा प्रयोग गरेका थिए । सरकारले पहिलेको रुक्काले दिएको सो अधिकारलाई स्वीकार गरे तापनि १० जात बाहेकका काठ प्रयोग गर्नका लागि विशेष जोड दिएको थियो । १० जातकै रुख आवश्यक परेमा ढलेका, पैहाले भत्काएका, आगोले खाएका एवम् काठमहालमा राख्न उपयुक्त नहुने बाझा, टेढा तथा बेकम्बा काठ मात्र दिनका लागि काठमहाल वनजाँचका सवाल मार्फत सम्बन्धित अड्डालाई निर्देशन दिएको पाइन्छ ।

घर निर्माण तथा कृषि कार्यमा प्रयोग गरिने हलोसमेत बनाउनका लागि आवश्यक पर्ने काठ उपलब्ध नगराएका खण्डमा मानिसहरू कैलाली क्षेत्र छाडेर अन्यत्र जाने सम्भावना भएकाले पनि सरकारले उनीहरूको जायज मागलाई स्वीकार गरेको देखिन्छ । यसै सन्दर्भमा खासगरी चौधरी, जिमिदार एवम् रैतीलाई आवश्यक पर्ने काठ उपलब्ध गराउनका लागि सम्बन्धित निकायबाट स्वीकृति अर्थात 'पुर्जि' लिनु पर्ने व्यवस्था बनाइएको थियो । फलस्वरूप काठ चाहिने चौधरीलगायत बासिन्दाले जिल्लाको अमला समक्ष दरखास्त दिनु पर्दथ्यो । उक्त दरखास्त बमोजिम सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिलाई उल्लिखित काठ आवश्यक परेको

हो वा होइन भन्ने छानबिन गर्ने कार्य सोही अमलाको थियो । उसकै सिफारिसका आधारमामात्र काठमहालका हाकिम तथा कारिन्दाले १० जात भित्रका काठका लागि पुर्जि दिने व्यवस्था मिलाइएको थियो । काठमहालबाट दिइएको पुर्जि बमोजिम बाहेक काठ काटी विक्री गरेमा वा नष्ट गरेमा भने नियमानुसार वनजाँच अड्डासमेतबाट कारवाही गरिने कुरा यसप्रकार स्पष्ट पारियो;<sup>१५</sup>

“... कामलाई. काठमहालका सवाल बमोजीम्का काठले. नहुन्या. ठहराई. १० जात भीत्रका. कचीया येस्ता जातका यति. काठ चाहिन्या ठहरात्रा. सो बमोजिम्. पुर्जि गरि. दीनु भया बढिया होला. भनि काठ महालका हाकीम् कारिन्दाका नाउमा. चीठी लि. आयो भन्या. काठमहाल. लायकका. लक. डि बाहेक. ठीगुरी. महाल लायकका लकडी सम्म. दिनु घर संगगाहा हरसंगाका कामलाई. चाहीन्या बाहेक. बढता काटि. षराप गन्याको र. वीक्री. गरेको. ठह. यो. भन्या. अैन. सवाल बमोजिम्. गर्नु. भन्या वेहोराको. काठ महालका नाउ मा र. हाग्रा मुलुकका बासिंदा रैतीलाई. घरसंगा. हर.संगा.हरु बनाउनालाई काठ दीन्या. मुद्दामा. काठमहाल.का नाउमा. यस्तो वेहोरा.का सनद. भै गया को छ. काठमहालवाट. पुर्जि भै आया बमोजीम्. काटी लैजानु. दीनु. बढता काटि षराप गन्यो र. विक्री गन्याको ठहन्यो भन्या. अैन सवाल. बमोजिम्. गर्नु. भन्या. वनजाचलाई. स्मेत्. सनद भै गयाको छ सो बमोजिम्. को ची ठी ली काठमहाल.मा जानु र. तीमीहरुलाई. चाहीन्या. काठको. पुर्जी गरि. दीन्या छन् सो पुर्जि बमोजिम्. काटि ल्याउनु. कसैले. रोकटोक गर्न्या छै न बढता काटि षराप गन्यौ र विक्री गन्यौ भन्या अैन सवाल बमोजीम् ग न्या छन् ...”

कैलालीका चौधरी तथा जिमिदारसमेत रैतीलाई आवश्यक परेका काठका लागि कुन सरकारी निकायमा अनुरोध गर्ने भन्ने कुरा थाहा नभएको देखिन्छ । जिल्लामा स्थापित माल, मुलुक बन्दोबस्त, काठमहाल, वनजाँच, अमिनिलगायत अड्डाहरूमध्ये कुन चाहिँले जनतालाई काठ उपलब्ध गराउने हो भन्ने जानकारी नपाएर दुःख पाइरहेको सन्दर्भमा सरकारले पुर्जी मार्फत सो कुरा मार्वाजनिक गराउने निर्देशन दिएको थियो । काठ सम्बन्धी विषयको ताल्लुक अन्य अड्डाबाट नभएर 'काठमहाल' बाट हुने भए तापनि त्यसका लागि मालअड्डाका हाकिम तथा कारिन्दाको सिफारिस आवश्यक पर्दथ्यो । यो व्यवस्थाका बारेमा सर्वसाधारण जनतालाई जानकारी दिने दायित्व चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूलाई दिइएको थियो । मालका हाकिम तथा कारिन्दाले यसका लागि चौधरी तथा जिमिदारलाई उर्दी दिनु पर्ने व्यवस्था मिलाइयो ।

#### रसदको व्यवस्था

पश्चिम चराईका चौधरी, जिमिदारहरूले काठमहाललाई रसद उपलब्ध गराउनु पर्ने बाध्यात्मक नियम भएको पाइन्छ । रसद भने मालबाट तोकिएको दर भाउमा उपलब्ध गराउनु पर्दथ्यो । मालबाट दिइने पुर्जीमा उल्लिखित खाद्यान्न उनीहरूले तप्पा, मौजामा जम्मा गरी काठमहालसम्म दुबानीसमेत गरिदिनु पर्दथ्यो । दुबानीका लागि आवश्यक ज्याला भने काठमहाल अड्डाले नै उपलब्ध गराउँथ्यो । यो व्यवस्थामा सो क्षेत्रका चौधरी, जिमिदार तथा रैती सन्तुष्ट भएको देखिन्छ ।

कैलाली जिल्लाको काठमहाल अड्डामा गएका जिल्ला हाकिम लेफटेन (लेफ्टिनेण्ट) डिल्लिसिं खन्पाल क्षेत्रीले चर्चित व्यवस्थालाई बेवास्ता गरी यस अड्डाका कामदार, कारिन्दा, हुद्दा, सिपाही, लाजिमा, हात्ती, माहुतेसमेत सबैलाई आवश्यक खाद्यान्न उपलब्ध गराउन चौधरीहरूलाई निर्देशन दिएको पाइन्छ । त्यतिमात्र नभएर उनले मोहोनाद्वारा तथा हाकालीद्वारा दुवै काठमहाल अड्डाहरूमा बिना ज्याला खाद्यान्न पुर्याउनका लागि समेत जबरजस्ति गरेका थिए । पहिलेदेखि नै आएको परम्परालाई वास्ता नगरी थप आर्थिक एवम् रूम दिनु पर्ने भएपछि आक्रोशित चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूले नहेले जस्तै रसद कैलाली मालमा नै बुझाउने व्यवस्था बतिको सनद गराउन गरिदिनका लागि सरकारसँग अनुरोध गरेका थिए ।

जिल्लामा जाने कर्मचारीले अनावश्यक दुःख तथा भ्रमेला दिएको सम्बन्धमा उनीहरूको यो उजुरलाई आधार बनाएर वि.सं. १९(?) ४३ साल फागुन वदि १४ रोज ३ का दिन सरकारले विभिन्न जिल्लाका माल, अमिनि, अदालत, काठमहाल तथा वनजाँच अड्डाहरूलाई एउटा पुर्जी जारी गरेको पाइन्छ । सरकारी काममा आउने-जाने बाहेक अन्य कसैका निमित्त पनि रसद बोकाउने कार्य नगराउन वृगेडियर कर्णेल दलभञ्जन थापा क्षेत्रीले उक्त पुर्जी जारी गरेका थिए । यो निर्देशनलाई उलंघन गर्नेलाई नियमानुसार दण्ड सजाय गरिने कुरासमेत पुर्जीमा यसप्रकार उल्लेख थियो;<sup>१६</sup>

“...सर्कारिया.का. मलाई. आउने जाने वाहेक. तीमीहरूले. रैतीलाई. वो काई. रसद. नभीकाउनु. जील्ला.मा चल्या.का घुस (?) षरिदका भाउले. ष. रिद गरि. षानु नरि. ष वाधि.(?) रसद. रैतीलाई. वोकाई. ल्याई. षाया. को ठहर्न्यो. र. रैती दुनीया कराउनु. आया. भन्या अैन सवाल वमोजी म्. सजाये होला. भन्या वेहोराको वृगेडियेर करौल्. दलभञ्जन् थापा क्षत्रिले जील्ला जील्ला.का माल. अमीनी अडालत्. काठमहाल. वन.जाच का नाउमा. ४३ साल. फागुन वदि १४/३० रोज ३ मा. पुर्जि गरि. पठाया. को. हुनाले सो सो पुर्जि वमोजिम् नगरि. कसैले जवरजस्ती. संग चल्या का. भाउ भंदा वढता भाउमा. रसद. लि. यो वेगारिमा वोको (वोका ?) भन्या. ते सलाई. तीमी. रैती. मिलि. पकी तुरन्त. अडालत्. मा पुन्याई. दीनु अडा लतले. अैनवमोजीम्. गर्न्या छन्. अडालत.ले. अैन वमोजीम्. गरेनं भन्या रपोट्. लेषी. नत्रामुलुक वन्दोवस्त.मा चढाई पठाउनु. भनि जील्ला भर का चौधरि. ज्मीदार. रैतीलाई. उर्दि दी. सोहि. वमोजीम्. गर्नु...”

## ‘तेजारथ’ रकम

प्रस्तुत रुक्काको नं. ६ मा ‘तेजारथ’ शब्द परेको छ। तेजारथको शाब्दिक अर्थ (रुपियाँ-पैसा, सुन-चाँदी आदिको नगद व्यापार; ब्याज, धिउखाने आदि लिने गरी रुपियाँ-पैसा लेनदेन गर्ने काम; रुपियाँ-पैसासम्बन्धी काम गर्ने एक सरकारी अड्डा) भन्ने देखिन्छ।<sup>१९</sup> त्यस्तै नेपालको प्रशासनिक व्यवस्थामा ‘तेजारथ अड्डा’ प्रधानमन्त्री चन्द्रशमशेरले ई.सं. १९१६ (वि.सं. १९७३) मा स्थापना गरेको भन्ने भनाई पनि पाइन्छ। यो अड्डाले निजामति तथा सैनिक कर्मचारीलाई ऋण दिने काम गरेको र स्थापनाको १२ वर्ष जति पछि ई.सं. १९२८ मा चन्द्रशमशेरले यसको पुर्नगठन गरेको भए पनि पछि ई.सं. १९३० (वि.सं. १९८७) मा प्रधानमन्त्री भीमशमशेरले यसको कार्यलाई अझ सुधार गरेको भन्ने भनाई पाइन्छ।<sup>१८</sup>

यहाँ चर्चा गरिएको रुक्का वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको जस्तो देखिने कुरा माथि परिसकेको छ। वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा काका प्रधानमन्त्री रणोद्दीपसिंहको हत्या गरी वीरशमशेर प्रधानमन्त्री भइसकेका थिए। त्यसैकारण उल्लिखित ‘तेजारथ’ को सन्दर्भ प्रधानमन्त्री चन्द्रशमशेरको समयसँग जोडेको प्रसङ्ग मिल्दो देखिँदैन। त्यस्तै अग्रवालले उल्लेख गरेको ‘तेजारथ अड्डा’ सँग पनि यहाँ परेको ‘तेजारथ’ मिल्दैन। अग्रवालले तेजारथ अड्डाले सरकारी कर्मचारीलाई ऋण दिने गरेको चर्चा गरे पनि यहाँको ‘तेजारथ’ ऋण दिने सन्दर्भमा नभएर मेची पश्चिम महाकाली पूर्व भर मध्येस जिल्लाका चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूले सरकारलाई बुझाउनु पर्ने ‘कर’ का रूपमा प्रयोग भएको पाइन्छ।

यसै सन्दर्भमा माथि उल्लिखित ११ तप्पा/मौजामा चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूले आ-आफ्ना मौजामा वि.सं. १९३८ सालदेखि सरकारले लागु गरेको ‘तेजारथ’ रकम छुटको माग गरेका थिए। खासगरी वि.सं. १९३८ सालदेखि उल्लिखित तप्पा/मौजामा जनताले तिनु पर्ने पोत (मालपोत) को १६ आनामा १ आनाका दरले तेजारथ लगाइएको कुरा उल्लेख छ। त्यसैकारण यसबखत कैलाली जिल्लाका कतिपय तप्पा/मौजामा तेजारथ नामको सरकारी कर लगाइएको देखिनाले यस प्रसङ्गमा यो कुनै अड्डा नभएर सरकारी कर भएको कुरामा कुनै सड्का रहँदैन। माथि नै चर्चा भइसक्यो तेजारथ नामको कर मालपोत रकममा लगाइने भएकाले यो मालपोतसङ्कलन गर्ने अधिकारी अर्थात् चौधरी एवम् जिमिदारले तिर्नु पर्ने कर थियो।

पहिलेदेखि प्रचलनमा नभएको तथा भर्खरै अर्थात्

पाँच वर्ष जति अगाडि मात्र लगाइएको थप आर्थिक बोझका रूपमा तिर्नु पर्ने ‘तेजारथ’ रकमबाट छुटकारा पाउनका लागि सरकारसँग सम्बन्धित चौधरी एवम् जिमिदारहरूले अनुरोध गरेको देखिन्छ। उनीहरूले खासगरी कैलाली कच्चा (स्थायी रूपमा मानिसहरूको बस्ती नभएको) जङ्गली क्षेत्र भएको, पाँच वर्ष नपुगी जमिनको नापी नहुने भएकाले सो अवधि अगाडि नै मानिसहरू बस्ती छाडी मोगलानलगायत अन्यत्र जाने, कति मानिसको मृत्यु भई अपुताली पर्ने लगायत कारणले कबोल गरेको राजस्व रकम उठाउन नसकी आफ्नै घरघरानाबाट सरकारलाई बुझाउनु पर्ने अवस्थामा ‘तेजारथ’ समेत थप बुझाउनु आर्थिक रूपमा अझ गह्रो परेको दुखेसो यसप्रकार उल्लेख गरेका थिए;<sup>१९</sup>

“...अघि हाम्रा तप्पा मौजामा तेजारथ लाग्याको थीयेन ३८ साल देशी.

रैती.ले तीर्नु. पन्या पोतको १६ आनामा १ आनाका दरले. तेजारथ लाग्या

को छ. प्रभु. यो कचा जंगलात्. मुलुक हुनाले र. पंचसाला लम्वरि. को

थिति. हुदा. पाच वर्ष. नपुगि. नापी नहुन्या. हुनाले. र. कोही रैती. मरि

अपुतालि. पन्याको. कोहि रैती. भागि मोगलान जादा. सो मरि. अपु

तालि. पन्याका भागि मोगलान्. गयाका रैती.ले तीर्नु. पन्या पोत्. मा

लाग्याका. तेजारथ. स्मेत. हामी.हरु चौधरि. जमीदार.का घरघराना

वाट तिर्नु. पर्दा हामी गरिप दुनीजालाई. सारै दुष पन्याको छ. अ (व?) उप्रां

न्त यो जिल्ला.का तेजारथको र.कम माफी दीनु भन्या मालका ना

उमा. सनद गरि. वकस्या हामी. दुनी.जालाई. सो विस्ता भै सर्कार. का

पर्ता मुलुक. अवाद. गुलजार. हुदोहो...”

६.२५ प्रतिशत जतिका दरले नयाँ कर थप भएको सन्दर्भमा कैलाली जिल्लाका ११ जना चौधरी एवम् जिमिदारहरू मात्रको अनुरोधलाई वीरशमशेर सरकारले वास्ता गरेन। उनीहरूको लिखत अनुरोधलाई सरकारका तर्फबाट पनि लिखत रूपमा नै जवाफ दिइएको थियो। खासगरी



मेचीदेखि महाकालीसम्मका सम्पूर्ण मधेसमा लागु गरिएको यो तेजारथ हटाउने कैलाली जिल्लाका जम्मा ११ जना चौधरी तथा जिमिदार मात्रले अनुरोध गरेका कारण सरकारले नसुनेको हो भन्ने जस्ता कुरा नजामुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दाको नाममा लेखिएको पुर्जीमा यसप्रकार स्पष्ट पारिएको पाइन्छ;<sup>२०</sup>

“... मेची पश्चीम, महाकालि, पुर्व भरमध्येसलाई लाग्याको तेजारथ, रकम् हुनाले, अरु सबै, जील्लालाई, छुट्ट नभै तेसजिल्लालाई, मात्र, सो सो रकम्, छुट्ट हुन सक्तैन्, भनि, जिल्ला भरका चौधरी जमीदार, लाई, सुनाई दिनु...”

समग्रमा पोत उठाउने ठेकदार अर्थात चौधरी तथा जिमिदारले आफू माथिको थप कर हटाउनु पर्ने प्रसङ्गलाई सरकारले ठाडै अस्वीकार गरिदिएको देखिन्छ ।

### सडक निर्माण

सरकारले विभिन्न क्षेत्रमा विभिन्न समयमा सडकहरू निर्माण गर्नका लागि सम्बन्धित अड्डा प्रमुखलाई निर्देशन दिने गरेको पाइन्छ । सडक निर्माणका लागि रैतीलाई अन्य जिल्लामा पनि पठाइने गरिन्थ्यो । त्यतिमात्र नभएर खेती लगाउने समयसमेतमा उनीहरूलाई यस्ता काममा लगाइने गरेको पाइन्छ । सरकारका यस्ता विकास/निर्माण कार्यका लागि सर्वसाधारणलाई सम्भवतः ‘भारा’ ‘बेगार’ अर्थात बिना ज्याला काम गर्न बाध्य बनाइन्थ्यो ।

कैलाली जिल्लाका माथि उल्लिखित तप्पा एवम् नैजामा पनि सडक बनाउनका लागि सरकारले त्यसबखत पुर्जी जारी गरेको थियो । रैतीले खेती लगाउने समय पारेर सरकारबाट सडक निर्माणमा लगाउने तथा यसका लागि जिल्लासमेतमा खटाउने कार्यबाट उनीहरू अन्यत्र जान सक्ने सम्भावनातर्फ चौधरीहरू निकै सचेत थिए । रैती अन्यत्र गएका खण्डमा सरकारलाई तिनै कबोल गरेको रकम आफ्नै घराना समेतबाट तिर्नु पर्ने अवस्था आउँथ्यो । यसबाट जमीन आवाद गर्ने सरकारको योजनासमेतमा धक्का लाग्न गर्थ्यो । यस्तो अवस्था आउन नदिनका लागि उनीहरूले उग्रार्थ स्थिति अवगत गराउँदै सरकारसँग अनुरोध गरेको देखिन्छ । खासगरी सडक निर्माणको कार्य अमिनि अड्डाबाट हुने

भएकाले सो अड्डाका नाममा सरकारले केन्द्रबाट नै कैलाली जिल्लाका रैतीलाई सडक निर्माण कार्यमा नलगाउनु भन्ने बेहोराको थिति बन्देज गर्नु पर्ने उनीहरूको जिफिर थियो ।

सम्भवतः उनीहरूको अनुरोधकै कारण बृगेडियर कर्णेल दलभञ्जन थापा क्षेत्रीले वि.सं. १९४३ साल फागुन सुदि १ रोज ४ मा एउटा पुर्जी जारी गरेका थिए । पुर्जीमा रैतीलाई उपयुक्त ज्याला/मजदुरी दिएर मात्र सडक खन्न लगाउनु पर्ने निर्देशन थियो । यति हुँदाहुँदै पनि कसैले बेजिल्लामा बेगारीमा सडक खन्न लगाई दुनिजाँलाई दुःख दिएको देखिएमा सो सम्बन्धी जानकारी केन्द्रमा दिई प्राप्त निर्देशनानुसार कारवाही गर्नका लागि केन्द्रले नजामुलुक-कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दाको नाममा रुक्का दस्तखत पठाएको थियो ।

### दोकान

उल्लेख्य कुरा के पनि देखिन्छ भने कैलाली जिल्लाका उल्लिखित मौजा-तप्पामा वि.सं. १९४३ साल सम्म एउटा पनि दोकान तथा गुदरी बजार (?) खोलिएको पाइँदैन । दोकान तथा बजार राख्नका लागि सरकारको स्वीकृति भने अनिवार्य थियो । त्यसैले चौधरीलगायतले जिल्लाका विभिन्न तप्पामा दोकान एवम् गुदरी बजार राखेका खण्डमा सरकारी कर्मचारीलगायत चौधरी, जिमिदार एवम् सर्वसाधारणलाई पनि सजिलो हुन जाने तथा मानिसहरू आ-आफ्नै तप्पा-मौजामा बस्ने भएकाले जमिन पनि बढी आवाद हुन गई राजस्व वृद्धी हुन्छ भन्ने सन्दर्भ पारेका थिए । त्यतिमात्र नभएर उनीहरूले यसरी दोकान एवम् गुदरी बजार राख्ने बजारियालाई महसुल नलगाउन पनि सरकारसँग अनुरोध गरेका थिए ।

उनीहरूको अनुरोध बमोजिम जिल्लाका विभिन्न तप्पामा गुदरी बजार लाउँदा मंडीमा कम हुने तथा माल पनि गुदरी बजारमा कम भई मंडी बजारमा नोक्सान हुन जाने सरकारको ठहर थियो । त्यसैकारण गुदरी बजार राख्न नहुने सरकारको निर्देशन थियो । जहाँसम्म दोकान राख्ने सन्दर्भ छ, दोकानदारलाई गाउँ गाउँमा दोकान राख्न भने प्रोत्साहित गर्नु पर्ने कुरामा सरकारको जोड थियो । त्यतिमात्र नभएर यसरी खुलएका दोकानलाई एक वर्षसम्म राज्यबाट कुनै कर नलगाइने र एक वर्ष पछि दोकानको हैसियतअनुसार मात्र महसुल लगाइने कुरा चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरूलाई उर्दि दिन पनि यसप्रकार निर्देशन दिइएको थियो;<sup>२१</sup>

“...तप्पा तप्पा.मा गुदरि. वजा  
 र. लाउदा. मंडीमा गीने. मालस्मेत्. गुदरि.  
 वजार.मा गिरि. मंदी व  
 जारमा. नोक्सान् हुने हुनाले. गुदरि वजार. लाउनु  
 हुदैन. दोकानदार.  
 लाई. सलतंत गरि. गाउ गाउमा. दोकान राषनु.  
 नत्रा वस्याका दोकान  
 दार.लाई. वर्सदीनको महसुल लाग्नु. छैन वर्ष.  
 दीन उप्रान्त. दोका  
 न्. हेरि. महसुल. ठेकी लीनु. सो वमोजिम् दोकान.  
 राषन लगाई.  
 दोकानको हाजिरि. लेषी ल्याउनु. भनि चौधरि  
 जिमदार.लाई. उ  
 दिं दिनु...”

उल्लेख्य कुरा के देखिन्छ भने लिखत अनुरोध  
 गरे पनि चौधरी तथा जिमिदारहरू सरकारद्वारा आफ्ना  
 आवश्यकता एवम् अनुरोध पुरा हुन्छन् भन्ने विषयमा भने  
 आशावादी थिएनन् । त्यसैले निवेदनमा नै उनीहरूले आफ्नो  
 दुखेसो यसरी व्यक्त गरेका थिए,<sup>२२</sup>

“...यो माथि लेषी चढायाका रपोट् को हामी. गरिप  
 दुनीत्राका उपर.  
 जुन हाकिम्. मांनी वस्नु पर्छ. यकै हाकिम् को  
 सनद. पुर्जिले. मा  
 व. हामी. रैतीवाट. काम लिक्स्या सर्कार.को पनी.  
 काम हुन्या. हा  
 मी दुनीत्रालाई. पनि सुष हुन्या करुरागारि. थीतिका  
 सवाल सन  
 द. वक्सी आय प्रभू हामी दुनीत्राका दुष. दुर. भै  
 सर्कारका जय म  
 नाई जगा अवाद. गुल.जार. गरि वसि आफ्ना वाल.  
 वचाको जीव  
 न् वृती चलाउदा हु यो लेषी.याका मुद्दामुद्दाका  
 जवाफ. नवक्स्या. रै.  
 ती भागी. मोगलान्. जान तयार. भयका छन्.  
 मोगलान्. गया भन्या हा  
 मी चौधरि. ज्मीदार. को घर घेत. पनि जान्या.  
 सर्कार.को पनि. नोक्सान  
 हुन्या प्रभु जो मर्जि हुकुम्. सीर. उपर...”

त्यसो त समय समयमा जिल्लामा नयाँ हाकिम्  
 आई विभिन्न किसिमका भन्कट लगाउने हुँदा एकै जन  
 हाकिमबाट काम गर्न पाएमा सजिलो हुने कुरा पनि उनीहरूले  
 उठाएका थिए ।

### उपसंहार

प्रधानमन्त्री वीरशमशेरको शासनकालको थालनी  
 सम्म कैलाली नयाँ बस्ती भएको जङ्गली क्षेत्र थियो । वस्ती  
 बस्नेक्रमको थालनी भए तापनि चौधरी एवम् जिमिदारबाट  
 सामान्य किसिमको दबाव भएमा वा अतिरिक्त पोतलगायन्  
 बेगार तिर्नु परेमा मानिसहरू मुगलानका अतिरिक्त अन्ध  
 जिल्ला समेतमा जाने क्रम व्यापक थियो । यस्तो अवस्थामा  
 सरकारले विभिन्न समयमा नयाँ नयाँ किसिमका पोत तब  
 बेगार लगाउँदा बस्ती नै उजाड हुनजाने कुरामा चौधरी तब  
 जिमिदारहरू विशेष चनाखो थिए । यसै सन्दर्भमा सरकारले  
 सम्पूर्ण तराईका लागि वि.सं. १९३८ सालमा लागु गरेको  
 नयाँ कर ‘तेजारथ’ बाट उनीहरू असन्तुष्ट थिए । उल्लेख्य  
 कुरा के पनि छ भने ‘तेजारथ’ नामको कर वास्तवमा कुन  
 परिवेशमा लागु गरिएको हो र यो कर कहिलेसम्म कायम  
 रह्यो भन्ने बारेमा विस्तृत जानकारी दिने सामग्री पाइएको  
 छैन । नेपालको आर्थिक इतिहासमा नौलो यो करका सम्बन्धमा  
 विस्तृत अध्ययन गर्नु आजको आवश्यकता देखिन्छ ।

पश्चिम तराईको जिल्ला प्रशासनको सन्दर्भमा  
 यसबखत मालअड्डा नै प्रमुख अड्डा थियो । यसका  
 अतिरिक्त वनजाँच, काठमहाल, अमिनि, ठिंगुरी माल आदि  
 रहेका देखिन्छन् । सर्वसाधारणको जानकारीका लागि  
 सरकारकातर्फबाट कुनै सुचना जारी गर्नु पर्दा गाउँ गाउँमा  
 इस्तिहार टाँस गर्नुका अतिरिक्त उर्दी दिने प्रचलन पनि थियो ।  
 जहाँसम्म खान पनि नपुग्ने सर्वसाधारण रैतीले  
 समान्य घर तथा हलो बनाउन आवश्यक पर्ने काठसमेत  
 काट्न नपाइने जुन नियम थियो सो भने यहाँका वासिन्दाका  
 लागि कष्टकर एवम् अव्यवहारिक देखिन्छ । हुनतः तराईका  
 रुख काटेर बिक्री गर्ने प्रचलन यस बखतसम्म निकै बढेको  
 पाइन्छ । त्यसै कारणसमेत महाकाली पूर्व मेची पश्चिम  
 सम्पूर्ण तराई क्षेत्रका वीर्ता, बेख, फीकढार, छाप, सदावर्त.  
 मानाचामललगायत माफि वीर्तासमेतमा पर्ने जङ्गलका रुख  
 प्रधानमन्त्रीको हुकुम सनद बिना कसैले पनि काट्न नपाइने  
 इस्तिहार जारी गरिएको पाइन्छ । वि.सं. १९५१ सालमा  
 प्रधानमन्त्री वीरशमशेर र कम्याण्डर इन चीफ देवशमशेरको

‘दुई छापे’ सनदमा महाकाली पूर्व मेची पश्चिम गोरखा राज  
भर मुलुकका मध्येस तराईको क्षेत्रमा प्रधानमन्त्रीको सनद  
बिना रुख नकाटन यसप्रकार सिमाना तोकिएको थियो;<sup>२३</sup>

“... अवप्रान्त हरिहरपुर मकवान्  
पुर का ईलाका मध्ये मरिन् षोलाका दोभान् वाग्मति  
तरि चुरे पानि ढ  
ला उत्तर सामुन्ये पश्चीम् गै भुर्भरे चौकी भुर्भरे  
गाउलाई दाहिना पारि  
सोभै पुगि ताहादेषि सोभै उत्तर गै बगेडी गाउलाई  
दाहिना पारि कोषा  
जोर षोलाको दोभान् पुगि सो षोलै षोला सामुन्ये  
पूर्व गै बसेरि गा  
उको सोभो उत्तर पुगि ताहादेषि सो बसोरे गाउलाई  
वाजां पारि ग्यारि चौकी जाने वाटो भेटि. सो वाटेवाट

दक्षीण गै लाटि

षोला द्वार षोलाको दोभान् पुगि. ताहावाट सो  
षोलाको र मरिन् षोलाको दोभान् भेटि सो षोलैषोला  
वाग्मति काले  
भान्सम्म. येति चौतर्फी सीवाना भीत्रका रुष कसैले  
काटेको ठहन्यो भन्या जात् अनुसार भारि सजाय  
होला ...”

सोभै मुलुकका प्रधानमन्त्रीको निर्देशनवाट मात्र रुख  
काटनु पर्ने गरी नियन्त्रण लगाइएको परिवेशमा कैलालीका  
रैतीलाई घर तथा हलोसमेत बनाउनका लागि आवश्यक  
पर्ने काठ काटन इजाजत लिनु पर्ने गरिनु स्वाभाविकै  
मानिन्छ । यति हुँदाहुँदै पनि सर्वसाधारणलाई हलो  
बनाउने काठका लागि पनि इजाजत लिनु पर्ने व्यवस्था भने  
अव्यवहारिक देखिन्छ ।

- १ कृष्ण बि. थापा, मेन आस्पेक्टस् अफ सोसल, इकोनोमिक एण्ड एडमिनिष्ट्रेटिव हिस्ट्रि अफ मोडर्न नेपाल, काठमाडौं: मिसेज अम्बिका थापा, ई.सं. १९८८, पृ. ३१ । उल्लेख्य कुरा के देखिन्छ भने थापाले उक्त भनाईको आधार भने नदिएका कारण यो प्रसङ्ग कहाँबाट लिइएको हो भन्ने स्पष्ट भने हुँदैन ।
- २ नआँमुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दको नाममा वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको रुक्का ।
- ३ नआँमुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दको नाममा वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको रुक्का । बिस्तृत जानकारीका लागि यो रुक्का परिशिष्ट नं. १ मा दिइएको छ ।
- ४ नआँमुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दको नाममा वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको रुक्का ।
- ५ कृष्णप्रसाद पराजुली (सम्या.), नेपाली बृहत् शब्दकोश, काठमाडौं: नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा-प्रतिष्ठान, वि.सं. २०४०, पृ. १३१७ ।
- ६ ऐजन, पृ. ९८१ ।
- ७ ऐजन, पृ. १२४५ ।
- ८ नआँमुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दको नाममा वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको रुक्का ।
- ९ पराजुली (सम्या.), पद टिप्पणी नं. ५, पृ. ११५० ।
- १० नआँमुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दको नाममा वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको रुक्का ।
- ११ ऐजन ।
- १२ पराजुली (सम्या.), पद टिप्पणी नं. ५, पृ. ३७० ।
- १३ ऐजन, पृ. १४०४ ।
- १४ पराजुली (सम्या.), पद टिप्पणी नं. ५, पृ. ५५३ ।
- १५ नआँमुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दको नाममा वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको रुक्का ।
- १६ ऐजन ।
- १७ पराजुली (सम्या.), पद टिप्पणी नं. ५, पृ. ६०७-६०८ ।
- १८ एच.एन. अग्रवाल, द एडमिनिष्ट्रेटिव सिस्टम अफ नेपाल, न्यू दिल्ली: विकास पब्लिसिङ हाउस, ई.सं. १९७६, पृ. ६३ ।
- १९ नआँमुलुक कैलाली मालका हाकिम कारिन्दको नाममा वि.सं. १९४४ सालमा लेखिएको रुक्का ।
- २० ऐजन ।
- २१ ऐजन ।
- २२ ऐजन ।
- २३ महाकाली पूर्व मेची पश्चिम गोरखा राज्य भर मुलुकका मध्येस तराईका वीर्ता वेख फिक्रदार छाप सदावर्त मानाचामल गैह माफि वीर्ता जङ्गलका रुख बिना श्री प्राईमिनिष्टरका हुकुम् सनद नभै कसैले नकाटनु भन्ने ऐन जारि भएको सम्बन्धी वि.सं. १९५१ सालको सनद । बिस्तृत जानकारीका लागि यो सनद परिशिष्ट नं. २ मा दिइएको छ ।

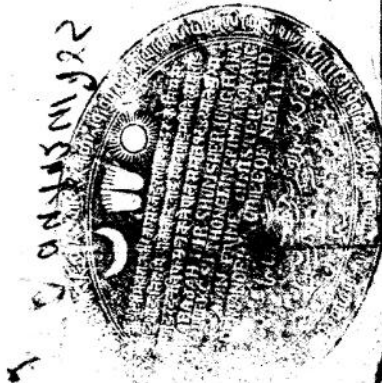






परिशिष्ट नं. २

महाकाली पूर्व मेची पश्चिम गोरखा राज्य भर मुलुकका मध्येस तराईका वीर्ता वेख  
फिक्वर छाप सदावर्त मानाचामल गैह माफि वीर्ता जङ्गलका रूख बिना  
श्री प्राईमिनिष्टरका हुकुम् सनद नमै कसैले नकाटनु भन्ने ऐन जारी  
भएको सम्बन्धी वि.सं. १९५१ सालको सनद



महाकाली पूर्व मेची पश्चिम गोरखा राज्य भर मुलुकका मध्येस तराईका वीर्ता वेख  
का वीर्ता वेख फिक्वर छापको कसैले नकाटनु भन्ने ऐन जारी  
भएको सम्बन्धी वि.सं. १९५१ सालको सनद

वै.सं. १९५१ सालको सनद नमै कसैले नकाटनु भन्ने ऐन जारी  
भएको सम्बन्धी वि.सं. १९५१ सालको सनद

# प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपाली भाषाका विशेषता

- डा. विदुर चालिसे

**सारसंक्षेप :** यस लेखको उद्देश्य प्राचीन नेपाली भाषामा देखिएको भाषिक सूचना र ऐतिहासिक घटनाक्रमले निर्धारित गरेको परिस्थितिका आधारमा नेपाली भाषाको ऐतिहासिक काल विभाजनको रूपरेखाको चिनारी गराउँदै पाठकहरूमा अभिलेखीय भाषा र व्याकरणप्रति रुचि जगाउनु रहेको छ । नेपाली अभिलेखको अध्ययनका क्रममा ऐतिहासिक नेपाली भाषाको काल विभाजनको सन्दर्भमा आआफ्नै तर्कहरू रहेकाले ती सबै अध्येताका तर्कको सेरोफेरोमा रहेर लिखित तथ्यका आधारमा प्राचीन नेपाली भाषाका विशेषताका केही नयाँ सूचनालाई अति संक्षेपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ ।

यस अध्ययनमा 'सिञ्जाली भाषा'(वि.सं.११५० देखि १४५०सम्म)को समयवाधिलाई प्राचीनकाल मानेर हेर्दा निम्नानुसारका आधारमा प्राचीनकालका विशेषताहरू रहेको पाइयो । खस अधिराज्यका ग्रीष्मकालीन राजधानी सिञ्जाली र शीतकालीन राजधानी दुल्लु रहेको कुरा ऐतिहासिक आधारमा प्रमाणित भइसकेको छ । सिञ्जाली भाषाको प्राय सबै अभिलेख कर्णाली प्रदेशमा पाइएका छन् । खस अधिराज्यका दानपत्र अभिलेखहरूमा श्रीबेहोरा र पुछ्छारको बाचाबेहोरा बाहेक मुख्य विषयवस्तु सिञ्जाली भाषामा लेखिएको छ । तिब्बती भाषी प्रदेशमा जनताका लागि जारी भएका राजाजाहरूमा पनि तिब्बती भाषाका साथै सिञ्जालीमा पनि उही बेहोरा अङ्कित(खनाल : वि.सं.२०३०, पृ. १-१०) गरेको पाइएको छ । यसर्थ सिञ्जाली खस अधिराज्यको राजकीय भाषा थियो र राजकीय भाषा भएकोले नै यसले प्रगति गर्न सकेको थियो भन्ने देखिन्छ । खस अधिराज्यमा यसका उत्कर्षका दिनहरूमा खारी प्रदेश र केदार खण्डका साथै कर्णाली प्रदेश पनि समाविष्ट थिए । कर्णाली प्रदेशका विकट पहाडी प्रदेशबाट अपेक्षाकृत उर्वर र सुविधायुक्त गण्डकी प्रदेशमा खस ब्राह्मणहरू आएर बसोबास गर्ने क्रममा तीव्रता खस राज्यका(११५०-१४५०) मा नै आएको हो । पुण्य मल्लका पाला(वि.सं.१३८४-१४)सम्म उनीहरूको उपत्यकामाथि आक्रमण गर्ने क्रम जारी रहयो(अधिकारी : २०५६, पृ.३९) । पुण्य मल्लको वि.सं.१३९३ को आज्ञापत्रमा हुम्लादेखि लिएर दाङ्गसम्मका प्रेक्षक, अडै, अधिकारी,

महर(मगर) तथा महतो(थारू) समेतलाई सम्बोधन गरिएको छ(योगी, वि.सं.२०२२: पृ.७६१) कुमाउँका राजा भारतचन्द्रकी पटरानी कुबेरमालाको वि.सं.१५३४ को अभिलेख(अधिकारी, ई.१९८६ : पृ.२११)मा भूमिदानसँग सम्बन्धित छ । त्यस दानपत्रको भाषा र सिञ्जाली भाषामा खासै अन्तर देखिदैन ।

पश्चिम नेपालका गण्डकी र कर्णालीप्रदेश तथा केदारखण्ड(कुमाउँ गढवाल)मा बसोबास गर्ने विभिन्न जात जातिका मानिसहरू बीच बोलचाल तथा कारोबारको सम्पर्क माध्यम रहेको देखिएकोले प्राचीनकालमा सिञ्जाली भाषा पश्चिम नेपालको सम्पर्क भाषा रहेछ ।

प्राचीनकालमा सिञ्जाली भाषाले आफूलाई अभिलेखकालीन अवस्थाभन्दा अगाडि लान सकेन । सङ्क्षिप्त राजकीय आदेशहरू र भूमिदानपत्रहरूमा मात्र प्राचीनकालको लिखित रूप भेटिएको छ । इतिहासकारहरूका अनुसार साहित्यिक स्वरूप देखिएको छैन । रचनामा उल्लिखित तथा अनुमानित मिति (वि.सं.१७०० तिर, वि.सं.१६०० तिर, वि.सं.१६४९, १७७३, १८०० तिर र वि.सं.१८०९) लाई पोखरेल (वि.सं.२०४३)ले मिति अनुमान गरी प्रकाशित गरेका 'बाज परीक्षा (वि.सं.१००तिर)', 'भास्वति (वि.सं.१३९०), खण्ड खाद्यक (वि.सं.१४५० पूर्व), 'ज्वरोत्पत्ति चिकित्सा (वि.सं.१४५०), 'औषध रसायन (१४५०) र 'अजीर्णमञ्जरी (वि.सं.१४५०) रचनाहरूको अनुमानित समयलाई प्राचीन नेपाली भाषाको भरपर्दो साहित्यिक रचना ठहरिन सक्छ भन्ने आधार देखिदैन । तसर्थ यस आधारमा



नेपाली भाषाको प्राचीन भाषाकाल अभिलेखमा मात्र सीमित रहेछ। वैदिक-आर्य र खस-आर्यहरू पश्चिम एशियातिरबाट भारत प्रवेश गरेका थिए तथा वैदिक-आर्य आएको लगभग एक सहस्राब्दी पछि खस आर्यहरू भारत आएका थिए (अधिकारी : २०५६, पृ. ४, १० र १२)। बाल्हीक प्रदेशमा छँदा खसहरूको मातृभाषालाई 'बाल्हीकी' भनिन्थ्यो र संस्कृत तथा बाल्हीकी दिदीबहिनी थिए (अधिकारी : २०५६, पृ. १६)।

संस्कृतको र बाल्हीकीजन्य प्राचीन (सिञ्जाली) को एउटै मुहान देखिए पनि पश्चिम नेपालसम्म आइपुग्दा ब्रह्महरूको संस्कृतका वक्ताहरूसँग हिन्दू कर्मकाण्डको प्रभावका कारण प्रशस्त सम्पर्क र अन्तरक्रिया हुन गएको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ प्राचीन नेपाली (सिञ्जाली)मा संस्कृतको पर्याप्त प्रभाव रहन गएको पाइन्छ। अभिलेखीय सामग्रीहरूलाई अध्ययन गर्दा उपर्युक्त विशेषताका साथै निम्नानुसारका अन्तरनिहित व्याकरणात्मक विशेषता पाइएकाले ती विशेषताका आधारमा समय-सीमा बाँध्ने कार्य सम्पन्न गरिएको छ :

#### (क) 'कि' को प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेको स्त्रीलिङ्गी सम्बन्धकारक, संयोजक र प्रश्नार्थक 'कि' को प्रयोग प्राचीन नेपालीमा निम्नानुसार प्रयोग गरेको देखिन्छ :

##### (१) असमापिका क्रियाको रूपमा :

(अ) पसाकि अक्रि [प्रसाद गरी अक्रिए] (वि.सं. १३२७, अक्षय मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३९, पृ. ७३)।

(आ) पसाकि अक्र्याछु [प्रसाद गरी अक्र्याँ छु] (वि.सं. १३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ. १-३)।

##### (२) स्त्रीलिङ्गी सम्बन्धकारकको रूपमा :

(अ) तोइकि लागि [त्यसकि लागि] (वि.सं. १३३६, रिपु मल्ल : "यात्री" : २०३४, पृ. २४१)।

(आ) ओथिकि सौज्याल [ओथिकि सिंजवाल] (वि.सं. १३३६, रिपु मल्ल : "यात्री" : २०३४, पृ. २४१)।

##### (३) अनुभूतिवाचक क्रिया अगाडि 'कि'/'करि' लोप

(अ) पाय मया चितोइ [पाउले निगाह चिताओस] (वि.सं. १३३६, रिपु मल्ल : "यात्री" : २०३४, पृ. २४१)।

(आ) मया चितयो [निगाह चितायो] (वि.सं. १४६२, भैरव सिंह, अधिकारी : २०४३, पृ. ८५)।

##### (४) असमापिका क्रिया 'करि' का विकल्पमा 'कि' प्रयोग :

(अ) दोहोली करि पसाकि अक्र्याछु [दोहोरी गरी प्रसाद गरी अक्र्याँ छु] (वि.सं. १३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ. १-३)

##### (५) संयुक्त क्रियामा 'करि' संरचनाको लोप :

(अ) शिउशर्म विस्नुदास पसा कियाँ छौं [शिवशर्मा र विष्णुदासले प्रसाद गरी दिएका छौं] (वि.सं. १४६९, बलिराज र मेदिनी वर्मा; योगी : २०१३, पृ. १०९)

##### (ख) विभक्ति प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका 'लाई', 'ले' र 'मा' जस्ता विभक्ति प्राचीन नेपालीका वाक्यमा प्रयोग गरेर होस् वा नगरेर पनि अर्थखुल्ने वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छन् :

(१) प्रा.ने.-जैराज प्रसाद करायो (आ.ने.-जयराज(ले) निगाह गरँउ) (वि.सं. १३३७, अक्षय मल्ल; थापा : २०३१, पृ. ७५)।

(२) प्रा.ने.-सूत्रधार नागदेव नाम कमायो (आ.ने.-सूत्रधार नागदेव(ले) नामाङ्कन गरे) (वि.सं. १३३७, अक्षय मल्ल; थापा : २०३१, पृ. ७५)।

(३) प्रा.ने.-सिउचो उपाध्या जगचो उपाध्या पसा भयाछन् (आ.ने.-शिवदेव उपाध्याय (लाई) (र) जगदेव उपाध्याय (लाई) निगाह भएका छन्) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ. ११७)।

(४) प्रा.ने.-गुम्वा घच् नकिय (आ.ने.-गुम्वा(मा) घच्चा नदिनु) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ. ११७)।

(५) प्रा.ने.-सेवामा दत्त छ (आ.ने.-सेवामा संलग्न छ) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ. ११७)।

(६) प्रा.ने.-पद्यो जोइसीका कान्सा चेला (आ.ने.-पं.देव जोइसीका कान्छा छोरा(लाई) (वि.सं. १३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ. १-३)।

(७) प्रा.ने.-पिउथर्पु राज करि अक्र्या भाखा पसा भै (आ.ने.-पिउथर्पु(मा) बसेका बखतमा अकर गरेको आदेश प्रसाद भयो) (वि.सं. १३९३, पुण्यमल्ल; योगी : २०२२, पृ. ७६१)।

(८) प्रा.ने.-असेल म पनि (आ.ने.-अचेल मै(ले) पनि) (वि.सं. १४१३, पृथ्वीमल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ. ४९-५२)।

(९) प्रा.ने.-आखर पढायाका प्रसाद गोल्लु जोइसिं कनकपत्रकि भाषा पसा करि अक्र्याँछुँ (आ.ने.-अखर पढाएको प्रसाद गोल्लु जोइसी(लाई) कनकपत्र गरी आदेश निगाह गरी अक्र्याँछुँ)। (वि.सं. १४१३, पृथ्वीमल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ. ४९-५२)।

(१०) प्रा.ने.-एस कनकपत्र भितरकि वृत्तिकै निमित्त कठक् कुढ सेवा धारा सबै छाडि अक्र्याँ छुँ (आ.ने.- यस कनकपत्र भित्रको वृत्ति(कन) निमित्त कठक् कुढ सेवा धारा सबै छाडि अक्र्याँ छुँ) (वि.सं. १४१३, पृथ्वीमल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ. ४९-५२)

- (११) प्रा.ने.-दुखेतको गाग्री अभिपाटालाई नवाखेत वडाखेत (आ.ने.-दुनखेतको गाग्री अभिपाटालाई नयाँखेत ठूलाखेत (वि.सं.१४३३, अभय मल्ल; अधिकारी : ई.१९९७, पृ.१९४)।
- (१२) प्रा.ने.-हरिदत्त अधिकारि बाहुंले पायो (आ.ने.-हरिदत्त अधिकारि बाहुंले पायो (वि.सं.१४४६, मलय वर्मा; अधिकारी : २०४३, पृ.१२)

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(१), (२) र (८) का वाक्यहरूमा तृतीया विभक्ति 'ले' लोप भई वाक्यको प्रयोग भएको छ भने वाक्य नं.(१२) मा तृतीया 'ले' विभक्ति 'बाहुन' नाम शब्दसँग जोडिएर अभिलेखमा प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ प्राचीन नेपालीमा तृतीया विभक्ति 'ले' लोप गरेर होस् वा नगरेर वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने चलन रहेछ।

वाक्य नं.(३), (६) का वाक्यहरूमा द्वितीया विभक्ति 'लाई' लोप भई तथा वाक्य नं.(९) अनुसार 'लाई' द्वितीया विभक्तिका सट्टामा संस्कृतको जस्तो 'अम्' प्रयोग गरी वाक्य बनाउने चलन पनि देखिन्छ। साथै वाक्य नं.(११) मा भने द्वितीया विभक्तिका लागि 'लाई' विभक्ति प्रष्ट रूपमा प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ प्राचीन नेपालीमा द्वितीया विभक्ति 'लाई' लोप गरेर होस् वा नगरेर र संस्कृतको 'अम्' ले पनि काम चलाई वाक्य बनाउने अर्को चलन पनि देखिन्छ।

वाक्य नं.(४) र (७) का वाक्यहरूमा सप्तमी विभक्ति 'मा' लोप भई वाक्यको प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ भने वाक्य नं.(५) मा सप्तमी 'मा' विभक्ति 'सेवा' नाम शब्दसँग जोडिएर अभिलेखमा प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ प्राचीन नेपालीमा सप्तमी विभक्ति 'मा' लोप गरेर होस् वा नगरेर वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने चलन रहेछ। वाक्य नं.(१०) को वाक्यमा प्रयोग भएको 'कं' विभक्तिलाई 'कन' द्वितीया विभक्तिको अर्थमा प्रयोग गरेको देखिन्छ।

माथि उल्लिखित तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपाली भाषामा विभक्तिको प्रयोग संक्रमणकालीन अवस्थाको विशेषतामा रहेको निष्कर्षमा पुग्न सकिन्छ।

### (ग) सहायक क्रिया प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका 'छ' र 'हो' जस्ता सहायक क्रिया प्राचीन नेपालीका वाक्यमा प्रयोग गरेर होस् वा नगरेर पनि अर्थ खुल्ने वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छन् :

- (१३) प्रा.ने.- राइका भाष पसाकि अक्रि (आ.ने.- राजाका आदेश निगाह गरेको छु) (वि.सं.१३२७, अक्षय मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३९,पृ.७३)।
- (१४) प्रा.ने.- शाखा प्रतिपाल (आ.ने.- सन्तानले पालना गरून् (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ.११७)।
- (१५) प्रा.ने.- अकडया कोहि लइन नपाव (आ.ने.- अकर गरेको कसैले लिन पाउने छैन) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ.११७)।
- (१६) प्रा.ने.- राइका भाषा पसा भै छ (आ.ने.- राजाका आदेश प्रसाद भएको छ) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ.११७)।
- (१७) प्रा.ने.- पबो जोइसीकि शाखा भुँच (आ.ने.- पं.देव जोइसीका सन्तानले भोग गरून्) (वि.सं.१३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ.१-३)
- (१८) प्रा.ने.- हाम्राइ छनु नास हो (आ.ने.- हाम्रा यी शत्रु नास होऊन्) (वि.सं. १३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; अधिकारी : ई १९७९-८०, पृ.१७७)
- (१९) प्रा.ने.- हामि दानपति हो (आ.ने.- हामी दानपति हौं) (वि.सं. १३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; अधिकारी : ई १९७९-८०, पृ.१७७)
- (२०) प्रा.ने.- हाम्रा रख्या स्वस्ति पायिथान रक्षा वा छनु (आ.ने.- हामीले राखेको शान्ति पाउने स्थान रक्षामा छनु) (वि.सं. १३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; अधिकारी : ई १९७९-८०, पृ.१७७)।
- (२१) प्रा.ने.- पसाकि अक्रया छुं (आ.ने.- निगाह गरी अक्रया छुं) (वि.सं.१३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ.१-३)।
- (२२) प्रा.ने.- तास्को बुबा गादह तासकि आमा सुंग्रि (आ.ने.- त्यस्को बाबु गधा, त्यस्को आमा सुंग्रि होस्) (वि.सं. १४१३, पृथ्वीमल्ल; योगी : २०१३,पृ.४९-५२)
- (२३) प्रा.ने.- सो पुण्य पाइय (आ.ने.- उसले पुण्य पाउने छ) (वि.सं. १४१३, पृथ्वीमल्ल; योगी : २०१३,पृ.४९-५२)।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(१३), (१४), (१५) र (१७) का वाक्यहरूमा सहायक क्रियापद 'छु', 'गरून्', 'छैन' र 'गरून्' लोप भई वाक्यको प्रयोग भएको छ भने वाक्य नं.(१६), (२०), (२१) र (२३) वाक्यमा सहायक क्रियापद 'छ', 'छनु', 'छुं' र 'छ' प्रयोग भई वाक्य बनाएको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ प्राचीन नेपालीमा सहायक क्रिया 'छ' लोप गरेर होस् वा नगरेर वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने चलन रहेछ।

वाक्य नं.(२२) को वाक्यमा सहायक क्रियापद 'होस्' लोप भई वाक्यको प्रयोग भएको छ भने वाक्य नं.(१८) र

१९) वाक्यमा सहायक क्रियापद 'हो' र 'हो~हौं' प्रयोग भई वाक्य बनाएको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ प्राचीन नेपालीमा सहायक क्रिया 'हो' लोप गरेर होस् वा नगरेर वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने चलन रहेछ।

माथि उल्लिखित तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपाली भाषामा सहायक क्रियाको प्रयोग संक्रमणकालीन अवस्थाको विशेषतामा रहेको निष्कर्षमा पुग्न सकिन्छ।

#### (घ) सहजाती शब्दहरूको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका शब्दहरूका लागि प्राचीन नेपालीमा सहजाती शब्दको प्रयोग गर्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छन् :

संस्कृत कृ	प्राचीन नेपाली अक्रि, करि	आधुनिक नेपाली गर्नु
प्रसाद	पसा	निगाह (वि.सं.१३२७, अक्षय मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३९, पृ.७३)
देव	द्यो	देवता (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ.११७)
द्वि	दुहु	दुई (वि.सं.१३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ.१-३)
कनिष्ठ	कान्सा	कान्छा (वि.सं.१३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ.१-३)
नस्य	तास	त्यस्को (वि.सं.१३८५, पुण्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ.९-१०)
प्रेक्षक	पेखक	पर्यवेक्षक (वि.सं.१३८५, पुण्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ.९-१०)
गर्दभः	गादह, गाढ, गाध	गदाहा (वि.सं.१४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ.४९-५२)
अक्षर	आखर	अक्षर (वि.सं.१४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ.४९-५२)
ग्राम	गावै	गाउँ (वि.सं.१४२४, सूर्य मल्ल; भट्टराई : २०३७, पृ.८९-९१)

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित शब्दहरूमा प्राकृत तत्त्व देखिन्छ। तसर्थ उक्त तथ्यहरूलाई ममनगरी विश्लेषण गर्दा शब्दस्तरमा प्राकृत नत्त्वका विशेषताबाट प्राचीन नेपाली भाषाको शब्द निर्माण हुने गरेको निष्कर्षमा पुग्न सकिन्छ।

#### (ङ) इच्छार्थक 'इ', 'इय/इया' प्रत्यय :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका इच्छार्थक क्रिया प्रत्यय 'ओस्' का सट्टामा प्राचीनमा 'इ', 'इय/इया' प्रत्ययद्वारा काम चलाउने प्रचलन देखिन्छ :

(२४) प्रा.ने.- चारूजना नेपा संकल्प करि रस्योवस्यो करि पाइ (आ.ने.- चारजनालाई सङ्कल्प गरेको नेपा बसोबासका लागि पाओस्। (वि.सं.१३२७, अक्षय मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३९, पृ.७३)।

(२५) प्रा.ने.- जो यो भाषा प्रतिपाल सो पुण्य पाइय (आ.ने.- जस्ले यो भाषा पालना गर्छ त्यसले पुण्य पाओस्) (वि.सं. १४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ.४९-५२)।

(२६) प्रा.ने.- जोर्यो धर्म प्रतिपाल सो पुरा पाइया (आ.ने.- जस्ले यो धर्म पालना गर्छ त्यसले पुण्य पाओस्।) (अभय मल्ल : वि.सं.१४३४; सुवेदी : ई.१९७९, पृ.९१-९२)।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(२४), (२५) र (२६) का वाक्यहरूमा 'इ', 'इय/इया' प्रत्यय लागेर इच्छार्थक क्रिया बनेको देखिन्छ। उक्त वाक्यहरूका 'पाइ', 'पाइय' र 'पाइया' क्रियाहरूका 'इ', 'इय' र 'इया' प्रत्यय लागेका इच्छार्थक क्रिया हुन्। प्राचीन नेपालीमा 'ओस्' को सट्टामा 'इ', 'इय' र 'इया' प्रत्यय लागेर इच्छार्थक क्रिया बनाउने चलन रहेछ। तसर्थ माथि उल्लिखित तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपाली भाषामा इच्छार्थक क्रिया 'इ', 'इय' र 'इया' प्रत्ययको विशेषतामा रहेको निष्कर्षमा पुग्न सकिन्छ।

#### (च) विशिष्ट वचनको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा नाम शब्दमा वचन बुझाउन 'आ' प्रत्यय र 'हरू' निपात वा दुवै लागेर बहुवचन बुझाए पनि प्राचीन नेपालीमा वचन बुझाउन त्यस्तो गरिएको देखिदैनन् :

(२७) प्रा.ने.-सिरू समरू सगुना भामको आला ५ (आ.ने.- सिरू, समरू र सगुना भामहरूका आला पाँच) (वि.सं.१३२७, अक्षय मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३९, पृ.७३)।

(२८) प्रा.ने.-अनु उपाध्या सिउ द्यो उपाध्या। जगद्यो उपाध्या पसा भयाछन् (आ.ने.-अनु उपाध्याय, शिवदेव उपाध्याय र जगदेव उपाध्यायहरूलाई निगाह भएका छन्) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ.११७)

(२९) प्रा.ने.-यति आला सर्वकर अकर दोहोली करि पसाकि अक्या छुं (आ.ने.-यति खेत सबै प्रकारका करहरू अकर दोहोरो गरी निगाह गरी अक्या छुं) (वि.सं.१३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०, पृ.१-३)।

- (३०) प्रा.ने.-छत्तीसै कर छाडि अक्र्याँ छुँ (आ.ने.-छत्तीसैप्रकारका करहरू छाडिअक्र्याँ छुँ) (वि.सं. १४१३,पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३,पृ.४९-५२)
- (३१) प्रा.ने.-महिराज सोती । अभौराज सोती । पुसुसोती पसाकि अक्र्या छुँ (आ.ने.-महिराज सोती, अभयराज सोती र पुसुराजहरूलाई निगाह गरी अक्र्या छु) (वि.सं.१४३३, अभय मल्ल; अधिकारी : ई.१९९७,पृ.१९३) ।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(२७), (२८), (२९), (३०) र (३१) का वाक्यहरूका नामहरूमा बहुवचन जनाउने कुनै पनि प्रत्यय वा परस्थानिक लागेको देखिदैन । उक्त वाक्यहरूका बहुवचन जनाउने नामका लागि कतै नाममा 'ओ' कार र कतै 'आ' कार लागेको देखिन्छ । वाक्य नं.(२८) को नाममा बहुवचन जनाउने 'हरू' परस्थानिक नलागे पनि क्रियापदमा लाग्ने 'अन्' प्रत्यय 'छ' सहायक क्रियामा लागेको देखिन्छ । तसर्थ प्राचीन नेपालीका नाममा 'आ' तथा 'ओ' प्रत्यय लगाई बहुवचन जनाउने प्रचलन छयासमिस देखिन्छ भने नाममा 'हरू' परस्थानिक लगाएर बहुवचन जनाउने प्रचलन रहेनछ । अभूतकालिक क्रियामा बहुवचन जनाउने 'अन्' प्रत्यय लगाएर बनाउने चलनमात्र रहेछ ।

तसर्थ माथि उल्लिखित तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपाली भाषामा नामका लागि बहुवचन जनाउने 'आ' लाग्ने र क्रियापदमा बहुवचन जनाउने 'अन्' लाग्ने विशेषता रहेछ भने 'हरू' परस्थानिक नै नभए पनि प्राचीन नेपालीका वाक्यमा नामका लागि बहुवचनको काम चल्ने विशेषता रहेछ ।

#### (छ) कर्ताकारकका लागि 'ले' को प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा कर्ताकारक बुझाउने 'ले' विभक्ति लागेर बन्ने देखिन्छ तर प्राचीन नेपालीमा कर्ताकारक बुझाउने षष्ठी विभक्ति लागेर कर्ताकारकको भूमिका निभाएको देखिन्छ :

- (३२) प्रा.ने.- रैकाज्यको पाय मया चितोइ धम्मु जोइसि पाइ (आ.ने.-राजैज्यको पाउले निगाह चिताएको धम्मु जैसिले पाओस्) (वि.सं.१३३६, रिपु मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३४,पृ.२४१) ।
- (३३) प्रा.ने.- पुण्यमल्ल राइका तारादेइ गोसाइ .....संकल्प घलि पसा करि अक्रि (आ.ने.-पुण्य मल्ल राजाले तारादेव गोसाइलाई ...सङ्कल्प हाली निगाह गरी अक्रि) (वि.सं.१४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ.४९-५२) ।

- (३४) प्रा.ने.- राम भडारी अपावो ..सर्वकर विवर्जिना कटक सेवा क्याही ना कर्नी (आ.ने.-राम भण्डारीले नपाएको..सबै कर हटाइएको छ, सैनिक सेवा केही नगर्नु) (वि.सं.१४१९, निरयपाल; पन्त : २०३२,पृ.८७)
- (३५) प्रा.ने.- जो भाषा पृथ्वीमल्ल राइका पसा कि थि (आ.ने.-जुन आदेश पृथ्वीमल्ल राजाले निगाह गरेका थिए) (वि.सं.१४३३, अभय मल्ल; अधिकारी : ई.१९९७,पृ.१९३) ।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(३२) (३४), का वाक्यहरूमा आधुनिक नेपालीमा जस्तो 'पाय' र 'राम भडारी' कर्ता(नाम)मा कर्ताकारकका लागि 'ले' प्रथमा विभक्तिको प्रयोग गर्ने व्याकरणिक प्रचलन देखिदैन । वाक्य नं.(३३) र (३५) का वाक्यहरूमा चाहिँ 'राइ' र 'राइ' कर्ता(नाम)सँग सम्बन्धकारक जनाउने 'का' षष्ठी विभक्तिको प्रयोग कर्ताकारकका लागि प्रयोग गरिएको देखिन्छ । तसर्थ उक्त तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपालीमा वि.सं. १४४६(मलय वर्मा)को अभिलेखदेखि मात्र 'ले' विभक्तिको प्रयोग भएको देखिन्छ । तसर्थ त्यसभन्दा पूर्व प्राचीन नेपालीको कर्ताकारकका लागि 'ले' विभक्ति लोप गरेर र विकल्पमा काम चलाउनु पर्दा कर्ताकारकका लागि षष्ठी विभक्तिको 'को/का/की' लागेर कर्ताकारक 'ले' को काम जलाउने प्रचलन प्राचीन नेपालीको विशिष्टता रहेछ ।

#### (ज) विशिष्ट लिङ्ग विधानको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा मानिसलाई बुझाउने नाम बाहेक अरुमा लिङ्ग विधानले प्रभाव पाउँदैन तर प्राचीन नेपालीमा विशिष्ट लिङ्ग विधान देखिन्छ :

- (३६) प्रा.ने.- ओधिकि सौज्याल (आ.ने.- ओधिका सिजवाल) (वि.सं. १३३६, रिपु मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३४,पृ.२४१) ।
- (३७) प्रा.ने.- लेककि इजडि (आ.ने.- लेकको जडिबुडी) (वि.सं.१३३६, रिपु मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३४, पृ.२४१) ।
- (३८) प्रा.ने.- गाडकि वगडि (आ.ने.- खोलाको बगर) (वि.सं.१३३६, रिपु मल्ल; "यात्री" : २०३४,पृ.२४१) ।
- (३९) प्रा.ने.- आदित्य मल्ल की शाखा (आ.ने.- आदित्य मल्लको सन्तान) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल; सुवेदी : २०४१, पृ.११७) ।
- (४०) प्रा.ने.- कनकपत्रकि भाषा (आ.ने.- कनकपत्रको आदेश) (वि.सं. १४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३, पृ.४९-५२) ।
- (४१) प्रा.ने.- गाँवकि चरि (आ.ने.-गाउँको चरन) (वि.सं.१४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३,पृ.४९-५२) ।

(४२) प्रा.ने.- पसा कि थि (आ.ने.-निगाह गरिएको शथयो) (वि.सं.१४३३, अमय मल्ल; अधिकारी : ई. १९९७, पृ.१९३) ।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(३६), (३७), (३८), (३९), (४०), (४१) र (४२) का वाक्यहरूमा आधुनिक नेपालीमा जस्तो मानवीय पुलिङ्ग तथा मानवेतर सजीव र निर्जीवका लागि 'को' विभक्तिको प्रयोग गर्ने व्याकरणिक चलन छैन । उक्त वाक्यहरूका सम्बन्ध पदहरूमा आधुनिक नेपालीका स्त्रीलिङ्गमा प्रयोग हुने 'की' विभक्तिको प्रयोग गरिएको छ । तसर्थ उक्त तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपालीमा मानवीय पुलिङ्ग, मानवेतर सजीव र निर्जीवमा सम्बन्ध पदका लागि 'की' विभक्तिको प्रयोग गरिने विशेषता देखिन्छ । आधुनिक नेपालीको तुलनामा यो अवस्था प्राचीन नेपालीको विशिष्ट अवस्था हो ।

#### (भ) ज्ञातका लागि अज्ञात भूत प्रत्ययको प्रयोग :

प्राचीन नेपालीमा अभूतकालको पूर्णपक्ष ज्ञात 'याको' प्रत्ययका सट्टामा अज्ञात भूत 'या' प्रत्ययको प्रयोग देखिन्छ :

(४३) प्रा.ने.- जगद्यो उपाध्या पसा भयाछन् (आ.ने.- जगदेव उपाध्यायलाई प्रसाद भयाकाछन्) (वि.सं. १३७३, आदित्य मल्ल :सुवेदी : २०४१,पृ.११७)

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(४३) को वाक्यमा 'भयाछन्' क्रिया संरचनामा मध्यकालीन नेपालीको भूतकालिक अज्ञात क्रियामा प्रयोग हुने '-ए~-या' प्रत्यय लागेको देखिन्छ । तर यस क्रियाले वाक्य संरचनाको अर्थ 'भएकाछन्' भन्ने अभूतकालको ज्ञात को अर्थ दिन्छ । प्राचीन नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने अभूतकालिक ज्ञात '-ए~-या' प्रत्यय मध्यकालीन नेपालीमा भूतकालिक अज्ञात भएको रहेछ भने मध्यकालीन नेपालीमा प्रयोग भएको अभूतकालिक ज्ञात '-एको~-याको' प्रत्यय प्राचीन नेपालीमा प्रयोग भएको रहेछ । तसर्थ '-ए~-या' प्रत्ययले प्राचीनकालमा अभूतकालिक ज्ञात र मध्यकालमा भूतकालिक अज्ञातको दोहोरो भूमिको विशिष्टतालाई अपनाएको स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

#### (ज) अभिव्यक्तिमा सङ्क्षिप्तपन :

अभिव्यक्तिमा सङ्क्षिप्तपन प्राचीन नेपालीको अर्को विशेषता देखिन्छ । थोरै शब्दमा धेरै कुरा व्यक्त भएको पाइन्छ :

प्रा.ने.- राइका पाय भाखा ॥ पसाकि अक्रि ॥ पद्यो जोइसीका कान्सा चेला । पदमनाभा धामु दुहु जना ॥ ताम्कु जग्घो भाटको आ १ वोहेरातोला जैसर्मको आ १ वहिताम्माको आलो १ थापाको हुँदो ॥ यति आला सर्वकर अकर दोहोली करि पसाकि अक्र्या छुं । आदित्य मल्लकि शाखा पसाकर ॥ पद्यो जोइसीकि शाखा भुच ।

आ.ने.- राजाबाट यस्तो बेहोरा निगाह भएको छ- पं.देव जैसीका कान्छा छोरा पदमनाभा र धामु दुवैजनालाई ताम्कु भन्ने ठाउँको जगदेव भाटको खेत एक, बोहोरातोला भन्ने ठाउँको जय शर्माको खेत एक, बाहिताम्मा भन्ने ठाउँको थापाको खेथसम्मको खेत एक, यति खेत सबै कर माफगरेर सङ्कल्प गरि निगाह गरेको छु, आदित्यमल्लका शाखा सन्तानले यो निगाह कायम राखून् । पं. देव जैसीका शाखा सन्तानले भोग गरून् । (वि.सं.१३७८, आदित्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०,पृ.१-३ )

#### (ट) विशिष्ट आदरार्थी क्रियाको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेको भूतकालको 'नु+भयो' संयुक्त क्रियाको प्राचीन नेपालीमा अभाव देखिन्छ : प्रा.ने.- ॐ स्वस्ति । धर्मको निको टा(ठा?)कुर । पुणमल्लको अदिस पूर्वतिर लायो हाहाको मुलिउँ पेषक अदिकारि करिकि कमकर सभुंप्रति काजको घाल्ये अडै कटका मानिसौ पासाकियो ताजगाइं पाख श्रागिर्य पनि पुर्विलो महारा(ज) को बल विद्यांकरी अक्रनु तेनकारन लागि महाराजमुदपात पसाकियो क महाराजको बल विद्यां करू लामृनि टासिर्कुसाल लामा पाटा षम्करी विन्ति कियो तसर मयाकियो ताजगापास नर्जापालीसित र्त्नि स्यांगकोरो मूसो भूपालि माउनि चउनि सोत तात् माग्नि कोइ चदूभदू नकिय । महाराजको मुदन लेषत तहाँ अइसि विन्ति ढोया जो यस मुदपात नलेष तास धार्नि सुनको थारो टासु पत्न लेषजो थर्पुषा जुंला ।

आ.ने.- ओमशान्ति ! उत्तम धर्मका लागि महाराज पुण्य मल्लका आदेशले पूर्वतिर लागेका मुख्य अधिकारी, वडाहाकिम, बखतबखतमा परिआएको विघ्नबाधा हटाउने सैनिक अधिकृत र जवानहरूलाई काजमा हाली युद्ध सैनिकमा निगाह बक्सनुभयो । ताघवाई गुम्बातर्फ पनि पुख्यौली राजाहरूको पुरुषार्थलाई कानुन सम्झी अक्रनुभयो । त्यसैका लागि

महाराज (पुण्यमल्ल)ले यो मूलपाठ(ताम्रपत्र)लाई निगाह बक्सनुभयो । महाराजको पुरुषार्थलाई कानुन मानी करू लमिनी र टासिर्कुसाललामाले वारीको पाटोमा खम्ब ठड्याइ विन्ति गर्नुभयो र महाराजले आदेश पनि बक्सनुभयो । त्यसकारण ताघवाइ गुम्वासित दही, दूध(चौनी) र फलफूल (मौनी) करको सोधपूछ गर्ने र माग्ने काम कसैले नगर्नु । अन्त्यमा महाराजका तर्फबाट यस्तो विन्ति भयो, जो यस मूलपाठ(ताम्रपत्र)मा नलेखे पनि त्यस (माग्ने र सोधपूछ गर्ने)लाई सुनको दण्ड, त्यसको सत्यानास, जुम्ला थर्पुले गरोस् (वि.सं.१३८५, पुण्य मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०,पृ.९-१०)।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वि.सं.१३८५(पुण्यमल्ल)को पाठमा अन्य अभिलेखको तुलनामा अचम्मको बेहोरा देखिएको छ । यस अभिलेखको मूलपाठमा “मानिसौ पासाकियो”, “वल विचांकरी अक्रनु”, “महाराजमुदपात पसाकियो”, “षम्करी विन्ति कियो” र “मयाकियो” वाक्य प्रयोग भएको छ । राजा पुण्यमल्लको जुम्ला थर्पुको मौखिक आदेशमा लेखकले आफ्नै भाषामा ताम्रपत्र कोरेको प्रस्तुत बेहोरा घोरिएर हेर्दा बुझिन्छ । उक्त ताम्रपत्रमा प्रयोग भएको भाषा प्रायः भूतकालिक क्रियामा लेखिएको छ । ‘अक्रनु’ क्रियाका पछाडि ‘भयो’ भूतकालिक क्रिया जोडिएर ‘अक्रनुभयो’ हुन पुगेकाले यो क्रिया आदेशका रूपमा नभई आदरार्थी क्रियाको रूपमा प्रयोग भएको रहेछ । ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लिखित सबै ‘कियो’ भूतकालिक क्रिया हो । यो क्रियाले पनि यस अभिलेखमा आदरार्थीको नै अर्थ दिएको देखिन्छ । “षम्करी विन्ति कियो” वाक्यले त पूरै आदरार्थीको स्वरुप दिएको छ । किनभने गुम्वाका पुजारीले राजालाई विन्ति गरेको देखाइएको छ । तसर्थ ताम्रपत्र लेखकको भाषा र मनसाय “लमिनी र लामाले विन्ति गर्नुभयो” नै रहेको देखिन्छ । तत्कालीन बौद्ध तथा हिन्दू परम्परामा गुरु तथा लामाहरूलाई आदरको रूपमा हेर्ने प्रचलन थियो नै ।

तसर्थ माथि उल्लिखित तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपालीको वि.सं.१३८५(पुण्यमल्ल)को अभिलेखमा भूतकालीन आदरार्थी क्रियाका लागि ‘कियो’ ले काम चलाएको देखिएकाले प्राचीन नेपालीको यो एउटा विशेषताको रूपमा रहेछ । साथै आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने भूतकालको ‘नु+भयो’ आदरार्थी संयुक्त क्रियाको संरचनाको चाहिँ अभाव रहेछ ।

### (ठ) अनुनासिक वर्णको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका अनुनासिक पञ्चम वर्णका लागि ‘ँ’ चिन्हको प्रयोग गर्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छ :

अनुनासिक वर्ण	अभिलेखीय अनुस्वार प्रयोग
ण	> णँडितँ (वि.सं. १३९३, पुण्यमल्ल; योगी : २०२२,पृ.७६१)
ञ	> भुँच (वि.सं. १३९३, पुण्यमल्ल; योगी : २०२२,पृ.७६१)
म	> ताँवा (वि.सं. १४१५, पृथ्वी मल्ल : योगी : २०१३,पृ.६९-७१)

### (ड) प्रेरणार्थक ‘आव’ प्रत्ययको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका प्रेरणार्थक प्रत्यय ‘आउ’ का सट्टामा प्राचीनमा ‘आव’ प्रत्यय मात्र प्रयोग गर्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छन् :

- (४४) प्रा.ने.- भाषा घाल घलाव षोस षोसाव (आ.ने.- आदेश हाल्छ हलाउँछ, खोस्छ खोसाउँछ) (वि.सं.१४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३,पृ.४९-५२)
- (४५) प्रा.ने.- भाषा ...षोस षोसाव (आ.ने.- आदेश ...खोस्छ खोसाउँछ) (वि.सं.१४१३, पृथ्वी मल्ल; योगी : २०१३,पृ.४९-५२)।
- (४६) प्रा.ने.- देवलय पुभ(ज) नायो दत्त जो अडाव (आ.ने.- देवालयको पूजाका निमित्त जस्ले लिङ्ग अडाउँछ) (वि.सं.१४१९, निरय पाल; पन्त : २०३२,पृ.८७) ।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(४४), (४५) र (४६) का वाक्यहरूमा ‘आव’ प्रत्यय लागेर प्रेरणार्थक बनेको देखिन्छ । उक्त वाक्यहरूका ‘घलाव’, ‘खोसाव’ र ‘अडाव’ क्रियाहरू ‘आव’ प्रत्यय लागेका प्रेरणार्थक हुन् । प्राचीन नेपालीमा ‘आव’ प्रत्यय लागेर मात्र प्रेरणार्थक क्रिया बनाउने चलन रहेछ ।

तसर्थ माथि उल्लिखित तथ्यहरूलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपाली भाषामा प्रेरणार्थक क्रिया ‘आव’ प्रत्ययको विशेषतामा रहेको निष्कर्षमा पुग्न सकिन्छ ।

### (ढ) निषेधार्थक ‘अ’ उपसर्गको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका भाव र असमापिका क्रिया जनाउने निषेधार्थक क्रियामा ‘न’ उपसर्गका सट्टामा प्राचीन नेपालीमा ‘अ’ उपसर्ग लागेर अकरण बन्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छ ।

- (४७) प्रा.ने.- राम भडारी अपावो हिल पानी या धूल साहुली सर्वकर विवर्जिता (आ.ने.-राम भण्डारीले नपाउने

...सबैप्रकारको कर माफ गरियो) (वि.सं.१४१९, निरय पाल, पन्त : २०३२,पृ.८७)।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(४७) को वाक्यमा भाव र असमापिका क्रिया जनाउन 'अ' उपसर्ग लागेर अकरण बनेको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ उक्त तथ्यलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपालीमा अकरण हुने 'अ' उपसर्ग विशेषताका रूपमा रहेको निष्कर्षमा पुग्न सकिन्छ।

उल्लेखित निष्कर्षका आधारमा प्राचीन नेपालीको समय वि.सं.११५० देखि वि.सं.१४५० सम्म रहेछ। यस समयमा विभिन्न भाषिक विशेषता देखिएकाले त्यही भाषिक विशेषताले प्राचीन नेपाली भाषाको काल निर्धारण गरेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ।

#### (ण) निषेधार्थक 'ना' उपसर्गको प्रयोग :

आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका भाव र असमापिका क्रिया जनाउने निषेधार्थक क्रियामा 'न' उपसर्गका सट्टामा प्राचीन नेपालीमा 'ना' उपसर्ग लागेर निषेधार्थक बन्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छ :

४८) प्रा.नै.- सर्वकर विवर्जिता कटक सेवा क्याही ना कर्नी  
(आ.नै.-सबैप्रकारका कर निषेध गरी सैनिकसेवामा केही नगर्नु। (वि.सं.१४१९, निरय पाल, पन्त : २०३२, पृ.८७)।

प्राचीन अभिलेखीय नेपालीको माथि उल्लिखित वाक्य नं.(४८) को वाक्यमा भाव र असमापिका क्रिया जनाउन 'ना' उपसर्ग लागेर निषेधार्थक बनेको देखिन्छ। तसर्थ उक्त तथ्यलाई ममन गरी विश्लेषण गर्दा प्राचीन नेपालीमा अकरण हुने 'ना' उपसर्ग विशेषताका रूपमा रहेको निष्कर्षमा पुग्न सकिन्छ। डोटीको प्राचीन नेपालीमा देखिएको 'ना' अकरण कुमाउँनीबाट आएको हो।

त्यसैले उल्लेखित निष्कर्षका आधारमा प्राचीन नेपालीको समय वि.सं.११५० देखि वि.सं.१४५० सम्म रहेछ। यस समयमा विभिन्न भाषिक विशेषता देखिएकाले त्यही भाषिक विशेषताले प्राचीन नेपाली भाषाको काल निर्धारण गरेको स्पष्ट हुन्छ।

#### (त) 'कर्' धातु 'गर्' धातुमा परिणत :

प्राचीनकालमा प्रयोग भएको 'कर्' धातु खस अंधिराज्यको विघटन सँगसँगै 'गर्' धातुमा विकास भएको निम्नअनुसार पाइयो :

#### (१) 'कर्' > 'गर्'

सब येकत्र गरी वजगाहालाई सङ्कल्प घाली  
[सबै एकत्र गरी वजगाईलाई सङ्कल्प हाली।]  
(वि.सं.१४४८, अभय मल्ल; खनाल : २०३०,पृ.१७-१८)

वि.सं. १४४८ (अभय मल्ल)भन्दा अगाडिका कुनै पनि अभिलेखमा 'कर्' धातु 'गर्' धातुमा प्रयोग भएको पाइएको छैन। तसर्थ प्राचीन तथा मध्यकाल छुट्याउने आधारका रूपमा यसलाई बुझ्न सकिन्छ।

#### निष्कर्ष :

'सिंजाली भाषा' लिखित तथा अलिखित रूपमा (वि.सं.११५० देखि १४५० सम्म)को समयावधिभित्र प्राचीनकालका रूपमा भाषा विकासका क्रममा विशिष्ट असवस्थामा रहयो। आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेको स्त्रीलिङ्गी सम्बन्धकारक, संयोजक र प्रश्नार्थक 'कि' को प्रयोग प्राचीन नेपालीमा विशिष्ट ढंगले प्रयोग गरेको पाइन्छ भने 'लाई', 'ले' र 'मा' जस्ता विभक्ति प्राचीन नेपालीका वाक्यमा प्रयोग गरेर होस् वा नगरेर पनि अर्थखुल्ने वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छन्। अचेलका नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका 'छ' र 'हो' जस्ता सहायक क्रिया प्राचीन नेपालीका वाक्यमा प्रयोग गरेर होस् वा नगरेर नै पनि अर्थ खुल्ने वाक्यको प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ। त्यस्तै सहजाती शब्दहरूको प्रयोग आदि प्राचीन नेपालीमा अत्यधिक छ। इच्छार्थक भाव जनाउन क्रियामा 'ओस्' का सट्टामा प्राचीनमा 'इ', 'इय/इया' प्रत्ययद्वारा काम चलाउने प्रचलन देखिन्छ भने आधुनिकमा वचन बुझाउन 'आ' प्रत्यय र 'हरू' निपात वा दुवै लागेर बहुवचन बुझाए पनि प्राचीन नेपालीमा वचन बुझाउन त्यस्तो गरिएको देखिदैनन्।

कर्ताकारक बुझाउन 'ले' विभक्ति लागेर बन्ने देखिन्छ तर प्राचीन नेपालीमा कर्ताकारक बुझाउन षष्ठी विभक्ति लागेर कर्ताकारकको भूमिका निभाएको देखिन्छ। आधुनिकमा मानिसलाई बुझाउने नाम बाहेक अरुमा लिङ्ग विधानले प्रभाव पाउँदैन तर प्राचीन नेपालीमा विशिष्ट लिङ्ग विधान रहेको छ। प्राचीन नेपालीमा अभूतकालको पूर्णपक्ष ज्ञात '-याको' प्रत्ययका सट्टामा अज्ञात भूत '-या' प्रत्ययको प्रयोग देखिन्छ भने अभिव्यक्तिमा सङ्क्षिप्तपन प्राचीन नेपालीको अर्को विशेषता देखिन्छ। आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेको भूतकालको 'नु+भयो' संयुक्त क्रियाको प्राचीन नेपालीमा अभाव देखिन्छ। आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका अनुनासिक पञ्चम वर्णका लागि 'ँ' चिन्हको प्रयोग

गर्ने प्रचलन भेटिन्छ भने आधुनिक नेपालीमा नै प्रयोग हुने गरेका प्रेरणार्थक प्रत्यय 'आउ' का सट्टामा प्राचीनमा 'आव' प्रत्यय मात्र प्रयोग गर्ने प्रचलन देखिन्छन् । आधुनिक नेपालीमा प्रयोग हुने गरेका भाव र असमापिका क्रिया जनाउने निषेधार्थक क्रियामा 'न' र 'अ' उपसर्ग लागेर अकरण बन्ने प्रचलन पनि देखिन्छ भने प्राचीनकालमा प्रयोग भएको 'कर्' धातु खस अधिराज्यको विघटन सँगसँगै 'गर्' धातुमा विकास भएको पाइन्छ । त्यसैले प्राचीन नेपालीको यिनै विशेषताका कारण यस समयको संक्रमणलाई ध्यानमा राखी प्राचीन काल मान्नुपर्ने देखिन्छ ।

### संकेतसूची

आ.ने - आधुनिक नेपाली  
प्रा.ने - प्राचीन नेपाली

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## ABOUT THE AUTHORS

- |                             |   |  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Dr. Jason D. Hawkes         | – | Archaeologist Cambridge<br>Archaeological Unit,<br>University of Cambridge   |
| Bryan Alvey                 | – | Archaeologist Cambridge<br>Archaeological Unit,<br>University of Cambridge   |
| Prof. Dr. Christopher Evans | – | Executive Director,<br>Cambridge Archaeological Unit<br>Worked in British Archaeology at<br>a senior level for more than twenty<br>years, fellow of the society of<br>Antiquities of London and the<br>member of field Archaeologists. |
| Tim Harward                 | – | Freelance Researcher of<br>History, Culture and Archaeology  |
| Ram Bahadur Kunwar          | – | Excavation Officer<br>DoA  |
| Dr. Ranjana Bajracharya     | – | Assistant Prof.<br>Padma Kanya Campus<br>Dillibazar  |
| Sushila Manandhar (Fischer) | – | Research Scholar<br>CNAC, Kirtipur   |
| Dr. Bhaweshor Pangeni       | – | Research Scholar,<br>T.U. Department of History<br>Kirtipur, Kathmandu   |
| Dr. Bidur Chalise           | – | Research Scholar   |