

Bernhard Kölver and Hemrāj Śākya

Documents from
the Rudravarna-Mahāvihāra,
Pāṭan

1. Sales and Mortgages

1985

[redacted] Verlag · Sankt Augustin

NEPALICA

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
BERNHARD KÖLVER UND SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

1.

DOCUMENTS FROM THE RUDRAVARṆA-MAHĀVIHĀRA, PĀṬAN
1. SALES AND MORTGAGES

Bernhard Kölver and Hemrāj Śākya

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Introduction · Edition · Translation

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KIN
S
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CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Documents from the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra, Pāṭan:
introd., ed., transl. / Bernhard Kölver and
Hemraj Śākya. – Sankt Augustin : VGH-
Wissenschaftsverlag

NE: Kölver, Bernhard [Hrsg.]

1. Sales and mortgages. – 1985.
(Nepalica ; H. 1)
ISBN 3-88280-023-2

NE: GT

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Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, Sankt Augustin 2.

Herstellung: Hans Richarz Publikations-Service, Sankt Augustin
Printed in Germany.



Seal of King Siddhinarasiṃhamalla, N.S. 768



The śrīmat-śrī-śrī-Kvācapāla-Bhaṭṭāraka of Uku Bāhāḥ, Pāṭan

Preface

In 1980–81, the Patan Monastery nowadays called Uku Bāhāḥ in Newari, and Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra in Sanskrit, was renovated from top to bottom, and it was prior to this occasion that an earthen jar (*capilā*) was found which upon examination proved to contain a number of old documents relating to possessions of land. The jar stood either in the ante-room to the *mū āgam* or in the *mū āgam* itself, which is located immediately above the room that houses the main deity of the monastery, the Guardian of the Saṃgha (*śrīmat-śrī-śrī-kuvācapāla-bhaṭṭāraka*). This second storey consists of two rooms: one reserved to a secret deity that can be worshipped only by the eldest member of the *saṃgha*, who is the sole person allowed to enter the room, and an ante-room in principle accessible to all *saṃgha* members.

All matters relating to this deity are not disclosed to outsiders, as a matter of principle: hence, perhaps, the conflicting accounts as to the circumstances of the find. The place itself is somewhat unexpected. It is the treasure room (*bhaṇḍār koṭhā*) where records of monastery possessions actually belong. Perhaps some past treasurer (*bhani āju*) examined all the records entrusted to his care, and sorted out what was no longer valid. If so, the dates of the documents would suggest this must have happened towards the end of Malla, or during the early years of Śāha rule.

When found, the entire collection comprised 140 documents, including fragments. They were first roughly sorted as to age, and this preliminary division showed the dates to be as follows:

N.S. 100–199	: 23
N.S. 200–299	: 32
N.S. 300–399	: 17
N.S. 400–499	: 14
N.S. 500–599	: 2
N.S. 600–699	: 2
N.S. 700–799	: 17
N.S. 800–899	: 21
fragments	: 12

A first selection was published by one of the present writers in 1981. Since then, a number of documents has for various reasons grown inaccessible.

The bulk of the remainder is included in the present volume, viz., everything relating to sales and mortgages, plus records of other transactions obviously modelled upon them. Records printed in the first publication but not accessible at the time of writing are added as an appendix, where we have refrained from emendations and conjectures: for such as affect the text of the formulas are obvious, and others would not yet seem warranted.

This leaves 12 documents accessible but omitted from the present volume. They consist of one receipt and 11 donations, largely written in Newari. Donations are excluded because we understand them but imperfectly, and an eventual translation will have to draw heavily upon materials from sources outside the Rudravarṇa collection.

With these exceptions, then, we are publishing the collection in its entirety, in spite of an undeniable uniformity in content. Indeed it is this very uniformity which in itself is not without its interest, seeing it shows certain legal transactions to have remained essentially stable over long centuries, which argues for administrative and legal continuity.

Both in our introduction and in a few previous papers we have touched upon issues of legal, administrative, and economic history raised by the present collection. We have done this chiefly because other materials concerning these fields are none too plentiful. We are fully aware of the fact that the primary use of these pages is to show that certain questions can be asked. The number of data and documents is not really sufficient for the results to do anything but point to the direction where answers are to be sought. At the present time, however, documents similar though younger are still often found. If they were collected and used, not only for purposes of political history, they would afford insights into the working of the administration and economy of a mediaeval Hindu state equalled, perhaps, only by the conclusions to be drawn from the study of South Indian copper-plate grants.

If we dwell at some length upon intricacies of transactions involving land, then this is also because of the crucial importance Marxist economic and social theory has attached to the problem of landed property. Its alleged absence, in private hands, is considered 'the key to the entire Orient; it is the key to its history, both political and religious'. Thus Engels in his reply to a letter from Marx that expressed the same view (June 6, 1853). And references to Asiatic modes of production continuously revert to the topic. We do not at present propose to join in this discussion; we do, however, want to point out the Nepalese documents show facts to have been by no means as clear-cut as one is led to suppose. The theory has provided a framework; its elaborations, if sweeping at times, have also proved stimulating. Now we have the chance to eventually examine the base it rests upon. Hence the protracted deliberations on the meaning of terms, the significance of rights, the nature of taxes and levies will perhaps have their use even if they often remain inconclusive. Many of the factual problems now obscure can be solved by an examination of further materials, such as can still be found in great profusion. Collections of pertinent facts from a Hindu kingdom some may think a useful corollary to deliberations on the Nature of Asian Modes of Production.

In our attempt to connect facts together, we have chiefly concentrated on older records. This is because supplementary materials are available for more recent times, while it would be sheer luck if a similar collection were to be found to assist in the elucidation of earlier centuries.

One technical point of importance. The present edition is based, not upon the originals, but upon two nearly identical *sets of photographs*, taken on two different occasions. Anyone familiar with photographs of palm leaves will realize their insufficiencies, especially when manuscripts are old and worn. The ensuing deficiencies, which will doubtless have occasioned a number of questionable or erroneous readings, are enhanced by the shape of the originals, which is anything but fortunate for purposes of photography: most of them are very long and narrow, which means an exposure well-focussed upon the middle will tend to be blurred at both sides. These shortcomings, and the mistakes resulting from them, could not be avoided.

Had it not been for the untiring efforts of Mr. Bishnu Prasad Shreshtha, this book would not have been written: it was he who bridged the gap between two authors who understand each other's language all too little, and who eased our discussions by many felicitous phrases. Mr Mahes Raj Pant both in Kathmandu and during his stay in Kiel generously gave of his time and

his knowledge and thus saved us from many pit falls. Dr Niels Gutschow drew the plans which have assisted us in getting a clearer picture of the topography of Uku Bāhāḥ and its surroundings; he and Mr Balaram Chitrakar took the photographs which accompany the volume. All of them have put us under a great obligation not adequately expressed by words of thanks. And a great debt of gratitude we owe to the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) for their continued support of the Nepal Research Programme and our work.

Kathmandu, March 6, 1983

Bernhard Kölver
Hemrāj Śākya

NB. For the Conversion of Nepāl Samvat dates,
please note:

N.S. 1, kārttika śukla 1 = Oct. 20, 879 A.D.

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N.S. 1, kārṭtika śukla 1 = Oct. 20, 879 A.D.

1. Uku Bāhāḥ

1.1. Names and Early History

The present Newari name of the monastery that has preserved the documents here published is derived from what in deeds is *vaṃkuli* or *vaṃku vāhāra*, and in general parlance either *omkuli* or *uku bāhāḥ*. This means 'Southern-Eastern Monastery', and at first sight looks like a convenient vernacular phrase to replace a long-winded Sanskrit designation. In all probability, it will have been more than that. For it seems hardly conceivable that in order to describe itself in official documents, the monastery would have used what was nothing but a popular term.

Place names of this type of course contain an implicit reference to some centre. In the case of Pāṭan this would doubtless be the region of the Darbār Square. And the reference most probably is to secular rather than religious authority, i. e. to the Royal Court. It is for a much later date (Śrīnivāsamalla) that Wright's chronicle actually attests to government imposing an overall pattern onto Pāṭan monasteries. Directional names might indicate this type of concurrence of the State and Buddhist monasteries was practised of old.

The early history of Uku Bāhāḥ is obscure. The Licchavi caitya in its chief courtyard testifies to an early foundation, and local tradition is more precise: it identifies the Bāhāḥ with the *Śivadeva-vihāra* of Licchavi inscriptions¹. Their texts, however, contain no data about its location. The *vaṃsāvali* the translation of which was published by Wright contains the following account:

Rudra-dēva Chhētṛī Rājā [...] had after a brief reign abdicated in favour of his son Mitra-dēva, and occupied himself in acquiring religious merit [...] After this he repaired the old Ōnkulī Bihār, built by Rājā Siva-dēva-barmā, and after performing the chūrā-karma he lived in it as a bandya [...] (p. 166).

In another list of twelve monasteries (Wright p. 234), this is repeated as 'Ōnkulī Rudrabarn, built by Sivadeva-barmā.' And a similar version must have been current towards the end of the 17th century, when the bāhāḥ was extensively renovated: the N. S. 805 inscription of the caitya in the Southern courtyard speaks of

śrī-3-rudradeva-saṃskārīta-mahāvihāre "in the Grand Monastery embellished/renovated by the Thrice Ven. Rudradeva"².

With the documents, one treads on safer ground, but it is not clear how their data are to be joined to those of the chronicle. The Bāhāḥ goes by the Sanskrit name of *śrī-Śivadeva-saṃskārīta-śrī-Rudravarma-mahāvihāra*, i. e. the Ven. Rudravarma Grand Monastery, embellished/renovated by the Ven. Śivadeva.

One cannot with absolute certainty determine the persons these names refer to. In Appendix III, §3 we have discussed the *śrī-Udayalakṣmī-Harṣākaragupta-mahāvihāra*, which may bear its name in honour of a prominent donor named Harṣākaragupta, who actually occurs in a document from N.S. 193. This procedure of naming a monastery was familiar to Pali Buddhism: the Cūlavamsa quotes several instances³, the most interesting of which, because of its close parallels to Nepalese practice, is the following:

He (King Kassapa) restored the Issarasamaṇārāma so that it was larger than the former ground, bought villages for its support, and granted them to it. He had two daughters, Bodhi and Uppalavaṇṇā; he gave their names and his own to this vihāra. (39.10f.; Geiger's translation)⁴.

In elucidation of this passage, Geiger refers to a Sri Lankā inscription which mentions a vihāra called Isurameṇu-Bo-Upalvan-Kasubgiri-vihāra. The style of naming, one notices, is not dissimilar from the present one, down to the precedence of female names. And if the origin of the old designation of Uku Bāhāḥ followed the same style, it is tempting to connect the name with an individual called Rudravarman who repeatedly occurs in the older deeds (from N. S. 185 onwards) – and this identification would at the same time explain why documents mentioning him as purchaser are found in the present collection: the lands would have formed part of his endowment.

As to Śivadeva, the name of the vihāra tells us he must have been later than Rudravarman. There seems to be no reason not to identify him with the king of that name, who was born in N. S. 177 and died in N. S. 243⁵. There was at least one more vihāra which also enjoyed his favour and assumed his name. This is the *śrī-mānīdharajīva-mahāvihāra* of N.S. 273 (No. 10).

The similarity in names between the traditional account of the vihāra's origins and the second stage which is actually substantiated by the deeds is no doubt striking. Yet the Cūlavamsa notice would warn us against taking the second stage as an account of the foundation of Uku Bāhāḥ: there, it was a renovation which constituted sufficient grounds for re-naming a monastery (though its old name continued to survive as part of the new one).

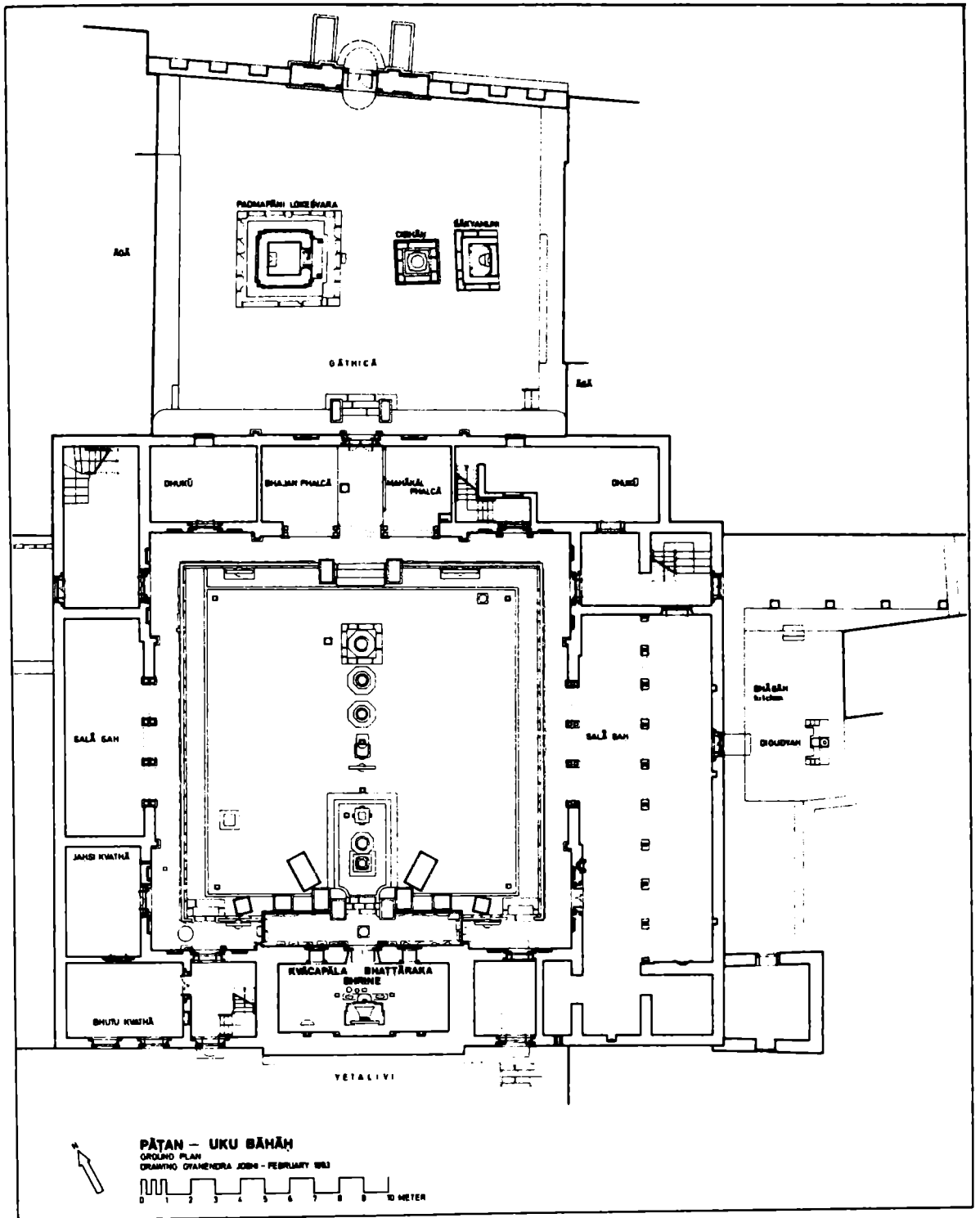
Legends and traditions about the origins of the monastery and about its early donors were obscured by time: the present-day Sanskrit name, Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra, very much looks like an adaptation of the earlier Rudravarma^o caused by models like the Hiranyavarṇa-Mahāvihāra.

1.2. Topography and Topographical Terminology

For the topography of Uku Bāhāḥ, the reader is referred to the attached ground plan based upon measurements taken in Spring, 1983.

The heart of the monastery is its Main Courtyard (*mū cvah*, i. e. *mūlcok*) adorned with numerous shrines and sanctums, some of which do not have a significance strictly religious and immediately pertinent to the Buddhist creed. The Main Courtyard primarily is the seat of the Chief Deity, in Newari usually called the *kvāpādyo* (*kvāhpāḥdyah*); he is the *śrī-3-kvācapāla*- (or: *kvāsapāla*-) *bhaṭṭāraka*- of our documents. His shrine occupies the centre of the southern row of houses. Most of the subsidiary sanctums face this deity, forming a straight line from north to south which cuts the courtyard into two equal halves. On account of its age, the small Licchavi caitya perhaps is the most interesting among them; and if it is correct to take the caitya to presuppose the Kvācapāla shrine, then this configuration would testify to a considerable age of the present arrangement.

Rank and status of this southern row of houses is further strengthened by the presence of the *mū āgam*, which is found right on top of the Kvācapāla, in the second storey. This is the seat of the chief Tantric deity of the Order, who is worshipped by the Chief Elder (the *thapā ājū*)



alone. Its cult is attended by the greatest secrecy: 'it should not be seen except by two eyes, not even by three'.

The remaining buildings surrounding the main courtyard are nowadays all communal property of the *bāhāḥ* and serve various functions in the yearly cycle of feasts and rituals. This was not always the case: there are a few deeds which show the Order buying houses adjoining the chief shrine (see below, No. 32 ff.). A glance at the ground plan shows its eastern wing was extended in depth, probably because the space available was too small for certain functions. When the space available round the central courtyard is not sufficient, rooms can be erected outside the precincts. This is possible, e. g., for halls (*digi*) which serve for meetings and feasts of the *saṃgha*.

Two more courts form part of the monastery, one to the north, and the other one to the south of the main group of houses. Their buildings usually are private possessions of *saṃgha* members, though they can be converted to religious uses. The Northern Courtyard thus has two more *āgaṃchems* whose deities and cults seem unrelated to the Central one, and who pertain, not to the entire Order, but to groups within it. Furthermore, the Northern Court shows three shrines: a *caitya* (*cibhāḥ*) and two shrines, sacred to Padmapāṇi-Lokeśvara⁶ and to Śākyamuni. In contradistinction to most of the appurtenances of the Central Court, their location does not seem to stem from a congruent pattern: it neither points to the central shrine nor, apparently, to any of the buildings of the North Court itself.

The South Court (*yetāliṃ*) is dominated by its large *caitya*, the renovation of which occasioned an inscription from N.S. 805⁷. The houses surrounding it do not form connected rows. Plots in this area could belong to the monastery, i. e. to its chief Deity.

This, then, is the scene for many of the deeds here published, and it is from this background that an attempt to understand the topographical terminology of deeds will have to depart. The following notes are a first approximation only, and will no doubt have to be occasionally modified: supplementary materials, if and when they become available, will allow us to be more precise.

Topographical Terminology

The groups of houses that a monastery consisted of, usually forming a hollow square, in older times went by the name of *grhamaṇḍala*, circle of houses. Later documents have the word *cākal-* instead. Within such courtyards, houses were named by directions: *yantāgrha* 'the North house' (846), *yukolicchem* 'the South-West house' (213). It is not clear how the several houses standing in row were kept apart; there was, of course, the reference to their possessor. Partitions were at times effected by means of walls cutting through the middle of houses, parallel to the house front. This resulted in an 'inner house', *duṇḍugrha*, which opened onto the courtyard. The corresponding term for 'outer house' apparently is *lipacchem*, i. e. 'back house' (N. S. 821). This, then, is another application of the principle which we found in the name of the *vihāra* itself: a locality is named by referring it to a centre.

On the outside, a block usually gave onto roads, streets, or lanes. Among names for such adjoining units, *maṅgudī-*, *°tī-*, *°tyā-* is not familiar. It seems to have been rather narrow and possibly was, not a lane, but a drain of some sort.

Some monasteries have additional courtyards. In contrast to main courts, these often are poorly endowed with religious buildings. Some of these courtyards went by the name of *liṃ*, others

were called *nani*; apparently, the former usually was smaller than the latter. Houses surrounding it were called *livicchem*, and it is the *livi* rather than the *nani* which often figures in older designations of a person's residence and antecedents: N.N. *-livi-kutumva-ja* is quite common and almost looks as if meant to refer to status.

The land a house stood upon was its *prṣṭhabhāga-*, which in itself was subject to taxation (N. S. 213). If this plot was covered by the remains or ruins of an old house, it went by the name of *pātāla*.

When describing boundaries, landmarks are occasionally resorted to: rivers or rivulets; slopes, apparently, and terraced fields. By the latter pair of terms, we have translated the words *vrapāta-* (N. S. 213); i. e. Skt. *prapāta-*, and *tho dyam* prefixed by the name of a direction: N. S. 736, 772, 777. These translations are of course anything but certain. – A *khilmaka-/khilamka-* M. R. Pant thinks is a 'drain for excrements', formed from new. *khī* 'excrements', and in analogy to *tilmaka-*. – There are other expressions the meanings of which we have not been able to determine: such are the *tā* fields or gardens which occur from N. S. 628 onwards. It will take some time until the terminology of landed property is understood with the necessary precision.

An uncertainty of a different order consists of the inflectional case most frequently used in the description of plots. This is the ablative: *pūrvvataḥ*, *dakṣiṇataḥ* etc. We have translated these by 'east of', 'south of' etc., because by this translation we can account for an oddity in the formula. Enumerations of directions, as everybody knows, usually start with the east and then follow the course of the sun. Deeds sometimes begin with *pūrvvataḥ*, in other instances with *paścimataḥ*. With the translation we have chosen, the reason for this alternation is clear. Taken in the sense of 'east of', *pūrvvataḥ* indicates the *western* boundary of the plot in question, i. e. the opposite of what by the traditional sequence of directions was to be the starting point. By beginning with *paścimataḥ*, matters were rectified, though the word was, as it were, the wrong one. On the other hand, a sequence starting with *pūrvvataḥ* would depart from words rather than facts.

There is one instance, though, where this translation leads to an unsatisfactory result. This is N. S. 213 where a house named *yukolicchem* 'North-West House' is said to be *yotāmcchem grḥasyaḥ (!) paścimataḥ* 'west of West House'. If names of houses have any reference to their location – and we are sure they do as a rule – this does not make sense. Hence we have emended *yotāmcchem* to **yamtācchem* 'North House' – but we are aware the description could stand if *paścimataḥ* would be rendered by (from the west, i. e.) east of'. –

To return to Uku Bāhāḥ and its topography. There is a series of transactions which gives us a certain idea of how the religious possessions of a monastery could be extended. These are the exchanges dating from N. S. 807–808; in view of their recent date, it seems justified to explain them by reference to the ground floor plan. The section covered by the series is the wing immediately west of the Main Shrine. It is now property of the Bāhāḥ: the room immediately adjoining the sanctuary holds the staircase which leads up to the *mū āgam* and its anteroom; west of that we find a largish room serving as a kitchen for feasts.

The documents show part of the long-winded process how these rooms were acquired for, or rather by, the Deity. In itself it is interesting to note they had been private property during the latter part of the 17th century: one rather doubts whether they always were, and wonders why and how, even with the general deterioration preceding Śrīnivāsamalla's rule, the God parted with them.

On śrāvaṇa śu di 11, in N. S. 807, there is one Punacandraju Śākyavaṃsa who, by a process of

exchange, obtains a house or plot of 34 cubits from his brother. In all probability, this was the brother's share in an inheritance, the original plot having been twice as large, and the other half having fallen to Punacandra himself. For on the next day there is Punacandra giving, again by way of an exchange, an area of 68 cubits, located in the same place, to śrī-3-Kvāsapāla-Bhaṭṭaraka, the entire plot situated west of the house of the God. A few months later (N. S. 808/2), the God acquires what is called the *mūlacchem* ('Chief house?'), located in the north-west corner of the same courtyard: this time the former possessor is one Devaju who probably is identical with a man called Cch(v)ākadevaju who appeared as the proprietor of the plot adjoining what was Punacandra's land. By that time, the God had brought almost the entire western wing into his possession. – Now, the Lokeśvara shrine in the Northern Courtyard dates from N. S. 801; the year N. S. 805 had seen the reconstruction of the *caitya* in the South Courtyard – financed by a member of the *saṃgha*, to be sure; still, both events so closely following upon each other testify to a period of prosperity which the God apparently shared. And Uku Bāhāḥ must have enjoyed a good reputation: Wright's chronicle has a note about King Yoganarendramalla giving 'a copy of the Kāranda-Byūha, containing the history of Machchhīndranātha, written in gold letters, to Dharmarāj Pandit of Ōnkulī Bihār, who recited this Purān in Mani-mandapa' (p. 247). – Still, we see it took some time until the sweeping improvements introduced by Śrīnivāsamalla into the body politic had reached the level of an individual monastery.

It may not be out of place to add a few remarks about possessions of a bāhāḥ, and the way these are managed today. The following account is based on Uku Bāhāḥ only.

1.3. Possessions of the Bāhāḥ and their Administration

The 32 branch monasteries which formally pertain to Uku Bāhāḥ testify to its ancient standing: this is the highest number of *bahiḥs* for any monastery in the Kathmandu Valley. Endowments are said to have corresponded to its importance, though details about former possessions are no longer available, except for the information to be gathered from collections such as the present one.

Landed property of a *bāhāḥ* may be said to consist of two categories, possessions of the *saṃgha* and possessions of individual members or families. It is chiefly the former that we will be concerned with. The documents, incidentally, show no trace of the emergence of private property in a *bāhāḥ* or parts of it: from the date of the earliest specimen onwards, private possession apparently was a matter of course. This was essentially subject to the same laws and customs which govern private property in general, including, e. g., modes of inheritance – which accounts for possessions of females, a mother's rôle as guardian of minors, etc. In theory, there seems to be one important exception to this general rule, which concerns the rights of pre-emption. If a member of the *saṃgha* wants to sell a house within the bāhāḥ's precincts, this first has to be offered to the Order, then to its individual members, and only when no buyer is found among them, the vendor is permitted to seek a purchaser from outside: he must, however, not come from below the Śākya rank. Even when he has assumed possession, he can on no account become a member of the Uku Bāhāḥ Saṃgha, but will continue to belong to the

order he was born into. This state of things looks like an off-shoot from the Hindu rule which gives neighbours a voice in sales of landed property⁸. The documents themselves show this injunction was by no means invariably adhered to.

Land holdings of Uku Bāhāḥ have now dwindled to some 40 *ropaṇis*. This loss is attributed to a number of causes: confiscations, particularly heavy during the first part of the 19th century, and what might be called defective management: upon applications from tenants, *guthi* holdings are said to have repeatedly been converted into private *raikar* lands – a procedure obviously in the interests of the state, since the latter would yield revenue while the former did not. This of course raises the problem of land records kept by government. Lands are often tilled by tenants; at times, control was apparently more than lax, with *guthi* members occasionally not acquainting themselves with outlying lands nor caring for their proper administration. Exact details would reveal much about the nature of adverse possession.

Administration of *bāhāḥ* property goes (and, apparently, went) by the principle of seniority. The head of the *saṃgha* is its oldest member, called *mahāsthavira* or *sthavirapāda* (new. *thapāju* or *thapā-āju*). He stands first among the Group of Ten, the *daśajananāyaka* (*samūha*) of the deeds; their Newari name is *jhimha āju*. They again hold office by virtue of seniority. It is this Group of Ten which has the decisive voice in all matters pertaining to the *vihāra*. Their chief and most important duties are, of course, ritual in nature. Among the Ten, the Five Elders (*pañcasthavira-*, new. *paitham*) command the highest respect; there are special ceremonies to be performed once a member of the *saṃgha* enters into this group. – Next in line there is a *bhani āju*, who serves as treasurer: the keys of the *bhaṇḍār kothā*, i. e. the treasury, are in his keeping, which means he is responsible for what might be termed the moveable property of the *saṃgha*: the ritual utensils, the valuables, the documents recording possessions, etc. Then comes the *bisa āju* or, more commonly, *bisāju*, whose duties are ‘to weigh, measure, and give’: he will issue the *ājus* and the remaining members with the items necessary for performing the manifold rituals, and he is expected to know the quantities traditionally to be dispensed. Hence, his Newari name is taken to be derived from skt. *viśeṣa* in the sense of ‘differentiation, distinction’. It is he, too who manages the economic affairs of the *bāhāḥ* from day to day: normal affairs are settled by him at his own discretion; in matters other than purely routine, he has to seek instruction from his elders. This means administrative capabilities do not enter into the choice of the *saṃgha*’s chief administrator, and the system implies an incumbent usually comes to the *bisāju* office fairly late in life and rarely holds it for a very long time. If he should feel unequal to the tasks of his office, the holder may refuse the post or resign from it (in which case he will not move on into the *daśajananāyaka* group but lives, as it were, outside the hierarchy); more usually, he will seek assistance from his sons.

The *bisa āju* is followed by the *betāju* who serves as the *upadhyāya* of the monastery and is, as it were, entrusted with safeguarding ritual continuity. For this end, he has access to the manuscripts that deal with the various *pūjās*. It is he e. g., who will guide a new *thapā āju* in performing the daily worship of the *mū āgam* Deity in case the new incumbent should desire such help rather than consult the manuscripts himself. Even in this case, the *betāju* will direct his elder colleague from outside the *āgam* door: he will not be allowed inside.

The *betāju*, incidentally, does not serve as *purohita*: this function falls to another member of the *saṃgha* who must have been initiated as a *vajracārya*. He bears the title of *guru purohita*. The performance of *homās*, e. g., is his task: a *kuṇḍa* or *yajñasālā* is located directly in front of the śrī-3-Kvācapāla-Bhaṭṭāraka.

The Elders so far enumerated stand first in the Circle of Forty, *pīmbha cāka*, something like the Grand Council, which has to be convoked once per year for a feast, and may be assembled at any time when the Ten Elders deem it desirable to put a matter before them. The younger members of this council do not on their part have the right to demand an assembly or to take a decision out of the elders' hands.

These, then, are the people who are in charge of the Order, and who manage its possessions. Business is distributed between groups in various ways. The documents show it is the Group of Ten which was empowered to deal with permanent possessions of a monastery. Other transactions are settled by the larger group⁹. Again, there are purposes and functions, such as certain *pūjās* regularly due on fixed days of the month, which will be performed by *guthis* the members of which do not necessarily belong to the Group of Forty¹⁰.

Possessions of *guthis* within Uku Bāhāḥ are not subjected to the hierarchy outlined above. It rather is the *guthi* itself which manages them, according to their own rules, and the leaders of the *bāhāḥ*, including the *betāju*, have no voice in *guthi* affairs by virtue of their office. Similarly, the group governing the Chief Bāhāḥ has no right to interfere with the management of the property of any of its branches: the ties between them are purely ritual.

Notes

- 1) Bhagvanlāl Indrajī No.13 = Gnoli LXXIII = Vajrācārya No.134, line 11 f. *śrī-śivadeva-vihāre caturdiś-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghāy=āsmābhir=atisṛṣṭaḥ* '... is presented by us to the Order of Ven. Monks from the Four Regions (living) in śrī-Śivadeva-vihāra'. The same phrase in the inscription Lévi XX = Gnoli LXXIV = Vajrācārya 133.
- 2) Cf. H. Śākya and T. R. Vaidya: *Mediaeval Nepal (colophons and inscriptions)*. Kathmandu 1970, No. 45, line 21 (p. 164).
- 3) Cf. *Cūlavāṃsa*, being the more recent part of the *Mahāvāṃsa*.. Ed. W. Geiger. London ²1980: 42.24 (Geiger p. 50); 42.64 (Geiger p. 53), and the passage quoted in the next note.
- 4) *Cūlavāṃsa* (see Note 3) 39.10 f.
*Issarasamaṇārāmaṃ kāretvā pubbavatthuto
adhikam bhogagāme ca kiṇitvā tassa dāpayi.
Bodhī Uppalavaṇṇā ca tass' āsum dūhitā duve
vihārass' assa kāresi nāmaṃ tāsam ca attano.*
For the translation, see: *Cūlavāṃsa*, being the more recent part the *Mahāvāṃsa*. Transl. by W. Geiger and from the German into English by C. M. Rickmers. Pt. 1. Colombo 1953, p. 43.
- 5) M. S. Slusser: *Nepal Mandala*. Vol. 1, Princeton 1982, p. 398.
- 6) The inscription is published in H. Śākya and T. R. Vaidya (see Note 2), pp. 155 ff.
- 7) Published by H. Śākya and T. R. Vaidya (see Note 2), pp. 161 ff.
- 8) Cf. the following verse, said to be Kātyāyana's:
*jñātyādīn ananujñāpya samīpasthān aninditān |
krayavikrayadharmo 'pi bhūmer nāstīti nirṇayaḥ ||*
'it is decreed that, unless permission of relatives etc. was obtained, who are in the vicinity and are blameless, there positively is no proper way to buy and sell land.' – The text is quoted from the *Dharmakośa* (1.2, p. 898), which has taken it from the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*.
- 9) An instance of this is the so-called *depāmūlī bhvāy*, the 'Feast (occasioned by) the Seals of the Guardians of the Deity'. It is the duty of initiated members of the *saṃgha* to guard the room housing the possessions of the deity. They fulfil it by taking turns, forming groups of six, who spend the night

either in the Central Courtyard or, more recently, south of it. Each of them is equipped with a small stick, called *thingacā*, to ward off thieves. Any full-fledged member of the *samgha* has to perform this duty; nowadays, it comes to him about six times per year. Upon each night completed, he is issued with a clay impression of a seal of the monastery. Upon *caitra śukla dvādāśī*, these impressions have to be produced before the Group of Forty, when they will be counted. A person found short has to pay a certain fine, Rs. 2/- nowadays. The sum collected is then spent in feasting.

- 10) Even nowadays, Uku Bāhāḥ still is said to possess some 40–50 *ropāṇis* of land for such purposes, the number of *guthis* still existing being around ten.

2. Description of the Documents

2.1. Introductory

The Rudravarṇa documents contain some of the earliest palm-leaf sources on the history of the Kathmandu Valley which have so far come to light: their earliest piece was written just one thousand years ago. The collection would thus be of considerable interest by virtue of its age alone. As to the conclusions it allows about administrative and legal practice in Early Mediaeval Nepal, there is no body of source materials to equal it. As for palaeography, its importance is surpassed only by the two most comprehensive manuscript collections in Kathmandu, those held by National Archives and by the Keshar Library. And last not least, Uku Bāhāḥ is providing us with the earliest specimen of Newari known until now.

As can be gathered from our attempts to cope with them, these few Newari notes present problems of their own. This is not only because the language has changed, but also because much of the old administrative and legal terminology has been forgotten. No doubt the donations, written in Newari interspersed with Sanskrit, will add a good deal to our knowledge once they are properly understood. This is not yet the case, and for this reason our translation of such passages remains tentative and incomplete.

The circumstances of the discovery of the collection have been sketched in the Preface. We much regret that only about half of the original find was available for publication.

2.2. General Shape and Appearance

Though covering a span of nearly seven centuries and a half, the deeds are remarkably uniform in character. They consist of narrow, oblong strips of palm-leaf, up to 127 cm in length and 6 cm in width¹: this is not counting the part underneath their seal. Distribution of letters on the palm leaf is usually effected with great care: almost all of them have lines equal in length, except for the last line, when the formula had come to its end. When there are just a few *akṣaras* left over, the text will occasionally run on into the right margin. Apparently, a scribe made a rough calculation of the length and width he needed, then wrote the text, and after completing it cut the right-hand side to size. The sole bad error of judgement is N. S. 845, the text of which was nowhere near completion when the bottom line was filled: hence, the scribe had to add a second 'column'.

It was not possible, then, to use the reverse side of palm leaves. And indeed, they are usually left blank, except for occasional codicils or for a brief note giving the name of a plot and obviously meant to assist in the rapid identification of a document. For deeds are invariably preserved in the shape of scrolls, the palm leaves being rolled by turning the right side over the left, so as to protect both seal and writing².

The standard text is invariably completed on the obverse side, the contents of which were authorized by means of a seal. Codicils, then, did not start out as parts of the original 'formula' – a conclusion corroborated by the fact that they lack a constant wording. Yet, certain topics keep recurring: receipt formulas are being added, or explanations why documentary proof of possession could not be produced. Innovations such as these point to conceptual developments or changes in administrative practice.

The left margin of intact documents is rolled up and stitched together by a palm-leaf string. This is tied into a knot, and secured by a seal³. There is thus a part of the palm leaf hidden from view, which may add up to one fourth to total length. Given the technical means at our disposal, it was impossible to get at the text of this part without endangering seals; hence, there are not many specimens of such 'obscured texts' at our disposal.

2.3. State of the Manuscripts

Considering their age, the deeds are remarkably well preserved. As is but natural, the script is sometimes rubbed off, making the letters hard to identify. Occasionally, a palm-leaf is torn into a number of vertical fragments – a concomitant of the usual method of storage where scrolls will break when flattened under pressure. The left part, emburdened by the weight of the clay seal, is particularly prone to such damage.

The palm leaves themselves are of varying degrees of thickness. On the whole, the thicker type does not wear so well: it tends to become brittle, and breaks more easily. Very thin palm leaves sometimes are remarkably supple, resembling the style familiar from many Maithilî manuscripts.

2.4. Scripts

A full assessment of the scripts will demand a study of its own. Our impression is their styles do not essentially differ from contemporary literary works: except for occasional abbreviations, we have found no traces that would point to distinct chancery usage, in spite of idiosyncrasies which certain scribes are fond of.

A few details seem worthy of note. A device occurring with great frequency is the short oblique stroke below the line, resembling a *virāma*, which is used to separate words or phrases from each other. For the symbol resembling the numeral "1", which opens all but the very oldest documents, and for the combination of an *anusvāra*- with a '*virāma*-' to form a shape that much resembles the Bengali *m̐* in words like *aṃsa* etc., cf. the Remarks on Transliteration, p. 27 below. The end of a deed is often marked by a double *daṇḍa*-, which may be repeated once or twice, with a sign like a zero or the numeral "1000" sometimes intervening. This is not standard procedure, though – in spite of the fact that it would have been eminently desirable at least since the time when receipt formulas had come to be added: the way many documents stand, a fraudulent addition of the receipt clause was not precluded. –

Especially in earlier documents, some *akṣaras* are unfamiliar in shape. We have marked such cases by the abbreviation *pal.*, occurring in the footnotes.

2.5. Scribes

In contradistinction to the practice of other kingdoms of Mediaeval Nepal, – and, by and large, later times – scribes are not mentioned either by caste or by personal name. At times, however, there were scribes employed over long periods: 808/2, 815, 83[4], 846 show the same markedly individual hand; 821, 864, 866 seem to have been written by the same scribe; so, apparently, were 273/1 and 289. All this would speak for a certain professional status in the sense that for a certain region, a particular type of transaction would be normally dealt with by one of a restricted group of individuals. Of course the *kāyasthas* from Bhaktapur spring to mind as an analogous case. Again, if there was such specialisation for transactions concerning lands, it seems likely the same people will also have dealt with other legal matters.

2.6. Books of Precedents

At times, scribes were apparently assisted by referring to books of formulas and precedents, of the type known through the Kashmirian Lokaprakāśa, or the Lekhapaddhati. Perhaps the clearest instance of this is the introduction of the words *nāmnah* following the vendor's, *nāmnā* following the purchaser's name, or *nāma* following the name of the field. The old practice, which just inserted the respective names in the appropriate case, was perfectly satisfactory; the expansion adds nothing. It is, however, a perfectly conceivable relic of a phrase like *amukanāmnah* etc., which would make good sense in an abstract presentation of the formula, and which scribes handled in a mechanical fashion. The numerous derivations in *-ka* formed from names may have the same origin⁴. If this line of reasoning is not wholly deceptive, it would imply that collections of precedents will have existed in Nepal at some time or other.

2.7. Seals

Upon completion of the text, a deed recording a sale, mortgage, or donation of an immovable was authorized by having it sealed. The imprints are made in a lump of grey clay affixed to the knot that ties the hidden part. They are often well preserved, and very clear.

In the oldest documents, the seal bears the name of the person who disposed of a right of his. At some time after N. S. 289, but prior to N.S. 326, they were replaced by seals which at first uniformly read *śrīh.* or [*siddham*] *śrīh.* Presumably, they were issued by some governmental agency, possibly on district (*sthāna*-) level, and were meant to certify the change had been entered into cadastral lists. In the course of time, these seals developed into highly elaborate artefacts which testify to an advanced stage in the cutter's art (see *frontispiece*).

Authorizations of deeds were issued in spite of obvious imperfections, and even in the case of deviations from accepted procedure both numerous and grave: cf. N.S. 821, 864, 866. The keeper of the seal, then, either must have had little knowledge of the proper formula, or he enjoyed considerable discretionary powers.

The lawyers' warning against imperfect documents⁶ did not carry much weight; of course, their injunctions will have been chiefly aimed at private documents, and it seems arguable whether a deed authenticated by a royal seal would still be taken as *jānapada*-.

A formalized description of seals will not be attempted on the basis of the few specimens by chance preserved in the present collection.

2.8. Covert Texts underneath Seals

The part of the palm leaf which normally is inaccessible at times just contained general benedictory formulas⁷. In other instances, the subject matter of the document is defined in short. This can range from a mere remark (*krayapatram idam* N. S. 294) to a synopsis of the contents of the overt text which lacks few of its essentials (see N. S. 262). This synopsis could be called *paribhāṣā* (N. S. 251).

Since it was the seals that legalized the transaction, the *précis* could serve as the authoritative copy, not easily amenable to forgery, and available for inspection in case of litigation⁸. The three specimens available to us show that no definite pattern had emerged by the end of the third century of the Nepalese era. It is not known whether this possibility was ever systematically used.

2.9. Ornamental Devices in Margins

Instead of seals, some documents show an ornamental device in their margin, which consists of an elaborate floral pattern, numerous lines intertwining and intersecting each other, and apparently meant to be symmetrical. They always extend to the very end of the document, and invariably it is only half the pattern which is to be seen on a deed; subsequent to being drawn, the fleuron was cut.

The proper domain of this device seems to have been *partitions*. The agreement was written in two identical copies on the right and the left side of a single strip of palm leaf, the two copies being separated by the fleuron. Upon ratification of the agreement, each party was issued with one part. By joining them, an examiner could tell at a glance whether the two halves formed part of the same design: it was clear, then, whether they were genuine or not.

In the present collection, fleurons are used for exchanges of houses (cf. 807–808), i. e. for transactions which again required two identical copies of the same text. It is unexpected to note the lack of further governmental authorization.

2.10. Language

The language of the documents is Sanskrit intermingled with the vernacular, i. e. Newârî, in the pattern familiar from so many regions of the Hindu world. General principles, the framework, the formula are stated in Sanskrit, while the particulars of the case are given in the vernacular. Following this principle, stipulations that use the Newârî language have to be considered additions to the formula – an assumption which is borne out by the receipt clause (see *Sales Formula* No. 10, p. 42 below), or the remarks dealing with missing ‘antecedents’ (cf. *Proof of Possession: Documents*, 3.3.3 below).

At times, the Sanskrit text is much distorted. There are the usual orthographical variants which reflect the linguistic structure of the substratum (e. g. $u \sim o \sim va$), or uncertainties as to the opposition of dental vs. retroflex consonants; there are awkward applications of *samdhî* rules; there are morphological malformations. All of these are due to individual scribes. What is worse is the syntactical clumsiness which resulted when the formula came to be adapted. What used to be a simple sentence, perhaps running **amukasya sakâsâd amukena °kṣetram vikrîtam bhavati*, was burdened with additional details up to a point where the construction is no longer transparent. The process itself is familiar enough: the authoritative wording, once it was established, could be modified only by way of expansion, while omissions were avoided. There were occasional attempts to improve the syntax by inserting relative or correlative pronouns, all of them clumsy expansions of the standard text.

As for Newârî, the present collection contains the oldest specimens of the written language that have so far come to light. At times, one feels Sanskrit patterns have imposed themselves onto a normal style. The chief problem was nominal compounds. Strings of nouns like *vâhâra lukhâ lam yetâ grha* ‘the south house by the road at the entrance of the Bâhâl’ (N. S. 886) are best understood as adaptations of the Sanskrit model.

From a date surprisingly early⁹, there are New Indo-Aryan forms for numerals. It is hard to say whether they reflect actual speech. On the whole, one would be inclined to think they did: technical details, such as prices or sizes of field, were from an early time onwards given in Sanskrit, in the vernacular, and in figures, no doubt in order to make the essentials as safe and comprehensible as possible. What could be the reason for replacing Newârî numerals by New Indo-Aryan ones, unless the latter were in current use?

2.11. Transliteration

To transliterate the documents, we have used the conventions normal for Sanskrit. When these are applied to Newârî, some decisions had to be made which will not meet with universal approval: yet, they are inevitable in the interest of a homogeneous rendering. Newârî /ch/ is given as *cch* rather than *ch*,: for the identical mâtṛkâ is used both in skt. *samcchanna* and in New. *cchem*. In the same way, and for the same reasons, we have always written *va* etc. rather than *ba* – which means we had to find a solution for the few scribes who make a palaeographical distinction between *ba* and *va* (using the indented form for the latter): we have decided to transcribe the indented form by *va*. The *a* inherent in a mâtṛkâ has been retained throughout, except in unambiguous cases of its obliteration by means of a virâma (*samvat*., *sakâsât*.): any

other choice would seem arbitrary and guided by criteria not yet sufficiently well established. We trust all this will not be attributed to a bias for Sanskrit: in a sense, our transliteration but reflects the scribes' problems when faced with the task of rendering Newāri by an alphabet not too well suited to its phonological structure.

In other instances, our transliteration will be questionable or faulty. *.u* and *.ū* when joined to a *mātrkā* are often hard to distinguish, and at times the traditional interpretation of the palaeographical evidence seems open to doubt: with some scribes, the choice between the two forms seems influenced by the shape of the *mātrkā*. – In many hands, the distinctions between *e* and *a*, *o* and *ā*, *ty*. and *bhy*. are anything but clear. Conjoint consonants are often hard to analyze, particularly in older manuscripts – and where there is no context or parallel to guide us, as in the case of proper names, errors are bound to have occurred.

For punctuation, scribes had several means at their disposal. There were the *daṇḍas* (the single one being used sparingly); there was the *visarga*, there was the very popular *virāma*. The latter has been retained as such, and the inherent vowel removed only in the case of *samvat* and *sakāśāt*: we write *°ṭola* rather than *°ṭol* because there are cases like *tithau*. We have extended this method to include instances like *lalitavrumāyām*¹⁰: the 'Bengali style' combination of an *anusvāra* with a *virāma* joined underneath often apparently unites the functions of nasalization and punctuation.

As to sign and symbols, there is the device almost universally found in the beginning of deeds. It often resembles the numeral *one* and is rendered by [*siddham*], ignoring individual variations in shape. In a similar fashion, as was noted on p. 24 above, the ends of deeds may be marked by one or several small circles, each being enclosed by double *daṇḍas*: these we have retained (*o*).¹¹

Signs marking omissions are not rare. There is the *kākapada*, and a type of cross. We append a

List of Abbreviations and Signs Used in Transliterations

///	ms. broken off
– [spaced]	<i>akṣara</i> not interpreted or illegible
x	<i>akṣara</i> missing in ms.
.	part of an <i>akṣara</i> not interpreted, illegible, or missing
[]	uncertain reading
()	text supplied
◁ ▷	erroneous iteration in text, to be deleted
– [not spaced]	separates the elements of nominal compounds
=	separates words written conjointly
˘	<i>kākapada</i> , to mark insertions
o	circle used as ornamental device
ḥ	<i>visarga</i> , often used as punctuation mark
cf.	<i>confer</i>
em.	emend
pal.	unusual or unfamiliar shape of an <i>akṣara</i>

In two instances, the readings of manuscripts are simplified. For the *anusvāra*, there are two forms, ̣ and ̤. Both have been transliterated by *m̐*. And the various ornamental shapes of the *daṇḍa* have all been rendered by |.

Much to our regret, two types of inconsistencies could not be corrected. **Long vowels** are sometimes marked by â, î etc. rather than the customary way. And there are **unjustified vagaries in joining elements of compounds** together: hyphens are at times omitted.

Proper names are indicated by **bold face**.

Notes to Chapter 2

- 1) This is an item which does not stem from the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra.
- 2) Another collection pertaining to Puco Vihāra in Patan consists of flat palm leaves, of the shape usual for manuscripts of literary works.
- 3) For a document the seal of which was lost, and the knot plainly visible, cf. Plate II.
- 4) Note, in particular, the use of *daṇḍas* of the *bhāvo/kasya* type: N. S. 424.
- 5) Cf. B. Kölver: *Chronicles and deeds...*, pp. 147 ff. – For verification, a large number of documents would be desirable.
- 6) Cf. Nārada 4.146 etc.; A. Thakur: *Hindu law of evidence*, p. 176.
- 7) The present collection contains no instance of this. In Bhaktapur, there were times when one used a simple or double *śrī*.
- 8) The style much resembles the Roman joined wax tablets fastened with string and subsequently sealed: ‘they could contain a legal contract, the substance of which, for greater convenience and security, was repeated on the outside’ (Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1949, s. v. Books – Latin, 3). – Furthermore, we have seen one document from Pāṭan which, in the text hidden from view, mentions the price of a plot of land, which is not mentioned in the ‘open’ text: This suggests the fees due were somehow influenced by the amount of money involved: some sort of precursor of a purchase tax on land? – Due to the scarcity of documents with broken or missing seals, we cannot at present determine the date when the administration came to realize the potentialities of this inaccessible part of a document.
- 9) The earliest instance we have seen is in a deed dated N. S. 701 *kārttika kṛṣṇa 13* (from Sadāśivamalla’s time): *caubisa* (sic!) *oho ṭamkā 24* (Kirschall No. 26=77).
- 10) For this letter, see M. R. Pant and Ai. Dh. Sharma 1977, p. 7, note 16 a. Of course, the above procedure in no way invalidates their argument.
- 11) Occasional modifications of this, such as the shape where the circle resembles the numeral for “1000”, are passed over in silence.

3. The Formalism of Deeds: Patterns and Variations

3.0. Introductory

Almost all of the deeds here published deal with sales or mortgages of landed property; apart from these topics, there are a few exchanges of houses, and four donations, which are included because they are obviously modelled upon sales. When looking at the texts, one is struck by the fact that they are standardized to a remarkable degree – so much so that they allow us to extract the formula which was used for recording a particular transaction. The implications of this fact should not be underestimated: there must have been, to say the least, an administrative routine which it was advisable or even necessary to follow – if only in order to have a valid title in eventual litigation.

On the whole, then, the existence of such formulas would argue for an ordered state; and the fact they were adhered to would seem to imply there were scribes qualified to cope with standard transactions in the proper way, and institutions able to judge upon the legal validity of a particular document. This is a state of affairs which on the face of it tallies with the injunctions of *smṛti* texts.

3.1. Patterns and Variations

This uniformity raises two sets of questions, a systematical and a historical one. The former is the question as to the legal nature of the transaction at hand: an analysis of formulas in terms of *dharmaśāstra* texts will help to reveal the conceptual framework common to both kinds of sources. An example to outline the type of problem. In order to be sold or mortgaged, a plot had to be the owner's (the 'holder's', rather, as the texts have it: the term is *dhārṇaka-*) 'own property, which was enjoyed by himself (*svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam*)'. The second term is quite clear (the land must not be otherwise mortgaged etc.); the implications of the former are much less so: how is the use of *svakīyaṃ* to be reconciled to joint-family property? to the king's claim to overlordship? to the fact that there apparently were some rights in land which were the holder's for a limited period only? This kind of question, then, can only be approached by constant reference to *dharmaśāstra* texts. It will not be dealt with in the present edition, except for occasional instances.

Then, there are the historical questions which are a necessary corollary of standardization. If texts were formalized, and formalization was largely adhered to, then there is a *prima facie* case for regarding departures from regulated procedure as *intentional* – i. e. the reader will have to consider the reasons behind a change in style. This can be profitably done only on the background of a fairly extensive collection: after all, there is such a thing as individual variation, sometimes due to nothing more than the scribe's imperfect command of the formula (and officials at times tolerated a good many imperfections, including some which according to the

letter of the law would seriously impair the legal validity of a document). After such cases have been isolated, we are still left with certain changes in the formalisms employed – and such changes usually point to legal or administrative innovations. This is a field where sources from the Hindu world are scant indeed: and it is only in rare instances that we find evidence subsidiary to the conclusions drawn from deeds.

The wider and more varied the basic materials, the more usefully can such questions be pursued – and a systematic treatment should be based upon a selection more comprehensive than what has by change been preserved in the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra. On the other hand, the present materials begin much earlier than all other collections which have been found so far; it will only be by a similarly lucky find that we could hope for deeds to supplement those here published, for the early centuries of the Nepāl Samvat aera. Hence, in the following pages we shall take up – or revert to – some topics which can be elucidated from the present corpus; by doing so, we hope to demonstrate the deeds can be used in more ways than one.

3.2. Text of the Formulas

We proceed to present the text of sales and the mortgage formula, such as it can be reconstructed from the documents themselves. We have to repeat the wording here presented is an abstraction, which apart from the particulars of a case disregards variations which were possible at all times. Some of them are due to administrative changes; others owe their existence just to the negligence of scribes and officials. In spite of such divergencies, there can be no doubt there was a well-defined pattern which had to be followed in order to produce a valid record of a transaction. It was our aim to reconstruct this pattern, not only for its own sake, but also because it can be used for historical purposes. For the formulas used in the three kingdoms of Mediaeval Nepal deviated from each other in some particulars¹. Once they have been established, and their variations accounted for, the wording of a document will show which administrative practice was being followed, i. e. which kingdom it came from. This identification will be of considerable assistance in determining territorial changes in border areas.

When comparing the sales and the mortgage formula, the most striking characteristic is their extensive agreement. This begins with their external appearance, i. e. the style of writing and sealing, and goes on to comprise a large part of the text. Disregarding variations which are due to changes in administrative practice and affect both transactions alike, the formulas are practically identical except for the crucial passages that denote the nature of the document: *invocation, date, purchaser~mortgagee, vendor~mortgagor, object sold, liability clause, witnesses, and conclusion* are all alike, and the difference is confined to *rights sold* and *sales formula* for sales, where mortgages deal with the items labelled *rights mortgaged, mortgage formula* and *period of mortgage, sums borrowed, and interest*.

This in itself is by no means a predictable result. Partitions, e. g., which one would take as similar to sales documents in that both are meant to establish undisputed possessions of land, follow a style quite different from sales; so do donations. If, then, sales and mortgages correspond extensively, this indicates the two transactions were conceived not to be altogether dissimilar.

The wording shows it was the sales formula which served as a model for mortgages: the former consists of a sentence which can be grammatically construed, though it is heavily overburdened; the mortgage formula cannot. One wonders how, or indeed whether, this hierarchy of wordings reflects a hierarchy of transactions, i. e. whether the right to mortgage presupposed the right to sell. – The character of sales as models for other transactions could apparently extend to gifts (see N. S. 185 and the N. S. 845/846 series) and exchanges (N. S. 807, 808). On conceptual similarities between sales and mortgages, see Ch. 4.1, pp. 53 f.

The Sales Formula

1.

Invocation

[*siddham*]¹ ²⁻*śreyo* 'stu⁻²

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

- 1) Always denoted by a symbol resembling the numeral 'one': cf. SIRCAR: Ind. Epigr., p. 94 ff.
- 2) Added from N. S. 262 onwards.

2.

Date

samvat [cipher] [month] [half-month]¹ [day]-
LOC²

On the ... day of the ... half of ..., the year ...

- 1) sometimes, the word *divā* is added. – 2) From N. S. 708 onwards, the ordinal is invariably followed by *tithau*. This was not yet the case in 628, the document immediately preceding.

3.

Purchaser¹

²⁻*śrī-lalitavrumāyām*⁻² *śrī*-[Place name]-LOC³
*nivāsin*⁴-GEN³ [± Title] [Personal name] [±
Caste name] – GEN⁵ *sakāśāt*

In *śrī*-Lalitavrumā, in front of N. N., [± Title]
[± Caste name], who is living in [Place
name]

The description of residences is growing ever more precise: where wards or even districts (*sthāna*-) were sufficient in earlier times, later periods specify the very house:

vaṃku-yitiphuśicche vāstavyaniḥ [N. S. 628]

who (fem.) lives in the house by the edge of
the well in Vaṃku (-Bāhāl)

vaṃku-vāhāra mūlacūka yekuli dumduḡṭha
[N. S. 834]

(of) the inner house (at) the southeast corner
(of) the main courtyard (of) Vaṃku Bāhāl

- 1) sometimes following upon vendor: see p. 45. – 2) Inserted from N. S. 213 onwards. – 3) or: compound. – 4) for synonyms, cf. the Mortgage Formula. – 5) °*nāmnah* inserted from N. S. 340 onwards. Mistakes not infrequent: numerous instances of *nāmnā*; an uninflected feminine, *nāmnī* (456).

Reference to the Royal Palace seems to have been obligatory by the fifth century, which usually takes forms like

śrī-māṅḡlake dakṣiṇastha^o (456)

located in the south, in *śrī*-Māṅḡlaka

śrī-māṅḡlāt pūrvvastha^o (804)

located east from *śrī*-Māṅḡla, etc.

4.

Vendor

¹⁻*śrī-lalitavrumāyām*⁻¹ *śrī*-[Place name]-LOC
*adhivāsin*² [± Title] [Personal name] [± Caste
name]-INSTR

In *śrī*-Lalitavrumā, by N. N., [± Title] [±
Caste name], who is living in [Place name]

- 1) From N. S. 213 onwards, if placed prior to vendor; otherwise phrases like *tasmin eva vrumāyām* (273|1), *tatr=aiva ṭolke* (294), etc. – 2) From N. S. *235 onwards.

The selling party often consists of more than one individual, in which case the relationship between the several vendors may be expressed. There is at least one instance of a vendor's mother being informed about – and possibly consenting to – the transaction:

The Mortgage Formula

1.

Invocation

[*siddham*] ¹-*śreya* 'stu⁻¹

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

1) From N. S. 273 onwards. In sales, the addition is first attested in N. S. 262.

2.

Date

samvat, [cipher] [month] [half-month] [day]-
LOC

On the ... day of the ... half of ..., the year

Example:

samvat, 200 60 1 *vaiśākha-śukla-pāñcamyām*
[261]

The year 261, on the fifth day of the bright
half of Vaiśākha¹.

1) This date occurs in most of the mortgages of the right to cultivation: cf. p. 78.

3.

Mortgagee¹

²-*śrī-lalitavrūmāyām*² *śrī*- [Place Name]-
LOC³ *nivāsin*⁴-GEN³ [± Title]-[Personal
Name-] [± Caste Name⁵]-GEN *sakāśāt*.

In front of N. N., resident in *śrī*-N. N. in
śrī-Lalitavrumā

1) sometimes placed subsequent to mortgagor: see Ch. 3.3.1, p. 45. – 2) Introduced between N. S. 211 and 213. – 3) or: compound. – 4) alternatives: *adhivāsin*-, *vāstavya*-. – 5) Caste names at times precede personal names. – In cases of corporate ownership (cf. p. 63), it is of course the corporation and its representatives who appear in this place.

4.

Mortgagor¹

[± *tatr=aiiva*] *śrī*-[Place Name]-LOC² *nivā-*
*sin*³-INSTR² [± Title]-[Personal Name]- [±
Caste Name⁴]-INSTR

by N. N., resident in *śrī*- N. N., even there

1) sometimes preceding mortgagee. – 2) alternative: compound. – 3) alternatives: *adhivāsin*-, *vāstavya*-. – 4) See 3, Note 5.

... *bhrātṛ saha mātā guṇavati mātrāju vidy-
amāna yāna* (846|1)

together with (his) brother, who had been ap-
prised by his mother,¹ the mother Guṇavati²

1) -*ju* left untranslated. – 2) One would prefer to translate 'his mother ... having been apprised'
– in which case the instrumental *mātrāju* cannot be construed.

5. Object sold

5.1. Assertion of Possession

svakīyaṃ svabhuḥyamānakam

his own property, which is enjoyed by himself

5.2. Location and Name of Plot

[Place Name]-GEN¹ [direction²]- *pradeśe*³ in the ... region of N. N.

1) optional; alternative: compound. – 2) optional. – 3) or: *diśi*.

From N. S. 273 onwards, deeds are more precise in that they add the name of the *vrumā*
and identify fields by their names:

tatraiva vrūmāyāṃ [direction]-*pradeśe* [Place
Name] *kṣetram nāmadheyam*¹

In this same *vrumā*-, in the ... region, the
field called N. N.

1) alternative: *saṃjñakam*

In the beginning of the fourth century, there is a return to the older style. By 628, the
formula had become stabilized and runs

[Place Name]-*kṣetra*¹- *nāma-pradeśe*

in the region named N. N. field/garden

1) or: *vāṭikā*^o

5.3. Delimitation of Plot

[N. N.¹]-GEN *bhūmeḥ²paścimataḥ* [N. N.]-
GEN *bhūmer uttataḥ* [N. N.]-GEN *bhū-
meḥ pūrvataḥ* [N. N.]-GEN *bhūmer
dakṣiṇatāś ca etanmadhye*³

West of⁴ the land of N. N., north of the land
of N. N., east of the land of N. N., and south
of the land of N. N.: in their midst

1) or: °*īya*-, °*kīya*-, perhaps indicating joint property. see below, p. 44. – 2) or other terms for
types of land and landmarks. – Variations of cases: *kṣetre* 340, *vāṭikāyāṃ* 456; *kṣetreṇa* *309,
side by side with *kṣetrāt* 804, *kṣetrasīmāyāṃ* 628–798. – 3) *eteṣāṃ madhye* 628 etc. – 4) For the
translation of *paścimataḥ* etc., see above, p. 17.

5.4. Size of Plot

a) [Numeral]-*ropanīkam*¹ *yat² kṣetram rova*³ which field, of ** *ropanīkas, rova* **,
[Numeral in Newārī⁴] [Cipher]

1) or any other measure of land: cf. Appendix, p. 86. – 2) from 262 onwards; often spelt *yata*-. –
3) often preceded by *aṅkato 'pi* 'in figures'. – *rovāṅka* from 628 onwards. – 4) since N. S. 628.

b) Further particulars may be added either prior to, or following, the preceding clause:
pūrveṇa plutasahitam 'with inundations (?) towards the east' (262; preceding);
dakṣiṇaplutasametam 340 (following).

c) Where applicable, the clause is preceded by a note of partition, which usually starts out
by giving the size of the undivided field. For an example, see *Mortgage Formula*.

From N. S. 734 onwards, there are Newārī clauses replacing the Sanskrit. The wording is
not quite constant. Two examples:

*thvatesa dhārṇṇasvādikāra tham joyā pyam
vośa cchi vo juko juro* (759|1)

Of this, it is one part only out of four which is
property (?) under the holder's own disposition

5. **Object mortgaged**

5.1. **Assertion of Possession**

svakēyam svabhujyamānikam his own property, which is enjoyed by himself

5.2. **Location and Name of Plot**

[Place Name¹]-*dīsi* [Place Name]-*pradeśe* in the direction of [N. N.], in the region of
[Field Name]- *kṣetra-nāma-samjñakam* [N. N.], the field named N. N.

1) Usually, one of the eight directions is named prior to *dīsi*.

5.3. **Delimitation of Plot**

[N. N.]-GEN *bhūmeh¹ paścimataḥ* [N. N.]-GEN *bhūmer uttārataḥ* [N. N.]-GEN *bhūmeh pūrvvataḥ* [N. N.]-GEN *bhūmer dakṣiṇataś ca etanmadhye* West of the land of N. N., north of the land of N. N., east of the land of N. N., and south of the land of N. N.: in their midst

1) or other terms for types of land, or landmarks: *kṣetrasya, vāṭikāyāḥ, mārgasya, khilmakasya*, etc. – Instead of the genetives, there may be locatives (N. S. 273) or ablatives (N. S. 251).

5.4. **Size of Plot**

[Numeral-] *ropanikam¹ kṣetram² ³añkato* the field of ** *ropanikas*, in figures, *rova* **
'*pi*'³ *rova* [Cipher]

1) The term is meant to stand for any of the measures of land. – The inflectional ending may be missing. – 2) or the denotation of another type of land. – Very often preceded by *yat* [usually spelt *yata*]: 'the field which is of ** *ropanikas*'. – 3) often omitted

When applicable, a note of partition is inserted before *kṣetram*, such as (N. S. 193)

**tanmadhye cchitvā dviropanikam kṣetram* in its midst, a field of two *ropanikas* is
**dakṣiṇabhāge rova 2* extracted-by-division in its southern part,
rova 2

*thvatesa dhārṇṇakayā svādhikārana arddha-
bhāga jukva juro* (782)

Of this, only half is under the holder's own
disposition

5.5.

Rights of Third Parties

a) Subsistence Tax (not attested subsequent to N. S. 309)

*tasya mūlapinḍam*¹ ²-*varṣam prati*² [N. N.]-
*vastu*³ *deyam* [Numeral]-*mānikā dhā mā* [Ci-
pher]

Its basic subsistence tax, consisting of **
mānikās, to be given as the property of N. N.:
mā(nikās) of grain **

1) *tailapinḍa* 309. – 2) often omitted. – 3) often missing: these possibly are the cases when they
levy went to the state.

This part of the formula can be stripped to its barest essentials:

mūlapinḍa taṇḍula prastha 2

the basic subsistence tax (is) 2 *prastha* of rice

b) Right of Cultivation

[N. N.]-*kṛṣyamānam* (211)

being cultivated by N. N.

6.

Right Sold

a) Subsistence Tax. A single instance found so far [211]:

*tasya mūlapinḍam daśamānikāyām ādhena
dhā mā māni 10 piṇḍakaparibhogamātra(m)*

its basic subsistence tax in ten *mānikās*¹-at
one half (the rate ?)⁻¹: 10 *mānikās* of grain –
the usufruct of its subsistence tax² merely

1-1) *ādheṇa* not attested elsewhere. Cf. *vīṣena*? – See p. 108. 2) *piṇḍaka*- 'subsistence tax and
related levies ?'.

Here again, there is a shortened version:

tad-gr̥ha-ubhaya-piṇḍakam [213]

the subsistence tax of both these houses

b) Rights in other levies are defined in similar terms:

**tasya cātī tāṇḍula prastha 5 tata cātī paribho-
ganīyam* [*294]

its *cātī*¹ (amounting to) 5 *prastha* of rice; (this)
cātī is to be enjoyed from now on

1) For *cātī*, the nature of which is not known, see p. 76.

c) Right of Cultivation

*tat kṣetram*¹ *karṣaka*²-*lābha*⁻²-*mātram*³

this field: the gains of its cultivation merely

1) often omitted. – 2-2) °*paribhoga*° instead of °*lābha*° from N. S. 235 onwards. – 3) *mātram*
only sporadically up to N. S. 296.

From N. S. 628 onwards, there is a slightly different version:

*tat*¹ *kṣetram sakarṣakam samparibhogyam*²

this field, to be completely enjoyed together
with the right of cultivation

1) many deeds replace this by *tā* or *ete*. – 2) or: *paribhogyam*

7.

Sales Formula

*yathopacita*¹*mūlyam*² *gr̥hītvā*³ *kṛayavikra-
yasvādhīnatvena anivarttakanyāyena*⁶ *kṛay-
eṇa vikrītam*⁴*bhavati*

having taken the price as heaped up, it is sold
according to a purchase by irreversible rule,
by (a vendor) under independence as to pur-
chases and sales.

There is an alternative beginning to this clause, which runs

*yathādeśakālasamcārghena*⁵ *suvarṇam
ādāya* (etc.)

after taking gold at a rate/value according to
the custom of (this) region and time.

5.5.

Rights of Third Parties

a) Subsistence Tax

tasya mūlapiṇḍam [N. N.-] *vastu* [Numeral]-
*mānikam*¹ *deyam dhā*² *mā* [Cipher]

its basic subsistence tax, consisting of **
mānikās, to be given as the property of N. N.,
mā(nikās) of grain **

1) or other measures. – 2) or other types of grain.

b) Right of Cultivation

[Personal Name]-INSTR *kṛṣyamānam*

which is cultivated by N. N.

6.

Right Mortgaged

a) Subsistence Tax

*tasya mūlapiṇḍam deyam dhā*¹ *mā* [Cipher]

Its basic subsistence tax is to be given, (viz.),
** *mānikās* of grain

or expansion like

tatkṣetrasya piṇḍam deyam varṣikam ekādaśa-
mānikā 11 [272]

The yearly subsistence tax is to be given,
(viz.) eleven *mānikās*, 11.

From N. S. 272 onwards, the enjoyment of this right is defined as usufruct (*paribhogānīyam* etc.)

b) Right of Cultivation

*tat*¹-*kṣetram*⁻¹ *karṣakalābhamātram*²

This field, for the gains of its cultivation only,

1) often omitted. – 2) From N. S. 272 onwards: *karṣakaparibhoga(lābha)mātram*, 'only for the (gains of the) usufruct of its cultivation'.

c) a field

tat kṣetram [N. S. 251]

this field

7.

Mortgage Formula and Period of Mortgage

a) Period fixed

[Numeral]-*varṣāvadhinā vandhakatvenoddī-*
ya

having been declared in a state of pledge for a
period of ** years

b) Period not fixed

ṛṣisvecchāvadhīten=oddīśya (em. °*āvadhī-*
(nā vandhaka)ten°?) [N. S. 251]

having been declared (in a state of pledge
(em.)) for a period at the debtor's own wish

1) sometimes missing. – The term possibly refers to the old *paṇa purāṇa* currency with its very large sums and small value of the highest unit. It went out of use prior to 309 and had become revived, in a re-modelled shape, by 628: *yathocitamūlyam* ‘the price as agreed upon’. This is the formula of Licchavi inscriptions, again. – 2) or: *mūlyapaṇam*. – 3) or: *ādāya*. – 4) sometimes **vikretavyam* ‘is to be sold’, or odd malformations. – 5) From *296 onwards, *nagara* replaces *deśa*. – The older term reappears in 777. – 6) A few documents read *anuvṛttikanyāyena* ‘by the Rule of Continuation’. This looks feasible in a context of sales where the holder takes over the rights and duties of his predecessor. The term, however, is attested only between N. S. 273 and 310, and may be nothing but a scribal error.

8.

Liability Clause

As with mortgages, the text of the protasis is subject to considerable variations. Sometimes the liability is limited to a defined period. – The clause itself was deemed indispensable: see N. S. 185, a donation employing the formalism of a sale, with its note *saṃkaṭavyāvādo na labhyate* ‘a dispute over difficulties will not arise’.

For an earlier and more consistent form of the clause, see Mortgage Formula. Sales documents usually show conflated constructions, such as

**tatkṣetrasya *daśavarṣāvadhinātra yadi vy-
āvāde sati *dhāraṇakena *śodhanīyam* [262]

If within a period of ten years there should be a dispute concerning this field, it has to be cleared up by the holder.

A more frequent style is as follows:

*kṣetre kadācid devika¹-rājika(m)⁻¹ vinā
saṃkaṭavyāvāde sati ²[Numeral]=
varṣāvadhinā³⁻² tadā⁴ dhāraṇakena pariśo-
dhanīyam*

If at any time [± within a period of ** years] there is a dispute over difficulties concerning the field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up entirely by the holder.

1–1) rarely omitted. – 2) In most cases, liability is not expressly limited. – 3) or: *varṣāt prak.* – 4) sometimes omitted.

8.

Sums Borrowed

a) Paṇa Purāṇa Currency

*gr̥hītam*¹ *paṇānām purāṇa* [Numeral] *ānkato*
paṇa pu [Cipher]

** *paṇa purāṇa* have been received, in figures,
paṇa pu **

b) Śivadeva's Currency

*gr̥hītam*² *suvarṇṇakheri* [Units of Currency +
Numerals] *ānkato 'pi* [Ciphers]

(of) gold *kheri*³, ** has been received, in
figures, **

1) N. S. 121 has *samuddhṛtam*, following the sum. – 2) *gr̥hītam* sometimes placed at the end of the clause. – 3) var. *kṣeri*, *khairi*.

9.

Interest

a) In most cases, this is not expressed, the usufruct being understood to serve as interest. Occasionally, though, there is an explicit reference to this; cf.

*vṛddhir asya *karsakabhogaḥ* [*249]

the usufruct of its right of cultivation (serves
as) interest. Cf. N. S. 121; *192, 194

b) N. S. 251 differs from the rest in that its duration is not fixed and cultivation remained with the mortgagor.

Its interest was a constant quantity of grain:

**varṣam prati deyam dhānya māni 17*

17 *mānikās* of grain are to be given per year

10.

Liability Clause

In most cases, this is an anacoluthon, an absolute locative being awkwardly embedded into a conditional clause. For a straightforward sentence, see 193|1:

yadi syād daivikarājikavyāghātotpattis¹ tena
*dhāraṇakena *svayam *śodhyam*

If there should arise an obstacle pertaining to
the Gods or to the Royal Court, it has to be
settled by the holder himself.

The usual conflated text is as follows.

yadi syād daivikarājikavyāghāte¹ sati dhā-
raṇakena svayam pariśodhyam

If there should be: 'When there is an obstacle
[as above] ...', it has to be completely settled
by the holder himself.

Many scribes detected the insufficiencies of this wording and tried to repair it.

1) Instead of *vyāghāta-*, we have *śamkātā-* since 251, *śamkātāvyāvāda-* from 185 onwards. The latter term is unexpected and, apparently, not elsewhere attested. One of course wonders whether it was formed in analogy to *vyāghāta-*.

Until N. S. 194, the liability clause is usually followed by *iti*.

Prior to N. S. 628, the formula attained a certain stability, in spite of its unsatisfactory wording:

¹-*tat kṣetram*⁻¹ *yadi syād devikarājika(m)*
*vinā*² *samkātavyāvādakāle tadā dhāraṇakena*
parisodhaniyam

If this field should be 'at the time'³ of a dispute over difficulties', except (when pertaining to) the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be fully cleared up by the holder.

1) sometimes omitted. – 2) some deeds insert *tatkṣetre* [804], *tatkṣetrasya* [808ff.], or a Newārī equivalent of the latter. – 3) One wonders whether the incongruous use of ^o*kāle* perhaps owes its existence to the homonymous Newārī conjunction (Jørgensen 1941, § 146).

9.

Witnesses

*atrārthe*¹ *sākṣi*² [± Place Name]-LOC³ [± Title]- [N.N.] -[± Caste Name]-NOM
*param*⁴ *pramāṇam*

Witness in this matter: N.N. is the highest authority.

1) or: *atra*. – 2) or: *sākṣiṇaḥ*. This is at times preceded or followed by insertions like *drṣṭaśruta-jñātāraḥ*, *dr̥dhīkaraṇāya*. – 3) sometimes followed by *vāstavya* etc.: see above, 3 and 4. – 4) or: *eka*-. There may be several witnesses: *ete trayāḥ* 237 etc.

The succeeding centuries witness a number of changes, the most important among them the introduction of a relative among the witnesses: see below, p. 49 f. From N. S. 708, the formula runs

*atra patrārthe sākṣi dhārṇṇakasya*¹ [Relation]-
[± Title]-[N.N.]-[± Caste Name]-*ju dr̥ṣṭaḥ*
1) or: *dhārṇṇakasa*

In the matter of this document, N.N., the holder's [Relation], was seen as a witness

10.

Receipt

From N. S. 708 onwards, a receipt clause is added in cases where the purchase price had been paid in full. This is worded in Newārī:

*tā kṣetrayā*¹ *kri*² *pna*³ *sarvva sodhāna pūraṇa*⁴
*pācakam dhumgva*⁵ *juro*

The purchase price of this field has been paid completely, including everything.

1) or designation of other landed property: *vuyā*, *vāṭikāyā* etc. – 2) sometimes the Sanskrit form, *kraya*. – 3) *A Note on pna*. Palaeographically, *p(n)a* is the most likely interpretation – which is taken in the sense of *pana* (<*pana*) 'money, price'. In a few instances, we find the unabbreviated term – and they show two different terms had been used. Apart from *kri pana*, which we would expect and which actually is attested in N. S. 708, 782, there is an alternative, viz., *krayapatrayā* 'of the deed of sale': N. S. 759, 798. – 4) orthographical variants: *pulana* etc. – 5) or: *pācu*.

[11. Additional Stipulations]

in Newari, of various contents. Usually introduced by

puna bhākhā

Further agreement

12.

Conclusion

iti [Ornamental device]

Thus.

In later times replaced or expanded by

śubham [± *astu*]

[Let it be] propitious!

11.

Witnesses

a) N. S. 103, 121

atra sākṣiṇah [± Place Name]-LOC² [Personal Name]-NOM

Witnesses in this are N.N.

b) From N. S. 189 onwards

atra sākṣi¹ [± Place Name]-LOC² [± Title]-
[Personal Name]-[± Caste Name]-NOM
param pramāṇam

Witness in this: N.N., of N.N., is chief authority.³

c) From N. S. 193/194 onwards

atrārthe sākṣi¹ [... as 11b ...]-GEN *pramāṇam*

Witness in this matter is the authority³ of N.N.

1) or: °*sākṣiṇah*. – This is at times followed by insertions: *drṣṭasrutajñātārah* *249 etc.; **drdhīkaraṇāya* 251. – 2) *nivāsin-* may be added. – 3) i. e., evidence.

12.

Conclusion

iti [Ornamental Device]

Thus.

We append notes on a few terms occurring in several or all documents.

karṣaka- occurs in the phrase °*karṣakalābhamātram* ‘for the gains of *karṣaka* only’ and its variants. While the word usually means ‘cultivator’ etc., it is here rendered by ‘the right of cultivation’. This gloss is derived from the general context. There is a specific passage which can be quoted in support of this interpretation. In the second part of the 3rd century of the Newar era, documents often mention either the *piṇḍa(ka)paribhoga*° or the *karṣakaparibhoga*°. In N. S. 289, it is both rights which are being sold simultaneously, and this is expressed by °*karṣakapiṇḍaparibhogyanīya-*, where the first part of the compound no doubt is a *dvandva*. – *karṣaka-*, then, is another instance of inscriptional *-ka-* suffixes, a first list of which had been compiled by Fleet (CII 3, p. 69). From the present corpus, we could add *svabhujyamānaka-* and, probably, *piṇḍaka-*; from CII 6, *deṇaka-*, *paḍaṇaka-*; etc.

°*kīya-* vs. °*kasya*

Since rights in land could be held both by individuals and under the joint family system (see pp. 62 ff., below), we have, on grounds perhaps not quite sufficient, adopted the convention of taking the °*kīya-*/°*kasya* pair in terms of this opposition, translating the former by ‘(the field belonging) to the family of (N. N. *bhāro*)’, the latter by ‘(the field) of (N. N. *bhāro*)’, rather than treating the members of the pair as free variants. Later documents sometimes have the expression (*amuka*)*bhāro-phukimja-*, which might be the equivalent of °*bhārokīya-*. – For °*ka* following proper names, see, however, Ch. 2.6, p. 25.

kuṭumvaja-

This is rendered as ‘born in a family’ rather than by ‘cultivator’ etc., the translation usually given for *kuṭumbin-*. This is because the word often forms a compound with words denoting a locality or direction, such as *līvī-k*° N. S. 224, *līvī-yittā-k*° 262, *nogala-yittā-k*°, [*bhaṭ*] *kocchem k*° etc. and in such instances presumably gives the location of their houses.

paribhoga- and related terms

Unless appearances are altogether deceptive, the term *usufruct* (*paribhoga-* plus derivations from the roots *pari-bhuj-*) was introduced by stages. The earliest instance is 185. There we have a field of which *karṣaka sakarṣakaparibhogam* is sold, i. e. the right of cultivation together with the usufruct of this right of cultivation: in other words, it had not been mortgaged. Again, from 193 we have a mortgage of part of a garden which is given *paribhogārtha(m)* ‘for the sake of its usufruct’. This is a case definitely different from possession. Later on, the word begins to appear in sales.

The old opposition was one between *karṣakalābha-*, the gains of cultivation, and (°)*piṇḍam deyam*, the subsistence tax to be given. The first instance of *karṣakaparibhoga-* dates from N. S. 237. The old style, however, is attested a number of times until N. S. 261, to disappear from 262 onwards. *piṇḍakaparibhoga-* first appears in 211.

From this pattern, and from the expression °*karṣakaparibhogyalābha*° (273), it would not seem *paribhoga-* etc. was meant to replace *lābha-*, but rather refers to some change in the mode of possession of land. With nothing but the term to go on, it is impossible to gauge its exact nature.

sakāśāt

The person named prior to *sakāśāt* indubitably is the party acquiring the right or object in question. This is clear from N. S. 777 where the purchaser, here incidentally named *grāhaka-*, buys a garden plot adjoining his own. –

The closest parallel to the idiom stems from Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* and is mentioned in the Petersburg Dictionary. KSS 19.42 (ed. NSP, p. 71) runs as follows:

*devadāśasakāśāc ca krīṇāti sma sa tad gṛham /
devadāso 'pi mūlyena bhūyasā tasya tad dadau //*

'And he bought this house from the part of Devadāsa; but Devadāsa gave it to him for an increased price.' In KSS 19.37 we have a similar construction, with the verb in the passive voice (*madbhartuḥ sakāśāt tad gṛham dhanaiḥ / krītvā . . .* 'after buying this house from my husband for money . . .'), which shows *sakāśāt* is used irrespective of the gender of the verb and denotes the vendor. With the verb *vi-krī* which governs the text of the formula it correspondingly denotes the purchaser. The occurrence of the word in the mortgage formula seems to be a transfer from sales: the mortgage text lacks a verb to correspond to *vi-krī*.

Limitation of Liability

The Limitation of Liability, which is expressed in the clause *daivikarājikavyāghāte* etc., is granted a party in cases of 'sudden calamity' (*upanipāta-*) by Kautalya: the punishment due upon rescission of sales is waived when there is 'damage (caused) by kings, thieves, fire, and water' (*rājacorāgnyudakabādhaḥ*, 3.15.3). A closer parallel to the present wording is found in a rule ascribed to Vyāsa (DhK 1.2, p. 659):

*daivarājopaghāte tu na doṣo dhaninaḥ kvacit /
rnam dāpyas tu tannāse bandham vānyam ṛṇi tadā //*

'But when (a pledge) is destroyed by fate or by the king, (this) is in no case the creditor's fault: upon (*tadā*) its loss, rather, the debtor has to re-pay the debt or has to give another pledge.'

3.3. Variations within Formulas

3.3.1. Purchasers and Vendors/Mortgagors

The sequence of purchaser/mortgagee and vendor/mortgagor is determined by two factors. Normally, the purchaser/mortgagee stood first: this is evident from cases where both parties to the transaction belong to the same caste. There is a second principle, though, which whenever applicable overrides the first: the documents start with the party of the higher social standing. This principle is attested from the earliest instances onwards and is still maintained, e. g., in 718, where the vendor is the king. The king takes precedence even when he is only witnessing a transaction: see N. S. 821. Mortgages follow the same principle. Their distribution is assembled in the following table:

Sequence Mortgagor|Mortgagee

Year (NS)						
Mortgagor	*103	*121			193	193
Mortgagee			189 1	189 2	*192	
Mortgagor			251	*252	272	*249 273 2
Mortgagee	194	*245				424

To a legalistic mind, the variations must have appeared arbitrary, and the two positions interchangeable. This may be the reason why, in *340, there is the vendor prior to the purchaser, with both parties belonging to the same caste.

Within this framework, it is interesting to see Buddhist monks ranking higher than people who did not live in monasteries, although of high social standing². Of course, this does not necessarily reflect the views of the general public: the distribution may just as well be due to normal practice and predilections of scribes.

3.3.2. Proof of Possession: Government Records

1. Seals

The oldest documents in the present collection were authorized by means of seals giving the vendors' or mortgagors' names. The function of these imprints is clear enough, especially in a society where illiteracy will have been wide-spread and the writing of documents lay in the hands of professional scribes: the vendor's seal will have been taken as showing his full cognizance of the transaction.

This way of authorization does not quite tally with the practice ordained by *smṛti*. Private documents either were to be written by one's own hand (*svahastakṛta-*), or by others (*anyakṛta-*); the latter type needed witnessing, while the former did not (cf. 4.3.3., below). There is little doubt our corpus belongs to the *anyakṛta-* class. The personal seals we find in the early specimens provided an additional safe-guard; if we depart from the classification of documents that has just been mentioned, they look like an adaptation of the 'own hand'. This whole class of documents was perhaps not very easy to handle; hence, one is not surprised to see the two types fused at a fairly early date.

Personal seals were used at least until N. S. 289. In or prior to N. S. 326, they were replaced by a new and uniform style, seals reading [*siddham*] *śrīḥ* with minor variations. As has been shown elsewhere³, the reason behind the change is government assuming the right to authorize transactions involving land, no doubt in order to keep its recording up to date. *śrī* could be used in such contexts, as is shown by the term *śrīkarana-* which, in government parlance, could designate the record office or the official in charge of it.

The court will have used this opportunity, at the latest, to prepare cadastral records for its own use (i. e. as an instrument for an efficient collection of land taxes), unless, indeed, they existed long before: cf. Arthaśāstra 2.25.3. The form these records took is not quite certain. Possibly, they were not kept in the shape of lists, but rather as duplicates of documents. There is a collection of land documents from Phuco Bahī, Pāṭan, different from the usual style in several respects: they are not sealed; they show the usual oblong palm-leaf shape used for manuscripts; they are not rolled. This, then, may be a collection of administration duplicates.

The fact that such authorization became necessary is perhaps reflected in a change of the formula that one occasionally meets with: rather than *vikṛitam bhavati* “is sold”, some documents have *vikretavyam* “is to be sold”. We are not certain about this, since we do not understand the meaning and origin of malformations like *vikrīyastam* etc.

2. Cadastral Offices

In our collection, the first definite proof of such government records is fairly late. It occurs in one of the Newārī codicils added in cases where antecedents (see below) could not be found. This dates from N. S. 628, and the text shows there were a number of places where missing records could be sought for. Two of them are named; they were

- 1) the Royal Court (*śrī-śrī-rāja-kula*^o) and
- 2) the office of the Pātra (*śrī-pātra-kula*^o).

The term *pātra* was used to designate a high official. The town of Pāṭan traditionally had ‘*pātras* of seven families’⁴. Keeping land records, then, appears to have been part of their duties – just as the nobles seem to have been involved in the administration of lands in West Nepal: see the list of addressees in the grants from the Jumlā region, attested from the 14th century onwards.

Apart from these two, there may have been other places where such documents were stored (N. S. 456 °*śrī-pātrakul- ā d i*: unless °*ādi* should refer to the search in the owner’s house). Records may not at all times have been kept with proper accuracy: there are occasional remarks on the search for antecedents having remained fruitless – which reminds one of the imprecise stories about substantial parts of Uku Bāhāḥ property dwindling away (§ 1.3 supra).

3.3.3 Proofs of Possession: Documents

1. From N. S. 456 onwards, there are occasional codicils to documents, written in Newārī and added to texts, sometimes on the reverse side (and thus, in a strict sense, not demonstrably authorized by the government seal). Many of them refer to ‘previous palm-leaves’ (**pūrvatādapatra*). This is the earliest instance of this type:

*bhāṣā thva valayā pūrvatalapatra śrī-śrī-rāja-
kula-śrī-pātra-kul-ādi suyā lakasa lvarasanā
akarṇṇa jurom*

Agreement. Even though the former palm-leaf of this hut (?⁵) be found in the keeping of the *śrī-śrī-king’s* family, the family of the Ven. *pātra*, (or) of anyone else, (the present document) has come to be the official record.

2. When selling landed property, then, the vendor had to produce documentary proof of his title in the lands he sold. As a rule, this ‘former document’ or antecedent was passed on to the

purchaser, together with the land. The arrangement is obviously sensible, seeing it prevents documents concerning the same plot from being in different hands. It resulted in pairs of documents, recording a sale plus its antecedent. Such pairs are 772/777; 798/808; 821/834. The practice may have been current long before we find the first reference to it. For even among the oldest documents of the present collection, there is a sizeable number which does not show any recognizable connection with Uku Bāhāḥ. These may be antecedents in the sense just outlined, accompanying a donation or sale.

With the introduction of cadastral lists, the document in the owner's possession was, in a sense, a duplicate of government records (§3.3.1). These, then, were resorted to when the owner's document could not be produced.

Carried to its logical conclusion, the principle means one part of the formula was, in theory, dispensable, viz., the description of plots. And indeed we find occasional instances of the description dwindling down to a few words: cf. N. S. 759 **yathā caturāghāṭena pariveṣṭitam* 'as encompassed by its four boundaries'. As a rule, though, the older and more elaborate style was adhered to, so that each document could stand by itself.

There seems to have been no standard procedure for cases where documentary proof of possession was impossible because the antecedent was lost or inaccessible. Codicils dealing with this difficulty are invariably written in Newārī, which might indicate the Nepalese lawyers did not unearth a precedent for the new regulation in Hindu law books.

Now, Turner (Nepali Dictionary, s. v.) derives Nepālī *akarna* (which no doubt is the *akarṇṇa* of our documents) from the 'recognition of rights' which Islamic law denotes by the term *ikrār*. If this etymology should prove correct, there may be a connection between the introduction of the old document into sales, and the change in the persons of witnesses introduced in the 16th century and to be discussed presently, and they might be related to Muslim law. For of course we have to consider the fact that both innovations lack a Hindu precedent.

3.3.4 Proof of Possession: Witnesses

1. Function and Number of Witnesses

For the function of witnesses, the summary account of the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya 2.84 will be a useful starting point. Documents, Vijñāneśvara says, are either (Royal) Orders (*śāsana*) or private (*jānapada*-). The latter class consists of two subdivisions: either documents drawn up by one's own hand (*svahastakṛta*-), or those drawn up by others (*anyakṛta*-, including professional scribes). Of this second pair, it is only the latter which have to be witnessed; a document made by one's own hand is valid without a witness.

Given the value Indian tradition as a whole assigns to documentary evidence – "it is said everywhere that only documents are strong(er evidence) than words of witnesses", says Devaṇabhaṭṭa when introducing his collection of quotations on this topic⁶ – this looks like a peculiar rule. It makes sense only when some tacit assumptions are taken to be fulfilled. To reach a status different from that of a stray note, an unwitnessed record obviously must have passed into the hands of the second party: creditor, purchaser or the like. Even at that, it

remains difficult to verify in cases of litigation. It may have been this difficulty which lies behind another odd dictum that, taken by itself, severely limits the evidence value of documents. This is Nārada 4.138 (Jolly), which runs:

“That document, however, is invalid in which witnesses, creditor, debtor, and scribe are (all) dead; (this is) not (the case) if there is a pledge which provides firm support (for the assumption of its actual existence),” i. e., the bodily presence of one of the parties was considered indispensable. In a sense, this goes against the very reason for having documents, which are after all meant to withdraw a transaction from the subsequent influence of contracting parties.

Both injunctions supplement each other, though. The document written by a party’s own hand is admitted on evidence as long as the judge could examine and exhort participants. The rules, then, preserve remnants of an earlier state when the law tried to adjust itself to written evidence. Their lack of congruence with the body of prescriptions on documents did not remain undetected: hence, Jīmūtavāhana’s and Mitramiśra’s advice to have such documents witnessed, contrary to custom⁸.

To return to the present body of documents: they belong to the *anyakṛta*- type and thus require witnessing.

As for the number of witnesses, the documents do not quite tally with dharmaśāstra injunctions. For most transactions, a single witness was deemed sufficient. The śāstra allows this only in very special cases⁹, while normally, they ought to be ‘at least three’ in number (*tryavarāḥ*: Manu 8.60; Nārada 4.153). This is actually attested in a fairly small number of instances, both for sales and mortgages (sales: N. S. 237, 304, 309; 340; mortgages: *252, 272). The reason for the divergence is not apparent: it seems to be neither the size of the plot nor the social status of witnesses. Four of the six instances show the *samgha*- or one of its members as purchaser or mortgagee: but here again, counter-instances are not hard to find (N. S. 194, *251, 261).

A case of two witnesses has not been found so far – a fact which may be of interest in connection with the longish discussion on the correct interpretation of the final words of Yājñavalkya 2.87 (*sākṣiṇaḥ* [...] *likheyur iti te samāḥ* vs. *te ’samāḥ* ‘Witnesses should write thus: [...]; they (are to be) even/odd (in number)’; cf. relevant excerpts collected in DhK 1,1,352f. Nepalese practice unequivocally shows a predilection for the state attested by the latter reading.

N.S. 821 is a case where a sale is witnessed by the Pāṭan king. From the fact that the document records the mother’s consent, one would conclude the vendor was a fatherless minor. We cannot say whether this was the reason for the king serving as witness: there are other sales by minors where he does not appear.

2. Relatives as Witnesses

Some time in the 16th century, government introduced a change in the persons admissible as witnesses, which implied a change in their function. This occurred between N. S. 628 and N. S. 708.

According to the Śāstra, witnesses ought to be third persons chosen on the understanding that they were to be impartial. From N. S. 708 onwards, we find what might broadly be called the vendor’s relatives filling their place: brothers, uncles, nephews, the father; at times, people more

distantly related: members of the same *gotra*- (who, incidentally, could go by the name **svagotrābhṛtṛ*-; Śākya seem to have had a predilection for this form¹⁰). The relationship to the vendor is always openly expressed. The only exception from this rule is sales by corporate owners, where the witness is not a relative of the agent who acts on behalf of the group, but another member (or members) of the corporate body; for a *guthi*, see N. S. 777; for property of a *bāhāḥ*, it is the Group of Leaders that acts as a witness (N. S. 807/2). Again, there usually is just one witness, instead of several, as used to be the case¹¹.

All this is in clear contradiction to the prescriptions of the law books. These, as is well known¹², contain lists of people disqualified from serving as witnesses because their impartiality might be called in doubt. Among them, there are the following, which bear upon the case at hand. Those who 'are connected with the matter' (*arthasambandhinah*) are to be avoided, as are 'those who eat from the same pot' (*ekasthālī*^o), and, of course, 'relatives and those who have the same mother' (*jñāti-sanābhayah*)¹³. This is general opinion, and as far as we can tell, it is Nepalese practice up to N. S. 628.

What we find from N. S. 708 onwards cannot be due to ignorance of prescription: it must be an intentional departure from custom.

To discover its reasons, we have to assess the function witnesses have in land sales. As we have seen (p. 47), a vendor had to bring documentary proof of ownership when selling his property, from about N. S. 450 onwards. Furthermore, the government kept cadastral lists, no doubt with taxation chiefly in mind. These two sources combined would remove any reasonable doubt as to who was the proprietor of a given piece of land, and we have to remember the deed itself was authorized by government in order to be valid (p. 46 f.). In other words: the purposes originally fulfilled by witnesses had in course of time come to be achieved by two other means, independently of each other. An increasingly efficient administration, with the spread of bureaucracy, had made witnesses redundant.

This is the state of affairs when we see relatives appear in their place. Their function is perhaps clearest from the cases of corporate ownership, where an individual is empowered to act for an entire group. The rights which were affected by his act were of course those of the group he was acting for, and this, no doubt, is the reason why other members of this group are called in as witnesses: they testify to the group's consent.

Property owned under the joint family system can easily be viewed in analogy to this, and apparently was. Note, e. g., the case of N. S. 759/1, where it is the father who 'witnesses' a sale effected by his son. If we understand this in terms of joint family property, his signature is tantamount to an approval or authorization of the transaction¹⁴. It bears a certain similarity to the 'recognition of rights' which is familiar to Islamic law (the *ikrār*); if this is the concept at the bottom of the new practice – and the term *akarṇṇa* does make a prima facie case for this assumption¹⁵ – then we have to conclude there were definite rights vested in the people who appear under the name of witnesses.

Such authorization, then, was the function that accrued to witnesses once government had taken over what witnesses were originally meant to do. Litigation, one would surmise, will have lain in the fields of questioning the vendor's right to sell, an approach which makes good sense with property held under the joint family system. This was forestalled by the new practice. And interestingly enough, it is in a somewhat similar context that Nārada does allow the testimonial of relatives: 'But witnesses in special cases should be these: the family in suits pertaining to the family¹⁶.' This is perhaps sufficiently close to the case at hand to have

permitted the new rule to be framed. However this may be, the innovation shows the administration did not feel bound by precedent, however sacred; they had strength and imagination enough to adapt an old and barren procedure to new purposes¹⁷.

Notes

- 1) The purchaser, e. g., is in documents from Bhaktapur called *grāhaka-*. The term, though known in Pāṭan (see N. S. 777, in the delimitation of boundaries: *grāhakasa vātikāsimāyāḥ* etc.), did not occur in the Pāṭan formula.
- 2) In N. S. 194, a monk is followed by a Son of a Noble Family (*kulaputra-*) which according to the above rule ought to mean it was the *bhikṣu-* who was taken to enjoy higher prestige.
- 3) Kölver: Chronicles and deeds on currency and land. In: JNRC 5/6 (1983), pp. 147 ff.
- 4) Dhanavajra Vajrācārya: Karṇāli pradeś, p. 49.
- 5) The meaning of *vala-* is uncertain. See p. 131. below.
- 6) *lekhyamātram sākṣivacanato balavad ity āha sarvataḥ*: Smṛticandrikā 3,1, p. 151.
- 7) *mṛtaḥ syuḥ sākṣino yatra dhanikarṇikalekhakāḥ / tad apy apārtham likhitaṁ na ced ādhiḥ sthirāśrayaḥ //*
- 8) A. Thakur: Hindu law of evidence. Calcutta 1933, pp. 169 f.: “Jīmūtavāhana comments that such a document also if attested is placed on a safer footing. Mitramiśra says that it is to the interest of the obligee to have it altered”.
- 9) Kane: Hist. Dh. III, p. 332.
- 10) see **ubhayasvagotra-* N. S. 798, 807/1.
- 11) Exchanges of houses form an exception: obviously, one would choose a representative of either side.
- 12) Cf. Kane: Hist. Dh. III, p. 334 f.
- 13) Nārada, Rṇādāna ed. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri 1.156, 159, [= Jolly 4.177, 180]. Cf. Yājñ. 2.70. – Bhavasvāmin’s gloss on *sanābhayaḥ* is interesting: ‘bound by the mother, through her womb’ (*mātrā yonisambaddhāḥ*). Is this the *mātrvedhika-* of our deeds?
- 14) Even if the father had relinquished his rights, the above argument would not really be affected: it is the removal of possible objections that is aimed at.
- 15) This term, which is attested in N. S. 456, is taken to be a derivative of *iḅrār-nāma* (Turner: s. v. akarna.)
- 16) *kulam kulavivādeṣu bhaveyus te ’pi sākṣiṇaḥ* Nārada, Rṇādāna [ed. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri 1.129 [= Jolly 1.152].
- 17) For a possible influence of Islamic law, see p. 50, supra.

4. Rights in Land

4.1. Sales and Mortgages

In Hindu law, the history of rights in land is a long and tortuous one. At the one end of the scale, there is the clear injunction running *sthāvare vikrayo nāsti*, there is no sale of immovables – a verse of uncertain authorship, but frequently quoted¹ in commentaries and *nibandhas*. For the other extreme, we could refer to the documents of the present collection, the wording of which leaves no doubt lands could be, and actually were, sold.

To the Hindu lawyer, the two extremes may not have been as contradictory as it would appear at first sight. The verse whose beginning was just quoted goes on to offer a remedy: *kuryād ādhim anujñayā* 'let him do a mortgage (instead), after he has taken permission (from all those who have some right in the property)'. And at least the older pieces in the Rudravarṇa collection are rather careful to specify which among the various rights in land is actually being marketed. In Sāṅkarārama Sastri's apt terminology, this is one of the "fictions" of Hindu law. The problem appears so intricate because there is a fundamental difference in concepts, and hence in terminology. The abstract idea of an unqualified 'ownership' of land, on a par with ownership of movables, and clearly set off from subsidiary rights like the government's share in the harvest, did not present itself as an inevitable necessity; instead of this unified concept we find a network of multiple rights to be enjoyed by different holders: the right to till the soil, to collect certain taxes or levies, etc.².

The picture the outlines of which begin to emerge does not lack a certain consistency. Downright sales, in the contemporary sense of the term, seem to be a fairly late development. This state was preceded by an array of various subterfuges or equivocations which actually allowed the transaction to take place while technically keeping to the letter of the law.

The mortgages of the present collection are a case in point. Their distribution is certainly odd: while they are by no means rare in the third century of the Newar aera, their last instance dates from N.S. 424. In view of the anonymous stanza just quoted, one wonders whether some of them were not in actual practice tantamount to sales, and one might tend to attribute this interpretation especially to such mortgages as were pledged for longer periods³.

This suspicion is strengthened by another peculiarity. N.S. 213 and N.S. 224 both record the sale of the subsistence tax due from two houses. Their description leaves no doubt it is the same houses which are being sold in both documents. What is more, both purchaser and vendor are identical. And the two documents are separated from each other by eleven years precisely. In both cases, the day the right is marketed is *caitra śukla 5*.

Now it is certainly queer to see the same objects being sold twice, by the same vendor to the same buyer. Nor is it possible that the original text had been lost or mislaid, thus necessitating a second copy: when writing N.S. 224, its scribe must have had N.S. 213 before his eyes⁴.

There seems to be only one interpretation to account for this state of things. The right sold was the vendor's own for a limited period only, and periodically had to come up for renewal. Incidentally, an identical period of eleven years is found in the liability clause of N. S. 310. It is not known whether this renewal, plus the reversion which – if only by way of a formality – must have preceded it at some level, was normal practice or not. There is a circumstance, though, which suggests the former alternative. For the limitation in time is nowhere mentioned in the text of either document (while both of them do provide for an identical period of three years during which it was the holder's (i. e. vendor's) obligation to remove the difficulties which might arise in connection with the transaction). This cannot but mean the limitation that N. S. 224 attests to was tacitly understood; reversion and the necessity of renewal must have been a matter of routine.

A limitation not entirely dissimilar in character, which in practice must have often led to renewals, is Kauṭ. 2.1.8 *karadebhyah kṛtakṣetrāṇy aikapurūṣikāni prayacchet* 'he should grant the taxpayers arable fields, (to be enjoyed?) by one man only'⁵. The clause probably means the land reverted to the state upon the incumbent's death.

The 213/224 pair is an instance of a sale which was valid for a period of eleven years only. This, then, was not a case of perpetual ownership, but of 'enjoying' the houses, as the texts so aptly put it.

On the one hand, then, there are mortgages which practically amount to sales; on the other, sales which share two essential characteristics with mortgages: their limitation in time, and the specification of the right to be enjoyed. And the matter may have been complicated further by lands being mortgaged by kings. 'Since such Birta grants, known as Rajabandhaki, were subject to redemption at any time, they implied conditional possession of the lands'⁶. It is not known when this system was first practised.

If the N. S. 213/224 documents do not mislead us altogether, we have to conclude that even by means of a purchase landed property could be acquired for a limited period only. This raises the question of what were the essential differences between sales on the one hand, and mortgages on the other. A satisfactory answer would be that the latter transaction was valid for shorter periods, with rights eventually reverting to holders. To test this, we shall have to examine the duration of mortgages.

Yet we have to remember the formal distinction between sales and mortgages is never lost from sight: sales are marked by the verb *vi-krī* and follow the role of irreversibility, *anivarttaka-nyāya*-. A purchase of land, then, could not be rescinded, which is a bit unexpected in the face of normal rules for rescission that are rather liberal towards the buyer (Kauṭ. 3.15.5 ff., Nārada (ed. Jolly), pp. 160 f.). Why should similar prerogatives be denied to the purchaser of rights in land? In contradistinction to other acts of buying and selling, land directly involves government, in the shape of taxation. And this is where we encounter an important difference between both transactions. In sales, taxation offers no problems: it is the purchaser who will have to pay. For mortgages, the situation is less clear-cut: if the obligation was the mortgagor's, it would stem from the fact that the land continued to be his 'property' (*svakīyam*) – which would potentially turn the acquisition of the right to cultivate lands by means of a mortgage into an attractive financial proposition. In all fairness, though, one would assume the cultivator or landlord rather than the 'owner' to assume this burden. And probably it was this alternative which was current. This one might deduce from the expression *karṣakalābhamātram*, 'for the gains of cultivation only' – i. e. subtracting costs, which would have included the various taxes.

And when government tightened its control of lands by the introduction of court seals (v. supra, p. 46), mortgages became subject to the new rule, just as much as sales, which would speak for the same solution.

4.2. Duration of Mortgages

With the sole exception of N. S. 251, mortgage documents invariably mention the period the contract was to be valid for. According to the rules that governed loans secured by a pledge which could be 'put to use' (*bhogyādhi-*), this was no downright necessity: by repaying the sum he owed, a debtor was allowed to redeem his pledge – unless a certain definite period had been agreed upon beforehand. The duration will have been introduced into the mortgage formula in order to allow the mortgagee to foreclose – a privilege denied to him unless the duration had been expressly mentioned⁷.

Periods always consisted of an odd number of years: three (3 instances), five (5), seven (3), nine (3), or eleven (1)⁸. The last case, N. S. 189/1, is the most interesting one. For it was after eleven years that the lapse of possession occurred which the N. S. 213/224 pair testifies to. If we were to apply the same rule, the mortgage would have been taken out on the very day the right had been conferred on the mortgagor. This inference is not improbable for two reasons. First, there is the date: we are dealing elsewhere with the significance of *vaiśākha śukla pañcamī*⁹. Second, the text of the deed lacks some of the essentials otherwise invariably included. In all likelihood, N. S. 189/1 actually is an extension of an earlier contract, renewed upon the renewal of the grant.

4.3. svakīyam svabhujyamānakam

The option of having the right mortgaged revert to the original grantee or possessor is seen to be an essential difference between sales and mortgages, while a sale apparently did not imply permanent possession of the rights purchased. This raises the problem of how to interpret the term *svakīya-* 'own', which in the assertion of possession invariably precedes the reference to *bhoga-*. Here we have to remember two things. First, the expression occurs both in sales and mortgages, both of rights to till the soil and of rights in subsidiary levies. Since all these rights were kept separate, it necessarily follows any of them could be the possessor's 'own' – i. e. the term does not refer to ownership in the entire plot of land, in the contemporary sense. Second, there is the case of the N. S. 213 sale, which is demonstrably valid for a limited period only. Yet the houses are called the vendor's *svakīya-*, which means the term could be stretched to include temporary possessions. This is expressly stated by Medhātithi in his discussion of Manu 8.148 (p. 766): [...] *svatvāgamanakāraṇāni bahūni santi dānavikrayabandhakāraṇādīni* (There are many causes for the appearance of *svatva-*: gifts, sales, effecting pledges, etc.). Rather than taking it to refer to unimpaired and total ownership, what the term expresses is that, for the period of the contract, there was no other individual who had a right in the property which was on a par with the vendor's or mortgagor's.

Table I. Essentials of Mortgages

Date N.S.	Size of Field (F) or Garden (G)*	Right Mortgaged	Duration (Years)	Sum Borrowed**
103	GAP	*karṣaka	GAP	200 [+? (GAP)]
121	F 5	mūlapinḍa	7	150
159	F 3	karṣaka	9	550
189/1	not mentioned	not mentioned	11	250
189/2	F ¹ / ₂	karṣaka	5	1000
*192	F 2 ¹ / ₂	karṣaka	5	700
193/1	F 2	mūlapinḍa	3	300
193/2	G ¹ / ₂ karṣa	paribhoga	7	180
194	G 2 ¹ / ₂ karṣa	paribhoga	3	1000
*245	GAP	karṣaka	9	1 karṣa, 4 maṃsa (?)
*249	F 3	karṣaka	5	GAP
251	F 4	income of dhā mā 17 per annum	at debtor's discretion	3 pla, 2 karṣa, 6 maṃsa
*252	GAP	karṣaka	9	2 karṣa, 6 maṃsa
261	F 1	karṣaka	5	2 karṣa [+? (GAP)]
272	F 3 ¹ / ₂	pinḍa	5	2 pla
273	F 2 ¹ / ₂	karṣaka	7	1 pla, 1 karṣa, 9 maṃsa
424	F 3	karṣaka	3	12 śivakās, 1 maṃsa

* Size in *ropaṇikas*, unless stated otherwise

** Until 194, in *paṇa purāṇa* currency; from 245 onwards, in Śivadeva's currency (cf. Appendix I).

In the state of the law attested by the earlier specimens of the present corpus, rights in land seem to be most adequately described by the term the documents themselves use, viz., *bhoga*- 'usufruct' and its derivatives. No doubt the chief reason for asserting the right was *svabhujyamānakam* was to state the right negotiated was not mortgaged to a third party¹⁰. Apart from that, the word expresses that what is marketed is the right to use the land, the *bhoga*-, while proceeds from actual cultivation went by the name of *lābha*-.

With these limitations to the concept of property in immovables established, sales would have lost their obnoxiousness even to a purist who fully subscribed to the theory of *sthāvare vikrayo nāsti*. –

4.4. Rights in Land in private Possession

What follows is a brief description of rights in land which had passed into the possession of private holders. A more comprehensive discussion of their nature and their economical implications is given in Ch. 6, below.

4.4.1 *karṣaka-* was the right to till the soil. The holder could pass it on to tenants, a fact stated in the words (*amunā*) *kṛṣyamāṇam (kṣetram)* [N. S. 121, line 3]. This is the only case when the tenant appears in person; presumably he is mentioned because it was from the gains of cultivation that the interest in the mortgage had to be raised. – The only other instance of *kṛṣyamāṇa*^o is N. S. 185 line 2 *mādhavavarmasya kṛṣyamānabhūme(h) paści(ma)taḥ* where, to go by the genitive, Mādhavavarma is the landlord rather than the tenant. – A good many fields are in the possession of monasteries and high-caste individuals who will not have worked the lands themselves. If so, the fact is practically never mentioned – which would mean tenants had no voice in matters of sales and mortgages.

4.4.2 The *mūlapiṇḍa-* right, i. e. the right in the basic subsistence tax, yielding a constant (if rather low) income from fields, was up to the fifth century fairly often in the hands of private individuals. It ultimately stemmed from the king, to whom the levy was due. This tax is a derivative of the *piṇḍakara-* ‘subsistence tax’ mentioned in Kauṭalya and inscriptional sources¹¹.

There may have been other levies belonging to the same class, or calculated from the same base. This is likely both from the expression *piṇḍaka-* sometimes encountered, and from the expression *mūlapiṇḍa-* itself, which implies a contrast either to *piṇḍa-* itself, or to some other specialized form.

4.4.3 *Minor Levies.* To go by scattered remarks in dharma- and arthaśāstra literature, there was a host of minor taxes and levies raised from land. Many of them are contained in the list of ‘36 taxes’ (*chattīs kara*) contained in the West Nepal copper-plate grants from the fourteenth century onwards. The present collection only mentions two items which might belong to this group, the *cātī* and the *lāso*¹². Their nature is not known.

4.4.4 Finally, one lacuna is worth noting. One important type of land revenue is conspicuous by its absence. This is the *bhāga-*, i. e. the proportional tax on the harvest¹³. Even in N. S. 272 where the mortgagor is a Brāhmaṇa and thus in theory exempt from tax, it is only the *piṇḍaka-* right which is being mortgaged. Nor is the *bhāga-* mentioned in any of the documents naming monasteries as holders, which ought to have enjoyed the same privilege. If the evidence does not deceive us altogether, i. e. if the present collection is anything like a mirror of reality, it means the state had a strong tendency to hold on to this source of revenue. One advantage of this procedure is immediately obvious: it made for financial gains. A second point in its favour is the fact that incidentally, such lands persisted to figure in cadastral records kept by government, i. e. they were not ‘removed from province (registers)’, *viśayād uddhṛtam*, as some inscriptions have it.

All this touches upon the question of the resumption of donations. The very frequency of imprecations against confiscations of land – and grants abound in them – raises suspicions. Resumption by force may not have been all that rare: after all, there is Krācalla’s grant which bluntly presents Bāleśvara with confiscated lands, by means of a copper plate which ends in a fair selection of the usual imprecatory verses¹⁴.

It now appears possible the Kathmandu Valley states had found less violent methods to solve the problem of the permanent drain to the treasury which was a necessary concomitant of donations. Again: in the present collection, we do not have a single instance of the *bhāga-* being

given up. We have seen how even possession of houses lapsed after a period of eleven years: and whom can they have reverted to, if not to the crown? Apparently, the old Nepalese state had pushed the separation of various rights in land to an extreme point, and by doing so had reduced what elsewhere was very much of a problem. No doubt, there were *agrahāras*: Licchavi inscriptions tell us so. But if government had found a fairly unobtrusive way to lessen their detrimental effects, this was no mean achievement.

4.5. Partial Sales and Mortgages

A few sales deeds contain brief notes which incidentally acquaint us with a type of mortgage different from that treated below. In brief, it consisted in a field being pledged, not in its entirety, but in fractions. Until now, no documents have come to light which record what one would think are the necessary preliminaries, viz., partitions for a limited duration. These one would expect to elucidate the conditions and modalities of the transaction. Perhaps it was not formalized down to the last detail. The information which can be gathered from stray notes in deeds is sufficiently clear to allow us to sketch the following outlines.

Among fractions named, one half and three fourths are most frequent; there are instances, however, of one third, one fourth, and three fifths.

The earliest instance of this type dates from N. S. 304. From the third decade of the seventh century onwards, the transaction apparently became more frequent: among the 25 documents dated from between N. S. 700 and N. S. 886, there are ten referring to such mortgages.

How the system actually worked we cannot really say. There were cases where the mortgagee was assigned a definite part of the field in question¹⁵. In the majority of cases, though, a note to this effect is lacking – which probably means the fraction was used to partition the income from the field under partial mortgage.

The method itself constitutes a peculiar departure from the older and, one would think, more usual procedure where borrowed capital, a reasonable rate of interest expressed in terms of size and yields of a field, and duration of the mortgage were balanced against each other, so that a field in its entirety for a certain period of time passed out of the disposal of its owner. Why, then, should partial mortgages of imprecise delimitations have been introduced?

The answer cannot but be conjectural. Some cases there will have been where a fraction of the expected total income from a field was deemed sufficient interest for the sum borrowed: and this method of unspecified partitions had one tangible advantage over defined ones¹⁶. The smaller the creditor's share in the entire field and its proceeds, the less would it pay for a cultivator or tenant to neglect its cultivation. – Again, partial mortgages would make sense if the proceeds from the field under mortgage formed an essential and indispensable part of the mortgagor's livelihood, so that, with the income from that field entirely gone, he was left with next to nothing. By confining himself to a share of the profits, the mortgagee left his debtor with at least some means of subsistence. By the system of fractions, he could get into debt ever more deeply, but step by step. We have one note actually testifying to this result. "The usufruct of this field, having formerly been taken¹⁷ as a pledge, the purchase price is paid in full, under complete clearance, after one hundred and one" – the unit of currency unfortunately is not

stated – “have been given”. This is from N. S. 759 and refers to a field of two *ropanikas*, three quarters of which had been signed away at some earlier date. The process, then, culminated in a sale which to all intents and purposes amounted to a foreclosure.

Notes

- 1) See DhK 1,2 p. 1589, quoted from the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya 2.114, and from other sources.
- 2) For further details, see J. D. M. Derrett: The development of the concept of property in India c.A.D. 800–1800. In: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtsgeschichte* 64 (1962), pp. 15–130. Reprinted in: *Essays ... 2*, pp. 8–123; G.-D. Sontheimer mit J. D. M. Derrett: *Der Begriff des Eigentums im Hindurecht*. In: Derrett, Sontheimer, Smith: *Beiträge zu Indischem Rechtsdenken*, Wiesbaden: Steiner 1979. (Studien zu nichteuropäischen Rechtstheorien 1.); B. Kölver: Documents from Nepal 2. In: *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 7 (1981), pp. 100–106.
- 3) For a table of durations, see p. 56.
- 4) See B. Kölver: *Chronicles and deeds*, note 42.
- 5) Cf. Meyer, p. 59: aber nur als persönliches Eigentum.
- 6) M. Ch. Regmi: *Land Tenure*, p. 287.
- 7) For a different opinion of the transaction, see Mahānirvāṇatantra 12.121 (ed. Avalon, p. 394):
lābhe niyojayed yatra sthāvarādīni mānavah /
niyamena vinā kālalābhayor anyathā bhavet //
 ‘When a man deposes immovable property etc. for gain without a limitation of period and gains, (this transaction) ought to be changed (= annulled?).’
 No doubt, this is a laudable effort in the interest of debtors. One wonders how it would have helped a debtor who upon expiry found himself unable to pay up. For the text, see J. M. D. Derrett: *A juridical fabrication of early British India*. In: *Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu Law* 2 (1977), pp. 197 ff. – And note the N. S. 251 mortgage.
- 8) The instances are extracted from Table I. p. 56.
- 9) See below, Ch. 6.3.2: Dates of *karṣaka* mortgages, p. 78.
- 10) Here we have to note the term invariably is a *derivative* from the participle, and not the participle itself; which ought to mean there is some transfer or application: “(a field etc.) in the state of being enjoyed as property” might be a more apposite translation. – The *-ka*-suffixes so frequent in inscriptions (see above, p. 44) are perhaps meant to impart the status of a technical term to their bases.
- 11) Cf. B. Kölver: *Kauṭalya’s piṇḍakara reconsidered*, *passim*.
- 12) We do not think *lāso* is a mistake or misreading for *lābho*. Apart from the shape of the *akṣara*, there is the fact that N. S. 306 fixes a sum, viz., 0.25 *prastha* per *ropanika* of land, to be given as *lāso*. ‘Gains’ would be much higher than that, and would not be gauged prior to the harvest.
- 13) Seeing the *bhāga*- is mentioned nowhere, there is no information on the interesting question of how the state reacted to lands being left uncultivated. The *piṇḍa*- levies probably were collected in any case: whenever they are mentioned, it is by fixed sums.
- 14) E. T. Atkinson: *The Himalayan districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*. Allahabad 1882, p. 516.
- 15) The Newari text is not clear. N. S. 736 *ye tho dyaṃ prapāta saha* “together with the terraced slope in the north ...”; cf. N. S. 772, 777 *vam tho dyaṃ* “... in the east”.
- 16) Exact partitions, though, were by no means impossible. N. S. 193 is ‘a field of four *ropanikas*. This being cut in the middle, its southern part, a field of two *ropanikas*’, is being negotiated.
- 17) *kāsyam tayā*.

5. Contracting Parties and the Administration

Facts pertaining to social history the documents provide in a somewhat haphazard and incidental fashion, not very plentifully either: again, we have to remember the present corpus is nothing but a chance selection, adequate perhaps to indicate certain tendencies, but certainly insufficient to draw a full picture. Even at that the data are worth collecting, in view of the paucity of other sources.

The raw materials have been assembled in Appendix II. We confine ourselves to a few remarks under the two headings of *Individuals* and *groups*, and of the *History of administration*.

Under the first subject, one of the really important topics no doubt is caste. This will not be dealt with, for the following reason. Names familiar as designations of castes are not at all frequent. When an individual had to be identified beyond his proper name, one usually added the place of his residence.

Given the theoretical pattern of Hindu settlements, which enjoined members of one caste to settle together, the locality might be taken to imply caste affiliation. We are not sure whether this line of reasoning holds good for early Mediaeval Pāṭan. For one thing, the documents themselves seem to indicate a somewhat checkered pattern. For another, there is the note of the chronicles which ascribes the introduction of the system of 64 castes to King Jayasthitimalla (d. 1395).

By virtue of its late date, this is an astonishing remark: by the 14th century, Hindu kings had demonstrably been ruling over the valley for nearly a millennium. In discussing the question, Nayarāj Pant¹ has again drawn attention to the fact that references to the caste system do occur even in Licchavi inscriptions.

This doubtless shows the idea of having a society structured according to the *varṇa* theory was not foreign to the authors of inscriptional texts. We cannot be certain, however, whether such references to *dharmasāstra* injunctions – and they are expressed in very general terms, at their most explicit naming just the top and the bottom of the social scale² – actually were reflections of social reality. For all we know, they may just as well repeat a preconceived notion of the population structure of an ideal Hindu kingdom. And again, the account of Jayasthitimalla's activities in introducing castes seems too circumstantial to be dismissed off hand; in the attempt to gauge its factual basis one would also have to consider the question of who could have had an interest in fabricating a story of this type, or exaggerating it? A motive is not easily imagined. This is certainly not the place, nor are the materials sufficiently plentiful, to take up this problem. But perhaps except for the top of the social scale, the line separating professions etc. from *jātis* and *varṇas* will not always have been as unequivocally clear as nowadays, and in the gradual emergence of caste we do not really know which state had been reached at what date. It is for this reason that many names in the present corpus are not easily interpreted with respect to caste. Yet, the *vaiśyas* of N.S. 189, 251 show the ideals of the *cāturvarṇya* were at times referred to. We revert to this question in Appendix II.

5.1. Contracting Parties

5.1.1 Individuals

Usually, it is individuals which figure both as purchasers/mortgagees and vendors/mortgagors. For caste names and titles, and their respective affiliations, cf. Appendix II.

Women apparently could hold titles in land in their own right: cf. N. S. 456, 628, 834 (?), 849. It is not known whether this was in flat defiance of normal Hindu law³, or whether any of the special circumstances applied which allowed the usual rules to be controverted. Perhaps it is not irrelevant to note women usually appear in the capacity of purchasers. N. S. 189, though, is a mortgage where a *bhikṣuṇī* pledges property of her own (consisting in a fixed income from a plot) 'together with half her husband's share' (**sārddhapatyamśa-*). From the particulars of the case, it does not seem she was a widow: if her husband was deceased, the text does not say so, and in that case one would have expected his share to have followed the normal rules of inheritance. Since N. S. 189 is a contract for a period of *eleven* years, it is possible this income had but recently been granted to the couple (cf. p. 55, *supra*).

Women could act as guardians, presumably in the case of orphaned *minors*: from wordings like **mātā-guṇavatī-mātrāju vidyamāna yānana* 'with the mother, the Ven. (*ju*) Mother Guṇavatī, having been informed' (N. S. 821, 846/2) one would conclude the mother's consent had to be sought for certain transactions. We cannot tell whether the lists of brothers in cases of joint-family property could not include minors. –

In a few cases, purchasers and vendors bear a common name. This may reflect the rule that land can be sold to a third person only after it had been offered to, and rejected by, relatives and neighbours⁴.

5.1.2 Groups of Persons

Rights in land could be simultaneously held by several individuals. This is attested from N. S. 121 until N. S. 846 – i. e. practically for the entire period covered by the Rudravarṇa collection.

These owners as a rule seem to have been members of the same family. To be sure, for older times this can only be inferred from the identity of the second part of their names⁵, and there are cases where the relationship would not seem quite clear. In N. S. 273, there are four vendors; in *294, we find five *bhāvōs* with a *bhāro* in between – though he maybe owes his existence to an error⁶. From N. S. 424 onwards, it was necessary to express the relationship in plain words.

Even before that date, it was at times given. Thus, we find 'an elder and a younger brother' (*jeṣṭhānujābhyām* (sic!) N. S. 340), or men who sell 'together with their brother' (*bhrātr̥saha*, N. S. 846). A few plots are sold 'together with the elder brother's son' (*jyeṣṭhabhrātr̥putra-*: N. S. 808, 815, 846). At times, these nephews appear to have been minors, in which case their mother's consent seems to have been desirable or even necessary: cf. *supra*. – Finally in N. S. 456 there is a *bhāro* who sells a garden 'together with his son' (*putrasahasa*). This is the only instance of this type which we can quote at present.

There can be no doubt, then, that lands could be held as property of joint families, with an inheritance not divided. On the other hand, property in immovables was not necessarily held in joint possession. There is the case of the two documents from N. S. 807 where someone, by way of exchange, obtains a house measuring 34 cubits from his brother, and next day, again by means of an exchange, disposes of a house of 68 cubits. From the enumeration of boundaries it is clear the first house adjoined the second. With two shares of one half each, this very much looks like a partition resulting from inheritance.

In younger documents recording joint possession, it is the eldest brother who stands first. Upon his death, it is not his son who automatically takes his place: 808 shows a survivor of the generation of the deceased. N. S. 456 raises the question whether there were lands that could not be disposed of without the consent of a son.

In N. S. 262, the head of a joint family went by the name of *pramukha- (śrī-kumārapālavarma-pramukhānām vastukṣetra*^o 'the field which is the property of those headed by the Ven. Kumārapālavarman'. This designation was also used for the Eldest Monk of a Buddhist *saṃgha*, and for the elder of a *guthi*.

Among purchasers, groups of persons are very rare (N. S. 75[4], 759/2, 798 where it is brothers who jointly acquire a plot of land). And while joint vendors do not necessarily imply there was joint possession of land, joint purchases definitely show there were families where brothers formed an economic unit.

5.1.3 Corporate Ownership

A number of documents testifies to corporate holdings of lands by religious bodies. These largely follow the joint family pattern. In particular, they do not show any trace of a remission of taxes levied from the plots in question, such as one would expect religious foundations to have enjoyed – which may mean such remission was not automatically granted for plots acquired from secular sources (which would have led to an automatic decrease of the income of the state and would have given religious corporations a considerable advantage in their banking and money-lending activities).

The earliest instances of corporate ownership always name the Order of Buddhist monks: and it is their community that owns or seeks to acquire lands. This is denoted by a phrase which in its simplest form runs

śrī-amuka-mahāvihār-ārya-saṃgha-bhaṭṭāra-kānām sakāśāt

In front of the Venerable (Monks) of the Noble Order of the Grand Monastery N. N.

The decision to buy or sell, or to accept a plot in mortgage, apparently was arrived at by the order in council: from 272 onwards, we find a slight expansion of the formula, viz., an insertion of *jeṣṭhakaneṣṭhasahānumatānām* (sic!) before *sakāśāt*, '(the Venerable Monks) who are agreed together, both elder and younger brothers'⁷; or, again since 272, texts speak of 'the entire order' (*sarvasaṃgha-*), etc.

The last document to show this style is dated *306. This is followed by a gap of more than four centuries – an interval all the more regrettable since it saw a change in legal technique the precise date and occasion of which would not be without interest. For from 718 onwards, it is the deity itself who appears as a party to the transaction: what formerly was a corporation aggregate is

now transformed into a corporation sole – if indeed one was not to prefer the simpler turn of phrase and say the god is treated like an individual owner. The formula is, e. g., in 782

*vaṃku-vāhāra-śrīmat-śrī-3-śākyamuni-kvācapā-
ra-bhaṭṭārakāśa nāmnā sakāśāt*

In front of him who is named the Venerable
śrīmat-śrī-3-Śākyamuni Kvācapāla, (of) Vaṃku
Bāhāl

And this style was not confined to the acquisition of property, but was also used in description of boundaries: such as

śrī-3-kvācapāla-bhaṭṭārakasa thava ccheṃ (808/
1)

The own house of the Venerable *śrī-3-Kvācapāla*

Except for the titles, then, the style of reference does not materially differ from that used for individuals. Other documents, though, name the body which acts on behalf of the god – at times at considerable length:

*... śākyavamśa-śrī-dhana-tharapāju-pramukhana
śrī-daśajana-nāyakajū-samūha-śrī-3-vaṃku-vā-
hāra-kvācapāla-śākyamuni-vuddha-bhaṭṭāraka-
nāmnā sakāśāt*

In front of him who is named the Venerable
śrī-3-Buddha Śākyamuni Kvācapāla, (of) Vaṃku
Bāhāl, (by) the Ven. Group of Leaders of Ten
People, with the Elder *śrī-Dhana*, of the Śāky
Family, at their head.

This extended formula directly reproduces the structure of the order, which is still organized according to the principle of seniority. Its ten oldest members, counting from the day of initiation, are what in the Sanskrit text just quoted is the *śrī-daśajananāyakaśamūha-*, i. e. the Ven. Group of Leaders consisting of Ten People; in Newari, they are termed *jhimha ājū*. For further details, see Ch. 1, p. 19.

Side by side with this, corporate ownership survived in the case of *guthis*, where the consent of *guthi* members again appears to have been necessary. See, e. g. N. S. 777:

*... nityakāla-candra-pramukhana-śrī(ma)c-chrī-
(śrī)-vināyaka-gaṇeśa-guthi-samūhasa nāmnena*

(Sold) by him who is named the Assembly of the
Guthi of *śrīmat-śrī-śrī-Vināyaka Gaṇeśa*, with
Candra, Performer of Daily Rites, at its head.

In other words, apart from the deity himself who held his possessions, there were *guthis* attached to him, who had special duties to perform, and who had been endowed accordingly⁸. Religious institutions, then, entered into monetary transactions on a scale by no means negligible. Since they had the means to do so, they must have been endowed beyond their day-to-day needs. Apparently they had the tendency to invest their surplus in land. Until now, no materials have come to light which allow us to compare their conditions with those of secular money lenders.

5.2 Transfers of Property

From the economical point of view, it is not uninteresting to note the direction taken by transfers of property. To be sure, the documents all stem from a monastery and thus cannot be expected to mirror contemporary society with any degree of exactness. Yet the picture which emerges shows an unmistakable trend that fits in with preconceived notions.

When comparing names and castes of vendors and buyers, one cannot escape noticing a marked drift of property away from lower and towards higher ranks. Among *bhāvos* (who ranked low in the social scale, being usually denied the honorific *śrī*) there are seven sales as against one purchase; among people just mentioned by personal names, omitting titles and functions, there are six vendors as against three buyers. This proportion is as it were inverted in the case of Śākyavaṃśas (13 buyers contrasted with 6 vendors). Religious corporations always appear as buyers, except for N. S. 777 where a *guthi* of Vināyaka Gaṇeśa sells half of a small garden to a Vajrācārya whose garden bordered upon theirs; it was not impossible, then, for a religious institution to part with lands.

Mortgages show the same characteristics. Among those who lend out money against a surety in land, the largest group consists of monasteries⁹ or monks inhabiting them¹⁰. From N. S. 251 onwards, the entire order is involved in such transactions, which apparently were decided in council¹¹.

Apart from them, there are three 'sons of a Noble Family' (*kulaputra-*)¹², one of them a *pradhānapuruṣa* and *bhāro*; two *pākas*¹³, one *bhāvo*¹⁴, and one *rajjaka*¹⁵. Finally, there are three without a title, or with the title missing. Borrowers come from a wider spectre of society: there are monks¹⁶, a Brāhmaṇa¹⁷, a Son of a Noble Family¹⁸, two *pradhānapuruṣas*¹⁹ (one of them also styled *bhalloka*), two *pākas*²⁰, two *bhāvos*²¹; three without a title²².

Borrowing, then, was by no means preferably effected within the same caste or family, and the one group that persistently occurs on the credit side of the ledger is the monasteries.

The data are of course entirely insufficient for an account of the economic activities of a *vihāra*. It is worth noting, though, that all four mortgages which date from between N. S. 251 and N. S. 273 name a *saṃgha* as mortgagee. For a period of more than two decades, four instances might not be thought a great deal; but we may be inclined to revise this judgement once we ask ourselves what happened to mortgage documents when fields were redeemed. One would suppose them to be returned to the mortgagor, perhaps even then invalidated by the series of St. Andrew's crosses which is attested from later times. The documents, however, which remained with the *saṃgha* most probably are unredeemed mortgages.

All this would point to a certain amount of banking activities on the part of the Order. And it is worth noting that none of the mortgagors is himself a member of the *saṃgha*: Money-lending, then, was not restricted to brethren.

5.3. Local Administration

1. Proper names of contracting parties were preceded by an account of their residence, presumably to facilitate the identification of persons. For these places of residence, the oldest documents do not show a uniform style. Usually they confine themselves to the name of the monastery where applicable; otherwise, they mention the name of a certain part of town, with its administrative status undefined. – Other deeds foreshadow the practice which became wide-spread from N. S. 1[9]3 onwards: the identification of places begins to be expanded, administrative labels being added: *ṭolaka-*, *sthāna-*, *kelaka-* (possibly just a mistaken spelling), *grāma-*, and, probably, the *cchu* which is discussed on p. 95. Of the first pair²³, the *sthāna-* was the more comprehensive unit, consisting of several wards²⁴ (*ṭolaka-*). This double division

was current in Bhaktapur nearly up to the end of Malla rule. To go by our documents, Pāṭan *sthānas* seem to have been short-lived: the term is attested only between N. S. *192 and 272, and names of *sthānas* usually re-occur as names of *ṭols*. – From N. S. 273 onwards, there are *ṭolakas* only²⁵; some of them were subdivided according to geographical principles: *pūrvvastha*^o, *śrī-tegala-dakṣiṇakuṇatolka*^o etc.

Names of places and administrative units are listed in Appendix II.

2. The next change was the addition of the *vr̥mā*⁻²⁶, which was prefixed to that of the administrative unit. This resulted in the wording that was to remain standard for Pāṭan during many centuries: *śrī-lalitavr̥māyām*. It is an added definition, to be sure. At the same time, it implies a contrast – which raises the question of the other *vr̥mā(s)* that Pāṭan was set off against.

The new style first appears in N. S. 193, i. e. during Śaṅkaradeva's rule. In view of this date, Petech's hypothesis of a bipartite Nepal that had come to be re-united under Śaṅkaradeva is tempting²⁷.

Incidentally, it was to 'laymen', people living outside *vihāras*, that the new style was first applied; monasteries went by their unqualified name for another 20 years or so²⁸. This may be more than an oversight due to carelessness: if we were to take the *deśācāra* concept in its full force, it might be a recognition of the fact that monasteries, peopled by homogeneous groups and being religious foundations, will have been subject to rules and customs of their own. Again, Pāṭan practice may have had its peculiarities: in later times we actually do find customs and formulas in the three kingdoms to differ from each other. The reference to the place a document originated from will at the same time have circumscribed the legal framework to be applied.

3. Another modification of the standard text points to the same direction of regional differentiation. It occurs in the adequate-price-formula, and consists of the words *yathādeśakāla*^o being replaced by *yathānagarakāla*^o. This change occurred between N. S. 294 and 304 or, possibly, 296, and may have been effected under the reign of Amṛtadeva (N. S. 295–298). We have elsewhere²⁹ tried to show this change possibly is connected with the determination of a fair price, which according to Hindu law was an indispensable prerequisite of valid sales. The substitution of the smaller territorial unit (*nagara-*) for the more comprehensive one (*deśa-*) shows local conditions were officially recognized as a factor in establishing the price, and were recognized as differing in various administrative units. Beyond this, details have not emerged; it would be interesting to know which terms *nagara-* was meant to contrast to.

4. As was pointed out on p. 46 f., at some date between N.S. 289 and N.S. 330 (note the innovation just dealt with falls into this period), a new style was adopted for *sealing* documents. Instead of the vendor's name, they now bear the legend [*siddham*] *śrī*, with or without auspicious symbols and ornamental devices. In all probability, the word *śrī* referred to the king, who in those times still went by the single honorific.

A comprehensive collection of impressions, dated and localized, would help in the task of determining administrative boundaries and identifying, within the administrative hierarchy, the institution which was responsible for authorizing transactions concerning land and keeping the corresponding records. For among impressions there are some which, though showing an identical design, plainly stem from different signets.

Incidentally, in spite of many enquiries neither of the authors has ever seen one of these signets nor found someone who had. Perhaps they were destroyed upon the death of kings.

5. To relate territorial units to designations of officials in most cases is a very difficult task. The *pradhānapuruṣa*, *cchu-mūrtti*, **mūrtyaṅga*, *pātra*, *bhontā*, and perhaps others from the list given in Appendix II, probably all held administrative functions at some time. Such designations, however, tended to grow hereditary – as testified by the *pātrakula* (N. S. 456) and the *pātravaṃśa* (N. S. 886) of the present collection, and by many names of this type still current. On the other hand, titles were not necessarily added to officials' names even when they were addressed in their official capacity: cf. the copper plate inscriptions from West Nepal where addressees of grants are often denoted by their names, such as *Khadgāhā*, *Thāpā*, etc. In their early specimens, the document reflect an increasing formalization of the transactions, in the sense of an increased government control. Implications remain to be worked out. Cadastral offices there must have been: some later codicils refer to them (cf. p. 47). Indeed it is difficult to envisage how, prior to the innovations the documents attest to, an efficient collection of taxes could have been managed; government must have been often thwarted by sales the state was not appraised of. The procedures adopted are not so very surprising on the background of the Arthaśāstra; rather, it is unexpected to see them adopted so late³⁰.

Notes

- 1) N. Pant: Sthiti Malla tathā jātpāt. In: Pūrṇimā 1,2 (Kathmandu 2021 V. S.), pp. 1–10.
- 2) This is the Anantalingeśvara inscription, which contains the phrase *brāhmaṇapramukhānām ā cāṇḍālebhyah*.
- 3) Cf. P. V. Kane: History of Dharmasāstra 3 (1973), pp. 713, 746, 748.
- 4) Cf. the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya 2.114; B. Kölver: Documents from Nepal 2, In: Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik 7 (1981) pp. 102 f.
- 5) 121: two °*jīvas*; 211: two °*bhadras*; 273/1: four °*varmans*; 424: three °*varmans*, etc.
- 6) The original of this document was not available for the present edition.
- 7) This is 273; cf. 272; *304 has **anyonyānumatānām* 'being agreed with each other'.
- 8) For a Buddhist *guthi* attached to Vamku Bāhāl and buying heavily, see 845, 846/1, 846/2.
- 9) N. S. 251, 261, 272, 273/2.
- 10) N. S. 194, *245.
- 11) N. S. 273/2 ... *śrīśivadevasamskārit(a)śrīrudravarmamahāvihārāryasamghabhāttārakānām jeṣṭhaka- neṣṭhasahānumatānām sakāśāt* 'by the Venerable (Monks) of the Noble Saṃgha of the Great Monastery (called) śrī-Rudravarman, which was adorned by śrī-Śivadeva, with the eldest and the youngest (monks) agreeing'. –
- 12) N. S. 189/1, *192, *252.
- 13) N. S. 121, 189/2.
- 14) N. S. 424.
- 15) N. S. 193.
- 16) N. S. 103, 121, 189/1.
- 17) N. S. 272.
- 18) N. S. 194.
- 19) N. S. 193, 251.
- 20) N. S. 189/2, *192.
- 21) N. S. 1[9]3, *252.
- 22) N. S. *249, 273/2, 424.
- 23) *kelaka-* is only found in 194; *grāma-* and *deśa-* are in this context confined to 759/2.

- 24) *śrī-tegvalake sthāne śuyikuta-ṭolak(a°).
- 25) Cf. the contrast between 272 and 273.
- 26) The reading is certain in sales documents which are complete, the ligature *kr* occurring in *krī-* and its derivations looks different. Thus, the reading °*kramāyām* so frequently found in print can be ruled out in a number of cases.
- 27) L. Petech: Mediaeval history of Nepal, pp. 45 ff.
- 28) The first instance is from N. S. 213.
- 29) On this part of the formula and on seals, cf. B. Kölver: Chronicles and deeds on currency and land, pp. 143 ff.
- 30) B. Kölver: Erstarkende Staatsgewalt und Hinduisierung: Neues Material aus Nepal (in press).

6. The Economy of Land Holdings

6.1. General

In their overwhelming majority, the deeds deal with two different types of rights in land which the citizen was allowed to hold: the right in certain taxes or levies which the state had conferred upon him, and the right to cultivate fields. Both of them seem to have been freely negotiable: apparently, they could be sold or mortgaged at the owner's discretion. And if mortgages usually limit the time a contract is to be valid for, there is a solid reason behind such limitations: the possibility of an eventual foreclosure hinged upon a stipulation of this type being made.

Both these rights were ultimately derived from the state. For grants of taxes, this goes without saying; as far as the right to till the soil is concerned, it seems less self-evident. But there is a strange uniformity in dates when rights of cultivation are mortgaged (see p. 78): this can, in our opinion, be explained only upon the assumption that mortgagors obtained their rights in the lands pledged on this day.

It was thus the king who held various rights in land, which he could farm out. The occasions for such grants are not included in the formula and thus open to conjecture. They will have been usual ones: payment for services, religious endowments, and the like.

For surely the system the outlines of which emerge from the deeds here published has to be seen in the light of later Nepalese practice. In particular, the distinction between the rights in certain taxes and the rights of cultivation does bear a certain similarity to the more modern distinction between *raikar* and *birtâ* lands, i. e. lands owned by the state vs. those which are in private possession. No doubt, there are essential differences: in particular, the concept of an ownership of *birtâ* lands – which M. C. Regmi has done so much to advocate¹ – cannot as such be applied to the stage that our older documents attest to: in describing the views of traditional Hindu law, we should perhaps abandon the notion of an ownership in land, and replace it by another and perhaps less formalized concept where a host of various rights was held by a variety of people, with little emphasis upon a hierarchy between these rights.

To repeat the relevant facts provided by the legal framework. Two rights, we have said, were freely negotiable: this is what the formula says, by invariably calling a field, house, or garden the vendor's or mortgagor's 'own property, which is enjoyed by himself' (*svakîyam svabhujyamânakam*). This freedom, however, was at least in older times subject to one essential restriction. There is the strange case of one and the same house being sold twice, by the same vendor to the same purchaser, with exactly eleven years intervening between the two contracts². And there are other traces of the limitation to eleven years³.

We do not know how much land was actually held under such limitations, but we should expect that, in case the procedure had been singular or infrequent, this fact would probably have been explicitly mentioned somewhere in the text. It is not. And the eleven-year period fits very well into the series of normal durations for mortgages, which extends from three to nine years, only odd numbers being chosen.

With this background, another peculiarity perhaps is no mere coincidence. We have noted the striking similarities between the sales and the mortgage formulas. If the objects sold are nothing but rights in land limited to a certain defined period, one essential criterion for distinguishing between sales and mortgages has disappeared: the distinction then rests on the presence or absence of the intention to resume the property.

The materials do not tell us how much property was actually held under such conditions, though there is a disproportionate frequency of mortgages among the older deeds. In whichever way the question of statistics will be answered in the end – the practice itself is remarkable enough.

In view of the scarceness of materials about the economic history of mediæval Hindu kingdoms, we have presented the data from the deeds here published at some length. Most of them bear upon the topics which form the subject matter of the transactions: the share of the state, and the right of cultivation. We note in passing there is no reference to the third of the essential rights in land: those of the tenant⁴.

6.2. The Share of the State

6.2.1. Proportional Taxes: the Share in the Harvest

The king's share in the harvest (*bhāga-*) is not mentioned in any of the documents (unless the expression *vā kala* of N.S. 772 were to refer to it). This, then, must have gone without saying. For there is no reason to believe the Nepalese state, which in so many fields religiously adhered to Hindu custom, had in this respect introduced a fundamental innovation⁵. – Since there is no reference to this tax whatever, there is no means of telling whether it amounted to one sixth of the produce, or to one of the other fractions that are allowed by *dharmaśāstra* authors. Correspondingly, there is no mention of exemptions from this tax, such as brâhmaṇas, religious foundations etc. will doubtless have enjoyed. The present collection, then, does not answer the question whether lands held under such exemptions were marketable, and if so, under which conditions⁶.

6.2.2. Fixed Taxes

One insufficiency of this system of taxation is obvious enough: what is the state to do if a holder does not cultivate his lands? One of the mainstays of government income will be gone. Ruthless as ever, Kauṭalya had offered the radical solution: '(The king) should take it away from those who do not till, and give it to others'; alternatively, 'those who do not till (the soil), should give what is lost'⁷ – i. e. compensate the state.

The procedure here advocated will not at all times have been feasible, and in view of this difficulty the state, apparently from an early time onwards⁸, had taken recourse to another means, viz., imposing fixed levies on lands, which had to be paid irrespective of the amounts of

the actual harvest. By this expedient, the state made sure there was at least some income accruing from all arable lands. In the beginning, such levies appear to have been on a modest scale: the twentieth, the twenty-fourth part of the annual produce or main crop⁹. They became increasingly popular with governments, though – up to a point where it was worth while to establish a Separate *Office of Fixed Shares* (*dhruvâdhikaraṇa*-¹⁰), which collected what is in other inscriptions and regions called the *deya*-, the quantity of grain (or money) to be given (as contrasted with the share in the harvest which continued to be raised on a proportional scale: since this depended on measuring, it was called *meya*-).

Not much is known about the precise nature of such levies, which supplemented the proportional tax, and the entire system has not yet been pieced together for any of the Mediaeval Hindu kingdoms. Nor does the present collection allow us to draw a complete picture. One of these levies, though, must have attained to considerable importance during Licchavi and the early centuries of Malla Nepal: it is mentioned with great regularity. And the contrast between Licchavi and early Malla terminology, and the considerable variation of its rates during Malle rule, shows this was a concept constantly under revision.

We shall present this system at some length, though we realize the data are just not plentiful enough for a coherent account. Nonetheless, the procedure seems warranted. We do have the same system in the *Śâtavâhana deya-/meya*-. The *dhruvâdhikaraṇa*- is known from Kâthiâwâd. The kings of Nepal raised it in the shape of the *piṇḍaka*- and allied levies. And documents from many parts of the Hindu world speak of the ‘eight enjoyments’ (*aṣṭabhoga*-), a term that covers a wide variety of levies. Different terms and headings, manifold modifications (and justifications, in *śâstra* and administrative tradition) – yet all of them, when taken together, show this field of fixed levies was an area where mediaeval Hindu theorists of taxation found scope to exert their ingenuity.

6.2.2.1. The Subsistence Tax and Related Levies

Chief among fixed taxes is what the deeds usually call the *mûlapiṇḍa*- i. e. the basic subsistence tax. This is a levy which, while the tax was raised, was due from every plot, as the present collection amply documents. Thus, there can be no question of taking *piṇḍa*- in the sense of ‘aggregate, sum, etc.’, as is usually done in the present context (‘aggregate tax’ etc.¹¹). Rather, it is a descendant of what is the *piṇḍakara*- of the Arthaśâstra – a tax which, on the strength of MânDhŚ 7.130 and related passages, appears to have been originally meant to cover the basic expenses of the Royal Court¹².

The subsistence tax appears in a bewildering complexity of shapes. To facilitate the subsequent discussion, we begin by assembling the essential data under two headings, possessors and rates.

A. Possessors

1. There are a few documents (239; *245/2; 273/2; *296) which just state the amount due as *mûlapiṇḍa*. This probably means the levy in these cases had to be paid to its customary recipient, i. e. the state.
2. In other records, it was the property (*vastu*) of various persons or institutions. Among the latter, we find a *mahâvihâra* (*158) and the community of monks of a *vihâra* (°*vihâra*-

saṅgha-vastu, *252). More often, it is single individuals who own it, sometimes selling or mortgaging this right. Among owners, the majority are monks (*121; 189/2; *192; 211 (two of them); 213 ≈ 224; *240). Then, there is a goldsmith living in a *vihāra* (202), a *pradhānapuruṣa* (193), a *brāhmaṇa* (272), a *bhāro* (262), and one *Rāmavaraddhana*, devoid of any title (289). From all this, it appears probable the *mūlapiṇḍa* right rested with the Royal Court and was transferred to its holders either in order to pay for services, or as a religious donation. In spite of the fact that this right often was the holder's for a limited time only, it is nonetheless always called *svakīyam svabhujyamānakam* "[the holder's] own property, which is enjoyed by himself". And the deeds show it could be both mortgaged and sold – i. e. while the holder's, it appears to have been freely negotiable. Hence, a holder actually attested is not necessarily identical with the original donee.

B. Rates of the Subsistence Tax

1. The sums given as *mūlapiṇḍa*- are subject to very considerable variations. When related to a unit of one *ropanika*-, they range between one third of a *mānikā*-, and four *mānikās*. This is the scale which is applied to fields (*kṣetra*-) – i. e. it does not include house or garden lands, which seem to have been free from this levy until N.S. 194 and are assessed only from N.S. 213 onwards, at a rate which, compared to that applied to fields, is merely nominal ($1/16 mā^\circ$). This rate was equally applied to houses, gardens, and to grounds for building houses: i. e. it survived the administrative reforms of Śivadeva, Ānandadeva and his successors the details of which slowly begin to emerge.

The fact that the *mūlapiṇḍa*- for houses, or perhaps for urban settlements, was much less than that levied from arable land has an interesting parallel in much later times:

'If a brick house is constructed on Raikar waste land anywhere within the kingdom, land within the line of the roof and fifteen feet in the front shall be granted as Birta.' Thus Regmi, Land tenure, p. 271. This means homesteads were subject to tax relief; which again implies that taxes took account of the fact whether an income could potentially be derived from the plot taxed. Variations of rates show a distribution which cannot be solely explained in terms of time, i. e. inflation and the tightening grip of the state, although on the whole later documents do show higher sums. A rise in rates is, at best, a contributing factor. 19 *prastha*-, e. g., are attested for N.S. 121 and 237; three years after the latter date, we find twice as much, 38 *prastha*. – N.S. 192 and 273/1 both have 25.6 *prastha*, etc.: the facts are collected in Table II (see next page), and they do show there is no linear development in time.

Apart from what appears to be a minor variation in terms¹³, the texts themselves contain nothing to assist us in the interpretation of this diversity. For an attempt to disentangle the various factors involved, we have nothing but the figures themselves.

2. One reason for the multiplicity is not beyond conjecture. This is the *gradation of arable lands* in proportion to their productivity. In Śāha times, this varied within rather narrow limits, the scale quoted in Landon¹⁴ being 16 : 18 : 20 : 24, i. e. the highest rate is one and a half times as much as the lowest.

Now, there are certain regularities in *mūlapiṇḍa*- rates which will not be fortuitous. The data are collected in the following table. In order to make them more accessible, they are related to a constant of one *ropanika*-, and to avoid long fractions, they are expressed in *prasthas* rather than in *mānikās*, ($1 mā^\circ = 32 pra^\circ$).

Table II. Rates of Subsistence Tax related to Possible Factors

Sums given in *prastha per ropanika*

Multiplier	mā° rop° *basic factor	Fields			Houses and Gardens	
		1/2	1/3	1/5	1/7	1/16
		' <i>piṇḍaka-</i> '		' <i>mūlapiṇḍa-</i> '		
1			10.6 ¹			2 ²
3		48 ³		19.2 ⁴ *19 ⁵		
4				25.6 ⁶		
5			53.3 ⁷			
6				*38 ⁸ A2		
8		128 ⁹		51.2 ¹⁰ A3		
11				*70.6 ¹¹		
22					100.57 ¹²	

Arithmetical inaccuracies are marked by an asterisk *A1.

Attested in N. S.:

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1) 159 2. --- | 2) 213; *296. --- | 3) 193 2. --- | 4) 121. --- |
| 5) 293. --- | 6) *192; 273 1. --- | 7) 159 1. --- | 8) 240. --- |
| 9) 211. --- | 10) 262. --- | 11) 189 2. --- | 12) 272. |

A1: Two of the three arithmetical inaccuracies, those of N. S. 239 and 240, are obviously related to each other. In 239, the levy amounts to 19 rather than 19.2 *prastha*; in 240, it is twice as much. – In N. S. 189|2, it amounts to 1/4 *prastha*, no very large quantity, to be sure – but it is a burden added to the cultivator.

A2: The text has the expression *mūlapiṇḍakam*.

A3: This is actually two charges of 25.6 *prastha* each; only the first of them is labelled **mūlapiṇḍa-*, it may have to be entered under 25.6.

Of course, both headings are interpretative. Still, as to *Basic factor*, there is the indubitable fact that 1/16 refers to a certain use of land, viz., houses and gardens – which creates a certain presumption for the remaining factors to refer to some circumstance of the same type. We would suggest this might well be the gradation of arable land.

If so, then the scale of evaluation is more than twice as wide as that current in Śāha times: it comes to 50 : 33.3 : 20 : 14, the lowest grade being assessed at less than a third of the highest. We shall see this scale somewhat modified in the light of the discussion of *mūlapiṇḍa-* vs. *piṇḍaka-* (cf. p. 75); yet even as it stands, it would not seem altogether impossible: if we are correct in assuming less developed agricultural techniques, less intensive improvements in land for older times, then the amount of the harvest would to a greater extent depend on the natural qualities of soil, irrigation etc. – which would warrant a wider scale in taxation.

C. Value of the Subsistence Tax

In sales documents of this collection, prices usually are not stated. Sales of *piṇḍa*-rights form no exception to this rule, which is why we cannot form a direct idea of the sums this right was valued at. A certain indication, however, is provided by the sums that were lent with the *mûlapiṇḍa* being offered in lieu of interest. These data are of limited usefulness, since sums will of course depend upon the creditor's estimate of the risks involved, upon the price of grain, etc. Again, rates of interest were subject to considerable variation in Hindu law (see, e.g., Manu 8.140 ff, etc.). Thus, the following figures will rather allow us to form an approximate idea of the respective values of grain and money, than about the value of the *mûlapiṇḍa*- itself. The duration that the right is mortgaged for, while crucial for the date of redemption, should not enter into the present calculations, since the income from the land serves as interest, and compound interest was not allowed, according to the rules of the *śâstra*.

Table III. Value of the Subsistence Tax

Year	Sum borrowed	Yields in mânikâs	Ratio Yields Capital
<i>Paṇa Purâṇa Currency</i>			
121	150	3	0.02 mâ° per <i>pa° pu°</i>
193 2	300	3	0.01 mâ° per <i>pa° pu°</i>
<i>Śivadeva's Currency in maṃsa</i>			
251	174	17	0.098 mâ° per <i>maṃsa</i>
272	96	11	0.114 mâ° per <i>maṃsa</i>

This is of course not the price of grain, since it ignores the rate of interest – and it is only the interest which is to be covered by the value of the grain mortgaged.

D. Potential Yields the Base of the Subsistence Tax

From the data presented hitherto, the reader will have formed an opinion of the grounds this levy rested upon: they must stem from a proportionate assessment, however remotely. This assumption is fortified by the implications of a term which occurs in a few of the deeds, viz., the phrase *dhânya visena* (with orthographical variants), which sometimes denotes the volume of grain the subsistence tax was to consist of.

Visena etc. we take to be derived from *viṃśa*, the twentieth part, and for the meaning of the term we would revert to Licchavi inscriptions, which occasionally speak of what in their terminology is *viṃśikâ*- or *viṃśatikâ*-. Both occur in fixing rates for assessing lands. No. 112¹⁵ (Vajracârya; = No. 59 Gnoli) e.g., records a gift of lands the *piṇḍaka*- of which amounts to 80 *mânikâs* of grain (*aśitipiṇḍakamânikânâm bhû [sic!] pratipâditâḥ*), and then proceeds to list the places this income was to be collected from (*tâsâm pradeśâ likhyante*). The first part of this list comprises five separate localities, yielding 10 – 20 – 5 – 2 – 9 + 15 *mânikâs* respectively. This total of 61 *mânikâs* comes from places assessed 'at the twentieth part': *viṃśatikayaite*¹⁶. The inscription goes on to say *athânyâs caturviṃśatikayâ* 'and the others (are to be assessed) at the twenty-fourth part'. From here onwards, the inscription is fragmentary.

These fractions, then, designate two different rates of assessing lands. They cannot very well refer to anything but a share in the produce. There are, however, two things to be kept in mind. For one, both rates are much lower than the king's customary share (which is around one sixth). Then, the *viṃśatikā* etc. are fixed sums, just as the *vīśa* of the Rudravarṇa deeds: they are independent from the amount of the harvest.

From all this, the nature of the tax emerges with sufficient clarity. It is grounded on *potential* rather than on *actual* yields, thus providing the state with a minimal income, irrespective of the mode – and of the vicissitudes – of actual cultivation.

This again explains the wide difference in actual rates as demonstrated by Table II. Once the criterion of potential yields had been introduced, classification of lands would appear to be a corollary well-nigh inevitable.

As can be seen from Table II, the amounts collected under this heading present a problem. They are no longer based upon a fraction of 20 or its multiples. The inscriptions tell us the tax itself had been levied even in Licchavi times. We cannot escape the conclusion that the rates at some time came to be calculated according to a different and more refined system, while the old term continued to be used. The development of the notion of *tithe* affords a parallel¹⁷.

E. *mūlapiṇḍa-* and *piṇḍaka-*

To revert to the rates of the subsistence tax (Table II). In the attempt to interpret this scale, there is a difference in terminology which has to be taken into account. In some instances, the deeds use the word *piṇḍaka-* in the place that otherwise shows *mūlapiṇḍa-*.

If we go by the rules of word formation in Sanskrit, then *piṇḍaka-* should mean, not *piṇḍa-*, but something denoting an entity somehow related to the latter¹⁸. This may be some subsidiary levy similar in kind, or perhaps only calculated according to the *piṇḍa-* scale. The latter alternative may be the correct one: it would give a point to the first member of the compound, *mūla-*, which then denotes the basic rate for calculating the levies. And it is worth noting that sums labelled *piṇḍaka-* are, by and large, higher than those which go by the other designation: those with the highest basic factor and those with the highest 'multiplier' belong to this category. – Incidentally, this brings what probably is the gradation scale down to a proportion of 33.3 : 20 : 14, by assigning 50, its highest item, to a different and possibly composite tax. The 'multipliers' of Table II will at least in part consist of such subsidiary levies. Their actual nature is not mentioned in any of the deeds, unless the *lāṣo* and *cātī* (cf. p. 76 below) are to be classified under this heading. Of course, there are the innumerable levies and cesses which inscriptions from various regions of the Hindu world attest to (e.g. U. N. Ghoshal: Hindu Revenue System, pp. 35 ff.). Again, the type of crop which could be grown on the land will have formed an element of calculations.

Remission of taxes no doubt was another factor. The *piṇḍa-*, we have to remember, was a levy due to the state, and all the deeds before our eyes are cases when the king had waived this right of his, for whichever reason. And in a Hindu state, such remission of taxes could either be total or partial, the best-known instance for partial remission being the Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka, which ends in the sentence *luṃminigāme ubalike kaṭe aṭhabhāgīye ca* 'the village of Luṃmini was made tax-free and one that (only) had to pay the eighth part (of the produce?)'¹⁹. This was a considerable remission: no matter whether the normal rate for Lumbini was the third of fourth part (Kauṭalya 5.2.2), or the fifth or sixth: even at the lowest of these rates, it made for

a savings of 33 %. – Such partial remissions were subsumed under ‘favours’ (*anugraha-*), and Kauṭalya occasionally mentions them along with total exemption (*parihâra-*; see 2.1.15; 2.16.11–12 (for tradespeople), 2.35.3)²⁰.

We cannot tell whether the maximum remission recorded in the deeds (N. S. 211; 4 *mânikâs per ropanîka-*) amounted to the king granting his entire share to a third party. If this was the case, there are concessions of 80, 40, and 20 %, the latter being the most frequent. Perhaps it is not by chance that we see the highest percentages in the possession of two monks, a brâhmana, and a ‘son of a Noble Family’. Of course, the argument cannot be called cogent, since the concession was marketable and there is no means to tell whether the vendors or mortgagors are the original grantees.

With nothing but parallels, analogies, and general reflections to guide us, it seems futile to attempt to disentangle the factors which in their combination made up the total. Faced by this bewildering complexity, we do however realize why an explicit statement as to the sums due under the heading *mûlapinḍa* was an absolute necessity for each document.

F. Abolishment of *mûlapinḍa*

And correspondingly, we understand why this type of levy came to be abolished. For abolished it was: subsequent to N. S. *296, it is no longer mentioned in any of the deeds. A tax which, to go by Table II, would in theory admit of 88 different rates for fields (though it is only ten which actually are attested), was not easy to handle; it must have been particularly unwieldy at a time when purchases and mortgages were possible without direct government participation. We know the Nepalese state reformed the administration of lands, and required citizens to have land sales authorized by government: this happened at some time between N. S. *296 and N. S. 326²¹. It may have been at this occasion that the old *mûlapinḍa-* tax, and its derivatives, was abolished – in which case the reform would have been more than just procedural.

On the whole, then, the concept of the *mûlapinḍa-*, being the basis for other levies derived from it, was practised for a limited time only. The term does not yet occur in Licchavi inscriptions: their entire corpus does not mention them, but always speaks of *pinḍa-* or *pinḍaka-*. This would point to a reform in the methods of assessing lands, to have occurred some time between Licchavi times and the first century of the Nepal Samvat era. There is another circumstance which points to the same conclusion. For the practice of measuring lands by means of *ropanîkas* is not attested in Licchavi inscriptions either²²: and two fundamental changes in the methods of dealing with lands may well have had a common origin.

6.2.2.2. Minor levies

Of minor levies, two are actually attested, viz., *lâso* and *câtî*²³. Both are paid in husked rice, and both amount to very small sums when compared to the subsistence tax.

In N. S. 306, the *lâso* is 0.25 *prastha-* per *ropanîka-*; for 310, the corresponding figure is 0.375. This may have been a levy variable in itself: in which case, the expression *sthita-lâso* (N. S. 306) would make sense, noting the levy was fixed, contrary to customary practice.

With 1.25 *prastha-* per *ropanîka-*, the *câtî*, in the single instance where it is attested (N. S. 294), is a good deal higher than the preceding, but still much lower than the lowest *mûlapinḍa-* rate.

Since it is its usufruct which is being sold, it must be counted among the marketable rights in land. The word reappears in the codicil to N. S. 211, where it seems connected with the *karṣaka* income.

We are unable to suggest an explanation for either term. Perhaps they are abbreviations.

6.2.3. Compulsory Labour (*viṣṭi-*)

Compulsory labour must have been fairly common: our sole reference to it is included in the adequate-price formula, which testifies to some familiarity with evaluating this duty. On the other hand, its occurrence is confined to a single deed (N. S. 304), which means it cannot have been a duty that was attached to fields in general; rather, its reasons must be looked for in the circumstances of the individual case. These are actually mentioned in the deed. The plot in question was bounded by a river, and it was the holder's duty to take appropriate measures against possible damages through flooding – an obligation which of course affected the value of the plot.

As far as the type of work is concerned, there is a rather close parallel in Kauṭalya, where the cases of forced labour (*viṣṭikarmāṇi*) include 'the work of cleaning camps, roads, bridges²⁴, wells, and fords' (*śibiramârgasetukûpatîrthaśodhanakarma*, 10,4,17). This, however, forms part of the instructions for warfare, while in the deed at hand we have a task that, when performed, is in the interest of the holder himself and of his immediate neighbours. Such work is not really on a par with classical instances of compulsory labour, like King Śivadeva's *bhoṭṭaviṣṭi*-²⁵, the obligation to render portage services for the Tibet trade. Its function, then, is statute labour rather than corvée. Yet the deed classifies it as *viṣṭi-*. The concept would merit closer study²⁶.

6.3. The Right of Cultivation

6.3.1. *karṣaka-*

was the term that denoted the right to till the soil. This could be held in two forms, either as what is called *karṣakalâbhamâtram* 'only the gains of the right of cultivation', or as *karṣakaparibhoga*-²⁷, 'the enjoyment/usufruct of the right of cultivation'. In either form, the right could be both sold and mortgaged: it was the holder's property (*svakîyam*), though, at times, for a limited period only.

The distinction between the two terms is not openly expressed and remains to be inferred; it may have been as follows. With its delimitations inherent in the very term, the 'gains' among other things may have been meant to safeguard the tenant's rights, while the usufruct probably was devoid of such restrictions²⁸.

However, there is a second aspect to these 'gains', which is touched upon in the Vyavahâramayûkha gloss to a verse on *strîdhana* traditionally ascribed to Devala²⁹. This takes *lâbha-* in the sense of *vṛddhiḥ*: 'interest or profit of money lending'³⁰. This is a comment which, though unexpected in itself, gains an additional point from the following peculiarity.

6.3.2. Dates of *karṣaka*- mortgages

When looking at the mortgage documents from the present collection, one notices a strange uniformity in dates. To sum up the facts. From a total of thirteen instances for this transaction, there are eight which date from one particular day of the year³¹. This is the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha, which immediately follows upon the festival that marks the beginning of spring and New Year. And in all of the eight mortgages which are contracted on *vaiśākha śukla 5*, it is the *karṣaka*- right which is pledged – while mortgages of other rights bear no significant connection with any day and presumably could be effected at any time: such are the Subsistence Tax mortgages of N. S. 121, 193, 272, and of N. S. 189. Again, the right of cultivation did not positively have to be marketed on this day: *192 [No. *61*], dating from *vaiśākha śukla 2* – it is just that, with eight cases out of nine, we have to note a marked propensity to use this day.

This practice continued for more than two and a half centuries, up to N. S. 424 (and subsequent to this date, there are no mortgages in our corpus). To be fortuitous, this distribution is too uniform by far; even if we were to suppose that what at some time was motivated by solid reasons had in the course of time dwindled into mere custom, we would yet expect to find this reason.

Again, the grounds can only be inferred. The custom would make sense if it was on this day that the right of cultivation was granted to its holders. The date, immediately following upon the festival that marks the commencement of the agricultural year, would appear particularly well chosen. And it cannot have been any other than the king who had the authority to bestow this right. Most of the grants will have been made in recognition of services, and the mortgages stem from people who turned this right into cash.

This is the point where we are led back to the Vyavahāramayūkha explanation of *lābha*:- the *karṣaka*- right actually serves as interest on the sums the mortgagee had advanced on its strength.

There is another circumstance in support of this. When speaking of rights in land, the Nepalese documents carefully avoid any reference to ownership. In various terms, they always speak of 'enjoying' the land, and he who enjoys it is called the 'holder' (*dhārṇaka*-), not the possessor or owner. This usage continues down to the last item in our collection, and is adhered to even when the king himself is selling lands: witness N. S. 718, the only concession to his royal status being the epithet *śrī*- prefixed to *dhārṇaka*-. If anywhere, it is here when Hindu law would require us to speak of an owner. Yet it is the old terminology of grants which persists. All this adds up to a state when what the citizen could hold was the usufruct of one of the rights in land.

6.3.3. Mortgaging the Right of Cultivation

The relation between the area of a mortgaged plot and the sums borrowed ought to be significant, since it is the produce of fields which stands on lieu of interest. The figures attested are listed in the following table.

Table IV. Loans Based on Right of Cultivation

No.	Date N. S.	Type of land	Size of plot	Loan	Sum per <i>ropaṇika</i> - <i>karṣa</i> -
<i>Paṇa Purāṇa currency</i>					
1.	103	F	3 ro°	200	66.6̄ per ro°
2.	159 1	F	3 ro°	550	183.3̄ per ro°
3.	189 2	F	1,5 ro°	1 100	733.3̄ per ro°
4.	*192	F	2,5 ro°	700	280 per ro°
5.	193 1	G	0.5 ka°	180	360 per karṣa
			= 0.25 ro°		720 per ro°
6.	194	G	2.5 ka°	1 000	400 per ka°
			= 1.25 ro°		800 per ro°
<i>Śivadeva's currency</i>					
7.	261	F	1 ro°	2 karṣa ⁶	2 karṣa per ro°
8.	273 1	F	2,5 ro°	1 plā, 1 karṣa 9 maṃsa	2 karṣa, 3.6 maṃsa } per ro°
9.	424	F	3 ro°	12 śivakâs, 1 maṃsa	4 śivakâs, 1/3 maṃsa per ro°

Legend: F = field – G = garden – ro° = *ropaṇika* – ka° = *karṣa* (the land measure)

They show a considerable diversity: with 30 years intervening, the mortgagor of No. 3 is allowed exactly (!) four times as much as he of No. 2. Again, the causes are not clear. The gradation of lands which the rates of the subsistence tax led us to suggest will be one of the reasons, and if we remember the variations there encountered, a proportion of 1:4 is no longer so very astonishing. –

Gardens, we note in passing, were rated as high or higher than the most expensive types of arable lands: their exemption from the *mûlapinḍa* tax and its subsidiaries will have contributed to this evaluation.

6.3.4. Subsistence Tax and Rights of Cultivation Compared

In order to assess the value which this right had to its holder, it will be useful to correlate it to the sums due as subsistence tax. The data are scant; yet they do allow a comparison between the two chief rights in land which were marketable.

In this attempt, one has to remember there are two factors which make for uncertainty. Our central assumption is that the value of the profits (i. e. either the price of the fixed quantity of grain which is received by way of 'tax', or the profits expected from tilling the land or having it tilled) correspond to the interest a creditor would have received if he had invested his money elsewhere. This assumption is actually verified in N.S. 194, which says *vṛddhir asya vâṭikâparibhogam* (normalized text), 'the enjoyment/usufruct of this garden (serves as) its

interest'. Furthermore, an expectation of normal profits would be the most satisfactory explanation for the Saṃgha of Buddhist monasteries involving themselves in banking activities (for which see p. 64, *supra*).

The first of the uncertainties referred to of course stems from the fact that the rates of interest which lie at the bottom of the various transactions are nowhere mentioned, and individual departures from the standard rate cannot be excluded. Second, there is the question of the various grades of land, which will have been entered into calculations. Since we cannot determine the effect of these two factors, we have had to ignore them. This means the chief advantage of the data at hand is that they enable us to ask the question; the answers will be approximations at best.

The Subsistence Tax Mortgages (Table III) gave us a ratio of grain (measured in *mānikās*) to invested capital. When this is applied to the data of Table IV, i. e. the sums that could be borrowed when mortgaging a area of one *ropanika-*, (again with the tacit understanding that its net proceeds were sufficient interest for that sum), we obtain the amount of grain which the creditor considered his due interest when accepting the right of cultivation as a pledge.

Table III, lamentably brief, showed two divergent rates for the *paṇa purāṇa* currency, and two for Śivadeva's. Of the former group we use both, since we have no data to separate the factors which determined it. The difference between the latter pair is minimal.

Although the figures assembled in the following table are anything but transparent, it seems they do allow us to form an idea of the respective value of the two rights.

Table V: Values of the Right of Cultivation and the Subsistence Tax compared.
Data given in *mānikās* of grain per *ropanika-*.

Date N. S.	Loan per <i>ropanika-</i>	Proceeds of Cultivation		Proceeds of Subsistence Tax
		Rate of N. S. 121 0.02	Rate of N. S. 193 0.01	
<i>Paṇa Purāṇa Currency</i>				
121	66.6̄	1.3̄	0.6̄	(missing)
159 1	183.3̄	3.6̄	1.83̄	1.6̄
189 2	733.3̄	14.6̄	7.3̄	2.2
192	280	5.6	2.8	0.8
193 1	720	14.4	7.2	{ not applicable:
194	800	16	8	{ gardens
<i>Śivadeva's Currency in māṃsas (Rate of 251)</i>				
261	24		2.62	(missing)
273 1	74		3.23	0.8
424	not included since the <i>mūlapiṇḍa</i> levy had been abolished			

If the deeds preserved are anything like a representative selection, they show the right of cultivation was considerably higher in value than the right in the subsistence tax. This stands to reason – and it would tally with the conclusions drawn from the uniformity of dates when

marketing the former: government used to pay its servants by means of land grants, and it was the more profitable of these rights which was preferably used for this purpose. Again, the periodical reversion of lands makes good sense on this hypothesis.

6.3.5. Kinds of crop

These are but incidentally mentioned, namely, when it is the question of listing the kinds of tax or levy that have to be paid. In most cases this consisted of rice, which, in husked form, is mentioned several times (*taṇḍula-* in various spellings, abbreviated *taṁ*). More frequently, the deeds speak of unhusked rice (*dhânya-*, abbr. *dhâ*), and N. S. 273/1 has *dhânyamiśra-taṇḍula-* (normalized spelling), 'husked rice mixed with unhusked', which is necessary for various ritual purposes. – The only other crop the deeds mention is sesamum: *tailapiṇḍa-* is due as subsistence tax from the field of N. S. 310.

6.3.6. Are Mortgages economically sound?

In connection with mortgages, we have to raise another question without being able to answer it. This hinges upon the problem of their duration. As far as material effects go, mortgages for longer periods may be tantamount to sales. In Imperial Rome, the price of one *iugerum* of land was between 600 and 900 *denarii*; its proceeds in a normal year were worth 200 to 250. Under such conditions, mortgages at full value of the crop are no sound financial proposition when lasting for much longer than, say, five years or so: it will be cheaper to buy the land. Yet in our documents this period is not infrequently exceeded, and at times substantially. Such longer durations, however, do make sense if the holder is granted the *karṣaka-* right for a limited time, and when a sale is out of the question. – In this context it may be worth noting that there is not a single mortgage subsequent to N. S. 424: this *might* of course point to the adoption of a different system of remunerating grantees – if, indeed, it is not due to a simple change in the vihāra's lending policy.

6.4. The Position of Tenants

From the structures the outlines of which have been set forth in the preceding, it is possible to form some estimate as to the financial position of those who had to do the actual work of cultivation. We had noted that tenants' rights, which do figure in dharmasâstra injunctions, are not referred to in the text of the deeds. This need not mean more than that they were rights of a different order, which were not affected by a change in the ownership of other rights attached to the same plot of land, and vested in third persons.

The estimate can be grounded on an addition of the fixed costs which had to be paid from the harvest yields of a plot. These comprised the king's share in the harvest. According to Gautama (2.1.24, ed. ĀSS), it amounted to 1/10, 1/8, or 1/6 of the produce: depending upon the gradation of lands, as Haradatta says. Manu has 1/6, 1/8, or 1/12; Vasiṣṭha and Viṣṇu 1/6, and this is the

rate which is used for Kauṭalya's *terminus technicus* to denote the government's share, the *ṣadbhāga*-. For the purpose of our calculations, it is this rate which will be used; of course this is, in a sense, an arbitrary choice.

The *piṇḍa*- levies would form the second item. Although they had come to be fixed, for calculations it seems safe to start out from the meaning of the oldest term attested in Nepāl, the *vimśatikā*, i. e. 1/20 of proceeds. The various surcharges based on the *mūlapiṇḍa*- rate have to be added to this, and Table II shows the total *piṇḍaka*- could vary within wide limits.

Finally, there are the gains of cultivation, which according to Table V come to something between three and four times as much as the *mūlapiṇḍa*-.

The total of fixed costs would then be something like what follows. The king's share of the harvest: 16.6 %; fixed levies, basic: 5 %, plus surcharges; the right of cultivation: 15 or 20 %. This amounts to a total of 36.6 or 41.6 %. Surcharges have to be added to this percentage.

The remainder had to cover the costs of cultivation, i. e. the seed and the subsistence-plus-wages of tenants and farm labourers. These are figures which tend towards the upper margin of what traditional Hindu writers thought reasonable. "That agriculture is successful which yields a profit twice the expenditure (including Government demand), after duly considering the variations in actual produce [...]. Anything less than that is unsatisfactory", says the Śukranīti³⁴. The conditions described by Kauṭalya are not quite as favourable. Government lands which the state finds impossible to cultivate on his own are to be given to the so-called *ardhasītikāḥ*, farmers who work for half the produce (Arthaśāstra 2.24.16). Surely they will have been allowed what was considered a liberal rate, since the alternative was to let the land lie fallow, i. e. complete loss of revenue. The rate of 50 % for the tenants is considered normal, though, in a number of dharmaśāstra texts³⁵.

All told, it appears the Nepalese tenant was in a position rather similar to his equal in other parts of the Hindu world. And it is an interesting point to see how an examination of the deeds and their data leads to a result which tallies with the prescriptions of the śāstra.

Notes

- 1) Cf. M. C. Regmi, Land tenure and taxation, vol. 2, *passim*.
- 2) This is the pair N. S. 213/224.
- 3) There are two documents where a holder declares himself liable for a limited period only: in N. S. 294, for nine years, and in N. S. 310, for eleven. Perhaps this limitation repeats the period for which a vendor or mortgagor held the right he disposes of: note it is again a case of odd numbers, for which *vide supra*, p. 55.
- 4) The two references to 'cultivators' [*kṛṣyamāna* preceded by names N. S. 121, 211] probably refer to the holders of the right of cultivation rather than to tenants.
- 5) We should be able to speak with better authority on this subject if the volume of the chief measure of grain, the *mānikā*, had been determined. Once this is known, it will be possible to gauge the value of the quantities raised under the heading of Fixed Taxes.
- 6) Cf. the restrictions in Kauṭalya, Arthaśāstra 3.10.9. *Karadāḥ karadeṣu ādhānam vikrayam vā kuryuḥ, brahmadeyikā brahmadeyikeṣu* "Taxpayers should mortgage or sell (lands) only to taxpayers, possessors of lands granted to brāhmaṇas only to such who possess lands granted to brāhmaṇas".

- 7) Arthaśāstra, 2.1.10 and 12: *akṛṣatām ācchidyānyebhyaḥ prayacchet ... akṛṣanto ... (a)vaḥinam dadyuh*.
- 8) See B. Kölver: Kauṭalya's *piṇḍakara*- reconsidered. In: Festschrift J. D. M. Derrett, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 168 ff.
- 9) These are rates from Licchavi inscriptions: see above, p. 74.
- 10) D. C. Sircar's gloss (cf. Indian Epigraphical Glossary, s. v.) assigns a wider meaning to the term; cf., however, his gloss on *dhruva*, *ibid*.
- 11) Cf., e. g., Ghoshal: Hist. Revenue System, glossary; J. J. Meyer: Arthaśāstra, transl., p. 138, etc.
- 12) Cf. Kölver: Kauṭalya's *piṇḍakara*- reconsidered. In: Festschrift J. D. M. Derrett, pp. 177 ff. Dhanavajra Vajrācārya takes *piṇḍaka*- to mean 'rent' of land (in kind); Nep. *kūt* (Licch. Abhil. pp. 57 f.). This gloss, though capturing the regularities of the contribution, does not cover the fact that it is not a payment for the right to use the land.
- 13) *mūlapiṇḍa*- vs. *piṇḍaka*-: see p. 75.
- 14) P. Landon, Nepal. London 1928. Vol. 1, p. 255, note.
- 15) Ed. Vajrācārya; Gnoli No. 59.
- 16) The same inscription, lines 22–23.
- 17) The deed from N. S. 211 possibly mentions another fraction. From Table II one gathers the sum due as *piṇḍaka*- from this field is based on a coefficient of one half. Perhaps, then, in line 4 we ought to isolate the word *ādheṇa*, 'by the scale of one half'. For an explanation of *ādha*, see S. K. Chatterji: Origin and development ..., p. 499; S. Sen: Etymological dictionary of Bengali, s. v. *ārā*, and cf. Sircar: Indian Epigraphical Glossary, s. v. *ādha*.
- 18) Wackernagel: II, 2, § 362 'ein zum Begriff des Grundworts irgendwie in Beziehung stehendes Wesen oder Ding': p. 519.
- 19) Hultzsch: Inscriptions of Aśoka, pp. 164 f. The formation is analogous to *ṣaḍbhāga*-. 'The eighth part (of the normal rate of taxation)' seems most unlikely.
- 20) See, e. g., Kauṭalya 2.35.3 ... *śimnām kṣetrānām ca maryādāranya. pathipramāṇasampradānavikrayānugrahaparihāranibandhān kārayet* '... for (village) boundaries and fields, he should have compendia made, (listing) the extent of boundaries, woods, and roads, (as well as) gifts, sales, remissions and exemptions from tax.' No doubt *anugraha*- does occur in the more general sense of 'favour' (see, e. g., 2.10.40) – though royal favour would often seem to have become manifest in remissions, culminating in exemption: 2.10.42 ... *anugraho yo nrpater nideśāt / tajjñāḥ parihāra iti vyavasyet* "the favour which (is conferred) at the command of the king ... the expert should designate as (the decree of) exemption" (Kangle 2, p. 95).
- 21) B. Kölver: Chronicles and Deeds ..., p. 147 ff.
- 22) Note the reference to this system which Dhanavajra Vajrācārya quotes, Licchavi Abhil. p. 54, is much later than our documents. The Gā Bahāl *jaladroni* inscription (Abhilekhasamgraha 2, p. 13) is dated *abde yāti bhujagrahākṣiguṇite*, the current year 292. The era must be Nepāl Samvat, for it was written *rudrāhve nrpatau śāsīte*, under the reign of the king called Rudra – which certainly refers to Rudradeva (for whom see Petech p. 67 etc.).
- 23) This is in a document included in our appendix since its readings could not be verified: see No. *67*, of N. S. *294. – A connection with pāli *cāṭī* 'jar; measure of capacity etc.' (cf. Turner, CDIAL 4736, 4738) does not seem particularly cogent.
- 24) Or 'water works', as Meyer and Kangle circumspectly put it.
- 25) See Śivadeva's Lagantol inscription (ed. Dhanavajra Vajrācārya No. 139), line 16.
- 26) See, e. g., Kauṭalya 2,15,63 where a list of *viṣṭi*- contains items like measuring grain, or controlling measurements – tasks one would not normally entrust to 'compulsory labour'. Nor would many of them seem to be full time jobs. Breloer's 'state workers' (Staatsarbeiter: *Staatsverwaltung*, p. 303) does not help us out of the quandary, either. In many cases, *viṣṭi*- seems to denote an additional duty to be performed by individuals whose main tasks lay elsewhere.
- 27) More usually, there are odd derivatives, like °*paribhogyanīya*- etc.
- 28) It seems less likely the two terms are just varying expressions for the same right, due to some re-modelling of legal concepts. To be sure, °*lābhamātram* does not occur after N. S. 261, but °*paribhoga*- etc. is attested from N. S. 185 onwards, and a transition period of 75 years is

unsatisfactory from a legal point of view, and could hardly be due to scribes perpetuating a formula they had learnt in their youth: it would severely tax the life span of the oldest scribe.

- 29) Vyavahāramayūkha, ed. Kane, p. 156; cf. Kane: Hist. Dh. III, p. 777.
- 30) Vyavahāramayūkha, p. 286.
- 31) attested for the years N. S. 159/1, 189/2, 193, 194, 251, 261, 273/1 and 424.
- 32) In spite of the lacuna in the text, this is probably the entire sum.
- 33) In much later times, *taila-* was used when a Brāhmaṇa was invested with lands: 'The Rajah waters with his own hands a clod brought from the land to be given away, mixing it with some koos (a species of holy grass) and teel (sesame), and, with certain other ceremonies occasionally performed by a priest, presents the whole to the Brahmin [...]' (Kirkpatrick, Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, p. 92).
- 34) The Śukranīti, transl. B. K. Sarkar, 4.2.224–6.
- 35) See Schetelich: Die Dorfgemeinde, p. 99; Sircar: Studies . . . , p. 2.

Appendix I.

Coins and Measures

1. Coinage

1.1. The *Paṇa Purāṇa* Currency

The older documents, up to N. S. 194, follow a currency the units of which go by the name of *paṇa purāṇa*. This stems from the Licchavi period, where a *purāṇa*, a silver coin¹, had 16 (copper) *paṇas*. It is only the smaller of these units which is used in the Rudravarna deeds. Now, if a *purāṇa* coin had been in circulation, one would at least expect the larger sums to be expressed in terms of the higher unit, such as Licchavi inscriptions are wont to do. This, however, is not the case. Hence, the *paṇa* must have been the only coin in current use. The sums to be paid at times were uncomfortably large: N. S. 189/2 has 1 100. Such quantities of coins may have occasioned the queer phrase of the receipt formula: *yathopacitamūlyam ādāya* 'having received the price as heaped up'².

1.2. Śivadeva's Currency

The Gopālarājavaṃśāvali contains a note which ascribes the introduction of a new system of currency, based on gold, to King Śivadeva (1098–1126), and from the deeds here published it is most likely this note is correct³: we are now sure the old *paṇa purāṇa* currency was abandoned some time between N. S. 194 and 245. In the deeds, the new coinage went by the name of *suvarṇṇa-khairi* (*°kheri*, *°kṣeri*)⁴. It consisted of three units, the *pala* (abbreviated *pla*, *pra*), the *karṣa*, and the *māṃsa*. At various dates, a number of alternative designations came to be used for these units. The *pala* was termed *śivakā*, no doubt in remembrance of its originator and, perhaps, its design⁵, and the *karṣa* at times went by the designations *damma*, *damma*, *dāma*. The rate of conversion between them was as follows:

Table VI. Śivadeva's Currency: Rates of Conversion

1 <i>pala</i>	= 4 <i>karṣa</i>	= 48 <i>māṃsa</i>
	1 <i>karṣa</i>	= 12 <i>māṃsa</i> ⁶

1.3. The Exchange Rate *paṇa purāṇa* : *māṃsa*

There is not direct evidence so far for the exchange rate between these two currencies. If we were to assume the value of the subsistence tax and of grain (cf. Tables III,V) to have remained constant between N. S. 193 and N. S. 251, it would work out at something like 1 *māṃsa* = between 5 and 10 *paṇa purāṇa*.

2. Measures of Land

2.1. Standard Unit

The chief unit for measuring land was the *ropanika*⁷, abbreviated *rova* or *rova*⁸.

2.2. Fractions of the Standard Unit

2.2.1. Half a *ropanika*

A *ropanika* consisted of two *karṣas*⁹ (or: *karṣaka*- ? *235). This is a unit often used when giving sizes of gardens (*vāṭikā*) etc. In order to distinguish it from the coin of the same name, it is sometimes called a *vũ karṣa* 'field karṣa'.

2.2.2. A Quarter *ropanika*

A *karṣa* could again be subdivided into two *paṇakarṣas*¹⁰. In N. S. 456, it is possibly this fraction which occurs in the shape of *karṣa p[n]a*, an abbreviated form¹¹.

2.2.3. The *javā*

This term can stand either for a quarter *ropanika*- or for its eighth. Cf. the following instances

a) N. S. 808/2 of the present collection:

sārddhadvayaropānikam glossed as *rova nasi 2*

javānasi 2, i. e. $1/2 \text{ ro}^\circ = 2 \text{ javā}$, $1 \text{ ro}^\circ = 4 \text{ javā}$. For this rate, cf. Landon: Nepal, p. 255: $4 \text{ javās} = 1 \text{ ropani}$.

b) N. S. 839 *naṣṭāśvina kṛṣṇa 11* (Mahīndrasimha):

pādonatrayakarṣa glossed as *karṣa nasi 2 java sva 3*, i. e. three fourths of a *karṣa* = 3 *java*; 1 *karṣa* = 4 *java*.

The confusion (hardly to be resolved by resorting to the difference in length of the final vowel¹²) must have arisen over an equation of *javā* with skt. *pāda*-: in (a), the *ropanika*- is taken as the basic unit, in (b), the *karṣa*-.

2.2.4. *patā*-|*payi*-

There is another fraction of a *ropanika*, first attested in a document from N. S. 708, which is transmitted both in a Sankritized and a Newārī form, the former being either *pata*- or *patā*-, the latter, *payi*-¹³.

Its relation to the standard unit cannot be determined from the materials at present at our disposal¹⁴.

2.2.5. *monḍi*-

This term, occurring in N. S. 628/1, remains obscure for the time being¹⁵.

2.2.6. Among units for measuring land, we have seen two (*karṣa*- and *paṇakarṣa*-) that are otherwise known as names of monetary units. Their transfer to the present context probably means land was subdivided into units that yielded equal amounts when taxed, the amounts being stated in the name of the unit. We do not know the nature of this levy. It is unusual to see it expressed in terms of cash rather than kind.

2.3. Measurement by Measures of Capacity

Apart from the areal measures noted above, plots could be measured in terms of the amount of grain necessary for its cultivation. In the records examined, this method is attested only in N. S. *235, which speaks of 'a garden, measured (to need) six *kuḍa* (of grain for its cultivation) (*ṣaṭkuḍamâpitaṃ* [sic!] *vâṭikâ*)'. The causative *mâpita-* probably indicates that such measurement, and subsequent fixing of the amount, was carried out by government or on government authority.

Table VII. Measures of Land: Rates of Conversion

1 ropañika	= 2 karṣa	= 4 paṇakarṣa, pâda, javâ	= 8 java
	1 karṣa	= 2 paṇakarṣa, pâda, javâ	= 3 java
		1 paṇakarṣa, pâda, javâ	= 2 java
patâ, payi, moṇḍi not included			

3. Measures of Capacity

1. Of measures of capacity, used to quote quantities of grain (*dhânya*, abbreviated *dhâ*), rice (*taṇḍûla-*, abbreviated *taṃ*), or rice mixed with grain (*dhânya-misra-tâṇḍula* [sic] N. S. 273/2), the largest unit is the *mânikâ* (abbreviated *mâni* N. S. 185, 262 etc.; *mâ* *158 etc.)¹⁶. Fractions are not used. Instead, we find two smaller units, the larger being the *prastha* (abbreviated *paṃ* in N. S. *245), the smaller, the *kuḍa* (*kuṭuṃ* N. S. 239, *kuṭa* N. S. *296, *kuṭu* N. S. *309).

2. There is no doubt the relation between *prastha* and *kuḍa* is 1 : 4; in N. S. *235, we find a *ṣaṭ-kuḍa-mâpitaṃ vâṭikâ* (sic) *prastha* 1 *kuḍa* 2, 'a garden measured at six *kuḍa*, (in figures:) 1 *prastha*, 2 *kuḍa*'. Cf. N. S. *309: *sârddha-prasth-aika prastha* 1 *kuṭu* 2. Hence, *kuḍa* no doubt is a local variant of what is otherwise called *kuḍuva*.

The rate of conversion between *mânikâ* and *prastha* probably is 1 : 32. For 16 *prastha* make up one *drona*, and 16 *dronas* are one *khâri*. A Bengali *mânik*, however, is one eighth of a *khâri* (WILSON, Glossary), i. e., two *dronas* or 32 *prastha*. To a certain extent, this result is corroborated by N. S. *240 which speaks of *dhâ mâ* 1 *prastha* 25: seeing 25 *prastha* were not converted into a *mânikâ*, (were less, that is), the *mânikâ* must needs comprise more *prasthas* than 25 – and none of the numbers between 26 and 31 seem plausible.

Table VIII. Measures of Capacity: Rates of Conversion

1 mânikâ	= 32 (?) prastha	= 128 (?) kuḍa
	1 prastha	= 4 kuḍa

4. Measures for Buildings

- 4.1. In N. S. 224, a house is measured in *bastas*, hands. This may refer to the length of its front wall: the uncertainty is due to what appears to be a mistake in their number.
- 4.2. As can be gathered from the N. S. 807/808 series of exchanges, in later times the size of houses was measured by circumference, the length of outside walls being added up. The figure was expressed in terms of cubits (*ku*). Unless the dimensions of the Western wing that adjoins the Main Shrine of Uku Bāhāḥ have been changed between N. S. 807 and the present, the *ku* was about 36.5 cm long¹⁷.

Notes

- 1) Cf. Lévi, Le Népal, 3, p. 149.
- 2) The phrase has a close parallel in Pāli: Cūlavamaṃsa 68, 54 (ed. Geiger) *Karo 'dhiko yathā navakkhetteh' evopacīyate* "so that a higher tax was heaped up even from new fields": but this most probably refers to grain. – Still, it is peculiar to see a wording so similar to the usual *yathocitamūlya-* 'customary price'.
- 3) For a fuller account, see B. Kölver: *Chronicles and deeds*, pp. 133 ff.
- 4) The second part of the compound is not clear: cf. *khārī*, the measure of grain? See *Chronicles and deeds*, note 11.
- 5) The chronicle speaks of *śrīśivasyākṛti*.
- 6) The exchange rate between *mamsa* and *karṣa* cannot be conclusively determined from the Rudravarṇa deeds alone.
- 7) See text of documents, *passim*.
- 8) In 1[9]3, *rova* seems to be used in a wider sense.
- 9) N. S. *309 *etat-madhye s-ārdhaka-ropanika-* (em. *s-ārdhaka*?) *yat(a)kṣetra rova 1 paṇa-karṣa 2* 'in their midst, the field of one and a half *ropanikas*, *rova 1 paṇakarṣa 2*'. In 1[9]3, *karṣa* in this sense is prefixed by new. *vu*: *vu-karṣa* 'a land *karṣa*' (?). This apparently gives an exchange rate of two *paṇas* to the *karṣa* – which is not the relation known from coins.
- 10) N. S. *296 *etat-madhye s-ārdh-aika-karṣa-vātikā madh(y)e cchitvā paṇa-karṣa-tray=āṅkata paṇa-karṣa 3* 'in their midst, having cut out a garden of one and a half *karṣas*, three *paṇakarṣas*, in figures: *paṇakarṣa 3*'.
- 11) The order of words in the full text is unusual, though: it runs *p[n]a paṅcakarṣapramānam*.
- 12) Cf. *java* in N. S. 845 *trayapādāṅka java sva 3*.
- 13) N. S. 75[4] *kṣatram ekapatādhikam ekaropanikam ... rova cchi 1 payi cchi 1*; cf. N. S. 708.
- 14) N. S. 734 *rove* [sic!] *pi 4 payi nasi 2*.
- 15) */// rovanika vu monḍi pi 4 tyā 1/2*. In view of its date, it can hardly be connected with the *maund*.
- 16) Dhanavajra Vajrācārya (see Licchavikālkā abhilekha, pp. 4–6) suggests the *mānikā* is equivalent to the contemporary *muri*.
- 17) The circumference of the house mentioned in N. S. 807/1 is 34 cubits, that of the house of N. S. 807/2 twice as much. The wings are 4 metres deep, i. e. 11 *ku*. The two houses were separated in the middle, the partition running from east to west. Each house thus was an approximate square, of 11 × 11.5 *ku*, i. e. 4 × 4.2 metres. The part adjoining in the west and belonging to Cchvākadevajū was as wide and deep again.

Appendix II.

Names, Titles, etc.

1. Personal Names

1.1. Formation

Most personal names are formed according to the usual Sanskrit pattern – i. e. they consist of two parts. In the overwhelming majority of cases, both components are Sanskrit. The latter part was often transmitted from father to son.

Especially in the case of contracting parties, designations of professions or castes were often added. Titles occur more rarely. Such names are usually prefixed by *śrī* (*śrīśrī*- in the case of a king; *śrī-3*- in the case of a deity), and in later times followed by the honorific, *-jū*.

1.2. Abbreviated Names

Abbreviations were common at all times. In this case, an individual usually, though not invariably, went by the first part of his full name: a corollary of the fact that, if an element was maintained over the generations, it was the second.

Among the short forms attested in the corpus, there are the following (the numeral refers to the N. S. year):

<i>go</i> 456	<i>dhana</i> 808
<i>gyāna</i> 759	<i>paṇḍu</i> 340
<i>candra</i> 194	<i>bhara</i> 815
<i>jasa</i> 708	<i>mahi</i> 272
<i>je</i> 456	<i>mṛtte</i> 424
<i>thakura</i> 272, 734	<i>mohana</i> 834
<i>thākura</i> 808	<i>rāma</i> 273
<i>datta</i> (?) 273	<i>lakṣa</i> 808
<i>dina</i> 864	<i>vajja</i> 239
<i>deva</i> 808	<i>vinai</i> 189

1.3. Styles of Naming

In the formation of personal names, there are certain regularities recurring over limited periods only: fashions in names, as it were, which can be dated within certain limits. No doubt the giving of names is very materially affected by family and caste traditions, let alone regional usage; still, this framework did allow for certain variations in style. To be sure, there are formations which remained current for centuries: names ending in °*simha*, e. g., are found from the first to the last document in the present collection. Others, however, enjoyed a briefer spell of popularity. Extensive lists of names, then, will eventually prove an ancillary tool for dating. As an illustration, we append the data for four components of names, two middle and two final.

Middle Names

in °ākara: 13 names attested between N. S. 121 and N. S. 237

<i>amatākaravarman</i> 159	<i>bhauryākaravarmma</i> 193
<i>kamalākaravarma</i> 159	<i>rudrākaravarmma</i> 194
<i>candrākaragupta</i> 159	<i>[rū]panākaravarmma</i> 103
<i>jayākaravarman</i> 224	<i>subhākara</i> 193
<i>tejākaramatyā</i> 189	<i>harṣākaragupta</i> 193
<i>divākarajīva</i> 121	<i>hemākaragupta</i> 193
	<i>hyaraṇākaragupta</i> 237

Divākara, the Vajrācārya met with in N. S. 808/815, warns us against overstressing the principle.

in °pāla: 9 names attested between N. S. 262 and N. S. 340

<i>amatapālapāla</i> ° (sic) 273	<i>jaipāla</i> 340
<i>udayapāla</i> 262	<i>lakṣaṇapāla</i> 340
<i>kumārapāla</i> 262	<i>varapāla</i> 273
<i>gopāla</i> 294	<i>vikramapāla</i> 272
	<i>vijupāla</i> 304

Last Names

in °gupta: 11 names attested between N. S. 121 and N. S. 239

<i>gajādharagupta</i> 159	<i>lakṣmīdharagupta</i> 159
<i>candrākaragupta</i> 159	<i>viḷjva -]gupta</i> 121
<i>janārddanagupta</i> 159	<i>vidyādharagupta</i> 159
<i>[bhā]nikaragupta</i> 239	<i>harṣākaragupta</i> 193
<i>rāghavagupta</i> 193	<i>hemākaragupta</i> 193
	<i>hyaraṇākaragupta</i> 239

in °varman (often simplified to °varma): 34 names attested between N. S. 185 and 424:

<i>amatapālapāla</i> ° (sic!) 273	<i>bhauryākara</i> ° 193
<i>amatākara</i> ° 159	<i>mahlana</i> ° 273
<i>ānanda</i> ° 289	<i>mādhava</i> ° 185
<i>udayapāla</i> ° 262	<i>māhendra</i> ° 185
<i>kamalākara</i> ° 159	<i>munidhara</i> ° 273
<i>kumārapāla</i> ° 262	<i>rathanarāma</i> ° 424
<i>gopāla</i> ° 294	<i>ravi</i> ° 211, 213
<i>jayākara</i> ° 224	<i>rāṇa</i> ° 262
<i>jayādharma</i> ° 237	<i>rāmacandra</i> ° 340
<i>jaipāla</i> ° 262	<i>rāma[vramma]</i> ° 424
<i>jaisimha</i> ° 273	<i>rudra</i> ° 185
<i>joga</i> ° 224	<i>rudrākara</i> ° 194
<i>tibhuvana</i> ° 224	<i>lakṣmīvarddhana</i> ° 424
<i>teja</i> ° 189	<i>varapāla</i> ° 273
<i>bhīgu</i> ° 224	<i>vikramapāla</i> ° 272
<i>bhrigu</i> ° 251	<i>śāsi</i> ° 251
<i>bhoga</i> ° 224	<i>harṣa</i> ° 251

1.4. Non-Sanskrit Names

Apart from a few items apparently Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa (*jaipāla* 340; *paḥḥata* 193 etc.), there is a small group of vernacular names:

<i>ārṣāhni</i> 211	<i>pāhāna</i> 821 (pkt.?)
<i>ka[ḍh]ā</i> 211	<i>milavu</i> 289
<i>cikiti</i> 866	<i>munamṭala</i> (?) 194
<i>cch(v)ākadeva</i> 807	<i>melu</i> 708
<i>jikitasimha</i> 708	<i>melva</i> 736
<i>taodhika</i> 878	<i>hallu</i> 193
<i>nūgu</i> 845	<i>hera</i> 734

2. Titles

There is a number of epithets added to names of persons which could neither be called names, nor are they designations of castes if taken in the sense of *jāti*. These are assembled in the present section. They are no homogeneous group. Some of them precede the personal name, others follow upon it; in the latter case, the personal name preceding is occasionally reduced to its first element. Again, some seem to indicate a qualification acquired by birth – such as *kulaputra-*, when taken at face value; others would indicate a title connected with some function. It is a tenuous line, though, that divides the latter pair. On p. 47, we have spoken of the *pātra-*, a cadastral officer, whose name when inherited gave rise to derivatives like *pātrakula-*, *pātravaṃśa-* (N. S. 456, 886), the counterparts of the Indian Patels or Mahāpātras. The suffixed group, consisting of °*pāka*, °*bhalloka*, °*bhāro*, °*bhāvo/hāvo* is, except for its first item, very common indeed; *bhāro* and *bhāvo* are said to stand for the third and fourth *varṇa*, respectively.

The following designations apparently belong to this class. (The numerals denote the N.S. year of its first occurrence.)

āmañca ‘?’ 193. (Title of a Varman. For an attempt at an explanation, see p. 195).

kulaputra ‘son of a noble family’ 185

This title is not attested in the corpus after the third century of the Newar aera.

cchūmūrtti see *mūrtti*

nāyaka ‘headman of a caste’ 121 (cf. the *daśajanāyaka-* of a monastery)

nāya 736

pāka ‘?’ 121

Members of this group often use shortened or non-Sanskrit names: the seal of N.S. 189/2 is particularly instructive. It reads *darśam pāka*, while in the text the individual is referred to as *darś[ś]anadeva*. – Names of *pākas* usually are not prefixed by *śrī* (for an exception, see 121). There is a *nāyaka* among them (121).

pātra ‘official who kept the records’ 262

pātrakula 456

pātravaṃśa 886

pradhānapuruṣa ‘a Pradhān (?)’ 185

bhalloka a title borne by Guptas 159

bhāro a very common title, apparently of Vaiśyas 189

cf. *vaiśya kāmojana bhāro* 189

bhāvo / hāvo title of a member of the Fourth Caste? 193

bhāvoka 193

If *kevasa bhāvo* means 'the bhāvo of the garden', the term could be used to mark a subservient function.

Cf. the *bhāvo ṭhakura* of 272.

bhontā '?' 846, *bhonta* 878.

There is a local tradition to the effect the *bhontā* were military people whose task was the defence of a town quarter. This would tally with the fact that N. S. 846/1 mentions a *nogla bhontā*. In 878, a courtyard (*nani*) takes its name from the office: perhaps it was the site of a military or police post.

mūrṭti '

cchū-mūrṭti 'official responsible for a quarter (?)' 193. The holder is a *pradhānapuruṣa*.

mūrṭtaṅga 424 **mūrṭtyaṅga* ? (Cf. *pradhāna* ~ *pradhānāṅga*)

mūrṭti *294

vaidya 'a doctor' 103, 159

In 103, the holder of the title is a Varman.

svāmi 189

hāvo see *bhāvo*

Designations of members of the Buddhist Order offer few peculiarities. The monks are called *bhikṣu* (194) or *ārya-bhikṣu* (189); a subgroup were the *śākyabhikṣu*, whose title could also be preceded by *ārya*^o (103). The first *vajrācārya* appears in 262: he is a *śākyabhikṣu*, too. We cannot tell whether the *ācārya* attested in 456 is a *vajrācārya*.

Hierarchy within the order is slow to make its appearance: there is a *thavirapā* '*sthavirapāda*' in 734. In earlier times, the order acted conjointly (cf. *Corporate Ownership*, p. 63 ff.).

3. Professions and Castes

Names of Castes, both in the sense of *jāti* and *varṇa*, are quite rare and appear almost accidental: so they cannot offer anything like a full picture of social stratification in the present-day sense and extent. The designation can at no time have been deemed essential for identifying an individual, in the contexts here studied.

Names of *jāti*s as codified in the 14th century are rare in the time preceding Jayasthitimalla. Yet they do occur: see the *amātya* of 239, the *madhyaka* of 103, the *rajjaka* of 193. This might indicate some of the terms later used to label a caste did exist prior to his classification, perhaps in more of a functional than a strictly hierarchical sense.

It is worth noting that even after Jayasthiti's List of Castes had been drawn up, its designations were by no means extensively used in deeds – in documents, that is, which had to pass inspection by a governmental agency. No doubt this can be taken as another proof for the tenacity of a formula, once it had come to be established; but it also shows government did not take every opportunity it possessed to enforce the new order.

List of Castes and/or Professions

NB. It is not known whether the titles of *pāka*, *bhāro*, and *bhāvo*, included in the preceding paragraph, designate castes or professions, in which case they would have to be added to the list now given.

amātya 'minister' 237

amātte 804

āmañca '?' 193

kumi '?' 798

takṣakāra 'sawer; carpenter' 734

tāmbakāra 'coppersmith' 782

tulādhari 'weigher; merchant' 304

tuladdhari 304

thapatti 'builder' 304

paṇḍita 'scholar' 310

prajāpati 'potter' 734

bhontā (see preceding paragraph)

madhyaka 'barber' (? cf. note, N. S. 103) 103

rajjaka '?' 193

Cf. *rañjaka* 'dyer'? There is a *rajaka* as No. 4 of Jayasthitimalla's list (Wright, Hist. of Nepal, p. 185).

rāūrtta 'a nobleman' (*rājaputra*)

-r- preceding -tt- is an orthographical habit of some scribes.

lvākā 'lohamkāra, mason' 759

vamde 'goldsmith' 804

vade 878

viśvakarmā 'carpenter' 864

vaidya 103

vaiśya 189, 251

[*vra*]ddhi[*ka*] 'vardhaka, carpenter ?' 304

vrāhmaṇa 272

sāho 'merchant, moneylender' 628

Appendix III.

Place Names

1. Patan: Districts, Wards, and Quarters

1.1. Administrative Units

A coherent account of the administrative development of the Kathmandu Valley kingdoms will owe a great deal to comprehensive collections of materials such as exemplified by the present corpus. Confining ourselves to these specimens, we can but outline a few details.

In the second and third centuries of the Newar aera, the kingdom was divided into districts (*sthāna*-). Within the precincts of Patan, there were at least three of them. *Tegvala* and *Sātigvala* are named as such. *Nogvala* must have been a third: just as the other two, it was subdivided into smaller units.

These districts consisted of Wards (*ṭola*-, *ṭolla*-, *ṭolaka*-), which again were made up out of a number of smaller units, named *grhamaṇḍala*- or, later, *cākal*-, 'circles of houses'. It is not apparent whether these had any administrative functions.

The administrative boundaries within the town underwent a number of changes. We cannot re-trace and date them in detail from the present materials alone. One, however, has to be noted, since it points towards an explanation of a Newari term otherwise, apparently, unknown.

In N. S. 273, *Tegvala* had come to be divided into a number of wards, one of which was called 'the Ward at the South-West Corner' (*dakṣiṇa-kuṇa-ṭol*^o). In the same year, we find *Nogvala* again subdivided, and a part of it being described as *uttara cchu ṭolka*-. The middle term, *cchu*, is of uncertain meaning. It re-occurs in the compound *cchūmūrtti*, which is the title of some official and perhaps designates the headman ('embodiment') of a *cchu* (an interpretation grounded upon the **mūrtyaṅga* of N.S. 424: this recalls the *pradhāna*- : *pradhānāṅga*-proportion). – Apart from *uttaracchu*^o, we have, in N. S. 224, a *paścimacchu*. This *cchu*, then, seems to have been an area larger than a ward, but smaller than a district (*sthāna*).

In much later times (the only evidence we can quote is from the ninth century N.S.), parts of town apparently were under the charge of an official named *bhontā* (for which see p. 92): it is not known how his area of responsibility is to be related to the other territorial units.

1.2. Place Names

Local order was imposed by means of names, not only for more comprehensive units, districts or wards: names were given even to single houses, fields, and gardens. The latter often depart from a reference to the larger unit and proceed by way of specification. The designations frequently themselves often serve to characterize or even classify the object, this classification being part of the proper name: if *aphala* of the example quoted is the Sanskrit word, then there are designations like 'the region of *Dhisā* Barren' (*dhisā aphalakṣetranāmapradeśe*, N. S. 759). The same method can be applied to houses – as, indeed, to men.

Except for such cases, proper names are often not transparent. In the following, we list larger units only: i. e. we omit names of houses, fields, and gardens, unless they are used to indicate the region (*pradeśa*) and thus presumably refer to more than an individual plot.

1.3. List of Districts, Wards, and Quarters

NB. Numerals refer to the N.S. year when a name is first attested. – The prefixed *śrī* is omitted throughout.

eṣālamṣu 864 (Ikhālakhu)

kvalāccha 736 (a *cākal*-)

kvarāccha 798

gvācche 804

cf. *gvāccheṃ-vāhāra* 708 (*List of Monasteries*, p. 99)

cālācche 849 (a *cākal*-)

part of contemporary Nugah Ṭol

tānigla 759

temla 193

a locality in Vaṃku Ṭol?

tegala, tegvala

a *sthāna* 121

a ṭol 193

~ *dakṣiṇakuṇa-ṭolka*- 273

~ *dakṣiṇakūṇa-sthāna*- 272

tegalka- 272

tegvalaka- 121

thayināya 798 (a *cākal*-)

thithacche 340

dathalāccha 734

nalidva 798 (a *cākal*-)

cf. *naridva*, the monastery (*List of Monasteries*, p. 99)

nogala, nogvala, nogola

a *sthāna* ? 273

a ṭol 211

~ *uttaracchu-ṭolka*- 273

~ *livī* 262

~ *hitiphusa* 273

nogval(a)ka- 185, 189

[*p*]akoccheṃ 262

a part of Tegala

[*pūco*] 262

bhaṭ koccheṃ 294

māṇig(a)la

often used as a point of reference in the 8th and 9th N. S. centuries: types like *māṇiglāt pūrvasthaḥ* 'east of M^o'; cf. **māṇiglottara*- 777

māṇigal(a)ka- 708, 821

yamcchalācche 804

yacch[a]lācche 849

yicchulāccha 628

yil[ilam/hv]e 821

yiti^o 834

vaṃku

a ṭol 289 (°ṭol(a)ka-)
vani
 a ṭol 273 (°ṭol[la])
sātīgvala
 cf. sātīgvala, the monastery (*List of Monasteries*, p. 99)
 a sthāna 193
 ? a ṭol 194 (text: k[e]lake)
 sātīgvalaka- 159
haṅkhā
 a ṭol 159 (°ṭollaka-)
hatakā 864
 see hvatakā
[ha]m[e]gācche 213
hātigla 736
hvatakā
 a ṭol 772 (°tora)

2. The Vicinity of Pāṭan

Some of the deeds deal with property situated outside the precincts of the town of Pāṭan, the place name usually being followed by °(nāma-)pradeśe 'in the region (named) N.N.' The wording does not follow a uniform style: there are proper names of fields or gardens on the one hand, names of villages or districts on the other, as well as units intermediate between them. Since there was no fixed routine, and the plot in question was of course known to both parties, the place is at times referred to by its bare name, with the result that we cannot tell which type of unit it refers to.

The ensuing *List* follows the pattern of the preceding paragraph.

Names of Fields, Villages etc. in the Vicinity of Pāṭan

kasavati 189
khunā 193
jatalaṃ
 a region (*d(e)śa*) 759
 a sthāna (*thānene*) 759
jaiṣṭha 759
 a village (*grāma*)
[jya]mākhyela 272
 a field?
tyampvanāya 777
 a garden
thamkhva (??) 424
thasiṅ 211
 a village (*grāma*)
duḷ 189
 a village (*grāma*)
dudvāravāhni 251
dyamla, dyalaṃ 628, 734
 a field (*kṣetra*)

dhisā 759

a barren field (*aphalakṣetra*)?

[*n*]avaṅka 121

pūrvva[ph]anādul 189

a village (*grāma*)

cf. *duḥ*

mayalam 261

m[ā]di 185

a village (*grāma*)

mumḍula 262

yaluvi 103

a village (*grāma*)

yilavi 8[4]5

a field (*kṣetra*)

yeglatyāgla 456

a garden (*vādikā*)

va 708

a barren field (*aphalakṣetra*)

va[d]ikha 340

a field (*vu*)

vamṣpublam 262

valātā 886

a garden (*vātikā*)

vondul 159

cf. *duḥ* ?

[*syapim*] 194

[*ṣv*]ā[*d*]a 759

a barren field (*aphalakṣetra*)

3. Pātaṅ: Monasteries

3.1. Naming a monastery

Monasteries were named according to different principles, their application not being mutually exclusive – i. e. the same monastery could be called by different designations. This method is, in a sense, still being followed; nowadays, there usually are two names, one being in Sanskrit or sanskritized, the other, in Newari. The names attested in the present collection can be separated into three groups. Buddhist concepts are but once referred to (*śrī-parinirvāṇa-mahāvihāra*, N. S. 103 etc.). Names derived from topography are more frequent: they make use either of the Sanskrit (*uttaravihāra*) or, much more often, of the Newari language (*vamku bāhāl* ‘the south-east monastery’). A third group of names perpetuates a reference to a founder or benefactor. Since these could probably be changed in order to acknowledge new donations, they leave doubts as to the identity of a monastery. There is, e. g., one Harṣākaragupta mentioned in N. S. 193, where he serves as a witness. In N. S. 194, we find an institution called *śrī-udayalakṣmī-harṣākaragupta-mahāvihāra*: and it seems quite possible *harṣākaragupta* in both instances refers to the same person. If so, this would raise the question of what name the monastery went by, prior to his donation, and whether his name was later superseded by that of another donor.

During the third century of the Newar aera, names of donors apparently attained a certain stability and were no longer readily abandoned. This is when we begin to find a new style: the benefactor's name was prefixed to the old designation, by means of °*samskārīta*-. The only instances attested in the present corpus are those which mention King Śivadeva: for other names of this type, cf. the lists at M. SLUSSER: Nepal Mandala 2, plate 8.

3.2. We append a list of names as used in the present collection. Their identification with contemporary monasteries is often tentative. Of dates, we only give the earliest.

List of Buddhist Monasteries

NB. *śrī* prefixed to names is omitted. – GSh = N. GUTSCHOW and H. SHAKYA 1980; S = M. SLUSSER 1982, vol. 2, plate 8 and commentary; both quoted by number.

Name attested in Document (figure = Year N. S.)	Contemporary Name
uttara-vihāra 262 -vāhāra 807	? Yaṃtābāhāḥ (GSh 56? 122?)
udayalakṣmī-harṣākara-gupta-mahāvihāra 194	? Harṣabāhāḥ (GSh 28, S 93)
gagana-vihāra 273	
gāḍa-vāhāra 804	Gābāhāḥ (GSh 59)
gvāccheṃ-vāhāra 708	Gujibāhāḥ
gvāmccheṃ 777	
nākhācuka 821	Nyākhācuka (GSh 85)
cā-vihāra 262 abbrev. for sātigala-cā-vihāra 262	
cākalam[kṣ]am-vāhāra 456	Cāka bāhāḥ = Naḥbāhāḥ (GSh 65)?
cākra-vāhāra 878 cāka° 886	same as preceding
caitra-vāhāra 878	? for caitya b°?
jayā[bh]imāna-mahāvihāra 121	
tava[ḍu]cche-vāhāra 628	? (<i>tavaḍuccheṃ</i> a place name)
tavagaṇe-vāhāra 866	Tāṅgabāhāḥ
tejamatī-mahāvihāra 189	
dakṣiṇa-vihāra 306	
dathau-vihāra 306	Dathu-vihāra (branch of Ubāhāḥ)
na-vihāra 846	see next entry
naka-vāhāra 759 ~ -vāhāra 456	? Nakabāhī (GSh 88), ? Naḥbāhāḥ (GSh 65)
nalidva-vāhāra 798 naridva°	
nūgūjyā vāhāra 845	
parinirvāṇa-mahāvihāra 103	
[pūco] 262	Puco-bāhī
mānikyajeṅṅa-vihāra 262	Jobāhāḥ ?
mānikyajaiva-mahāvihāra	
mānijīva-mahāvihāra 272	
śrī-śivadeva-samskārīta-śrī-mānidharajīva- mahā-vihāra 273	
°manijīva° 304	
māhendravarma-mahā(vihā)ra 273	

yaṃgvala-mahāvihāra 159	Yaṃgaḥbāhāḥ
yaṃgala-vihāra 272,	
yaṅgala° 306	
yampi-*vihāra 770	Ibahī (GSh 111)
Yitaccheṃ-vāhāra 736	Icchebāhāḥ
yithau-vihāra 306	
yethacche-vāhāra 861	? Yethakhābāhāḥ (S 8, GSh 83?)
yaipim-vihāra 340	
rudravarma-mahāvihāra 251	Ukubāhāḥ (GSh 1)
śrī-śivadeva-saṃskārīta-śrī-rudravarma-mahā-	
vihāra 239	
livī-vihāra 310	? perhaps the South Courtyard of Ukubāhāḥ
vamku-vāhāra 759	Ukubāhāḥ
vārtta-kalyāṇagupta-vihāra *252	
vi[śva -]gupta-vihāra 121	
vi[śu]nicche-vāhāra 628	Bhimcchebāhāḥ
viṣṇucche° 866	
vū-vihāra 456	Būbāhāḥ (GSh 60)
śivadeva-saṃskārīta°	
see mānījīva°, rudravarma°	
śrī-vāhāra 718	Sibāhāḥ, Śrīvatsamahāvihāra ?
sātigala-cā-vihāra 262	
sālako-vihāra 262	Subāhāḥ
ha[ḍh]ako 262	
haṭako-vihāra 424	Haḥbāhāḥ (GSh 54: see ibid., p. 163)

Sales and Transactions modelled upon Sales

Text and Translations

1. N.S. 159

Sale of a field of three ropanikas, its subsistence tax being due to Yaṃgvala Grand Monastery. Size: 389 × 42 (34) mm; sealed by a round seal, 26 mm in diameter, with floral device occupying its upper third. – Ed. HŚ No. 3.

Text

Seal: janārdanagupta

Document

- 1 [siddham]¹ samvat 100 50 9 māgha śukla divā tṛtīyāyāṃ | śrī sātīgvalake janārddana-gupta-bhallokena svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam | tatr=aiva nivāsino vijaya-siṃ[ha]²-pāka-sya sakā=
- 2 śāt | vo[nduḷ] nāma-pradeśe | vidyādhara-gupta-bhallokīya-bhūmeḥ pūrvvataḥ | gajādhara-gupta-bhallokīya-bhūmer=uttarataḥ | candrākara-gupta-bhallokīya-kṣetrasya paścimataḥ | lakṣmī=
- 3 dhara-gupta-bhallokasya bhūmer=ddakṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye kṣetr-āṅkato rova 3 tasya mūla-piṇḍa³ śrī-yaṃgvala-mahā-vihāra-vastu deya taṃ mā 1 tat-karṣaka-lābha-mātram mūlyān=gr=
- 4 hitvā anivarttaka-nyāyena vikrītaṃ | atr=ārthe sākṣi | haṅkhā-ṭollake⁴ vaidya trivikramaśīlah param pramānam=iti ||o||

Notes

- 1) Form of symbol slightly unusual; cf. N.S. 103. –
- 2) Narrow shape of *ha*; for its wider – and more common – equivalent, see line 4. –
- 3) *.d.* looking like *.t.* –
- 4) For the shape of *.o.*, cf. N.S. 121, line 4.

Translation

[B]

Hail!

[D] The year 159, on the third day of the bright half of Māgha. [Vendor] By Janārddanagupta Bhalloka, in Sātīgvalaka,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[P] in front of Vijayasimha Pāka, resident in this very place,

[O cont'd] In the region called Vonduḷ, east of the land of those that belong to Vidyādhara-gupta Bhalloka, north of the land of those that belong to Gajādhara-gupta Bhalloka, west of the field of those that belong to Candrākara-gupta Bhalloka, south of the land of Lakṣmīdhara-gupta Bhalloka: in their midst, a field amounting to 3 *rovās* –

[T] its basic subsistence tax to be given as the property of the Venerable Grand Monastery of Yaṃgvala, viz., 1 *mā(nikā)* of rice –

[R] the gains of its cultivation merely have been sold by irreversible rule, the price having been received.

[W] Witness in this matter: The Vaidya Trivikramaśīla, of Ha[ṅkhā] Ṭol. is chief authority.

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) *bhūmi-* and *kṣetra-*. The field sold is on three sides surrounded by 'land' (*bhūmi-*), while there is another 'field' to its east. This probably indicates different types of use of land, *bhūmi-* merging into *kṣetra-*.
- 2) Note the opposition of *bhāllokasya* vs. *bhāllokīya*^o. Could this be meant to express the contrast between lands held by a joint family vs. those held by an individual owner? Cf. *Introd.*, § 3.2, p. 44.

2. N.S. 185

A gift of a field of three *ropanikas*, clothed in the garb of a sale. The scribe seems overtaxed by the task of adapting the sales formula to the case at hand.

The owner seems to have withdrawn from family life and hence presented parts of his land – the division had not yet been performed – to Rudravarma. – Somebody's consent had apparently been necessary on desirable for a transaction of this type, and had either not been obtained or withdrawn at the time the document was drafted. – In return for the gift, the donee granted one *mānikā* of grain to the former owner. Perhaps this was some sort of annuity.

Note the donee is called Rudravarma, whose name is part of the old Sanskrit designation of the *bāhāḥ*. Perhaps the field was included among his endowments of the monastery, and it was for this reason that the document passed into the hands of *Uku Bāhāḥ*.–

Size: 457 × 36 (30) mm. Upper right-hand corner slightly damaged. Sealed; seal lost except for a few remnants of clay.

Text

- 1 [siddham] samvat 100 80 5 pauṣasṭha kṛṣṇa divā pañcamā[m]yām, śrī-tyagvalak-ādhi¹vāsin[ā] vrā[vajjya]carasvāmi x x x x x x (x)² sah=āmimatam³ svakī svābhujyamānikam⁴ | śrī-nogvalak-ādhivāsin[o] (k)u(la)–
- 2 putra-rudravarmasya sakāśāt, m[ā]ṭigrāma-pūrva-pradeśe pradhānana-puruṣa-śrī-māhendravarmasya bhūmer=uttarataḥ dakṣiṇataś=ca mādha⁵vavarmasya kṛṣyamāna-bhūme⁶ paścataḥ⁷
- 3 etat-madhye⁸ cchivā⁹ traya-ropanika-kṣetra rova 3 tat=karṣaka sa-karṣaka-paribhogaṃ krayena vikrītaṃ anivarttaka-nyāyena yath-opacitya mūlyam=ādāya anivarttaka-nyāyena pradattam=aścat¹⁰
- 4 saṅkaṭa-vyāvādo na labhyate sākṣi śrī-mānigvalake kula-putra mānikavarddhana pramān=eti ||o|| vrātī de māni 1

Notes

- 1) .i written on top of what appears to have been *va*. –
- 2) gap of approx. nine akṣaras, possibly effaced. –
- 3) em. = *ābhimatam*. –
- 4) first omitted; crammed in, extending to line 2, where appropriate space has been provided: the mistake, then, had been noted before the completion of line 2. –
- 5) pal.: *dha*. –
- 6) *sya* and *mā* separated by *jyamānikam*: cf. note 4. –
- 7) *sic!* –
- 8) pal.: *dhye*. –
- 9) em. *cchitvā*. –
- 10) em. *pradattam*=*paścāt*.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 185, on the fifth day of the dark half of intercalary Pauṣa¹.

[Donor] By the *svāmi* who leads the life of a mendicant², resident of *śrī*-Tyagvalaka, with ... [name missing] ... consenting³,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[Donee] in front of Rudravarma, son of a Noble Family, resident of *śrī*-Nogvalaka,

[O cont'd] in the eastern region of Māṭigrāma, north and south of the land of the Ven. Māhendravarma, headman, west of the land cultivated by⁴ Mādhavavarma, – in their midst, after it has been divided, a field of three *ropanikas*, *rova* 3,

[R] this (field⁵), (viz.) its entire enjoyment together with the right of cultivation, has been sold through a purchase by irreversible rule, the price having been taken as heaped up; it has been given by irreversible rule.

[Liability] Hereafter⁶, a dispute concerning obstacles does not arise.

[W] Witness: Mānikavarddhana, son of a Noble Family, in Mānigvalaka, (serves as) authority.

[E] *iti*

[Codicil] One *mānikā* is to be given⁷ (to) him who has taken the vows.

Notes

- 1) *pauṣastha*- 'located in Pauṣa', because the intercalary month intervenes between the two halves of the regular month. –
- 2) em. *prāvrajyacara*^o. The whole expression seems to be used in lieu of a proper name. –
- 3) The accusative is unexpected. Construction with *svakī(yam)* etc., however, seems unlikely. –
- 4) or: M's cultivated land: i.e. lands worked by a tenant? This would better suit the genitive.
- 5) *karṣaka*: em. *kṣetra*. –
- 6) (*p*)*aśc(ā)t*. –
- 7) *de* = *deya*-?

3. N.S. 189

Fragment of the left part of a document, 8.7 × 4.3 cm. – The transaction itself remains unclear. One of the parties operates as a joint family. – The *visarga* is used as a punctuation mark.

Text

- 1 /// samvat, 100 80 [9]¹dvir-āsāḍha ///
- 2 /// kaneṣṭabhyaḥ sah-ānumate(bhyaḥ) ///
- 3 /// .[au]tara-ja – diśi | mārggasya ///
- 4 /// .ena karṣa [l] ha[nu] | [t]iṣa va la ///
- 5 /// maṃ pramānam=iti ḥ || iti ḥ || ///

Note

- 1) uncertain. Cf. Śankar Man Rajbanshi 1974, p. 109, plate (89).

4. N. S. 211

Sale of the subsistence tax in half of a field of five *ropanikas*. A division apparently had not been performed, nor would it seem necessary, since it is a share in a fixed income which is being sold. – The right to cultivate the plot lay with a *guthi* for ‘the first day of a lunar fortnight’ – which group, then, was not exempt from taxation. The right to the tax was enjoyed by two monks, probably brothers; only the first-named used his seal. –

Again, there is the contrast between *mūlapinḍa-* and *pinḍaka-*: the latter may have included subsidiary levies which were calculated on the basis of the former. – *māḍhena* is not clear: see supplementary note. –

On the reverse, a codicil, probably written by the same scribe, which runs

– *ranina cātī ṭhayu māla*

‘the debtor had to offer (i. e. has to pay?) the *cātī*(-levy).’

This levy, the nature of which is not known, reappears in N. S. 294: cf. Introd., § 6.2.2.2. Since the text of the document itself does not touch upon a mortgage, it was perhaps the *karṣaka* right in the plot that was bound. –

Size: 350 × 45 (36) mm. Right side broken off, but preserved. An ill-written deed; some akṣaras faded. Sealed by round seal, 29 mm in diameter. – Ed. HŚ Nr. 25, 27.

Text

- Seal: 1) [floral device over horizontal stroke]
2) sunet[r]a[m]
3) [bhadra]

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvata 200 10 [1] kārttika śukla divā sapta[myā]ṃ, śrī-pari[n]i[v]āna -mahā -vihāre bhikṣu- [su]n[etra]bhadrā |[m]uku[n]dra[bhadrā]yo sukīyaṃ śubhu[jja]mānakam, [śrī-nogo]la-
- 2 ṭlake pradhāna-[p]uṣa¹ kula-[pu]tra- ravivarmanā sakāsāt, | thasiṅ-grāmasya=otarasyāṃ, disi | [tibhū]rānasya bhūme paścimat, | [ārṣāhni]sya bhūm=ota=
- 3 rat, | (a)lapa-mārgasya porvavat, | etat, -madhe [ka]kah[n]ā-cchetre nāma-dheyam, pa[n]ca -ropanikam cchitvā s-ārddha-d(v)i-ropanika[m] kṣetraḥ rova 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ [vu – uṭā]
- 4 kam[u] | pratipada-goṣṭhi-kṛṣyamāna | tasya mūla-piṇḍa daśa-mānikāyā mādhena dhā mā māni 10 piṇḍaka-paribhoga-mātra anivarttaka-nyāye=
- 5 na krayena vikritam=iti | tat, ṭlake vāstavya-kula-putra-ka[ḍh]ā-bhāro pramānam=iti ḥ³ |

Notes

- 1) em. *pu(ru)ṣa*. –
- 2) pal.: *.ṃ*, much resembling *.ṛ*; but cf. *mūla* of line 4. –
- 3) *visarga* used as a punctuation mark.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 211, on the seventh day of the bright half of Kārttika.

[V] By¹ the monks Sunetrabhadra and Mukundrabhadra, in śrī-Parinirvāṇa Grand Monastery,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves,

[P] in front of Ravivarman², headman, son of a Noble Family, in śrī-Nogola ward,

[O cont'd] in the northern region of Thasiṅ³ village west of Tibhūrāna's land, north of Ārṣāhni's land, east of the small road – in their midst, (the field) named Kakahnā Field, of five *ropanikas* – being divided: a field of two *ropanikas* and a half, rova 2 $\frac{1}{2}$, ...⁴

[Holder of Right of Cultivation] which is being cultivated by the *guthi* of the first day (of a lunar fortnight),

[T] its basic subsistence tax of ten *mānikās*, *mā(nikās)* (of) grain for bread⁵ (??): *māni* 10,

[R] only the complete enjoyment of the subsistence tax⁶ is being sold through a purchase by irreversible rule. Thus.

[W] Ka[ḍh]ā Bhāro, son of a Noble Family, living in this ward, is the authority.

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) em. *mukundābhyām* –
- 2) em. *varmaṇaḥ*. –
- 3) The guttural nasal may be due to saṃdhi. –
- 4) [vu – u ṭa]kam[u] omitted from translation, not clear. –
- 5) *mādhena*: to be connected with Old New. *madhi*, *madhe*, Mod. New. *mari*? More probably, *ādghena*: see supplementary note. –
- 6) or: of what pertains to the subsistence tax.

Supplementary Note: **ādhenā*

In line 4, an alternative interpretation ($^{\circ}mānikāyām = ādhenā$) would not seem impossible, **ādhenā* 'at half' to correspond to *vīsenā* 'at the twentieth part' of N. S. 262 etc, both being Prākṛitic terms. This would raise two problems. One is the locative, $^{\circ}mānikāyām$, which stands in a place where there usually is an apposition. 'The basic subsistence tax, (consisting) in 10 *mā*' (of) grain at half' can, in our opinion, hardly mean 'half of ten *mānikās*', since the scribe repeats *dhā mā māni 10*, which ought to mean ten is the total quantity.

If this is true, we have to find an answer to the problem of what 'at half' refers to. There is a consideration which might be relevant in this context. What the 'half' of the present document amounts to is 10 *mānikās*, from a field measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*. In N. S. 262, the 'twentieth part' from a field of the same size amounts to 4 *mānikās*. This means taxation departs from a total of 20 *mānikās* from the first field, and 80 from the second, or 8 and 32 *mānikās* per *ropanika*, respectively. This is a proportion which might suggest a common underlying factor.

Seeing there is, at present, just this one instance, with even the division of words uncertain, it is perhaps useless to go beyond this point.

5. N. S. 213

Sale of the right in the subsistence tax due from two houses, the vendor being a monk. – Tegala, which otherwise is a ward, is here called a district (*sthāna*-). The monastery appears to bear the name of Harṣākara Gupta, who serves as a witness of N. S. 1[9]3. – Again, the term *mūlapinḍa*- is resumed by *pinḍaka*-; cf. N. S. 211. –

The next document, dated N. S. 224 caitra śu di 5, is practically identical in content. Neither contains any indication of the right being transferred for a limited time; the limitation, then, must have been understood as a matter of course. This apparently means the right in the *mūlapinḍa* levy was granted for a period of eleven years only, at the end of which it had to come up for renewal. This was a means by which the state prevented long-term drains of its revenue: cf. *Introd.*, § 4.1, p. 57.

There seems to be a mistake in the name of the West House (*yotāmcchem*, line 2). –

Size: 404 × 42 mm. Slight damage to margins. – Sealed by round seal, 21 mm in diameter. Impression broken in two. – Ed. HŚ No. 26.

Text

Seal: 1) [śrī] s[ā][r]dhā –
2) t[i]

Document

1 [siddham] samvat 200 10 3 caitra śukla pañcamyām | śrī-lalitavrumāyām | śrī-udaya-lakṣmī-harṣākara Gupta mahā-vihāre bhikṣu [sa]rddhāmatinā [sv]akīyaḥ s[v]abhujyamāna-kaḥ | śrī-tegala [stha]nā

- 2 'dhivāsina kulapu¹ mānījai pākasya sakāśāt, | yī-kona-vrapā[ṭ]asyaḥ dakṣiṇa-pradese | dakṣiṇa-praveṣa-maṅgudyām gṛha-maṅdale smina | yoṭāmcch[e]ṃ gṛhasyaḥ paścimataḥ vrapā=
- 3 [ṭ]asyaḥ dakṣiṇataḥ [ha]m[e]gācche ma[ṅgudyām] pūrvvataḥ etat-madhye yuko[ḷ]iccheṃ nāma-dheya[m], ko[ṭa]khā tala pūrvva-kolim=ekadvāraṃ syaḥ² mūla-peṇḍa taṇḍūla pras-
tha 2 bhūya dakṣiśa[bhūme]³ pṛṣṭha-bhā=
- 4 1 gasyaḥ pūrvva-gṛhasya mūla-peṇḍa taṇḍūla prastha 2 | tata gṛ⁴ ubhaya-piṇḍakam anivattaka-nyāyena mūlam=ādāya krayena vikṛitaṃ bhavati || atr=ārthe sāksī kulaputra śrī-
- 5 ravivarmaḥ praraṃ pramān=eti || o || kadācita tri-varṣ-āvadhanā dhāranakena svayaḥ parisodhyaḥm=iti ||

Notes

- 1) kākapada; above l. 1, on top of *tra* of caitra, there is the akṣara *ta*. Em. *tra*. –
- 2) (ta)sya ? Cf. Translation, note 4. –
- 3) corr. dakṣiṇa . –
- 4) kākapada; the akṣara omitted, *ha*, is found in l. 5.

Translation

Hail!

- [D] The year 213, on the fifth day of the bright half of Caitra,
[V] by the monk Sarddhāmati, (living) in śrī-Udayalakṣmī-Harṣākaragupta Grand Monastery, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,
[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,
[P] in front of Mānījai Pāka, son of a Noble Family, resident of śrī-Tegala district,
[O cont'd: O 1] in the southern region of the south-west declivity¹ (?), in this circle of houses at the lane|drain at the southern entrance²: west of West³ House, south of the declivity¹, east of [Ha]m[e]gācche Lane|Drain⁴ – in their midst, the (house) called North-West House, its outer door on ground level, (of)⁵ (?) one south-east door,
[T 1] the basic subsistence tax, being 2 *prastha* of rice;
[O 2] furthermore, of the southern land, of East House, (i. e.,) of its plot,
[T 2] (its) basic subsistence tax being 2 *prastha* of rice,⁶
[R] after the price⁷ has been taken, the subsistence levy of both these houses has been sold through an act of buying by irreversible rule.
[W] Witness in this matter: the Ven. Ravivarma, son of a Noble Family, is highest authority.
[E] *iti*
[Liability] (If there should arise obstacles) at any time within a period of three years, they are to be cleared up by the holder. Thus.

Notes

- 1) *vrapāta-* = skt. *prapāta-* ? For the development of the initial, cf. N. S. 185 *vrā[vajjya]* < *prā°*. –
- 2) em. *praveśa°*. –
- 3) This may be a mistake; em. *y(am)ta°* ‘North House’. –
- 4) The meaning is probable from N. S. 224, where a South-East House is described as being ‘west of the Great Road, north of the lane|drain’, and another house is in the east bounded by the ‘lane|drain going north, and in the south by this very road’: i. e. the *maṅgudī-* etc. takes a bend, enclosing the house on two sides. The gloss ‘drain’ would seem conceivable from New. *mamgāh* ‘drain, covered ditch’: this usually serves several houses until it joins the main drain. –
- 5) It would not seem probable it is the door only which is being taxed, and the taxes on which are being sold. See the levy collected from the East House. –
- 6) I. e. it seems to be the plot which is subject to taxation, rather than the house itself. –
- 7) em. *mūlyam*.

6. N. S. 224

Sale of the subsistence tax due from two houses; in contents (contracting parties, rights sold, objects) identical with the preceding document, the present one being issued eleven years later than the former, to the day.

Both times, the liability clause is placed at the end of the text, and not in its customary place, which shows the later document was copied from the older one and cannot have been meant to take the place of a vanished original. On the other hand, an omission of the older deed is rectified (viz., the boundary *uttarataḥ*, line 2): there is no reason, then, to doubt the document was meant to stand in its own right. –

The present version does not contain the receipt phrase, *mūlyam ādāya*. If this deficiency is more than a slip of the pen, it could still have hardly affected the legal nature of the transaction recorded.

The edition is based upon an unscaled photograph; hence, the size of the original cannot be given. – Right side torn off, about 4 akṣaras missing. – The seal is not very clear on the photograph; it seems reasonably certain, though, it is an impression of the same signet as that of N. S. 213. – Ed. HŚ No [8].

Text

- 1 [siddham] samvat 200 20 4 caitra śukla divā pañcamyāṃ śrī-lalitavrūmayāṃ śrī-udayalakṣmī-harṣākaragupta-mahā-vihāre bhikṣu-sarddhāmatinā svakīyaṃ svabhū[jya]mānakaṃ | śrī-tegvala-sthān-ādhi[vāsi]no kula-putra mānī ///
- 2 [saṃla]śāt y[i]-koṇa¹-vrapāṭasya dakṣiṇa-pradeśe | dakṣi[ṇa]-praveśa-maṅguḍyāṃ gṛhamāṇḍale smin | yuṭāmcchem gṛhasya paścimataḥ | vrapāṭasya dakṣiṇataḥ | ha[ma]gācchi maṅguḍyāṃ pūrvataḥ | uttama bhāvo vādikāyā uttara ///
- 3 etat-madhye yūko[ṇa]cchem [nāma-dheyam] koṭakhā tale pūr[v]a-kolim=eka-dvāraṃ [sya pūrva]-koli mūla-piṇḍa taṇḍula prastha² | bhūya dakṣiṇa-gṛhasya pṛṣṭh[a]-bhāgasya | pūrva-gṛhasya mūla-piṇḍa taṇḍula prastha² | tata gṛha [u] ///

- 4 kam=anivarttaka-nyāye[na kraya] vikṛitam=bhavati | atr=ārthe śākṣī kula-putra-śrī-ra[t]jī-dharavarma eka-pramāṇam=iti || o || kadācit, tri-varṣ-āvadhinā dhāra(ṇa)keṇa pariśo – m=iti ||
- 5 [one illegible akṣara between *vi* and *krī* of line 4.]

Note

- 1) The reading is not doubtful: *ṇa* owes its peculiar shape to an anusvāra of the next line.

7. N. S. 224

Sale of various immovables, possibly in discharge of a debt. – Size: 452 × 42 mm; damaged on lower margin. Sealed. Size of seal: 20 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [A legible photograph was not available.]

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvat, 200 20 4 mārgasira kṛṣṇa divā dasamyām, śrī-lalitavrūmāyām śrī-nogake līvi-kuṭumva-ja-kula-putra-śrī-ravivarmasya sakāsāt, | tatr=aiva kuṭumva-ja-kula-putra¹ jeṣṭha śrī-bhogavarmaḥ anuja śrī-bhīguvarma anuja śrī-jogavarmaḥ saha svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam,² tatr=aiva
- 2 sthāne yaṃcche ṭorllake [s]oyasyā cchem nāma-dheyam vṛhata-mārgasya paścima-pradese gṛha-maṇḍale pūrvva-korllikam vṛhata-mārgasya paścimataḥ [maṅguṭyāyā] dakṣiṇataḥ jay-ākaravarmasya gṛhasy=ottarataḥ yaṃcchu bhārosa gṛhasya pūrvvataḥ etata-madhye pūrvva-korllikam, sva-sīmā-paricchi=
- 3 nna palā(la)-saṃccha[nna] vahir=dvār-āṅgaṇasya ṛnik-āsāmānya-paribhogam, | bhūya [hmyu]ḍimmagu[ḍ]ike uttara-pradese gṛha-maṇḍale sminu³ dakṣiṇa-korllikam dakṣiṇa-bhāga⁴ ṣa[ḍ]a-hasta-pramāna srota-sahitam pṛṣṭha-bhūmi-sametam, | uttara-gamana [maṅguṭyāyā] pa[ṣc]imataḥ mā=
- 4 rgasy=aiva uttarataḥ⁵ ti.i [bh](ū)[me]⁵ rānakasya gṛhasya dakṣiṇataḥ | etata gṛha-maṇḍalam palāla-saṃchannaṃ sva-sīmā-paricchinnam vahir=dvār-āṅgaṇasya ṛnik-āsāmānya-paribhogam, | bhūya paścima-[cchu yaṃ]vi lam ma[ṅguṭy]ā-paścima-prades[e] gṛha-maṇḍale smina paścima-mū=
- 5 la-dvāram=ekam | [yuva] – x x [x] [bhā]rokasya gṛhasya uttarataḥ śrī-sātīgvalake [d]evū rānakasya gṛhasya pūrvvataḥ etasa madh[y]e gṛha- – .ik.m⁶ sva-sīmā-pa[ri]cchinnam vahir=dvār-ā[ṅga]ṇnasyam danik-āsāmānya-paribhogam, | etata gṛham vasatika-lābha-mātram, kraya-(v)i(kra)=

6 ya-sv-ādhīnatvena kraye(ṇa vikrī)[ta]m=bhavati | atr=ārthe sākṣiṇa [ta]tr=aiva pradhāna-
p(u)r(u)ṣa śrī-tibhuvanavarmaḥ⁷ śrī-sātīgva [gap of approx. 9 akṣaras] [bha][l]oka livi-
kuṭumva-ja-kula-putra śrī-[jayākara]⁸ [] [m]=(i)ti || o || o ||

Notes

- 1) unusual shape: looks like *jra*. –
- 2) pal.: *jya*. –
- 3) em. *smin*. –
- 4) pal.: *bha*. –
- 5) partially destroyed. –
- 6) (*dvār*)ik(a)m ?? –
- 7) This name is again found in 211. –
- 8) Only the upper part of the akṣaras is preserved. Perhaps he is the neighbour of line 2.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 224, on the tenth day of the dark half of Mārgasīras.

[P] In front of the Ven. Ravivarma,¹ son of a Noble Family, born of the Family in the Courtyard (the Līvī Family?), in śrī-Nogalka Ward, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] (by) the elder brother, the Ven. Bhogavarma, the son of a Noble Family, born in that same family, with his younger brother, the Ven. Bhīguvarma, (and) his younger brother, the Ven. Jogavarma,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves,

[O 1] (viz., the house) named Soyasyā House, in the very same *sthāna*-, in Yaṃcche Ṭol, which is the South-Eastern (house)² in the circle of houses (situated) in the region west of the Great Road, (its boundaries being:) west of the Great Road, south of the drain|lane,³ north of Jayākaravarma's house, east of Yaṃcchu Bhāro's house: in their midst the South-East (House), defined by its own boundaries, thatched with straw, with the debtors⁴ exclusively enjoying the yard in front of the door⁵;

[O 2] Furthermore, the South-West (House),² (located) in this circle of houses (which lies) in the northern region, in Hmyuḍimmaguḍika¹⁸, – (the house) measuring six⁶ *hasta* in its southern part, provided with a rivulet⁷ (?), (and) going together with the land it is built upon,⁸ (its boundaries being:) west of the lane|drain³ going north, north of that very road,⁹ south of the house of Ti.ihume Rāṇaka:¹⁰ this circle of houses,¹¹ thatched with straw, defined by its own boundaries, with the debtors exclusively enjoying the yard in front of the door;

[O 3] Furthermore, the sole Western Main Door in this circle of houses,¹² (situated) in the western region (at the) road and lane|drain (of) Yaṃvi, in the Western *cchu*,¹³ (its boundaries being:) north of the house of [Yuva//] Bhāroka, east of the house of him who belongs to the circle of Devu in śrī-Sātīgvalaka, in their midst, the ...¹⁴ (of) a house defined by its own boundaries, with the creditors exclusively enjoying the yard in front of the door;

[R] This house (i. e., these houses) are sold, merely for the gains of renting¹⁶ (?), by (parties) under their own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, through an act of purchase.

[W] Witnesses in this matter: The Headman, the Ven. Tibhuvanavarma, of that very same place; N. N. (gap) Bhalloka in *śrī-Sātīgva(laka)*; and the Ven. Jayākara(varma ?), son of a Noble Family, born of the Family in the Courtyard, (are the highest authority).¹⁷

Notes

- 1) For one Ravivarma, possibly the same individual, cf. N. S. 211, 213. -
- 2) Hypothetical translation, °*ko(r)llika-* being taken in the sense of °*kuḷi-* 'intermediate direction', rather than as denotation of a territorial unit. One does notice the scribe has an extraordinary propensity use the *-ka-* suffix: perhaps this stems from a book of precedents. -
- 3) For *maṅguḍī-* etc., see N. S. 213, Tansl., Note 4, and Note 9, below. -
- 4) or: the group of debtors (*-ka-*)? Cf. Note 2.
- 5) lit.: the house with the debtor's (debtors') ... of the yard outside the door. -
- 6) This seems very small; em. *śata?* -
- 7) or: spring? -
- 8) We are not certain whether *prṣṭhabbhūmi-* is a synonym of *prṣṭhabbhāga-* or rather means 'plot plus adjoining lands (i. e. courtyard, garden, or the like)'. -
- 9) The *vr̥hatamārga-* of line 2? or should this refer to the *maṅguḍī-* etc? in which case it presumably could not be a drain. -
- 10) Is this joint family property? But cf. Note 2 on the use of *-ka-*.
- 11) This appears to be an error: it contradicts the beginning of O 2, where it is just the SW house of the circle which is mentioned as being sold. -
- 12) From the ensuing description, we are not convinced it is the door only which is being sold. Perhaps the object is the house built above a passageway. -
- 13) *cchu* seems to denote an administrative unit a present undefinable, but possibly part of a *ṭol*: cf. *uttaracchu* N. S. 289; *cchumūrṭti-*. -
- 14) Cf. Text, Note 6; em. (*dvār*)*ikām?* And could this be the term to denote the house built above a way of passage into a courtyard (cf. Note 12)? -
- 15) em. *dhanika-* and, for the substitution of *dh* by *d*, cf. *adhivāsin*, passim. Or should this be a mistake for *ṛṇika°*, which the present scribe spells *ṛṇika°* (lines 3 and 4)? -
- 16) *vasatīka-* ? -
- 17) (*param pramāṇa*)*m*.
- 18) i.e. in H° lane? (*maṅguḍika-?*)

8. N. S. 237

Sale of a field of half a *ropanika*, the purchaser being a monk. - Among the witnesses, we find an owner of an adjoining field. - The text departs from the usual formula in that it has *vikrītavyam* rather than *vikrītaṃ bhavati*: payment seems to have been deferred, and a transaction was apparently valid only after payment.

First occurrence of the designation Rudravarma-Mahāvihāra. An individual called Rudravarma is attested in N. S. 185, 189, and, possibly, 194. - Apart from the present instance, King Śivadeva 'adorned' at least one other monastery, as is seen from a donation dated 235 (ed. HŚ, No. 10). Size: 370 × 34 (29) mm. Slight damage to lower margin. - Sealed by round seal, 28 mm in diameter; its impression broken, two thirds being lost. - Ed. HŚ No. 11.

Text

- Seal: 1) [apparently an ornamental device]
2) /// .āka
3) /// .t. ḥ|

Document

- 1 samvat, 200 30 7 māgha śukla trayodaśyām, śrī-lalitavrumāyām, śrī-śivad(e)va- saṃskārīta-śrī-rudravarma mahāvihār-ādhivāsina śākya-bhikṣu ratnabhadrasya sakāsāt,| śrī-vaṅkuṭ(o)lkā 'dhivā <dhi> [s]ina amātya śrī-[hya]raṇā¹karagu-
- 2 ptena svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam, | kavāli [p]akko pradese | sv-alpa-mārggasya paścimataḥ | śrī-nogvalkem kulaputra jayādharavarmasya bhūm=ottarataḥ | dhāraṇakasya bhūme pūrvvata[ḥ bhā]nikara-guptasya bhūme dakṣiṇataḥ etan=madhye arddha-ropan[i]kam kṣetra rova $\frac{1}{2}$
- 3 tasya mūla-piṇḍa varṣām=pra[t]i deya dhānya nava-prastha 9 kuṭum 2 tat, karṣaka-paribhoga-mātram, | yath=opacit, mūla-panam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-svādhīnatvena anivarttaka-nyāyena krayena vikrītavyam=ity=atra sākṣi bhānī bhāro | va[jj]a bhāro | janārdhanas[i]mha
- 4 ete trayah pramāṇam=iti || o ||

Notes

- 1) [śā]?, -
- 2) pal.: $\frac{1}{2}$

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 237, on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Māgha.

[P] In front of the Śākya monk Ratnabhadra, resident of śrī-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, which had been adorned by śrī-Śivadēva, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by the minister, the Ven. Hyaraṇākaragupta, resident of śrī-Vaṅku ward,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the Kavālipakko region, west of the small lane, north of the land of Jayādharavarma, son of a Noble Family, (of) śrī-Nogvalka, east of the land of the holder (i. e. vendor), south of the land of Bhānikaragupta – in their midst, a field of half a ropanīka, rova $\frac{1}{2}$,

[T] – as its basic subsistence tax, nine *prastha*, 9 and two *kuṭum*, 2, are to be given per monsoon¹ –

[R] the enjoyment of its cultivation merely, after the *paṇas* of its price² have been taken as heaped up, is to be sold by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, through an act of buying by irreversible rule. Thus.

[W] Witness in this (matter): Bhānī Bhāro, Va[jj]a Bhāro, Janārdhanasiṃha – these three are the authority.

[E]

iti

Note

- 1) probably, a mistake for “per year” –
- 2) em. *mūlya*^o

9. N. S. 262

Sale of the right to cultivate a field of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*, the purchaser being a monk. Its subsistence tax is divided between two possessors, one of them a goldsmith. It appears to have been calculated on a percentage basis. – A number of minor changes in the formula: *śreyo 'stu* to mark the beginning of the text; the phrase *yataḥkṣetram*, alternating with *yat. kṣetram*, at the end of the description of a plot: it is uncertain whether this is just an added relative pronoun or refers to a certain type of field. In the latter case, one would rather expect it to reappear in the abstract underneath the seal, which in the present document is very detailed. It does not do so; hence, we take it the relative pronoun is the more likely solution. – Period of liability of the vendor is limited to ten years.

Size: 668 × 41 mm. Slight damages to upper margin. – Seal lost; the part formerly underneath the seal contains a very full abstract of the transaction. – Ed. HŚ No. 19.

Text

a) abstract underneath seal

- 1 [siddham]¹ śreyo stu || samvata 200 60 2 pratham=āṣāḍha śukla pañcamyā[m] śrī-tegvalake śrī-mānikyajeva vihāra śākya-bhikṣu
- 2 vajrācārya [h]arṣendravudī²-nāmnah sakāse | nogala [l]ivī-yiṭṭā-kuṭumvaja-pātra-śrī-rāṇavarmanā svakīyaṃ || vaṃpuhlaṃ
- 3 pradeśe muṃḍula yaṃṭā kṣetra pūrvena plutasahita-s-ārddh-ādhika-dvaya-ropanikaṃ kṣetra rova $2\frac{1}{2}$ ³ tasya mūla-pyaṇḍa cā
- 4 vihāra suvarṇa-kārasya[a] vastu dhānya vī[s]ena māni 2 bhūya [pūco] nārāyana bhārokiya- vastu dhānya vī[s]ena māni 2
- 5 tata kṣetra kraya-sthi[tyā] anivarttakam bhāvati⁴ || sā[kh]i tegalayā [p]akocchem rā-gamasimha pramānaś=c=eti || o ||

b) open text

- 1 [siddham]¹ śreyo stu || samvata 200 60 2 pratham-āṣāḍha śukla divā pañcamyāṃ śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ śrī-tegvalke śrī-mānikyajaiiva mahā-vi[h]ār-ādhivāsin[ā] śākya-bhikṣu- vajr-ācārja-śrī-harṣendravudī-nāmnah sakāśāt || tasmin=eva [vru]māyāṃ
- 2 śrī-nogvalke livī-yiṭṭā-kuṭumva-ja-pātra-śrī-rāṇavarmanā svakīyaṃ subhujyamānakam || vaṃ[p]uhlaṃ pradeśe | muṃḍula-yaṃṭā-nāma-dheyam || śrī-kumarapālavarma⁴-pramu- khānāṃ vastu-kṣetrasya paścimataḥ || u[tt]ara-vihāra-śrī-jai[pāla]=

- 3 varmano kṣetrasya uttarataḥ | s[ā][la]ko-vihāra-bhikṣu-vijayabhadrasya kṣetre pūrvataḥ | ha[dh]ako⁵-vihāra-śrī-udayapālavarmano kṣetrasya dakṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye pūrvvena pluta-sahita s-ārddh-ā[dh]jika-dvaya-ropanikaṃ. ya=
- 4 ta kṣetraṃ rova 2 $\frac{13}{2}$ tasya mūla-pyaṇḍa sātīgala-cā-vihāra-suvarṇa-kārasya vastu dhānya vīsenā dvi-mānikā deya māni 2 bhūya pū[co] nārāyana-bhārokīya-vasu dhānya vīsenā dvi-mānikā deya māni 2 tata kṣetraṃ ka=
- 5 rṣaka-paribhogyanīyaṃ kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhīnatvena anivarttaka-nyāyena krayena vikrītam=bhavati || sākṣiṇa dṛḍhikaranāya tega[na]yā⁶ [pa]koccheṃ rāgamasimha dṛṣṭaḥ srutaḥ jñātāraṃ pramānaś=c=eti || o ||
- 6 tata kṣetrasya daśa-varṣ-ā[kṛ]tin=ātra yadi vyāvāde śati dhāraṇaka-pātreṇa sodhanīyaṃ

Notes

- 1) unusual shape. –
- 2) em. *harṣendra*^o, cf. open text. –
- 3) pal.: $\frac{1}{2}$. –
- 4) sic! –
- 5) pal.: *dha*; cf. *dṛḍhi*^o of line 5; *āṣāḍha* slightly different. –
- 6) em. *tegala*^o.

Translation

a) abstract underneath seal

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 262, on the fifth day of the bright half of the prior Āṣāḍha.

[P] In front¹ of the Śākya monk named Harṣendravudī, Vajrācārya, of śrī-Mānikyaīveva Monastery, in śrī-Tegvalaka.

[V] by the Ven. Rāṇavarman, Pātra, born of the family south (of the) courtyard (in) Nogala, [O] his own property: the field north of Muṃdula, in the Vaṃpuhlaṃ region, towards the east, provided with inundations,² of two and a half *ropanikas*, rova 2 $\frac{1}{2}$,

[T] its basic subsistence tax the property of the goldsmith of Cā Monastery,³ 2 *māni* of grain at one twentieth; furthermore, the property of the family of⁴ Nārāyana Bhāro, (of) Pūco, 2 *māni* of grain at one twentieth,

[R] by a decree of sale, this field⁵ becomes irreversible.

[W] Witness (is) Rāgamasimha, (of) Pakoccheṃ, of Tegala, and (he is) the authority.

[E] *iti*

b) open text

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 262, on the fifth day of the bright half of the prior Āṣāḍha,

[P] in front of the Śākya monk, named the Ven. Harṣendravudī, Vajrācārya, resident of śrī-Mānikyaīveva Grand Monastery, in śrī-Tegvalka, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by the Ven. Rāṇavarman, Pātra, born of the family south (of the) courtyard in śrī-Nogvalka, even there in the *vrūmā*,⁶

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the Vaṃ[pu]hlaṃ region,⁷ (the field) being called North Mumḍula, west of the field which is the property of those headed by the Ven. Kumaraṃāvarman, north of the field of the Ven. Jaipāvarman, of the North Monastery,⁸ east of the field⁹ of the monk Vijayabhādra, of Sāḷako Monastery, south of the field of the Ven. Udayaṃāvarman, of Ha[ḍh]ako Monastery – in their midst, the field which (measures) two and a half *ropaṇikas*, *rova* $2\frac{1}{2}$, provided with inundations² towards the east, [T] its basic subsistence tax is the property of the goldsmith of Cā Monastery (in) Sātigala: two *mānikās*, *māni* 2, of grain at one twentieth have to be given; furthermore, the property of the family of Nārāyana Bhāro, (of) Pūco:¹⁰ two *mānikās*, *māni* 2, of grain at one twentieth have to be given;

[R] this field, its cultivation to be fully enjoyed, is sold by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, through an act of buying by irreversible rule.

[W] Witnesses, in order to confirm (the transaction): Rāgamasimha (of) Pakoccheṃ, in Tegana,¹¹ has seen and heard, and knows,¹² and is authority.

[E] *iti*

[Liability] If within a period¹³ of ten years there is a dispute concerning this field,¹⁴ it has to be cleared by the holder, the Pātra.¹⁵

Notes

- 1) For the locative, cf. N. S. 261. The open text has the usual ablative. –
- 2) *pluta*. Perhaps the word rather designates some facility for irrigation. –
- 3) Could this be the term for a branch monastery? –
- 4) *bhārokīya*^o. –
- 5) em. *tat kṣetraṃ*. –
- 6) Lack of concord in gender. –
- 7) East Puhlaṃ?. –
- 8) Perhaps this is an old name for Yantāvihāra, cf. Gutschow and Shakyā, *The Monasteries of Patan*, no. 56. –
- 9) The text has an unexpected locative. –
- 10) Perhaps Pūco Monastery? –
- 11) em. Tegala. –
- 12) em. *jñātā*. –
- 13) em. *-āvadhinā*. –
- 14) em. *tat-kṣetrasya*. –
- 15) This is the title of the vendor.

10. N.S. 273

Sale of the right to cultivate a field of 2 *ropaṇikas*, the purchaser being the Saṃgha of a monastery, the vendors a group of four concurring relatives. A number of minor deviations from the usual pattern, or of innovations: Tegala, usually a ward (*ṭola*- or derivatives), is now a district (*sthāna*-), apparently consisting of several wards. – The *piṇḍa*-levy is not mentioned:

presumably, it went to the king. – The adequacy of the price is attested for ‘region’ or ‘country’ (*deśa-*), possibly in opposition to ‘town’ (*nagara-*): cf. Introd., p. 66. – The Royal Court is missing from the liability clause; the liability itself is limited to a period of seven years. – Size: 477 × 38 (32) mm. Sealed by oval seal, 20 × 24 mm. The scribe is identical with him who wrote N.S. 289: note the tendency to avoid *daṇḍas*, and to use spacing in their stead; the peculiar shape of *bha* (lines 2 and 3); the word *anuvṛttikaṃ* in place of *anivarttaka*^o. – Ed. HŚ No. 22.

Text

Seal: 1 śrī-vara
2 pālavarma

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo stu samvat 200 703 mārggasira kṛṣṇa tṛthiyāyāṃ śrī-lalita[vru]māyāṃ śrī-tegala dakṣiṇa-ku¹[ṇa]-ṭolke śrī-śivadeva-saṃskārīta-śrī-mānīdharajīva-mahā-vihār-ārya-saṃgha-[bha]ṭṭārakānāṃ sakāsāt, || tasminn=eva vr[u]māyāṃ śrī-nogala yītā-
- 2 kuṭumva-ja-śrī-varapālavarmana, śrī-amatapālāpālavarmana, śrī-[mehla]navarmana, śrī-munīdharavarmana, ete sah=ānumatābhi svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam,² | tatr=aiva vrumāyāṃ pūrvva-pradeśe, vaniṭol[|]a-khetra-sa[jīna]kam du[ṅgāṃ] mahā-v[ā]mkiya khe=
- 3 tre paści(ma)taḥ³ gagana-vihāra-śrī-bhārokīya-khetre [u]ttarataḥ yaṃtā śrī-jaiśimhavarmana-khetre pūrvvataḥ sv-alpa-mārgrasy[a] dakṣiṇataḥ etat-madhye dvaya-ropanikam yata khetra rova 2 sa-karṣaka-paribhogyanīyaṃ yathā-deśa-viśeṣṭha-sacār-ārghena
- 4 suvarṇṇam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhinatvena anuvṛttikam nyāyena krayena vikriya[stam=bha]vati⁴ | it,⁵ khetra kadācita devika vinā saṅkaṭa-vyāvāde sati saptavarṣ-[ā]vaddhinā dhāraṇakena sodhyanīyaṃ sākhi rāma bhāvoṃ pramānaś=c=aiti || o ||

Notes

- 1) *ku* of *kuṭumva* of different shape. –
2) pal.: *jya*. –
3) lacuna of one akṣara; effaced? –
4) *sta* and *mbha* quite similar to each other. – For *sta* ~ *ta*, cf. occasional spellings like *gotra* ~ *gotra*. –
5) *it[a]*.?

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 273, on the third day of the dark half of Mārgasīras,

[P] in front of the Venerable (monks) of the Noble Order of śrī-Mānīdharajīva Grand Monastery, which has been adorned by śrī-Śivadeva, in the ward at the southern corner of śrī-Tegala (district?), in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by the Ven. Varapālarman, the Ven. Amatapālarman, the Ven. M[ehla]navarman, the Ven. Munidharavarman, born of the southern family in śrī-Nogala, even there in the vrumā, they being agreed together,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves, in the eastern region even there in the vrumā, (the field) known as Vanitolla Field, west of Du[ṅgām]-Mahāv[ā]ṃkiya field¹, north of the field¹ of the family of Śrī Bhāro², of Gagana Monastery, east of the field¹ of the Ven. Jaisimhavarman, (of) North (Monastery?³), south of the small lane – in their midst, a field which (measures) two *ropanikas*, *rova* 2,

[R] to be fully enjoyed together with the right of cultivation: having taken gold according to the custom particular to (this) country, it is sold⁴ by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, through a purchase by the Rule of Continuation⁵.

[Liability] If from now on at any time there should be difficulties and disputes (concerning this?) field, they have to be cleared by the holder within a period of seven years.

[W] Witness: and Rāma Bhāvo is authority.

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) locative in text. –
- 2) *bhārokīya*°. –
- 3) Cf. Yantā Vihāra, the Uttaravihāra of N.S. 262? –
- 4) If *vikriyatam* (= *vikritam*); perhaps, though, some corruption of *vikretavyam*. Cf. Introd., § 3.3.2. –
- 5) Or em. *anivartaka*°.

11. N.S. 289

Sale of both the subsistence tax (*piṇḍa*- rather than the customary *mūlapiṇḍa*-) and the right of cultivation of a field of three *ropanikas*, the purchaser being the Order of Uku Bāhāḥ.

The document is written by the same scribe as N.S. 273/1.

Size: 465 × 37 mm. Sealed by round seal, 22 mm in diameter. – Ed. HŚ No. 24.

Text

Seal: 1 rāma
2 varddhana

Document

1 [siddham]¹ śreyo stu samvat 200 809 vaiśākha śukla divā pañcamyām śrī-lalitavr[u]māyām vaṃku ṭolke śrī-rudravarma mahā-vihārya²-sarvva-saṃgha-bhaṭṭāra³kānām sakāsāt, | tasminn=(e)va vr[u]māyām nogla uttaracch[u] ṭolke rāmavarddha

- 2 **nena** sva[k]īyaṃ svabhujyamānakaṃ | tatr=aiva vr[u]māyāṃ pūrvv[a]-pradeśe, canam[e]dvala kṣetra sajnāka, vahmānaccheṃ vaṃstu-khetre paścimataḥ khila[mk]asy[e] uttarataḥ svalpamārggasy[a] pūrvvataḥ śrī-āna[ndr]avarmana kṣetre lakṣi
- 3 ṇataḥ etat-madhye traya-ropanikaṃ yata kṣetra rova 3 tat=karṣaka-piṇḍa-paribhogyanīyaṃ, yathā-desya-sañcār-ārghena mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādḥinatvena an[u]vṛttika-nyāyena krayena vikrīya
- 4 **stam**=bhavati[,] ita kṣetr[e] yadi saṃkaṭa-vyāvāde sati tadā dhārakena⁴ parisodhyanīyaṃ, atr=ārthe sākṣi dṛṣṭa-śrutra-jñātāra **vaṃku** ṭolke **milavu** [bh]āro=m=eka-pramam=pramānam=iti || o ||

Notes

- 1) written on left margin, contrasting with usual custom. –
- 2) *rā* omitted: °*vihārārya*°.
- 3) *ṇa* omitted: *dhāraṇakena*.
- 4) inserted above regular line. – NB: *vr[u]* certain: *kra* in 1.3, *kraya* etc.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 289, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

[P] In front of the Venerable (monks) of the entire Noble Order of śrī-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, in Vaṃku ward, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by Rāmavarddhana, in Uttaracchu ward (of) Nogra, even there in the *vrumā*,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the eastern region even there in the *vrumā*, (the field) known as Canam[e]dvala Field, west of the field¹ which is the property of Vahmānaccheṃ, north of the *khilamka*-², east of the small lane, south of the field of the Ven. Ānandavarman – in their midst, a field which (measures) three *ropanikas*, *rova* 3,

[R] both its cultivation and its subsistence tax, to be fully enjoyed, (are) sold by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, through a purchase by the Rule of Continuation³, after the price has been taken at a rate which is the custom of the country.

[Liability] From now on⁴, if there are difficulties and disputes (regarding) the field, then they are to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in this matter, they who have seen, and heard, and know: Milavu Bhāro of Vaṃku ward alone is chief authority.

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) text: locative.
- 2) cf. N.S. 272, line 2: *khilamaka*-; *khila*- ‘uncultivated land’.
- 3) or: *anivarttaka*-; cf. N.S. 273/2.
- 4) *itah*; cf. *it[a]* in N.S. 273/2, line 4.

Sale of the right to cultivate a field of 3 *ropanikas*, the purchaser being a monk. – The abstract, formerly hidden by the seal, shows *krayapattra*- to have been the name the document went by. – The subsistence tax is expressed in terms of money rather than of grain. Its purpose or recipient, *sarūvāra*, is unclear. – Among the neighbours, there is a *dvādaśi-goṣṭhī*, with property of its own. – The liability is limited to nine years. –

Certain similarities in style to N.S. 273/2 and N.S. 289, though the present scribe is different: cf. *anu-vṛttika*^o, *vikrīyastam*, *itah kṣetre*. It remains to be seen whether such peculiarities are mannerisms of certain chanceries.

Size: 634 × 45 (55) mm., damaged at right end with some loss of text. Seal lost; punctures due to stitching plainly visible. – Ed. HŚ No. 28.

Text

Document

a) abstract underneath seal

śreyo stu krayapatram=idam

b) open text

- 1 [siddham] śreyo stu samvat 200904 māgha kṛṣṇa divā pratipadyām śrī-lalitavrumāyām¹ śrī-vaṃku-ṭolke śrī-rudravarma mahā-vihār[e] śākya-bhikṣu-am[ṛta]bhadrasya sakāsāt | tatr=aiva ṭolke vihār.² vankavūccheṃ kuṭumvaja-śrī-rāgmejvena svakīyaṃ svabhujyamā
- 2 nakam | tatr=aiva vrumāyām dakṣiṇa-pradeśe vihāra vaṃvī kṣetra-sajñakam (gap of approx. 13 akṣaraṣ) dhāraṇakasya khetrer-uttarataḥ pūrvvata[ś=ca]h³ mānigla dvādasi-goṣṭhi-vastu-kṣetre dakṣiṇataḥ etat=madhye traya-ropanikaḥ yata khetra ro
- 3 va 3 tasya mūla-piṇḍa sarūvāra vastu daṃma 6⁴ tat=sakarṣaka-paribhogyanīyaṃ yathā-desye-saṅcār-ārghena suvarṇam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhīnatvena anuvṛttika-nyāyena krayena vikrīyastam=bhavati ita kṣetre yadi syā[d] (d)evika-(rāj)i(ka)
- 4 vinā saṅkaṭa-vyāvāde sati nava-vars[ā]t[.] prāk dhāraṇakena svayam=parisodhyanīyaṃ atr=ārthe śākṣi dṛḍhīkaraṇāya dṛṣṭa-śruta-jñātāra śrī-hayabhadra hāvoṃ [bhaṭ]ḥ⁶koccheṃ kuṭumva-ja-śrī-gopālavarmā, ca///

Notes

- 1) Certainly not *kra*: cf. *kra* in line 3 (thrice).
- 2) lacuna.
- 3) visarga used as a mark of punctuation.
- 4) pal.: 6.
- 5) pal.: ṅcā.
- 6) retouched akṣara.

Translation

a) *abstract underneath seal*

Let it be auspicious! This is a deed of purchase.

b) *open text*

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 294, on the first day of the dark half of Māgha.

[P] In front of the Śākya monk Amṛtabhadra, of śrī-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, in śrī-Vaṃku Ward, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by the Ven. Rāgmejīva, born of the Vankavūccheṃ family in the monastery, even there in the ward,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, [viz., the field] called Vihāra-Vaṃvī Field, ... north and east of the field¹ of the holder [= vendor], south of the field¹ which is the property of the *guthi* of the Twelfth Day, of Mānīgla – in their midst, a field which (measures) three *ropanikas*, *rova* 3,

[T] its basic subsistence tax, [viz.,] 6 *dammas*, being the *sarūvāra*² property,

[R] (the field), to be fully enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold³ by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, through an act of purchase, by the Rule of Continuation⁴, after gold has been taken according to the rate which is the custom of the country.

[Liability] From now on, if there are difficulties and disputes (regarding) this field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, they are to be cleared up by the holder himself (for a period of) up to nine years.

[W] Witness, in order to confirm (the transaction): (those) who have seen, heard, and know, (are) the Ven. Hayabhadra Hāvo, the Ven. Gopālavarman born of a family of [Bhaṭ]ko-ccheṃ ///

Notes

- 1) locative in text.
- 2) The similarity to nep. *sarobar* etc. 'alike, equal' is odd, since its meaning would fit the case rather well: 'an equivalent property' might reflect the fact that in the present document the subsistence levy is raised in money rather than in grain, as is customary. Still, we offer this comment with great diffidence. The Nepālī word ultimately seems to be derived from Persian.
- 3) text: *vikriyastam*.
- 4) possibly, an error for *anivarttaka*^o.

13. N.S. 304

Sale of a quarter of a field, which is bought by the Manijjīva-Mahāvihāra. The boundaries are omitted and possibly had not been settled at the time of drafting the document. For the plot was bounded by the river and subject to flooding, in which case the damage was repaired by resorting to *corvée* (*viṣṭi-*) – apparently a usual method. It seems this duty was not passed on to the purchaser, but remained with the original vendor: cf. N.S. 310, introd. note.

Size: 515 × 44 (37) mm. Marked tendency to double consonants, particularly *tt*. Visarga used as punctuation mark. Sealed with a round seal, 20 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [a legible photograph not available]

Document

- 1 [siddham] sreyo stu || samvat, 3004 bhād(r)apada śukla divā dutīyāyāṃ śrī-lalittavrūmāyāṃ śrī-tyegvalke śrī-sivadeva-saṃskārit[a]-manijjīva-mahā-vihār-āddhivāsinah āryaya-sākya-bhikṣu-sarvva-saṅghānām anyony-ānumatānām, sakāśāta ḥ ||
- 2 śrī-nogalke cu[pāṅga] līvī-ccheṃ-kuṭomv-ja tulāddhari jevarma ṭhakura-nāmena svakīyaṃ, svabhujyamānakam, tyettīlam¹ pradeśe || [rest of line left blank, except for three double daṇḍas]
- 3 [space of approx. 6 akṣaras left blank] || etat-maddhe² tri-ropanikam, yata kṣetraṃ, tat=kṣetra rova 3³ tad=yathā-nagra-viṣṭi-sañcār-āghṛna⁴ yath-opacitta-suvaṇṇa-mūlyam=ādāya kra-vikray[a]-sv-ādhīnatvena anivattakra-nyāyena kraye vikrītam, bhavati | tasya kṣetra puṅ=[kh]va
- 4 nimitvena saṅkaṭa-vyāghāte sati⁵ var-ūttara-pluta-sameta⁵ tadā dhāranaken=aiva parisoddhanīyam, | patr-ārthe dṛḍhikranyāya⁶ śākṣiṇa tulādhari dhvakau hāvomsaḥ | v[ra]ddhi[ka]-kuṭomv-ja a[jya] bhārosa || thapatti vijupāla bhārosa traya śrūta-dṛṣṭa-jñāta
- 5 traya pramaṃ, pramānam=itti ḥ || [floral device] || || tata-kṣetra-catura-bhāgasyaṃ=eka-bhāgya paribhogyanīyam |

Notes

- 1) *tyottalam* less likely.
- 2) *kākapada*, probably to mark insertion of 5–5 from line 4.
- 3) *kākapada*, probably to mark insertion of the addition to line 5.
- 4) em. *-ārghaṇa*.
- 5) cf. translation; to be inserted in line 3.
- 6) em. *dṛḍhikaraṇāya*.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 304, on the second day of the bright half of Bhādrapada.

[P] In front of the entire Order of Noble Śākya monks, they being agreed with each other, who live¹ in the śrī-Manijjīva Grand Monastery, which was embellished by the Ven. Sivadeva (and is located) in śrī-Tyegvalka (Ward), in śrī-Lalittavrūmā,

[V] by him who is called Tulāddhari Jevarma Ṭhakura, born of the family of the house in the Cu[pāṅga] courtyard, in śrī-Nogalka (Ward),

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the Tyettila region, [description of boundaries missing] – in their midst, the field which (measures) three *ropanikas*, (having inundations at its northern boundary²). This field (of) 3 *rova*: one part of the four parts of this field³ is to be enjoyed completely⁴.

[R] Having taken the price in gold, as heaped up, at a value according to the custom of the town and of (the usual) corvée, it is sold in a purchase⁵ by irreversible rule, under independence as to purchases and sales.

[Liability] When there are difficulties and obstacles to this field⁶ due to flooding by the river⁷ – (for) it has inundations at its northern boundary⁸ – then they have to be settled by the holder.

[W] Witnesses in the matter of this document, in order to confirm it: Tulādhari Dhvakau Hāvom; Ajya Bhāro, born of the carpenter (?) family; Vijupāla Bhāro, builder. The three (of them) have seen, heard, and known; the three (of them) are chief authority.

[E] *itti*
[floral device]

Notes

- 1) the singular doubtless is a mechanical transfer of the text used for individuals.
- 2) This is the text enclosed in *kākapadas* in line 4.
- 3) em. *tat-kṣetra*^o.
- 4) inserted from line 5.
- 5) Probably nothing but an error for *krayeṇa*.
- 6) em. *kṣetrasya*.
- 7) lit.: the swollen river (new.).
- 8) *vara-* = new. *bal* (Jørgensen s.v.): “border” (etc.). For the compound, cf. Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr. II*, 1, p. 236.

14. N.S. 306

Sale of a field, which is bought by the monks of Rudravarma Mahāvihāra. A levy named *lāso*. Size: 500 × 39 (29) mm. Slightly damaged. Sealed. Size of oval seal: 19 × 14 mm. – Ed. HŚ, No. 32.

Text

Seal: [siddham] śrī ||
[surrounded by an oval rim]

Document

1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 300, 6, jeṣṭha śukla [e]kādasīyāṃ, śrī-lalitavrumāyāṃ, śrī-nogvalke śrī-rudravarma mahā-vihār-ārya-bhikṣu-sarva-saṃghānāṃ, śakāśāt, | tatr=aiva

- ṭolke livī yaṃṭā kuṭumva-ja śrī-jagamola va(rma)¹ śrī-jaimālavarma tayo ubhayo svakiyaṃ svabhūmāṇikam | thasiṃ[ja]ladhonako
- 2 pradeśe | yithau-vihāra-saṃ[gh]a-vastu-bhūmeḥ paścimataḥ | dakṣiṇa-vihāra-śrī-śrīvarma-sya bhūmer=utarataḥ | śv-alpa-mārgasya pūrvataḥ | dathau-vihāra-saṃ[gha]-vastu-bhūmeḥ dakṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye traya-ropa(ṇ)i x x x [x] rova 3 tat kṣetra sthita-lās[o] taṇḍūla kūḍa trayā[n]i aṃkata kūḍa
- 3 3 tad=yathā-nagara-saṅcār-ārghheṇa yath-opacit-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhiṇa-tven=ānivarttaka-ny[o]yena² krayana vikrītam=bhavati | paribhāṣā c=ātra yadi daivika-rājika³-vyāvāde sati tadā dhārṇakena pari x x x x x [x] [s]ākṣi ya[n]gala vihāra-stha śrī-rajalāśramanam=eka [gap of approx. nine akṣaras] ||

Notes

- 1) *ga* and *va* inserted above line; em. °*māla*°.
- 2) em. °*nyāyena*.
- 3) *ji* inserted below line.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 306, on the eleventh (day) of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha.

[P] In front of the entire Order of Noble Monks of the *śrī*-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, (located) in *śrī*-Nogvalka, in *śrī*-Lalitavrumā,

[V] Of both of them, the Ven. Jagamālavarma [and] the Ven. Jaimālavarma, born in the North family of the courtyard in that very same ward,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves, in the Thasiṃjaladhonako region, west of the land which is the property of the Order of Yithau Monastery, north of the land of the Ven. Śrīvarma, of the South Monastery, east of the lane, south of the land which is the property of the Order of Dathau Monastery – in their midst, a (... field) of three *ropanikas*, *rova* 3,

[T] this field having a standing *lāso*-(levy?) of three *kūḍas* of rice, in figures, *kūḍa* 3–

[R] Having taken the price as heaped up, at a value according to the custom of the town, this is sold by means of a purchase by irreversible rule, under independence as to purchases and sales.

[Liability] And there is the general rule: if there be a disagreement¹ pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court², it is to be (settled) by the holder (= vendor).

[W] Witness: The Ven. Rajalāśramana, living in Yaṅgala Monastery, (is) the sole (authority).

Notes

- 1) *vyāvāda*-.
- 2) anacoluthon.

Sale of two fields, both parties being monks. Apparently, there are two levies on one of them: a subsistence tax of oil (*taila-piṇḍa-*), and the levy named *lāso* (*lābho?* but cf. 306). – Liability is limited to eleven years, which implies the *dhārmaka-* of this clause is the vendor.

Size: ca. 466 × 40 (32) mm. Upper margin much damaged. *e|a, o|ā, ta|bha* often hard to distinguish; *r. .* often faint or omitted. Sealed by a round seal, 18 mm in diameter. – Ed. HŚ, No. 33.

Text

Seal: 1 [siddham] śrīḥ |
2 [floral device]

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 300 10 caitra śukla navamyām, | śrī-lalitavrūmāyām, | śrī-nogalake śrī-rudravarma mahā-vi[hā] x x x x [x] [bhikṣu]-sthavira-amatabhadrasya sakās[āt], | [ta](t)r=(ai)[v]a [vihār](e) śākya-bhikṣu d[ī]pā(m)karabhadreṇa svak[ī]ya(m) [svabhujyam]ānakam, | [cūṇḍarāḍa]-pradeśe | **bhimalo=**
- 2 **cana bhāvokasya** kṣetrasya paścimataḥ | [vikra]makasy=ottarataḥ¹ | [space of approx. 14 akṣaras left blank] | **bhāliṅgeśvara-vi** x x x x x vastu-bhūmer=dakṣiṇataḥ | etan-madhye catu-ropanīkam yat=kṣetram rova 4 tasya taila-piṇḍa varṣam=prati deya [bhukupye]hī [gu][tṭh]i māna prasth[a]na trayam pra=
- 3 [stha] 3 lāso deya va(r)ṣa[m]=prati² s-ārddha-prasth=aika prastha 1 kuḍu 2 bhūya vihāra va[m]vī pradeśe || **dhanāka[v]ahāvāmkusya**⁵ bhūmeḥ paścimataḥ | paṇḍitaḥ kīrti[e]ndra-bhadrasya³ bhūmer=utarataḥ | [space of 13–14 akṣaras left blank] | [c]aukau[bh]ārī nāmnaḥ kṣetrasya dakṣiṇataḥ | etan-madhye s-ā=
- 4 (r)ddhaka-ropanīkam yat, kṣetra rova 1 paṇa karṣa 2 tat=sa-karṣakam tau kṣetrau paribhogyam tan=yathā-nagara-saṅcār-ā(r)gheṇa mūlam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhīnatven=ān-uvarttaka-nyāyena krayena vikrītam bhavati | yadi syā devika-rājika[m] vinā saṅkaṭ-otpatti syād=ekā=
- 5 daśa-[varṣāt]=prāk, dharaṇakena sodhanīyam, | atr=ā(r)the sāksīṇo livī-vihāra kṣala hāvosa | **lokabhadra hāvom,** | .u[d]au bhāro, ete trayo drṣṭārau śrotārau jñātāro traya praparamāṇam=iti⁴ ||
- 6 [in lower margin] [d]āru tam 3

Notes

- 1) em. *tilamakasyo*.
- 2) kākapada, probably meant to mark insertion of text of line 6.
- 3) *dra* below line.
- 4) em. *param=pramāṇam*.
- 5) em. *hāv(o)mk(a)sya?*

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 310, on the ninth (day) of the bright half of Caitra.

[P] In front of the (Noble Śākya Monk,)¹ the Elder Amatabhadra, of the śrī-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, in śrī-Nogalaka, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by the Śākya Monk Dīpaṅkarabhadra, of that same monastery,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[O 1] in the [Cūṅḍarāḍa] region, west of the field of Bhimalocana Bhāvoka, north of the water course², ... south of the land which is the property of ... Bhāliṅgeśvara³ ... – in their midst, a field which (measures) four *ropaṇikas*, *rova* 4.

[T 1] Its subsistence tax of oil is to be given yearly ... (amounting to) three *prasthas*, (in figures,) *prastha* 3;

[T 2] its *lāso* (-levy?) is to be given yearly, ?*dāru tam* 3?⁴, (amounting to) one and a half *prastha*, (in figures,) 1 *prastha* 2 *kuḍu*.

[O 2] Furthermore, in the Vihāra-Vamvī region, west of the land of Dhanākavahāvāṃku, north of the land of Paṇḍit Kīrtyendrabhadra, (east of) [gap], south of the field named⁵ [C]aukau[bh]ārī – in their midst, a field which (measures) one and a half *ropaṇikas*, *rova* 1 *paṇa karsa* 2.

[R] These two fields are to be completely enjoyed, together with the right to cultivate them⁶. Having taken the price⁷ at a value according to the custom of the town, they are sold⁶ by means of a purchase, by the Rule of Continuation⁸, under independence as to purchases and sales.

[Liability] If there should arise a doubt, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, this is to be settled by the holder (= vendor), prior to eleven years.

[W] Witnesses in this matter are Kṣāla Hāvo, of the Courtyard Monastery⁹; Lokabhadra Hāvom; .u[ḍ]au Bhāro. The three of them are those who have seen, have heard, and know¹⁰. (These) three are the chief authority.

[E]

iti

Notes

1) *vi[hā](r-ārya-śākya)[-bhikṣu]?*

2) for *tilamaka-*, see Text, note 1.

3) the sanctuary could not be traced.

4) 'three piles of wood'? In N.S. 306, however, the *lāso* consists of *taṇḍula-*, which is abbreviated by *tam*

5) or: of him who is named C°.

6) The text maintains the singular number found in the usual formula.

7) em. *mūlyam*.

8) Cf. N.S. 294, though the text may mean to give the usual formula, *anivarttaka°*.

9) Cf. names like Yantālivivihāra: Gutschow/Śākya 1980, No. 150.

10) Note the dual forms, and cf. the Indian discussions on the number of witnesses: Yājñ. 2.87 *sākṣiṇas* ... *te samāḥ* vs. *te 'samāḥ*, etc.

16. N.S. 340

Sale of a field of three *ropanikas*, the vendors being two brothers. – From the present instance, the word *pluta-* would seem to designate some facility for irrigation, since the southern boundary of the plot is not formed by brook, canal, or the like. –

Size: 543 × 32 mm. Sealed by oval seal, 16 × 21 mm. Ed. HŚ No. 36.

Text

Seal: [siddham] śrī ||
[inscribed into an oval rim]

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 300 40 vaiśākha śukla pañcamyāṃ | śrī-lalitavrumāyāṃ śrī-vaṃku ṭolak-ādhivāsino, jaipāla bhāvo, vijupāla bhāvo, jeṣṭh-ānujābhyāṃ svakīyaṃ svabhuj(y)amāṇakam | tatr=aiva=m=adhivāsin[a], sva-gotra, paṇḍu bhāvo nāmnaḥ sakāśāt | va x [d]ikhā vu nāma (p)r(a)de(śe)
- 2 sv-alpa-mā(rgas)ya paścimataḥ | [cchu]mūrtti śrī-rāmacandra varmaṇo kṣetres=uttarataḥ | yaipim -vihāra-saṅgha-bhaṭṭāraka-vastu-kṣetreḥ pūrvvataḥ | thaṇṭ[h]itthāna vastu-bhūmer dakṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye traya-ropanikam, kṣetram, dakṣiṇa-pluta-sametam, rova 3 sakar(ś)aka-kṣetraḥ paribho(gyaṃ ta)=
- 3 d=yathā-nagara-saṅcār-ārghena mūlam=ādāya¹ h² kraya-vikraya h²-svādhīnatven=ānivart-taka-nyāyena krayena vikrītam=bhavati || kṣetram, saṅkatu³-vyāvāda-kāle dhāraṇakābhyāṃ sodhya || sākṣi ya[n]th[au]cchem śrī-lakṣaṇapālā bhārosa, thithacche śrī-rāmacandra bhārosa, śrī-rathanacandra bhārosa, tray=eti |

Notes

- 1) pal.: mū.
- 2) visarga used as a mark of punctuation.
- 3) *saṅkatā-*?

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 340, on the fifth (day of) the bright half of Vaiśākha.

[V] By both elder and younger brother, Jaipāla Bhāvo and Vijupāla Bhāvo, resident(s)¹ of śrī-Vaṃku-ṭolaka in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves,

[P] in front of Paṇḍu Bhāvo, of the same *gotra*, resident even there,

[O cont'd] in the region named Va x [ḍ]ikhāvu, west of the small lane, north of the field¹ of the Ven. Cchumūrṭṭi⁴ Rāmacandravarman, east of the field¹ which is the property of the Venerable Order of Yaipim Monastery, south of the land which is the Thaṅṭ[h]itthāna property – in their midst, a field of three *ropanikas*, provided with inundations³ in (its) south, *rova* 3,

[R] (this) field, to be fully enjoyed together with (the right of) its cultivation, is sold by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, through a purchase by irreversible rule, after its price has been taken at a value according to the custom particular to (this) town.

[Liability] At the time of difficulties and disputes, the field should be cleared by both holders.

[W] Witness: The Ven. Lakṣaṇapālā Bhāro, (of) Yanthaucchem; the Ven. Rāmacandra Bhāro, (of) Thithacche; the Ven. Rathanacandra Bhāro: (the) three (of them).

Notes

- 1) error in concord.
- 2) locatives in text.
- 3) for *pluta-*, cf. 262, transl., note 3; 304; and the introductory note; the above paraphrase would not seem to fit the case.
- 4) For this title, cf. *Introd.*, p. 95.

17. N.S. 456

Sale of a garden plot, the vendor selling with his son's consent. The purchaser is a female, acting in her own name. The clause stating the independence as to purchases and sales is missing – as in the parallel case of N.S. 628, which possibly indicates some difference in legal status.

The codicil acquaints us with what presumably is cadastral offices, those of the Royal Court and of the *pātra-*. The latter may have been responsible for cadastral records on the district (*sthāna-*) level. – Apparently, documentary proof of ownership was deemed necessary or desirable when lands were sold. – Note the term *akarṇṇa-* 'official record', which is of Muslim origin.

Size: 545 × 42 (34) mm. Numerous scribal errors in inflectional endings and elsewhere; *kṣa* for *cche* shows the pronunciation still current. – Sealed by a round seal, 11 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [A legible photograph was not available]

Document

1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 456 jaiṣṭha śukla navamī || śrī lalitabhūmyāyām | śrī māniglake | dakṣiṇa-stha śrī vū vihāra ya[nkuli] vahār-āddhivāsīna go bhārosa putra-sahasa nāmnaḥ svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || tasminn=eva śrī naka vahār-āddhivāsīnī jātalakṣmī bhārī nāmnī śakāśāt, | yeglatyāgla vādikā pradeśe || [c]ākalam[kṣ]am vahāra j[e]ta bhārosa vā[ṭ]ikā

2 yām=paścimata || [space of approx. 9 akṣaras left vacant] vā[ṭ]ikāyām=uttarata || [^{ka} sa
 śīmāyām=pūrvvataḥ | sva-vahāra-bhikṣu-śrī gājana ā[c]ā[rya]sa vāṭikāyān=dakṣiṇataḥ ||
 etat-madhye [pna] pañca-karṣa-pramānaṃ karṣa [pna] 5 taṃ vāṭikā¹ ska(r)ṣakaṃ bhojṇam² ||
 ta[d-ya]thā-nagra-saṅcāra-mūlyena krayena vikrīyatam=bhavati | yadi sakhata-vyāvāde
 dhār[ṇ]akena sodhyaṃ || śākṣi [yā] - [hla] - madhana bhārosa dṛṣṭa ||

Reverse

- 1 ye[glā]tyā[glā] vala krayapatra || bhāṣā thva valayā [pū]
- 2 [rva] tala[patra]³ śrī-śrī-rāja-kula-śrī-pātra-kul-ādi
- 3 suyā lakasa lvara[sa]nā akarṇṇa jurom |

Notes

- 1) kākapada; *ka* below line.
- 2) em. *sakarṣakam bhogyam*.
- 3) For this term, cf. N.S. 734 verso, line 1; 845, Col. B, line 4.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 456, on the ninth (day of) the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha.

[V] By him who is named Go Bhāro, together with his son, resident of the North-East Bahāl of śrī-Bū Monastery, located in the south in śrī-Māniglaka, in śrī-Lalitabhūm(i),

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[P] in front of her who is named Jātalakṣmī Bhārī, resident of śrī-Naka Bahāl; even there,

[O cont'd] in the region of the Yegla-Tyāgla garden, west of the garden¹ (of) Je Bhāro, (of the) Round House, north of the garden¹ (of [possessor unnamed]), east of the boundary¹ of the house (?²), south of the garden¹ of the Ven. Gajana Ācārya, monk of the same Bahāl – in their midst, (the garden) measuring five *pna karṣa*³, *pna karṣa* 5,

[R] this garden, to be enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold⁴ through a purchase at a price according to the custom (i.e. which accords to^o) particular to this town.

[Liability] If there are difficulties and disputes, they are to be cleared by the holder.

[W] Witness: it was seen by ... dhana Bhāro.

(Reverse side) Deed of purchase (for) the Yegla-Tyāgla plot⁵ (?). Agreement. Even though the former⁶ palm-leaf of this plot be found in the keeping of the King's family⁷, the family of the Ven. *pātra*, (or) of anyone else, (the present document) has come to be the official record⁸.

Notes

- 1) locatives in text.
- 2) if *kṣa* stands for *cche*. A vicinity called Cālchem is still found in the western part of Nugal Ward.
- 3) A *pañakarṣa* usually is a quarter of a *ropanika*.
- 4) em. *vikrītam*.

- 5) new. *vala*; translation uncertain: the word usually means 'hut within a field'. In N.S. 304, there is the expression *var-uttara-pluta*^o, where the first member seems to mean 'border'.
- 6) reading *pūrvā*^o uncertain.
- 7) the double *śrī* of the title omitted. This is, of course, the Royal Court; see p. 46.
- 8) i.e. the original document, which should have been produced, was not available when the present document was drafted; the codicil is meant to invalidate the former.

18. N.S. 628

Sale of a field of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*, the purchaser being a female. The vendor uses the purchase price to buy a shop which he had rented – presumably from the purchaser of the field. The transaction thus virtually amounts to an exchange of immovables.

Between 456 and 628, the wording seems to have been changed in a number of instances. The crucial term of the transfer-of-rights clause has had an affirmation added (*sampari*^o replacing *pari*^o). The adequate price formula is worded more precisely than before, introducing the element of time: one had come to acknowledge the changing value of land. Addition of the term *sīmā* to the enumeration of boundaries again shows greater precision. – *moṇḍi* is a puzzle, since the size of the plot had been given in *ropanikas*; being a measure of volume, it perhaps refers to the well-known classification of lands according to potential yield.

Documentary proof of ownership in lands sold seems to have been necessary in the normal course of things: cf. codicil 2 and the text of N.S. 456.

Size: 664 × 38 (34) mm. Damaged on upper margin. Sealed by round seal, 10 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [A legible photograph was not available]

Document

Obverse

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat[.] 628 jeṣṭha śukla | catu(r)thyāyāṃ | śrī-lalita[vrū]māyāṃ
śrī-noglake pūrvvasthata | śrī-tava[ḍu]cche vāhāra-yekuli-vāstavyaḥ harṣasimha bhārokasya
nāmanana svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ | vaṃku yitiphuśicche-vāstavyaniḥ jayalakṣmisa
nāmanā sakāsāt | dyaṃla kṣetra nāma pradese | [space for approx. 14 akṣaras left blank]
kṣetra-śimāyāṃ paścimata | [lupā]śīśa[ṣ]urāmayā kṣe=
- 2 tra-śimāyāṃ uttarata | yicchulāccha jaśakitāj(u) bhāropanisa kṣetra-śimāyāṃ pūrvvata | [sa]
eva yicchulāccha rupayi bhāro phukijaśa kṣetra-śimāyāṃ dakṣinata | eteśā(m) madheḥ
s-ārdha-saha-catu-ropanikaṃ jat, kṣetra rov-āṅka vu moṇḍi pi 4 tyā ||¹ tā kṣetra sa-
karṣakaṃ samparibhogyā | tad yathā-nagara-kāla-prava(r)ttamāna-saṃcār-ārgh[e]na jathoś-
cit, | molyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādin(e)na ten=ānivṛtta=

3 ka-nyāyena krīna vikrīstaṃ bhavati | tā kṣetra jadi satya devika-rājika vinā saṃghaṭa-
vyāvā[tr]a²-kāle, tadā dhā(r)[ṇṇ]kena parisodhaniyaṃ | pratiṅ=gathe nogla datho [pasa]la
jaṛṣasiṃha³ [sā]hosake bhogana [cva]gva phyāyesa krīna kāy[ā] juro | atr=ārthe sākṣi
śrī-vi[śu]nicche vāhāra-yaṃtā-vāstavyaḥ [thāva] śrī-rāmajusam=eka dṛṣṭā || śubha ||

Reverse

- 1 dyala kṣetra krī-patra || puna bhāṣāḥ⁴ dhārṇṇakasa ajā
- 2 jītāhāsa nāmana voyā talapati ma lura [dāna]
- 3 [ma] kāy[ā] śrī-śrī-rāja-kula śrī-pātra-kula ge lurasā=
- 4 nā aka(r)ṇṇa, lukāle dhārṇṇakasya[m] li [vv]ija mālva śubha ||

Notes

- 1) the double *daṇḍa* probably means 'one half'.
- 2) em. *vyāvāda*^o.
- 3) sic, em. *harṣa*^o.
- 4) the *visarga* is used as a mark of punctuation.

Translation

Obverse

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 628, on the fourth (day of) the bright half (of) Jyaiṣṭha.

[V] By him who is named Harṣasiṃha Bhāroka, living in the south-east of śrī-Tavaḍu Bāhāl, in the east of śrī-Noglaka, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[P] in front of her who is named Jayalakṣmī, living in the house by¹ the water spout (in) Vaṃku,

[O cont'd] in the region named Dyaṃla Field, west of the boundary² of the field of [blank], north of the boundary² of the field of Lupāśiśaṣurāma, east of the boundary of the field of the Bhāros Jaśakitāja, (of) Yicchulāccha, south of the boundary of the field of the family of Rupayi Bhāro, (of) Yicchulāccha – in their midst, the field which (measures) four and a half *ropanikas*, *rova* in figures: four 4 one half 1/2 land ... (?)³

[R] This field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through a purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at a rate according to the custom prevailing in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there is⁴ a time of disputes and difficulties regarding this field⁵, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[Codicil 1] In exchange, it has in this way⁶ been taken by purchase in payment of (= in order to redeem the?) the middle shop in Nogla, which is being enjoyed by the shopkeeper Harṣasiṃha.

[W] Witness in this matter: the Ven. Elder⁷ (?) Rāmaju, living in the north of śrī-Viśunicche Bāhāl, alone has been seen⁸.

[E] *śubham*

Reverse

[Codicil 2] Deed of Purchase (of) Dyala Field. Further Agreement. The holder's grandfather, named Jitāhāsa, has come. The (original?) palm-leaf deed has not been found. The present⁹ (?) has not been taken.

If it is found (with) the family of the Twice Ven. King, or (with) the family of the Ven. Pātra (lit.: where the Twice Ven ... (is)): at the time when the official record is found, the holder has to give¹⁰ it back.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) lit.: at the edge of.
- 2) text: locatives.
- 3) *monḍi*.
- 4) em. *sati*.
- 5) em. *kṣetre*.
- 6) *gathe*.
- 7) *thāva* = *sthavira*?
- 8) em. *eko dr̥ṣṭaḥ*
- 9) This is not clear.
- 10) *vviḥa* = *biya*?

19. N.S. 708

Sale of a field of one *ropanika* and a quarter. Note the receipt formula, which is missing in cases of deferred payment: see N.S. 628.

The document is witnessed by a person who may be the half-brother of the vendor, born of a later marriage of his mother (if this is the meaning of the term *mātrivedhikabhrāte* which, in a form slightly modified, re-occurs in N.S. 759/3). –

Size: 500 × 27 (20) mm. – Sealed by a round seal, 6 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [A legible photograph was not available.]

Document

1 [siddhaṃ] śraiyo 'stu || samvat, 708 māgha kṛṣṇa || ṣaṣṭammyāṃ tithau śrī-lalitavvrūmāyāṃ
śrī-mānigalake āgneyakolike śrī-vaṃku vāhāra so-gotra śrī-amalasiṃha juṣa nāmnā śakāśāt,

- || sa yeva vihāra so-gotra śrī-jikitasim̐ha juśa nāmneṇa svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikam̐, ya aphala kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe, so-gotra śrī-ja
- 2 [rṣa] juśa kṣetra-śimāyāṃ paścimata || [gv]āccheṃ vāhāra śrī-rūpakeśa juśa kṣetra-śimāyāṃ uttarata || mār̥gga-śimāyāṃ pūrvvata || so-gotra śrī-ji[ra]śasim̐ha juśa kṣetra-śimāyāṃ dakṣiṇata || eteśān=madhya tā kṣetra [payi]m=ek-ā[ddhi]kaḥm=eka-ropanikam̐ jat, kṣetra rova cchi 1 payi cchi 1 tā kṣetra sa-kraśakam̐ paribhojñe jathā-nagara-
- 3 [k]āla-pravarttamāna-saṃcār-ārghena yath-occita-mūlem=ādāya kri-vikri-svādhinena ten-ānivṛttakam̐, nyāyena kreṇa vikrīyatam=bhava[m]ti || yadi śyāt, devika-rājika vinā śaṃkṛṭa-vyāvāda-kāle t[adā] dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyam̐, atra patr-ārthe || sākṣi dhārṇṇa-mātri vedhika bh[rā]te śrī-melu ju dṛṣṭa || krī pana sarvva sodhāna pulāṇa dhu[go] juro śubham̐ ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 708, on the sixth lunar day (of) the dark half of Māgha.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. Amalasiṃhaju, of the same *gotra*², (in) *śrī-Vaṃku Bāhāl*, southeast, in *śrī-Mānigala*, in *śrī-Lalitavrumā*,

[V] By him who is named the Ven. Jikitasim̐haju, of the same *gotra*, (in) this very monastery,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Va Aphala Field, west of the boundary³ of the field of the Ven. Jarśaju, of the same *gotra*; north of the boundary of the field of the Ven. Rupakeśaju, (of) Gvāccheṃ Bāhāl, east of the boundary which is the road, south of the boundary of the field of the Ven. Jiraśasim̐haju, of the same *gotra* – in their midst, a field of one ropanika and one quarter (*payi*), a field which (measures) *rova* one 1, quarter one 1,

[R] this field, to be fully enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at a rate according to the custom prevailing in (the present) town and at (the present) time, through a purchase by irreversible rule.

[Liability] If there is⁴ a time of disputes and difficulties, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it was seen (by) the Ven. Meluju, the holder's half-brother⁵ (?).

[Receipt] The purchase price has been completely paid.

Notes

1) em. *nāmnaḥ*

2) i.e., as the vendor?

3) text: locatives.

4) em. *sati*.

5) em. *dhārṇṇa(ka)*^o; cf. N.S. 759/1, line 2: *dhārṇṇa sv-ādikāra* (sic!); 759, Āśvina kṛṣṇa 2: *mātrvedhikasvabhṛātyasahasā*, again in a Śākya family. A relation between ^o*vedhika* and skt. *vaidhaveya*, or one of its derivatives, is of course by no means self-evident.

Sale of a field of seven *ropanikas*, the purchaser being the deity of Uku Bāhāh, and the vendor the Kathmandu king, Śivasimha. Prior to the purchase, the monastery held a mortgage in this plot; the loan may have been granted to Śivasimha's predecessor.

The fact that it is the king who is the vendor has left traces in the wording of the document. In contradistinction to the formula usual at the time, the vendor is mentioned first. He is identified as *śrī-dhārṇaka-* (line 2), and honorific verbs are used to refer to him (*prasādārapā, dvaharapam*).

For the rest, the formula follows the Patan pattern. This is remarkable on two accounts. For one, the conquest by the Kathmandu king does not seem to have entailed an immediate change to Kathmandu administrative practice. Second, the wording shows property held by the king being treated just as property held by a private owner: the fiction of the king owning all land has not left a trace. –

The king's son, Hariharasimha, serves as a witness to the document: cf. the Bhatgāon practice to have sales witnessed by a member of the royal family. –

The document is of some historical interest in that it allows for greater precision in dating Śivadeva's conquest of Patan. This 'must have taken place sometime between N.S. 720 and 724' (Regmi, M.N. II, p. 268). The latest document he quotes from Purāṇdarasimha's reign is dated N.S. 717 Jyeṣṭha śukla daśamyāṃ (*ibid.*, p. 267). We now see Śivadeva established in Caitra, N.S. 718. Furthermore, if the remission of the mortgage mentioned in the codicil was connected with his accession, as well it might, the conquest could be narrowed down to the period that lies between 717 Jyeṣṭha śukla 10 and 718 Jyeṣṭha pūrṇimā. –

Size: 657 × 29 (21) mm. Sealed by a round seal, 8 mm in diameter. In contradistinction to Bhaktapur practice, sales by the king seem to have been authorized by the usual cadastral office: the present seal does not differ in style from the usual ones.

Text

Seal: [photograph unclear]

śrī

inscribed in a circle composed of dots

Document

- 1 [siddham] | śraiyo 'stu || samvata 718 caitra śukla || paṃcamyāyāṃ, tithau śrī-lalitavrūmāy-āṃ, śrī-mānigal-ādhipati-śrī-śrī-jaya-śivasimha-deva-prabhu-ṭhākurasana prasādārapā nāmenena svakiyaṃ sobhujyamānikaṃ || śrī-vaṃ-vāhāra-utr-ābhīmuṣa-śrīmat, -śrī-śrī-kvāca-[p]āla-bhaṭṭarakāsa nāmnā sakāsā[ṭ], || havagalāṃ-kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || mārgga-śīmāyāṃ, paścimata || śrī-vāhārayā kṣetra-śīmāyāṃ uttarata || mārgga-śīmāyāṃ, dakṣiṇata || eteṣā madhe || tā
- 2 kṣetra sapta-ropanikaṃ jata kṣetra rov-āṅka rova hnaśa 7 tā kṣetra sakraśakaṃ paribhojñe jathā-nagla-kāra-pravṛttamāna saṃñcār-ārgh[e]na yath-orccita-mūlyam = ādāya krī-vikrī-svā-

dine[to], tvamṇ=ānivr̥ttakaṃ nyāyaṇa, kreyāṇa vikrī – t, bhavati || jadi śyāt d[e]vika-[rā]jika
 vinā, tā kṣetra samṅkaṭ, -vyāvāda-kāle śrī-dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyaṃ, atra patr-ārthe sākṣi
 śrī-śrī-jaya-hariharasiṃha-deva-prabhu-ṭhākurasa dṛṣṭa || puna bhāṣā thva vuyā div[o]
 cchota-lā puniśi-kuhnu svā=

3 na cchā di juromṇ krī pna sarvva sodhārṇṇa dvaharapaṃ dhumaṃ gva juromṇ śubha ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 718, on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of Caitra.

[V] By him who deigns to be named the Twice Ven. Jaya-Śivasimha [usual titles of royalty],
 overlord of śrī-Mānigala, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[P] in front of him who is named the Thrice Ven. Kvācapāla Bhaṭṭāraka, of śrī-Vaṃ Monastery,
 facing north,

[O cont'd] in the region named Havagalaṃ Field, west of the boundary¹ constituted by the
 road, north of the boundary of the field of Śrī-Bāhāl², south of the boundary constituted by the
 road³ – in their midst, a tā⁴ field of seven *ropanikas*, a field which (measures) *ropanikas* in
 figures: rova seven 7,

[R] the tā⁴ field, to be fully enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this⁵
 purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales,
 after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) town
 and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁶ regarding the tā⁴ field⁷, except for such as
 pertain to the Gods (and) the Royal Court, it has to be cleared up by the Ven. holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the Twice Ven. Jaya-
 Hariharasiṃha [usual titles of royalty].

[Codicil] Further agreement. The mortgage of this field was a mortgage to (??) present flowers
 (to the deity?) on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.⁸

[Receipt] The purchase price was presented to complete clearance⁹.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) locatives in text.
- 2) This is the present-day Sī Bāhāh.
- 3) The fourth boundary is not mentioned.
- 4) or: this field.
- 5) em. *ten=ānivr̥ttaka*^o.
- 6) Anacoluthon.
- 7) em. *kṣetre*.
- 8) Quite unclear. Presenting a flower is part of the ritual when buying land from the Bhaktapur king.
cchā: cf. *chāye* 'to present' Jørgensen 1941, §104, end.
- 9) em. *sodhāna*, in keeping with the usual wording.

21. N.S. 734

Sale of two thirds of a field of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*. The land had not been divided; yet, the owner has the right to dispose of his share. Once performed, the division possibly had to be recorded in cadastral offices.

One of the neighbouring fields is conjoint property of two men of different caste, a carpenter and a potter.

Size: 706 × 30 (29) mm. Sealed by round seal, 8 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle composed of dots

Document

Obverse

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 734 phārgguṇa śukla || navam[m]yām tithau || śrī-lalitavvrūmāyām śrī-māniglake āgneyakolike śrī-vaṃku-vāhāra utr-ābhimuṣaḥ śrīmat-śrī-śrī-kvācapāla-bhaṭṭarakāśa nāmnā śakāsāt, || vaṃku-cākalam yaṃtā [y]amta-cchem prajāpati jayarā[ja] thakurayā nāmnena svakīyaṃ [tya]bhujyamānikaṃ,¹ dyalam kṣ[e]tra-nāma-pradeśe, [da]thalāccha śrī-takṣakār[a] [space of eleven akṣaras left blank] prajāpati hāku[do]ya thakura
- 2 [kā]v[o] dvayo-kṣetra-śīmāyām paścimataḥ || sa yev[a] prajāpati hāku[do]y[a] thakurayā kṣetra-śīmāyām utrarataḥ || svalpa-mārgga-śīmāyām pūrvvataḥ || guthiyā kṣetra-śīmāyām dakṣiṇataḥ || eteṣām=madhye tā kṣetraṃ s-ārdha-saha || catu-rovopanikaṃ jat, kṣetra rov-ānka rov[e] pi 4 payi nasi 2 thvateśa dhārṇṇa sv-ādi-kārana traya-bhāgasyaṃ dvay[ā]-bhāga [ju]ko juro ete kṣetr[a] saṃkraśakaṃ smaparibhojṇam || jathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānen[a] saṃcā=
- 3 r-ārghena yath-ocita-mūlem=ādāya, kri-vikrī-sv-ādhinena ten=ānivarttakam nyāyena kreṇa vikrīyatam=bhavati || yadi syāt, devika-rājika vinā, tā svam vośa ne vo juke || kṣetra śaṃkṣata-vyāvāda-kāre tadā dhārṇṇake[na] parisodhanīyaṃ, atra patr-ārthe || sākṣi dhārṇṇa svagotra bhrātā-putra prajāpati luṃgusiṃha thakurasa dṛṣṭa || krī pana sarvva sodhana pulaṇa dhuṃgo juro || bhāṣā mähāvuddha nani śrī heraju thavirapā velaśa krīna kā[yā] śubham ||

Reverse

- 1 bhāṣā [hña]tho kṣaṃśa jāva kṣetrayā pūrvva-tarapati sa yava
- 2 sākṣi prajāpati luṃgusiṃha thakurayāke tayā juro

3 mālva ye sthā[ve]śa luṃgusiṃhana, talapati piṃ visyaṃ [ky]aṃ

across

ne māla ||

Note

- 1) sic! (em. svabhujy°)

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 734, on the ninth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguṇa.

[P] In front of him who is named the Thrice Ven. Kvācapāla Bhaṭṭāraka, facing north, in śrī-Vaṃku Monastery, in the southeast, in śrī-Māniglaka, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by him who is named Jayarāja Thakura, the potter, of the North House, in the North Circle of Vaṃku¹,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Dyalaṃ Field, west of the boundary² of the field of the two (owners, viz.) the Ven. [blank left for insertion of name], carpenter, and of Hākudoya Thakura, potter, north of the boundary of the field of this same Hākudoya Thakura, potter, east of the boundary constituted by the small lane, south of the boundary of the guthi's field – in their midst, the tā field, of four *rovopanikas* together with one half: a field which (measures) *rop*^o in figures: *rova* four 4, quarters two 2, – of this, it is only two parts out of three which are under the holder's own disposition –

[R] this field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold³ through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁴ regarding this field⁵, which consists of two parts out of three, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then they are to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by Luṃgusiṃha Thakura the potter, the holder's⁶ brother's son, of the same *gotra*.

[Receipt] The purchase price was paid completely⁷.

[Codicil 1] Agreement. It had been taken by purchase in the time of the Ven. Heraju, the Elder, (of) the courtyard in Māhāvuddha.

[Codicil cont'd, on reverse side] Agreement. The old palm leaf of the big⁸ (?) field was placed in the former house with this very witness, Luṃgusiṃha Thakura the potter. If⁹ it is necessary ...¹⁰, it has to be shown, after Luṃgusiṃha has given the document out.¹¹

Notes

- 1) The location is unusual for a potter, though there are potters now living in the precincts of Mahābauddha (Pāṭan).
- 2) locatives in text.
- 3) em. *vikrītam*.

- 4) *kāre* omitted from translation; anacoluthon.
- 5) em. *kṣetre*.
- 6) *dhārṇṇa* rather than the customary *dhārṇṇaka*.
- 7) Cf. N.S. 708, transl., note 6.
- 8) *jāva*: cf. Joṣī 1076 s.v. – Does this refer to the undivided plot, the entire field?
- 9) *pe* 'if' does not seem attested so far; cf. *pēnwom* (Jørgensen 1941, § 215) and *si*: *sinwom* (ibid.)?
- 10) *sthāveśa* not clear.
- 11) The codicil refers to the fact that the previous document was not available at the time of the present purchase. Apparently it is the witness who now lives in the house formerly inhabited by the vendor, who did not take the document along when he moved: it may be property of the joint family. The witness is requested to produce the document in case this should prove necessary. Documentary proof of ownership thus seems to have become customary.

22. N.S. 736

Sale of one third of a field of six *ropanikas*, belonging to uncle and nephew, plus (see codicil) a further field of one *ropanika*, inherited by the clan (*phuki*) and apparently sold prior to its division. To record the latter transaction, one would expect to see a separate document: formal approval of the four members of the *phuki* who seem to be mentioned is nowhere recorded. At least, one further member of the *gotra* serves as a witness. – Note the term **svagotrabbhrātr-* 'brother of one's own *gotra*': this seems to be the Sanskrit equivalent of New. *phukimja*-. Among the neighbouring fields, there is one that apparently belongs to a *guthi*; two of its members are listed by name and perhaps act for the group.

Size: 736 × 41 (30) mm. Both upper and lower margin damaged, with loss of text. – Sealed by round seal, 10 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [photograph unclear]

śrī

topped by a symbol not clearly recognizable, possibly a *candrabindu*. These are inscribed in a double circle, the outer one composed of dots.

Document

1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 736 vaiśāṣa śu x x x x x (m)yāyāṃ tithau || śrī lalitavrūmāyā(m) (ś)r(i) (māni)glake āgneya-kolike śrī vaṃku vāhāra mahā-voddhi-gṛha || śākyavaṃśa śrī -jayadevajusa nāmnā sakāsāt || śrī-kvalāccha cākalaṃ yotā hari-ma[nta]ccheṃ vi[bhu]siṃha nāyaka bhārosa bhrātā-putra mādhasi(m)ha nāya bhārosa thva ubhayasa nāmnēṇa svakr[īya] x x x x x || hmudora kṣetra vu nāma prade(ś)(e) x x x x x x x x

- 2 śrī samala jusa yitacche vāhāra gṛha || a x [la]jīvana bhārosa hātiglayā dhamgutripānisa thvateśa kṣetra-sīmāyām paścimataḥ || tānigla cākalam vaṃtā-gṛha || jasimrāja bhārosa prapāta-sīmāyām uttarataḥ || sa eva yitaccheṃ vāhāra gṛha || amātya m[e]lva bhārosa kṣatra-sīmāyām pūrvvataḥ || mārgga-sīmāyām dakṣiṇataḥ || eteṣām=madhya tā kṣatra ṣaṭa-ropanikaṃ jat kṣatra rov-āṅkaṃ rova ṣu 6 thvateśa dhārṇṇa svādikāl(e) [n. x x (x)]¹
- 3 syaṃ]m=eka-bhāga jukva juro || yethodyaṃ prapāta saha || ete kṣatra sa-karṣakaṃ smaparibhojñāḥ yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānena saṃcārāt rghena yath-occita-mūlyam=ādāya krī-vikrī-svāditenā ten=ānivarttakam nyāyana kreṇa (v)ikrīyata [bha]vati h yadi syāt devīka-rājika vinā tā svaṃ vośa cchi vo jukva kṣatra śaṃkṣata-vyāvāda-kāle tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sākṣi || dhārṇṇakasa sva-gvatra bhrātya viṣṇu-siṃha bhārosa-m=eka
- 4 dṛṣṭa || tā kṣatrayā krī pna sarvva sodhāna pācakaṃ purana dhumgva juro || śubhaṃ || bhūya sa eva hmudora vu kṣatra nāma pradeśe tathā catr-āghātena parivyasthit[e] || etat-madhya rova cchi 1 dahaṃ vava vu juro || dhārṇṇaka sa eva vi[bhu]siṃha bhāro pya ..am phukimjasa juro || bhāṣā samastāṃ uthyaṃ krī-vikrī x x x x x ||

Note

- 1) (trayabhāga)syaṃm?

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 736, one the ... lunar day of the bright half (of) Vaiśākha.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. Jayadevaju, (of) Śākya family, (of) Mahāvoddi House (in) śrī-Vaṃku Bāhāl, southeast, in śrī-(Māni)glaka, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by the two persons named Vibhusiṃha Nāyaka Bhāro and his brother's son, Mādhvasiṃha Nāya² Bhāro, of Harimantaccheṃ, (in) śrī-Kvalāccha Circle, (in) the West,

[O] their own property, (which is enjoyed by themselves), in the region called Hmudora Field³ ... west of the boundary⁴ of the field of the Ven. Samalaju and of A – lajīvana Bhāro (from) the house (in) Yitaccheṃ Bāhāḥ, (both) people of the Dhaṃ guthi⁵ (?) (of) Hātigla, north of the boundary constituted by the declivity⁶ belonging to Jasimrāja Bhāro, (of) the East House (at) the circle (of) Tānigla, east of the boundary of the field of Amātya Melva Bhāro, (of) the same house (in) Yitaccheṃ Bāhāl, south of the boundary constituted by the road – in their midst, a tā⁷ field of six ropanikas, a field which (measures) rova in figures: rova six 6; of this, it is only one part out of (three⁸) which is ... under the holder's own disposition, together with the declivity terraced (?)⁹ (towards) the south;

[R] This field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes¹⁰ concerning this¹¹ field¹² (consisting) of one part only out of three, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it was solely seen by Viṣṇusiṃha Bhāro, the holder's brother of the same *gotra*.

[Receipt] The purchase price of the *tā*⁷ field was paid to complete clearance, (and) has been finished to completion.

[E] *śubham*

[Codicil] Furthermore, in this very region called Hmudora Field³, as encompassed¹³ by its four boundaries, in its midst, one, 1, *rova* has arisen as inheritance (i.e. was bequeathed, in deviation from the normal sequence of heirs?). It has come to be (the property) of the four¹⁴ members of the clan (*phukimja-*) of this very holder, Vibhusiṃha Bhāro. The agreement (is for (?)) buying and selling by all of them in the same manner...¹⁵

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnah*
- 2) Probably a scribal error for *nāyaka*; a *nāy* (butcher) could not be counted among the *bhāro*.
- 3) given both in Sanskrit and in Newārī.
- 4) locatives in text.
- 5) text: *gutri*; em. *gotrin-* or the like improbable because of the difference in titles.
- 6) *prapāta*, cf. line 3.
- 7) or: this field.
- 8) (*trayabhāga*)*sya*? cf. *svam vośa cchi vo* in the Newārī text.
- 9) 'ridges [nep. *dyān*?] placed south'? Quite uncertain.
- 10) *kāle* left untranslated; anacoluthon.
- 11) *tā* seems to serve as a demonstrative.
- 12) em. *kṣetre*.
- 13) em. *pariveṣṭite*: cf. N.S. 759/2.
- 14) *pya[hm]am*? unlikely from remnants.
- 15) i.e. the members of the clan are agreed to sell this *ropanika*, too? The remaining space hardly suffices to record their consent.

23. N.S. 759

Sale of a field of two *ropanikas*, which practically amounts to the foreclosure of a mortgage (see Receipt). The purchasers (and former mortgagees) are inhabitants of Uku Bāhāḥ. – The land mortgaged had not yet been divided, and the vendor's father serves to witness the transaction. On the one hand, then, a son did have a negotiable share in common property: note the document speaks of the owner's own disposition and jurisdiction, the former term not being part of the standard formula and thus, presumably, meaningful. On the other hand, having the vendor's father witness the transaction perhaps reflects the desire to forestall future objections. –

Both the purchasers and the vendor's family reappear in N.S. 759/3, in the same function. The latter, then, seems to have stood in considerable need of cash. –

The description of the plot is abbreviated: the present text, then, had to be supplied either by the previous deed of purchase, or by the deed of mortgage. – Note the formula testifying to the adequacy of the price employs the term customary for Pāṭan, *nagara-*, though the plot is situated in the district (*sthāna-*) called Jatalaṃ.

For the problem of *tā* fields cf. line 3, where *tā* seems to be meant as the demonstrative pronoun. –

Size: 553 × 31 (24) mm. The document is *not sealed*. If this is more than an omission due to negligence, it may be a draft serving as a precautionary measure; alternatively, the authorization, which had to be effected outside Pāṭan, may have been postponed.

Document

- 1 [siddhaṃ] śr(e)yo¹ 'stu || samvata 759 āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa saptamyāṃ tithau, śrī-lalitavvrūmāyāṃ, śrī-māniglake āgn[e]yekūli śrī-vaṃku-vāhāra mahāvoddhi-gṛha śrī-kuṣumarāja ju bhrātya-sahasa nāmnā sakāsāt, śrī-jaiṣṭha -grāma jatalaṃ-deśa kvāṭhako coccheṃ, lumgusiṃha bhāvoyā nāmnena svakīyaṃ svabhujyemānikam, [ṣv]ā[ḍ]a aphala kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe ja=
- 2 thā-catur-āghātena parivesthitam || tā kṣetra dvaya-ropanikam jat kṣetra rov-āṅka rova nasi 2 thvatesa dhārṇṇa sv-ādikāra – joyā pyaṃ vośa cchi vo juko juro || ete tā kṣetra sakraśakam smaparibhojṇa yathā-nagara-kāla-pravṛttamānena saṃcār-ārghena yath-occit, mūly[a]m=ādāya krī-vikrī-sv-ādinena ten=ānivrṛttakam nyāyana kreṇa vikrīyatam=bhavati jadi
- 3 syāt, devika-rājika vinā tā dhārṇṇa sv-ādikāra – joyā pyaṃ vośa cchi vo kṣetra saṅkaṭa-vyāvā[ḍa] dvākāle tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyam atra patr-ārthe sākṣi || dhārṇṇakasa vavā indrasimha bhāvo dṛṣṭa || bhāṣā thva vu[j]ā bho[ga] vandaka kāsyam tayāsa cchā cchā [v]isyam kri pna sarvva sodhāna dhumgva juro || śubha ||

Note

- 1) Text: *śrayo*

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 759, on the seventh lunar day of the dark half (of) Āṣāḍha.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. Kusumarājaju, together with his brother, (of) Mahāvoddhi House, (of) śrī-Vaṃku Bāhāl, southeast (in) śrī-Māniglaka, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by him who is named Lumgusiṃha Bhāvo, (of) Kvāṭhako (House²) (in) Coccheṃ, (in) the Jatala region, (in) śrī-Jaiṣṭhagrāma,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Svāḍa Aphala Field³, as encompassed by its four boundaries, a *tā*⁴ field of two *ropanikas*, a field which (measures) *ropanikas* in figures: *rova* two 2; of this, it is one part only out of four which is property⁵ under the holder's own disposition;

[R] this *tā*⁴ field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold⁶ through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes concerning this one part of the field out of four, which is property⁵ under the holder's own disposition – except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court – then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it was seen (by) the holder's father, Indrasimha Bhāvo.

[Receipt] Agreement. The enjoyment of the field having been taken⁷ as a pledge, (and the price) having been given in instalments⁸ (?), the purchase price has been completely paid.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnah*
- 2) supplied from N.S. 759/3: *kvāṭhako gr̥ha*.
- 3) a fallow field?
- 4) or: this field?
- 5) ? *ṭham*
- 6) em. *vikrītam*.
- 7) *kāsyam tayāsa*, the latter being the locative of Jørgensen's A6, not registered in Jørgensen 1941, §127.
- 8) for *cha cha* 'one (by) one'? But cf. *cchā* in N.S. 718, codicil.

24. N.S. 759

Sale of a field of three *ropanikas*, the vendor being a Bhāro from Naka Bāhāḥ¹. A *dhara*, usually a channel for irrigation, apparently led through the fields and was used as a boundary.

Note the omission of the stem-final consonant in *lvākāpani*.

Size: 562 × 22 (17) mm. The scribe, though possessed of a neat hand, seems to have found Sanskrit more difficult than most. – Sealed by round seal, 8 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [śrī]

[photograph and impression unclear]

Document

1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 759 bhādrapada kṛṣ[ṇ]a ḥ || ṣaṣṭamyān=tithau ḥ || śrī lalitavrumāyām śrī māniglake pūrvvastha śrī vaṃku vāhāla mahā-voddhi-gr̥ha || śākya-

vamś-ot bhava śrī gyāṇa jusa nāmnā sakāsāt || tānigla naka vāhāla nani yākuri grha ||
vijayasimha jusa nāmnena svakriyaṃ svabhurjyamānikam || sākhojotra kṣatra nāma pradeśe
|| śrī-rājayā kṣatra-śimāyāṃ paścimata || i[tv]āccha-[tv]ara [lu]yasimha [lv]ākāpanisa kṣatra-
śi=

- 2 māyāṃ urttarata || dhara-śimāyāṃ pūrvvata || grāhakasa kṣatra-śimāyāṃ dakṣīnataś=ca ||
etekhām=madhye tā kṣatra traya-ropanikam jat [kṣa]tra rov-āṅka rova śva 3 ete kṣatra
sa-karṣakam smaparibhojā jathā-nagala-kāla-pravṛttamānena savvālāt [gh]ana² jath-
ocyata-mūlyam=ādāya kri-vikri-sv-ādin[e]na ten=ānivṛttikam nyāyana krena vikriya-
tam=bhavati jadi syād=daivika-lājika vinā tā kṣatra saṅkata-vyāvāda-kāre tadā dhārṇake=
3 ṇa pariśvadhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe dṛḍhikaranāya || sākṣi dhārṇakasa śva-bhrātā may-
aṇasimha bhārosa dṛṣṭa || thva kri-patrayā sarvva sodhāna purana pācakam dhuṃgva juro ||
śubha ||

Notes

- 1) cf. the title of his brother, the witness.
2) em. *sañcār-ārgheṇa*.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 759, on the sixth lunar day (of) the dark half (of) Bhādrapada.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. Gyānaju, scion of the Śākya family, (of) Mahāvoddhi House in śrī-Vaṃku Bāhāl, situated in (its(?)) east, in śrī-Māniglaka, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by him who is named Vijayasimhaju, of the Northwest House, (at) the courtyard (of) Naka Bāhāl, (in) Tānigla,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region called Sākhojotra Field, west of the boundary² of the field of the Ven. king, north of the boundary of the field of those that belong to Luyasimha the mason, (of ?) Itvāccha Ward, east of the boundary constituted by the irrigation canal, and south of the boundary of the purchaser's field – in their midst, a field of three *ropanikas*, a field which (measures) *rovas* in figures: *rova* three³,

[R] This field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁴ regarding the *tā* field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then they are to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document, in order to confirm (it): it was seen by the holder's own brother, Mayanasimha Bhāro. –

[Receipt] Of this deed of purchase, (the price) was completely paid⁵.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnah*
- 2) locatives in text.
- 3) the figure has been omitted.
- 4) *kāle* omitted from translation; anacoluthon.
- 5) Cf. N.S. 708, transl., note 6.

25. N.S. 759

Sale of a field of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *ropanika*, on either side of a river. – The parties to the transaction are known from N.S. 759/1. The present vendor again sells one fourth of a field; his nephew is called in as a witness, perhaps again to avoid future difficulties.

The place *Jatalaṃ* is called both a region (*deśa-*) and a district (**thāna-*), and thus probably was the seat of a local representative of the central administration. It had a tutelary deity with fields of her own. Some lands were apparently set aside to meet the costs of local administration (cf. the description of the plot); these comprised both field and garden.

The purchaser acts conjointly with who probably is his half brother by a second marriage of his widowed mother. If this is the correct interpretation of *mātrvedhika-*, it means there were rights in land which could be inherited through the mother's side.

Size: 565 × 41 (24) mm, damaged on lower margin. – Sealed by round seal, 8 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

An imperfect impression, somewhat deformed. Parts of a surrounding circle are recognizable.

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 75[9] āsvina kṛṣṇa || dvitīyāṃ tithau: śrī-lalitavvrūmāyāṃ śrī-māniglake āgnēkuli-stha śrī-vaṃku-vāhāra mahāvodhi-vaṃtā-gṛha śākyavaṃśa śrī-kusumarāja juśa mātrve[dh]ika sva-[bh]rā[t]ya-sahasa nāmnā śakāśāta || śrī-jaiṣṭhagrāma jatalaṃd(e)śa coccheṃ la vaṃtā kvāṭhako gṛha indrasimha bhāvośa nāmnēṇa svakriyaṃ svabhūṃjyamānika sa y[e]vo.
- 2 jatalaṃ thānēne pacchima-dīśa dhisā aphala kṣatra-nāma-pradeśe || śrī-śrī-jatalaṃ-[-ś]rī-devīśa kṣatra-śimāyāṃ pacchimataḥ || grāhakasa kṣatra-śimāyāṃ uttarataḥ [ta]tr=eva jatalaṃ deśa bharaṇayā kṣatra va vātikā va śimāyāṃ pūrvataḥ dakṣinataḥ || eteśa madhye tā kṣatram=eka-[p]at-ādrikam=eka-ropanikaṃ jata kṣatra rov-āṅka rova cchi 1 payi cchi 1 thvaten[a] nadi yitā thitā juro || thvateśa dhā=

- 3 rṇṇa s[v]-ādihikāla² catula-bhāgasyam=eka-bhāga juko juro || ete kṣ[e]tra sakarṣakam smaparibhogem jathā-nagala-kāla-pravarttamānana sañcār-āghena yath-vacita-mūlyam=ādāya kre-vikre-svādhineṇa ten=ānivr[tt]akam nyāyaṇa kri vikriyatam=bhavati jadi syād=devika-rājika vi[n]jā tākha³ yitā thitā kṣ[e]tra – juko śamkaṭa-vyāvāda-kāle tadā dhārṇṇakena [pa]risvadhaniyam.
- 4 atra patr-ārthe dṛdhihkarānāya sākṣi savo coccham gr̥ha dhārṇṇa sva-bhrātā-putra kṛ-ṣṇasim̐ha bhāvośa-m=eka dṛṣṭa || tā dhiśā aphala khu yitā thitā vuyā kri pna sarva sodhāna pācaka [pu]raṇa dhūm[g]va jur[o] śubham ||

Notes

- 1) or: 75[6].
 2) Text has *sthādhi*^o; emendation according to N.S. 759/1.
 3) em. *tā kb(u)*: cf. line 4.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 75[9], on the second lunar day of the bright half of Āśvina.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. Kusumarājaju, together with his own brother by his widowed mother² (?), of the Śākya family, of the East House (in?) Mahāvodhi, of śrī-Vamku Bāhāl, situated in (its?) southeast, in śrī-Māniglaka, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by him who is named Indrasim̐ha Bhāvo, (of) Kvāṭhako House, east (of the?) road (in) Cocchem, (in) the Jatala region, (in) śrī-Jaiṣṭhagrāma,

[O] in this very district of Jatalam, (in its) western direction, in the region named Dhiśā Aphala Field³, west of the boundary⁴ of the field of the Thrice Venerable Goddess of Jatalam⁵, north of the boundary of the purchasers' field, east and south of the boundary of the field and garden of the *bharaṇa* (?) of this same Jatalam Region – in their midst, a *tā*⁶ field of one and a quarter⁷ (?) *ropanika*, a field which (measures) *ropanikas* in figures: *rova* one 1, quarters one 1 – in this way, the river is on either side – of this, one part only out of four is under the holder's⁸ own disposition –

[R] this field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁹, the field being located on either side of this¹⁰ (?) river, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document, in order to confirm (it): it was solely seen by Kṛṣṇasim̐ha Bhāvo, son of the holder's own brother, (of) this very¹¹ (?) house (in) Cocchem

[Receipt] Of this field on either side (of) the river, fallow, (in/named) Dhiśā, the purchase price was paid (to) complete clearance, (and) has been finished (to) completion.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) *em. nāmnah.*
- 2) *mātrvedhika-*; cf. N.S. 708, transl., note 5. – In N.S. 759/1, it is just Kusumarāja's brother (*bhrātya-*) who is mentioned. –
- 3) fallow? barren?
- 4) locatives in text. –
- 5) lit.: the Venerable Goddess of Twice Ven. Jatalam. –
- 6) or: this. –
- 7) *patā.* –
- 8) *dhārṇṇa-* rather than *dhārṇṇaka-*.
- 9) °*kāle* not translated. –
- 10) *tā kb(u)*; cf. *tā dhārṇṇa* N.S. 759/1. –
- 11) *savo = sa eva?* usually *sa yava.*

26. N.S. 770

Fragmentary left side of a document, possibly the sale of a field. It offers few peculiarities and is left untranslated. *Yampi Vihāra* is mentioned.

Size: 213 (175) × 39 mm. Sealed by round seal, 8 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

[A blurred impression]

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu samvat, 770 [m]āgha kṛṣṇa ///
- 2 gṛha vajrācāryya śrī jinadeva jusa nāmanāṃ sakāsāt, || teyonāya[m] kṣ(e)[tra] ///
- 3 ta || yampi vihāri livi-cche kamalasiṃha bhārosa kṣetra-sīmāṃ dakṣi ///
- 4 l-ā[rghe]na jath-o[c]ita-mūlyam=ādāya krī-vikrī-svādhinena ten=āni-///

27. N.S. 772

Sale of half a garden of one *karṣa*, the purchaser being the *guthi* of Vināyaka, represented by him who performs the daily ritual for the God: the *nityakāra-*. Vendors are two brothers; their half-brother serves as a witness.

The present deed is the antecedent to N.S. 777 which records the sale of the same plot. This, then, is an instance of the old document (*pūrvva-talapati-*) actually accompanying the subsequent purchase, and passing into the hands of the next owner. –

The *guthi* apparently foresaw some trouble about taxation: see the liability clause. The *vā kala* may be the annual proportionate tax on proceeds, in which case we would have to conclude it was levied from gardens, too. – Perhaps the *guthi* counted on being granted exemption from this tax and just made sure in case their plan miscarried. Note the N.S. 777 sale does not contain a similar clause. –

Due to insufficiencies in the photograph, the readings are often uncertain.

Size: 780 × 33 (27) mm. Slight damage to both upper and lower margin. Sealed by round seal, 6 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī
inscribed in a circle

Document

- 1 [[siddham]] śraiyō 'stu || samvat, 772 naṣṭavaiśāṣa kṛṣṇa || caturddaśyā(m) tithau o, śrī-lalita v[v]rūmāyāṃ śrī-māniglake pūrvvastha || [[hva]]takhā tora, la y[e]tā-gr̥ha-vāstavya nitya-kāla candra pramu(ṣa)na śrīmat-śrī-śrī-vināyaka bhartṭalakā[s]a guthi-samūhaśan[a] śakāsāta ḥ || [sa yavo] thāna maśa[ladva] laṃ yotā-gr̥ha rūpasiha bhāvośa sva-[bhrāt]ya vasurāma bhāvośa dvayośa nāmneṇa svakriyaṃ svabhurjyamānikam || tya[ṣṭ]am[n]āya¹ v[ā]tikā nāma prad(e)[ś](e) || mārgga-śimāyāṃ paścimataḥ || śrī [gv]ācch(e) [v]āhā[ra] śrī adikā juśa vātikā-śimāyāṃ=u(tta)
- 2 rat[e] śrī-śrī-rājayā vātikā-śimāyāṃ pūrvvataḥ || śrī-[h]ākhā[c]uka yaṃtā śrī-jinadeva juśa vātikā-śimāyā(m) dakṣiṇataḥ || eteṣāṃ=madhya tā[bhye]v[o]nā[y]a vātikā-m=(e)ka-karṣa-pramān[e]na karṣa cchi 1 thvateśa arddha-bhāga vaṃthodya rā[ś]i jurom ete vātikā sa-karṣaka smaparibho[jya] jathā-nagala-kāla-pravarttamānena sañcār-ā[r]gh[e]na yath-vaccit, mūlyam=ādāya kre-vikre-svādineṇa ten=ānivr̥ttamka, nyāy[e]ṇa kri vikriyatam=bhavati jadi syāt, devika-raji vi[n]ā yā v[ā]tikā arddha-bhāgaśa vā kala śekā śamkaṭa-vyāvāda-kāle tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhani=
- 3 ye, atra patr-ārthe dṛ[ḍh]ihkaraṇāya sākṣi dhārṇṇakaśa kaneṣṭha-sva-pitā japa[na]rāja bhāvoyā-m=eka dṛṣṭa || thva vātikāyā kri pna sarvva s[o]dhāna pācakaṃ pura[n]a dhūgva juro śubha ||

Note

- 1) tya[pv]amnāya? cf. teyonāya° N.S. 770?

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 772, on the fourteenth lunar day of the dark half of Lost Vaiśākha.

[P] By the group of the *guthi* of the Thrice Venerable¹ Vināyaka Bhaṭṭāraka, headed by Candra, Performer of Daily Rites, who lives in the western house (at) the road² (in) Hvatakhā Ward, situated in the east, in *śrī*-Māniglaka, in *śrī*-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by those two who are named Rūpasiha Bhāvo, of the West House (at) Masaladvalaṃ (?), in this same *sthāna*, and his brother, Vasurāma Bhāvo,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves, in the region named Tyapvaṃnāya Garden, west of the boundary³ constituted by the road, north of the boundary of the garden of the Ven. Adikāju, (of) *śrī*-Gvācche Bāhāl, east of the boundary of the garden of the Twice Ven. king, south of the boundary of the garden of the Ven. Jinadevaju (who lives) north (of/in) *śrī*-Hākhācuka, – in their midst, the Tya – vonāya garden, measuring one *karṣa*, *karṣa* one 1, – half of it ... a terrace sloping east⁴ –

[R] this garden, to be fully enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through⁵ this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁶ when the tax on paddy⁷ (imposed upon) this half garden is made known⁸, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court⁹, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document, in order to confirm (it): it was solely seen by Jāpanarāja Bhāvo, the youngest son of the holder's own father.

[Receipt] The purchase price of this garden was paid (to) complete clearance, (and) has been finished (to) completion.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) *śrīmat-śrī-śrī*.
- 2) *la* = *lam*?
- 3) locatives in text.
- 4) *dyam* = nep. *dyān*? Cf. N.S. 736 and Jørgensen 1936 s.v. *dyāni*. Turner 1931 glosses *dyān* by 'ridge, furrow'. – *rā[ś]i: rā[g]i* = *lāgī* 'for'?
- 5) em. *krayena*.
- 6) *kāle* not translated.
- 7) or: tax (payable at) monsoon time?
- 8) *sekā*; caus. of *saya*.
- 9) em. *rājika*.

28. N.S. 777

Sale of the garden plot of N.S. 772, by the *guthi* which had then bought it, the purchaser being one of the neighbours. His name occurred in the fragment N.S. 770. – The witness comes from the vendor's party, this time being one of the *guthi* members.

Size: 527 × 36 (31) mm. Damaged on upper margin. Sealed by round seal, 6 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [śrī]

[The photograph is hardly legible.]

Document

Obverse

- 1 [siddham] śraiyo 'stu || samvat, 777 bhādrapada śuklaḥ || navamyān=tithau ḥ śrī-lalitavvrū-māyā ḥ śrī-māniglattera śrī-[d]ākhā coka nani vaṃtā gṛha vajrācāryya śrī-jinadeva jusa nāmnā sakāsāt, || [h]vatakhā-tvara ni[t]ya-kāla caṃdra pramūkhana śrī-cchri-vināyaka gaṇesa guthi samūhasa nāmnena svakriyaṃ subhorijamāṇikaṃ || [t]yaṃpvan[o]ya-vātikā-nāma-pradeśe || mārgga-śīmāyā
- 2 paścimata || gvāṃccheṃ vāhāla śrī-adikā jusa vātikā-śīmāyāḥ uttarata || śrī-śrī-rājayā vātikā-śīmāyāḥ pūrvvata || grāhakasa vātikā-śīmāyāḥ dakṣinataś=ca || etat-madhye tā [t]yaṃpvan[ā]ya vātikā-m=ekarṣ-āṅka¹ karṣa cchi 1 thvateśa arddha-bhāgaṇa vaṃ tho dyaṃ juro ete vātikā sa-karṣakaṃ smapalibhojña[m] yathā-deśa-kāla-pravarttamānena-s=tathā saṃcārghena²
- 3 yath-ocyat, mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-svādinena ten=ānivṛttakaṃ nyāyaṇa krena vikriyatam=bhavati jadi syād=davika-lāji [v]inā tā arddha-bhāga-vātikā saṅkaṭa-vyāvāda-kāre tadā dhārṇakeṇa parisvadhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sākṣi sa eva [hva]takhā sva-guthi gaṃgārāma s[ā]juyā dṛṣṭa || tā vātikāyā krī pana [dvā]kvyā sarvva s[o]dhāna pūranna dhumgva juro śubhaṃ ||

Reverse

tyaṃpvan[ā]ya vātikā krīna patra, ³

Notes

- 1) em. *eka-karṣ*.
- 2) em. *saṃcār-ārghena*.
- 3) written in three lines, from bottom to top.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 777, on the ninth lunar day of the bright half of Bhādrapada.

[P] In front of him who is named the Ven. Jinadevaju, Vajrācārya, of the east house at the courtyard (*nani*) of śrī-Ḍākhācoka, north¹ of śrī-Mānigla, in śrī-Lalitavvrūmā,

[V] by him who is named the Group of the *guthi* of the Twice Venerable Vināyaka Gaṇesa, headed by Candra, Performer of Daily Rites, of Hvatakhā ward,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves, in the region called Tyāṃpvanāya Garden, west of the boundary constituted by the road, north of the boundary of the garden of the Ven. Adikāju, of Gvāṃccheṃ Bāhāl, east of the boundary of the Twice Ven. king's garden, and south of the purchaser's garden – in their midst, the² Tyāṃpvanāya Garden of one *karṣa*, in figures: *karṣa* one 1 – half of it being (provided with?) a terrace³ sloping east,

[R] this garden, to be entirely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate as prevalent in (the present) region and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁴ concerning this half of a garden, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by Gaṅgarāma Sāju, of the same *guthi*, (of) this very Hvatakhā ward.

[Receipt] The purchase price of this garden has been paid, including everything, (to) completion.

[E]

śubham

(Identification note on reverse side:) Tyāmpvanāya Garden: Deed of Sale⁵.

Notes

- 1) em. *mānigl-ottara*^o.
- 2) *lā*.
- 3) Cf. N.S. 772, transl., note 4.
- 4) ^o*kāre* om. from translation.
- 5) for: *krayapatra*.

29. N.S. 782

Sale of half of a field of six *ropanikas*, the purchaser being the deity of Uku Bāhāh. The transaction is witnessed by the vendor's brother. – Eventual official registration of partitions may have led to occasional difficulties: here, as elsewhere, the liability clause includes a reference to this.

A minor innovation in the adequate-price formula: introduction of the correlative, *tathā*. The syntax is not noticeably improved.

Size: 405 × 45 (38) mm. Damage to lower margin. Sealed by round seal, 8 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

topped by a *candrabindu* and inscribed in a double circle, the outer one composed of dots.

Document

- 1 [siddham] śraiyo 'stu || samvat, 782 śrāvaṇa śukla || tṛṭiyāṃ tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ śrī-māniglavo āgnēkolike vaṃku vāhāra śrīmat-śrī-3-śākyamunī-kvācapāra-bhaṭṭarakāsa nāmnā śakāśāt, nogla laṃ yotāgṛha śrī-nāthasiṃha juśa nāmnena svakīyaṃ svabhujya=

- 2 mānikam sākḥājola-kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe vahiri śrī-jīdeva jusa kṣetrena paścimata || dhārṇakasa kṣetrena uttarata || [y]icchulāccha hnavana [l]vākāyā kṣetrena pūrvvata || yekhā tāmbakāra vaṃ gyā[r]a bhāro kṣetrena dakṣiṇataś=ca || et[a]t-madhya tā kṣetra sa[d]-roparipanicam
- 3 kṣetra rova ṣu 6 thvatesa dhārṇakayā [sv]ādḥikāra[ra] arddha-bhāga jukva juro ete kṣetra śa-karṣakam samaparibhogyam yathā-nagara-kāra-pravarttamānas=tathā samcār-ārghena yath-ocit=mūlyem=ādāye krī-vikrī-sv-ādḥinena ten=ānivarttakam nyāyeṇa kreṇa vi=
- 4 krīyatam=bhavati yadi śyād=devīka-rājika vinā tā arddha-bhāga jukva kṣetrasa samkātavyāvāda-kāre tadā dhārṇakena parisodhaniyam atra patr-ārthe sākṣī bhrātā śrī-vāvudeva jusa dṛṣṭa || tā kṣetrayā krī pana sarvva sodhāna pācakam dhuṃgva juro || śubha ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 782, on the third lunar day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa.

[P] In front of him who is named the Thrice Venerable¹ Śākyamuni Kvācapāla Bhaṭṭāraka, of Vaṃku Bāhāl, in the southeast of śrī-Māniglava, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by him who is named the Ven. Nāthasiṃhaju, of the west house at the road, in Nogla,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Sākhojotra² Field, west of the field³ of the Ven. Jīdevaju, (of) the *babil*, north of the holder's field, east of the field of Hnavana the mason, of Yicchulāccha, and south of the field of Vaṃgyāra Bhāro, the coppersmith – in their midst, a *tā*⁴ field of six *ropanikas*: a field, *rova* six 6 – of this, only half is under the holder's disposition –

[R] this field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁵ regarding this field – half of it only – then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the Ven. Bābudevaju, [the holder's] brother.

[Receipt] The purchase price of this field has been paid, including everything.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

1) *śrīmat-śrī-3-*.

2) Cf. N.S. 759/2: *Sākhojola* Field.

3) instrumentals in text.

4) or: this.

5) **kāre* omitted from translation.

Sale of part of a field of six *ropanikas*: five are the vendor's to dispose of; half of this is being sold. – An unclear term, *peka*, which may be an arithmetical expression or, less likely perhaps, a land measure (the latter usually stand in front of numerals). – Both the vendor's and the purchasers' families manage their property according to the joint family system. Both parties and the witness belong to the same *gotra*.

Grammatical improvements to the liability clause, attended by a modification of its contents: the vendor's liability is further reduced to circumstances he has to answer for.

The deed is the antecedent of N. S. 808/2, as can be gathered from the description of the plot. Size: 515 × 55 (44) mm. Sealed by round seal, 8 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

apparently inscribed in a double circle. The outer one may be an imperfect impression of a circle of dots.

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 798 phālguṇa kṛṣṇaḥ || aṣṭamyāṃ tithau śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ śrī-mānīglake || āgneyakoli-staḥ || nalidva cākalaṃ yaṃtā vāhāra gṛha || sva-gottara-jeṣṭha-bhrātā śākevaṃśa śrī-śrīghana jusa bhātr-sahasa nā[śn]ā sakāśāta ||
- 2 tatr=aiva vāhāra gṛha || sva-gottara-bhātr śākevaṃśa śrī-ādīkaju bhrātrā-putra-sahasa nām-ena svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || hmudora-vu-kṣatra-nāma-pradeśe || thayināya cākalaṃ yaṃtā gṛha || śrī-lakṣeśvarī jusa kṣatra-śīmāyāḥ paścimataḥ || kvarāccha hanumaṃta ccheṃ
- 3 [[sa]] tarāmakramiyā kṣatra-śīmāyāṃ u[tra]ta yaṃpi vihāri vaṃtā livicche || mādhavarāja bhārosa kṣatra-śīmāyāḥ pūrvvataḥ || mārga-śīmāyā dakṣiṇataś=ca || eteṣāṃ=madhye tā kṣatra ṣaṭa-ropanīkaṃ yat=kṣetra rov-ānka rovo ṣu 6 thvatesa dhārṇṇa svādhikāra r{o}
- 4 [vo] nā thvatesa arddha-bhāgaṇa ne peka tyā 2¹/₂ jukva parimāna juro ete tā kṣatra sa-karṣaka smaparibhogya yathā-nagala-kāla-pravarttamānas=tathā saṃcār-ārgh[e]ṇa yath-ocin-mūm=ādāyaṃ kraya-vikraya-sv-ādinena tven=ānivarttakam nyāyena kraya vikrayantaṃ
- 5 bhavati yadi syād=dāvīka-rājīka vinā tā kṣatra ne peka tyā yo dhārṇṇaka-nimittena saṃkaṭa-vivādo sti tadā dhārṇṇakena parisvadhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sākṣī ubhaya-sva-gottara śrī-dharmabhānaka jusa drṣṭaḥ || thva kraya-patrayā sarvva svadhāna dhumgva juro śubham

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 798, on the eighth lunar day of the dark half of Phālguṇa.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. Śrīghanaju,² of Śākya family, the elder brother, of the same *gotra*,³ of the house of the North Bāhāḥ of Nalidva circle, situated south-east in *śrī-Mānigla*, in *śrī-Lalitavrūmā*, together with his brother,

[V] by him who is named the Ven. Adikaju, of Śākya family, brother of the same *gotra*, of the house of the Bāhāḥ even there, together with his brother's son,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region called Hmudora Field,⁴ west of the boundary of the field of the Ven. Lakṣeśvarīju, of the north house in the Thayināya circle, north of the boundary of the field of Satarāma Kumi,⁵ of Hanumanta house, of Kvalāccha, east of the boundary of the field of Mādharāja Bhāro, of the house at the east courtyard (*livi*) of Yampi Vihāri, and south of the boundary constituted by the road – in their midst, a *tā*⁶ field of six *ropanikas*, a field which (measures) *ropanikas* in figures: *rova* six 6 – of this, five *rova* are under the holder's disposition; half of this, measuring two and a half, $2\frac{1}{2}$, *peka*⁷ only –

[R] this *tā*⁶ field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there is a dispute about difficulties concerning the holder of the (*tā*)⁶ field (of) two *peka*⁷ and a half⁸, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the Ven. Dharmabhonakaju, of the same *gotra* as both (parties).

[Receipt] Of this deed of sale, (the price of purchase⁹) has been settled, including everything.

[E]

śubham

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnah* –
- 2) rather than 'the Twice Ven. Gh°'. –
- 3) unless **svagotra* + *jyesthabhrātr-* form a tatpuruṣa compound. –
- 4) Newārī and Sanskrit. The name is known from N. S. 736. –
- 5) 'potter'? –
- 6) or: this. –
- 7) *peka-* is not clear. –
- 8) *yo* unclear. –
- 9) these words are omitted in the text.

31. N. S. 804

Sale of a field of 3 *ropanikas*, witnessed by the holder's nephew. – The 'antecedent' of the present document was not passed on to the purchaser, but remained with the vendor's family: perhaps the present plot was the result of a partition. – *tā* of *tā kṣetra* is here replaced by the demonstrative, *tat*. –

Size: 530 × 35 (22) mm. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

apparently inscribed in a double circle. The outer one may be a blurred impression of a circle of dots.

Document

- 1 [siddhaṃ] śraiyo 'stu || samvat 804 phālguṇa śukla pūrṇimāsyān=tithau śrī-lalita[vrū]māyām śrī-māṇḍlāt pūrvvasta, yaṃcchalācche yautā-gṛha kalyāṇasihe bhārosa nāmnā sakāśāt, || svathaṃ gvācche gṛha amātte viśvasiṃha bhārosa nāmnena svakiyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || dati kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || gāḍa vāhārayā śrī-thākura jusa kṣetreṇa paścimataḥ mārggeṇa uttarataḥ
- 2 śrī-śrī-rājño kṣetrāt pū rvvataḥ¹ vaṃku vāhārayā śrī-ratikara vaṃde juyā kṣetreṇa dakṣiṇataś=ca, etat-madhye tat-kṣetras=trayo-ropanikaṃ rov-āṅka rova svaṃ 3 tat-kṣetra sa-karṣakaṃ samparibhogyāṃ yathā-nagara-kāra-pravarttamānas=tathā saṃcār-ārghheṇa yath-ocit-mūlam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-svādhinena ten=ānivatṭtakaṃ nyāyena kṛi vikṛitaṃ bhavati yadi syād=daivika-rājika vinā tat-kṣetre śāṅka=
- 3 ṭa-vyāvāda-kāle tadā dhārṇakena parisodhanīyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sāksi, dhārṇaka bhrātā-putra amātte siddhisimha bhārosa dṛṣṭaḥ thvate vuyā kṛi pna sarva-sodhāna pācakaṃ dhuṃgva || puna bhāṣā thva vuyā pūrvva-talapatra, phukimjapanisa[o] cchapūna coṃgvasa ma kāyā juro || śubhaṃ ||

Note

- 1) *rvvataḥ* omitted in line 2; added below text in line 4.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 804, on the full-moon day of the bright half of Phālguṇa.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ Kalyāṇasihe Bhāro, of the west house in Yaṃcchalācche, situated east from śrī-Māṇḍla, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by him who is named Viśvasiṃha Bhāro, Amātya, of his own² (?) house in Gvācche,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Dagi Field, west of the field³ of the Ven. Thākuraju, of Gāḍa Bāhāl, north of the road; east from the field of the Twice Ven. king, and south of the field³ of the Ven. Ratikara Vaṃde, of Vaṃku Bāhāl – in their midst, the field⁴ of three *ropanikas*, *ropanikas* in figures: rova three 3,

[R] this field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase⁵ by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁶ regarding this field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it was seen by Siddhisimha Bhāro, Amātya, the holder('s) brother's son.

[Receipt] The purchase price of this field has been paid, including everything.

[Codicil] Further agreement. The old document concerning this field, being one leaf with (i. e. for all?) the members of the clan (only), has not been taken.

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnah*. –
- 2) skt. and newārī. –
- 3) instrumentals in text. –
- 4) this is the demonstrative. –
- 5) em. *krayena*. –
- 6) **kāle* omitted from translation.

32. N. S. 807

An exchange of two houses, fragmentary; some details can be supplied from N. S. 807/2, which incorporates the present object. Both houses are of identical dimensions. Unfortunately, only one of them is delimited through boundaries.

Exchanges seem to have been taken as derived from sales: see Introd., § 3.2, and the formula *sva āyita yāṁṇa*/// attested only in the present fragment, which seems to correspond to *svādhīnatvena* of the sales formula.

Size: 232 × 45 mm. Badly damaged: right side missing; considerable loss of text on lower margin. Not sealed: cf. 807/2.

Text

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 807 śrāvaṇa śu d[dh]i 11 śrī-vaṁkū-vāhāra yetā-livi-vaṁtā-gr̥ha śākya-vaṁśa-śrī-punacandraju sa[v]o sva-bhrātte śrī-dhar[a]saju savo thya-thya///
- 2 na¹ cche helañāyā bhākha thvate bhākhā pūrvva śrī-śrī-kvāsapāla-bhaṭṭarakasa ccheṁ dakṣiṇa yetā livi paścima śrī-cchākadevaju sa c.///²
- 3 tr-āghāt[e]n[a] duṁ vaṁkū-vāhāra yaukuli-ccheṁ ku sūya pi 34 thvate ccheṁ bhrātā sa evo śrī-punacandraju sna thama (kāsy)am thvay[ā] pāla do///
- 4 ³ya pi 34 thvate ccheṁ bhrātte śrī-dharasa juyātaṁ krī vikrī sva āyita yāṁṇa [j.] x (he)raṇa dhuṁgva saṁka(ṭa-vivāda) dvā-kāle thav[a]///
- 5 ⁴kṣi ubhaya-so-gotra śrī-ratnajotijū picchu śrī-[ma](n)idevaju dvayau dr̥ṣṭa || x x x .ā⁵ nebhe cotā do ||
- 6 [g]ūta ⁶

Notes

- 1) (*cchena*). –
- 2) *c(chemṃ uttara vābhāra thvate cā)tr-?*
- 3) (*ku sū*)*ya*. –
- 4) (*sā*)*kṣi*. –
- 6) *kākapada*; the place where this is to be inserted is not clear.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 807, on the eleventh day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa.

[Parties] This is an agreement between the Ven. Punacandraju, of Śākya family, of the east house at the south courtyard of śrī-Vaṃkū Bāhāl, and his brother, the Ven. Dharasaju, mutually ... to exchange house for house.

[O1] Agreement. The brother, the same Ven. Punacandraju, himself **taking** the house of thirty-four cubits, 34, which is the northwest house of Vaṃkū Bāhāl, within (these) four (?) boundaries: the house of the Twice¹ Venerable Kvāsapāla Bhaṭṭāraka in the **east**, the south courtyard (*livi*) in the **south**, the Ven. Cchākadevaju's (house) in the **west**, ///

[O2] ... this house of thirty-four cubits, 34, which is his to guard, has by purchase and sale been **exchanged** (= given in exchange) to his brother, the Ven. Dharasaju, (the transaction) being done (by a party) depending upon himself.²

[Liability] If there is a dispute over difficulties, (it has to be cleared up by) these (two parties themselves).³

[W] The Ven. Ratnajotiju and the Ven. Manidevaju (of?) Picchu, the two of them, both of the same *gotra*, are the witnesses⁴ who have⁴ seen.

[Note] (The same agreement) has been written in two copies(?).⁵

Notes

- 1) *sic*; cf. 807/2. –
- 2) or: according to his own will. –
- 3) Supplied from N. S. 807/2. –
- 4) text: singular. –
- 5) °*bhe*: skt. *bheda-?* referring to the two parts which are separated by cutting, as shown by N. S. 807/2? 'Formed in analogy to *ubhe*, skt. *ubhaya-*' (Thakur Lal Manandhar).

33. N. S. 807

Exchange of a house for a garden and supplementary payment. Until the day preceding this deed, the house had been divided into two equal parts belonging to two brothers (cf. N. S. 807/1): the present exchange must have been known to the brother not concerned, since he serves as a witness. – The deed is accompanied by one of its antecedents.

The house is acquired by the deity of Uku Bāhāḥ, presumably with a view to enlarge the space available for ritual purposes: the house now contains the staircase giving access to the *mū āgam*. Note it is the God himself who is named as a party to the transaction: the representative of the hierarchy of the Order is confined to the rôle of witness.

If the objects exchanged are of approximately equal value, a house of 68 cubits was worth three quarters of a ropanika of garden land plus 40 *mohor ṭaṅkā*. –

Size: 399 × 36 (23) mm. Right side marked by half of an ornamental emblem, such as is otherwise used in partitions: when written, the document probably consisted of two copies of the same text on a single palm leaf, separated by the entire ornamental device in the middle. One should expect exchanges to require authorization by Government, especially since they were modelled within the legal framework of sales. Until now, we have not seen documentary proof for such authorization.

Text

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat 807 śrāvaṇa śu d[dh]i 12 śrī vaṃkū vāhāra śrīmat-
śrī-śrī-kvāsapāra-bhaṭṭāraḥ[ā]vo, sa evo vāhāra vaṃkūli-gṛha śrī-punacandra jusavo cche
va, vātikā v[o] helanāyā bhākha thvate, bhākhā
- 2 pūrvva saevo śrī-śrī-kvāsapāra-bhaṭṭāraḥ[ā]sa ccheṃ, dakṣiṇa yetā-livi, paścima śrī cchvāka-
devajusa ccheṃ, uttara vāhāra thvate cātr-āghāṭena duṃ saevo vaṃkū vāhāra yaukuli-cche
ku khūya cyā 68 thvate ccheṃ saevo
- 3 śrī 3 kvāsapāra-bhaṭṭāraḥ[ā]na kāsyam, thvayā pāla do si dyela vātikā java sva 3 mohora
ṭaṅkā pīya 40 thvate vātikānoṃ ṭaṅkānoṃ sa evo śrī-punacandra-ju-yātaṃ visyaṃ krī-
vikrīṇa herāṇa dh[u]ṃgva, samka-
- 4 ṭa-vivāda dvā kāle, thava 2 sa, thama 2 śuddhake māla sākṣi bhrātte śrī-dharamaju,
śrī-gyāna-thavirapā-pramukhana nāyaka-samūha, picchu śrī-manideva ju ete dṛṣṭa || uti
bhākhā nebhe [c]otā do || śubha ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 807, on the twelfth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa.

[Parties] This is an agreement between the Thrice Venerable¹ Kvāsapāra Bhaṭṭāraḥ, of śrī-Vaṃkū Bāhāl, and the Ven. Punacandraju, (of) the southeast house (of) this same Bāhāl.

[O1] Agreement. This same Thrice Venerable Kvāsapāra Bhaṭṭāraḥ, **taking** this house of sixty-eight cubits, 68, (which is) the northwest house (of) this same Vaṃkū Bāhāl, within these four (?) boundaries: the house of this Twice² Venerable Kvāsapāra Bhaṭṭāraḥ in the **east**, the south courtyard (*livi*) in the **south**, the Ven. Cchvākadevaku's³ house in the **west**, the Bāhāl in the **north**,

[O2] and **giving** to this same Ven. Punacandraju the Dyela garden, of three *java*, 3, which is⁴ his to guard, and forty *mohor ṭaṅkā*, 40, both garden and *ṭaṅkā*s,

[R] it has been completely exchanged by purchase and sale.

[Liability] If there is a dispute over difficulties, it has to be cleared up by these two (parties) themselves.

[W] The witnesses⁵ who have⁵ seen are these: the Ven. Dharamaju, brother – the group of Leaders, headed by the Ven. Gyāna, the Elder – the Ven. Manidevaju, (of?) Picchu.

[Note] The same agreement has been written in two copies⁶(?).

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) *śrīmat-śrī-śrī*. –
- 2) *sic!* and cf. the same title in 807/1, line 2. – Line 3 of this document, however, has *śrī-3-°*; cf. 808/1.
- 3) In 807/1, he is called Cchākadevaju; in 808/1, Devaju. –
- 4) *dosi*: not clear. Cf. Jørgensen's A 10?. –
- 5) text: singular. –
- 6) for *nebhe*, see N. S. 807/1, transl., note 5.

34. N. S. 808

Sale of a field of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*, the purchaser being the deity of Uku Bāhāḥ, represented by the Group of Ten Leaders, with the Elder at its head. The plot is that of N. S. 798, the then purchasers now being the vendors. They operated as a joint family. The fact that the representative of the family acts together with his elder brother's son, while in 798 he had transacted business conjointly with his younger brother, shows the nephew will have been a minor in 798: a person, then, had to reach a certain age before he could undertake actions legally valid. – In N. S. 815, the elder of the two vendors had risen to the position of Elder of the Saṃgha. –

Size: 429 × 47 (37) mm. Damaged on right side and on upper margin. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle surrounded by a second circle composed of dots.

Document

1 [siddhaṃ] śreyo 'stu || samvat 808 māgha kṛṣṇa || pratipadi tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ
śrī-māṇḍglād=āgneya-stha || hñaphala-cākalaṃ vāntā-gṛha śākyavaṃśa-śrī-jñānacandra
thara[p](āju pramukhana) śrī-daśa-ja=

- 2 na-nāyakaju-samūha-śrī-3-vaṃku-vāhāra-kvācapāla-śākyamuni-vuddha-bhaṭṭārakasa nām-nā sakāsāt. || cākaḷaṃ yantā naridva vāhāra gṛha śākyavaṃśa-śrī-dhanaśrīju jyeṣṭha-bhrātr-putra- śrī-sarvvamuniju
- 3 dvayor=nnāmnah svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikam. || hmudola-kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || vaṃku-vāhāra śrī-la[kṣa]juyā kṣetreṇa paścimataḥ || tapā hiti vajrācāryya-śrī-divākara juyā kṣetreṇa uttarataḥ || yaṃpi- vi=
- 4 hāri livicche mādhavarāja bhāroyā kṣetreṇa pūrvvataḥ || mahāvuddha-śrī-dhana juyā kṣetreṇa dakṣiṇataḥ || eteṣām=madhye || ta[t=kṣ]etra s-ārddha-dvaya-roḷopanikaṃ yat =kṣetra roḷ-āṅka roḷa nasi 2 jaḷā nasi
- 5 2 tat=kṣetra sak[r]aṣaṃ saṃparibhogyam yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānena tathā saṃñcār-ārghheṇa yath-ocita-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-svādhinena ten=ānivṛttikaṃ nyāyena krayena vikrayatam=bhayaṭi ||
- 6 yadi syād=daivika-rājika vinā tat-kṣetrasya śaṅkaṭa-vivāda-kāle tadā dhārṇṇakena pariśo-dhaniyam || atra patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇṇakasya pitṛvya śrī-māhāmuni ju dṛṣṭaḥ || tat-kṣetrasya k[r]aya pna da[kv]ayā sarvva
- 7 [In right margin, across]
 1 śodhana pūraṇa pā=
 2 (cu) juro || śubham ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 808, on the first lunar day of the dark half of Māgha.

[P] In front of him who is named the Thrice Venerable Kvācapāla Śākyamuni Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka, of Vaṃku Bāhāl, (acting through) the Ven. Group of Ten Leaders,¹ headed by the Ven. Jñānacandra,² the Elder,¹ of Śākya family, of the east house in the Hñaphala circle, situated south-east from śrī-Mānigla, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by those two who are named the Ven. Dhanaśrīju, of Śākya family, of the house at Naridva Bāhāl, north (of) the circle, and his elder brother's son, the Ven. Sarvvamuniju,

[O] in the region called Hmudola Field,³ west of the field⁴ of the Ven. Lakṣaju,⁵ of Vaṃku Bāhāl, north of the field of the Ven. Divākaraju, Vajrācārya, of Tapāhiti, east of the field of Mādhavarāja Bhāro, of the house in the courtyard (*livi*) of Yaṃpi Vihāra, south of the field of the Ven. Dhanaju, of Mahāvuddha – in their midst, this field of two and a half *ropanikas*, a field which (measures) *ropanikas* in figures: *rova* two 2 quarters two 2,

[R] this field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁶ concerning this field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the holder's paternal uncle, the Ven. Māhāmuniju.

[Receipt] The purchase price of this field has been paid, including everything,⁷ (to) completion.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) the honorific *ju* is not translated. –
- 2) spelt *gyāna* in the preceding document. –
- 3) Cf. N. S. 736, 798, 815 etc. –
- 4) instrumentals in text. –
- 5) In N. S. 798, the name is Lakṣeśvarī. –
- 6) °*kāle* omitted from translation. –
- 7) *dakvayā* is the equivalent of *sarvva*°.

35. N. S. 808

Exchange of two houses, the reverse side giving the Newārī term for the transaction, *cchemna cchem helā*: 'exchange of house for house'. The deity of Uku Bāhāḥ is again one of the parties. The present house is the one situated west of the one acquired in N. S. 807/2: this marks a further extension of communal buildings.

The house to its immediate west again belongs to the Ven. Devaju (the Cchvākadevaju of N. S. 807/2) – a neighbourhood which made for a number of problems. These are regulated in great detail. Apparently, the chief drain ran through its grounds; it had to be cleaned before the house was handed over, and Devaju was granted continued use (Codicil 2). Privacy of both parties was ensured by forbidding doors and windows to be opened (Codicils 1 and 3). And the former proprietor continues to enjoy the right to dry certain substances (unclear in nature: *co ādina*) on what must be grounds of the house he gave.

The object given in exchange is not clear. It may have been a house in a dilapidated condition. – In view of the numerous unfamiliar terms, the translation of the Newārī passages is highly conjectural. –

Size: 337 × 53 mm. Half of an ornamental emblem on right margin: cf. 807/2. Written by the scribe of N. S. 807/2.

Text

Obverse

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 808 caitra va d[dh]i 2 śrī-vaṃkū-vāhāra śrīmat-śrī-śrī-kvāsa-bhaṭṭāraśasavo, yetā-livi yaṃtā-gr̥ha śrī-devajusavo cchena cche helāñāyā bhākha thvate, bhākha pūrvva* 1⁻uttra⁻¹ sa evo śrī 3 kvāsapāla-bhaṭṭā-
- 2 rakasa thava cchem, dakṣiṇa-yetā-livi, paścima sa evo śrī-deva jusa cchem, thvate cātr-āghā[a]na duṃ sa evo śrī-vaṃkū-vāhāra yaukuli-koṇa-mūlacche thama k[o]ṃsa śuddhim ˘ sa evo śrī-3-kvāsapāla-bhaṭṭāraśasna thama kā=
- 3 syam, thvayā pāla do si, sa evo vāhārayā yaukuli-s[o]ta[yā] liṇu jāvanom pātālanom sa evo, śrī-deva juyātam viṣim kṛī-vikṛiṇa herāṇa dhumgva, samkaṭa-vivāda dvā kāle, thava 2 sa, thama 2 śuddha=

- 4 ke māla, hñava dasyaṃ coṃgva jhyāla thyaṃ-thyaṃ cālake mado thvateyā sāksi, thaviyā²
 śrī-gyāñaju-pramukhana jihmaṃ nāyaka-samūha drṣṭa || puna bhākhā saevo koṇa-mūlana-
 keṃ cchi [ph]alasa, saevo śrī devaju=
 5 sna, [co] ³a – do juro || uti bhākhā nebhe cotā do juro || śubha || thva koṇa-mūlayā dhala śrī
 deva jusna duṃ kāya sāla juro || puna bhākhā thva śrī 3 kvāsapāla bhaṭṭārakasna kāyā ccheyā
 lukhā cālake mado juro || śubha ||
 6 ⁴*di pā ya*
 na⁵

Reverse

cchemna cchem helā

Notes

- 1) inserted above line 1. –
- 2) em. *thavirapā*. –
- 3) kākapada; akṣara following *ā* effaced. –
- 4) probably meant to be entered at kākapada of line 5. –
- 5) inserted below *di* and *pā* of line 6.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 808, on the second day of the dark half of Caitra.

[Parties] This is an agreement between the Thrice Venerable Kvāsa Bhaṭṭāraka, of śrī-Vaṃku Bāhāl, and the Ven. Devaju, (of) the north house¹ in the south courtyard (*livi*), to exchange a house for a house.

[O 1] Agreement. This same Thrice Venerable Kvāsapāla Bhaṭṭāraka himself, taking the house with the chief corner drain, cleaned from top to bottom, in the northwest of this same śrī-Vaṃkū Bāhāl, within these four (?) boundaries: the own house of this same Thrice Venerable Kvāsapāla Bhaṭṭāraka in the east and in the north, the south courtyard (*livi*) in the south, this same Ven. Devaju's house in the west,

[O 2] and giving, being the return for this,² to this same Ven. Devaju both what is standing³ and what is on the ground⁴ at the back⁵(??) of the southwest house of three storeys⁶

[R] it has been completely exchanged by purchase and sale.

[Liability] If there is a dispute over difficulties, it has to be cleared up by these two (parties) themselves.

[Codicil 1] The window(s) which formerly existed⁷ must not be opened by either party.

[W] Witness of this: it has been seen by the Group of Ten Leaders, headed by the Ven. Gyāñaju, the Elder.

[Codicil 2] The same Ven. Devaju is allowed to dry *co* etc. from the same chief corner drain⁸ to one platform.⁹

[Note] The same agreement has been written in two copies.¹⁰

[E] *śubham*

[Codicil 3] The door of this house, which was taken by the Thrice Venerable Kvāsapāla Bhaṭṭāraka, must not be opened.

Reverse: Exchange of House for House.

Notes

- 1) if for *yamtā*; 'south house', if for *yaitā*, which is perhaps more likely. –
- 2) *thvayā pāla do si*: cf. N. S. 807/2, transl., note 4. –
- 3) *jāva-nom* –
- 4) *pātāla-nom* –
- 5) *liñu* for Modern Newārī *lyū*? –
- 6) *s(o)tayā* not clear; **sva-tam* '(a house of) three storeys'? –
- 7) or: which exist since former times? –
- 8) *-nakem* a double ablative? –
- 9) *phala-* is the elevated platform which intervenes between a house and the courtyard. –
- 10) Cf. N. S. 807/1, transl., note 5.

36. N. S. 815

Sale of a field of one *ropanika*, situated north of the field of N. S. 808/2, though the topographical details are not clear: both have the same neighbour to the south. – Purchaser again is the deity of Uku Bāhāḥ. The Elder of its Order, one Dhanaju, had been the owner of the land in N. S. 808. Now, the plot is sold by his son and grandson, a second son acting as witness. It was not usual, then, to transact business with oneself. The sequence of purchaser and vendor usual at this time is inverted.

Size: 489 × 45 (30) mm. Sealed by round seal, 9 mm in diameter. Same scribe as N. S. 808/2: cf. the introductory note to N. S. 83[4].

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle, which is surrounded by a second circle composed of dots.

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 815 mārggaśira śukla || dvitīyāyān=tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāy-
ām śrī-māṇiglād=āgneya-stha || śrī-vaṃk[ū]-vāhāra mahāvuddha-cākalam yantā-grha
śākyavaṃśa śrī-bhara ju jyeṣṭha-bhrātṛ-putra-saha
- 2 nāmnah svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || tatr=aiva-grha pitā śākyavaṃśa śrī-dhana tharapāju
pramukhana śrī-daśa-jana-nāyakaju-samūha-śrī-3-vaṃku-vāhāra-kvācapāla -śākyamuni-
vuddha-bhaṭṭāraka-nāmnā sakāśāt, ||
- 3 hmudola kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || vaṃku vāhāra śrī-la[kṣa]muni juyā kṣetreṇa paścimataḥ ||
ta[p]āhiti vajrācāryya śrī-diyākara juyā kṣetreṇ=ottarataḥ || vaṃku vāhāra cākalam yetācche
vāhāra amātya sūryyadeva bhā=

- 4 royā kṣetreṇa pūrvvataḥ || sv-alpa-mārggena dakṣiṇataḥ || eteṣām=madhye || tat-
kṣetram=eka-roṣopanikaṃ yat=kṣetra roṣ-āṅka roya cchi 1 sakarṣaṃ samparibhogya-
an=tad=yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānena tathā saṃñcār-ārghena
- 5 yath-ota-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-svādhinena ten=ānivṛttikaṃ nyāyena krayena vik-
rayatam=bhayaṭi || yadi syād=daivika-rājika vinā tat-kṣetrasya śaṅkaṭa-vivāda-kāle tadā
dhārṇakena pariśodhaniyaṃ || a=
- 6 tra patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇakasya bhrātā śrī-bhānukara ju dṛṣṭaḥ || kraya pna sarvva śodhana
pūraṇa pācū śubhaṃ ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 815, on the second lunar day of the bright half of Mārgaśīras.

[V] By him who is named the Ven. Bharaju, of Śākya family, of the north house in Mahāvuddha circle of śrī-Vaṃkū Bāhāl, situated south-east from śrī-Māṅigla, in śrī-Lalitavrū-
mā, together with his elder brother's son,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[P] in front of him who is named the Thrice Venerable Kvācapāla Śākyamuni Buddha
Bhaṭṭāraka, (acting through) the Ven. Group of Ten Leaders,¹ headed by the Ven. Dhana, the
Elder,¹ of Śākya family, the (vendors') father, of this very house,

[O cont'd] in the region called Hmudola Field,² west of the field³ of the Ven. Lakṣamuni, of
Vaṃku Bāhāl, north of the field of the Ven. Divākaraju, Vajrācārya, of Tapāhiti, east of the field
of Sūryyadeva Bhāro, Amātya, of the north house in the circle of Vaṃku Bāhāl, south of the
small lane – in their midst, this field of one *ropanika*, a field which (measures) *ropanikas* in
figures: *rova* one 1,

[R] this (field), to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through
this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and
sales, after having taken the price as agreed,⁴ at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the
present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes concerning this field, except for such as
pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the holder's brother, the Ven.
Bhānukaraju.

[Receipt] The purchase price has been paid (to) entire clearance and completion.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) the honorific *-ju* not translated. –
- 2) Cf. the same name in N. S. 736, 798, 808/2. –
- 3) instrumentals in text. –
- 4) em. °o(cī)ta°. –

Sale of a field of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*, witnessed by the Patan king, Yoganarendramalla. The document is the antecedent of N. S. 834. The vendor may have been a minor: see the note mentioning his mother's consent. For the witness, cf. Introd., p. 49.

Some innovations in the wording, the re-phrasing of the liability formula being a distinct improvement. Since the changes appear to be confined to the present instance, they may have been used by just this scribe or his office. – The document mentions the price of the plot, which is unusual in the present collection, but has parallels in other deeds.

Size: 443 × 36 (26)mm. Sealed by oval seal, 13mm long, the clay imprint being slightly distorted.

Text

Seal: śrī

flanked by symbol of (sun and?¹) moon, and resting on the back of a tortoise.

Document

- 1 [siddham] śrī-śrī-vīra-jaya-yoganarendramalla deva-prabhu-thākurasa drṣṭaḥ ||
- 2 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 821 vaiśāṣa kṛṣṇa, tṛtīyāyān=tithau śrī-lalitavrūmāyām śrī-māṅglake vāyavyastha yililaḥ[hv]e nani yautā-gṛha śākyavamśa śrī-bhala jusa nāmnā sakāsāt, || [ṅ]ākhā[c]ūka nani vantā-gṛha vajrācāryya śrī-[p]āhāna[ju]sa māma vidyamānaṃ nā(mn)āṃ, svakīyaṃ sva=
- 3 bhujyamānikaḥ || tyam[po]nāya kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe, [ṅ]ākhācukayā dhan[e]patiḥ jusa kṣetreṇa paścimataḥ mārggeṇ=ottarataḥ yaṃpi vihārī lipacch[e]yā hākudeve bhārosao, [space of about 34 akṣaras left blank] kṣetreṇa da=
- 4 kṣiṇataś=ca, etat-madhye tat-kṣetra s-ārdha-dvaya-ropanikaḥ rova nasi tyā $2\frac{1}{2}$ tat-kṣetra yathā-nagara-kāra-pravarttamāne tathā saṃcāl-ārgheṇa yath-ocit=mūlyam=ādāya kraye-vikraye-sv-ādhiṇetve kṛtvā daivika-rājikaḥ vinā yadi śaṅkaṭa-vāda-vivād-ādikaḥ s[y]āt=tadā dhārṇakena
- 5 parisodhanīyaṃ, atra patr-ārthe sākṣi śrī-māṅgl-ādhipati saṃgīt-ārṇava pāra[ma]ḥ ^{v2} || thvate vuyā krī pna mohora ṭaṃkā śla cchi cchi 101 thvate sarvva sodhāna pācakaḥ dhumṅva juro || śubhaḥ ||³

Notes

- 1) The left side of the imprint, which probably held the symbol of the sun, is obscured. –
- 2) The kākapada refers to line 1, the text of which is to be inserted here. –
- 3) Apart from recent numerals (821; 13) the reverse side contains the note *tyaponāya vu krī*||.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!¹

[D] The year 821, on the third lunar day of the dark half of Vaiśākha.

[P] In front of him who is named the Ven. Bhalaju, of Śākya family, of the west house at the courtyard (*nani*) of Yililaṃ[hv]e, situated in the north-west, in śrī-Māñīglaka, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by him who is (named)³ the Ven. Pāhānaju, Vajrācārya, of the east house in the courtyard (*nani*) of Nākhācūka, (his) mother being appraised,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region called Tyamponāya Field,⁴ west of the field⁵ of Dhanapati,⁶ of Nākhācūka, north of the road, (east of) ... of Hākudeva Bhāro, of the back house of Yaṃpi Vihārī, and ... , and south of the field of ... – in their midst, this field of two and a half *ropanikas*, *rova* two one half, $2\frac{1}{2}$,

[R] this field, having been bought⁷ (?) in the state of being under one's own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.⁷

[Liability] If there should be difficulties, assertions and counter-assertions etc., except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then this has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the overlord of śrī-Māñīglā, him who has completely mastered the sea of music,⁸ the Twice Venerable hero, *jaya-Yoganarendramalla*, [usual titles of royalty].

[Receipt] The purchase price of this field is one hundred and one *mohor ṭāṅkā*, 101. This has been paid (to) entire clearance.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) The text of line 1 is translated in its proper place: see [W]. –
- 2) N. S. 834 has *Yitilaṃ[hv]e*. –
- 3) The text has the plural, *nāmnām*. In view of *vidyamāna-*, we do not think this to warrant the inference the mother was counted among the possessors.
- 4) This vicinity is mentioned in the pair N. S. 772/777; cf. 834. –
- 5) instrumentals in text. –
- 6) or: the creditor? In N. S. 834, he has the title *śrī*, which would create a preference for the above alternative. –
- 7) em. *krītvā*; the sentence is not completed. –
- 8) Yoganarendramalla had a predilection for this title: see Regmi, *Med. N. 2*, pp. 313, 328.

38. N. S. 83[4]

Sale of a field of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*, which the vendor had bought in N. S. 821 (q. v.). Witness is the vendor's son. – The field west of the present one is owned by a Bhāro and a potter, belonging to different Vihāras.

Size: 756 × 31 (24) mm. Sealed by round seal, 6 mm in diameter. The same scribe as 808, 815: he was still officiating in N. S. 846 and, since all documents from his hand are connected with Uku Bāhāḥ, may have been one of its inhabitants.

Text

Seal: śrī
inscribed in a circle

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 83[4] phālguṇa kṛṣṇa caturthyān=tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāy-āṃ śrī-māṅglād= āgneya-sthaḥ || vaṃku-vāhāra mūla cūka yekuli duṃdu-gṛha śākyavaṃśa śrī-lakṣeśvari ju nāmnā sakāśāt, || yitilaṃ[hv]e nani yautā-gṛha śākyavaṃśa śrī-bhara ju nāmnāḥ svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || [ty]apvanāya-kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || nākhā cūka śrī-dhanapati juyā kṣetrā=
- 2 t=paścimataḥ || mārggeṇa uttataḥ || yaṃpi-vihāri livicche mohana-bhāroyāva vaṃku prajāpati [space of 5 akṣaras left blank] thakurayāva kṣetrāt=pūrvvataḥ || vaṃku-vihāri śrī-māradeva juyā kṣetrād=dakṣiṇataḥ || eteṣām=madhye || tat-kṣetra s-ārddha-dvaya-roḥopaniḥkaṃ roḥ-āṅka roḥa nasi tyā 2½ tat-kṣetra sakarṣaṃ saṃparibhogyan=tad=yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānena tathā sa[mṅc]ār-ārghena
- 3 yath-ocita-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-[sv]ādhinena ten=ānivr̥ttikaṃ nyāyena krayena vikraya[tva]m=bhavati || yadi syād=daivika-rājika vinā tat-kṣetrasya śāṅkaṭa-vivāda-kāle tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyaṃ || atra patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇṇakasya putra śrī-ratna[jyo]ti ju dr̥ṣṭaḥ || tat-kṣetrasya kraya pna sarvva sodhana pācū juro || śubham=astu ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 83[4], on the fourth lunar day of the dark half of Phālguṇa.

[P] In front of him¹ who is named the Ven. Lakṣeśvari, of Śākya family, of the inner house in the south-west of the chief court of Vaṃku Bāhāl, situated in the south-east from śrī-Māṅglā, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by him who is named² the Ven. Bharaju,³ of Śākya family, of the west house in the courtyard (*nani*) of Yitilaṃ[hv]e,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region called Tyapvanāya Field, west of the field⁴ of the Ven. Dhanapati, of Nākhācūka, north of the road, east of the field of Mohana Bhāro, of the house in the courtyard (*livi*) of Yaṃpi Vihāra, and of the ... Thakura, the potter, south of the field of the Ven. Māradevaju, of Vaṃku Vihāra – in their midst, this field of two and a half *ropanikas*, *rovās* in figures: *rova* two one half, 2½,

[R] this field, to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases

and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties or disputes⁵ concerning this field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the holder's son, the Ven. Ratnajyotiju.

[Receipt] The purchase price of this field has been paid (to) complete clearance.

[E] Let it be propitious!

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnah* –
- 2) em. *nāmnā*. –
- 3) the purchaser of N. S. 821, q. v. –
- 4) ablatives in text. –
- 5) °*kāle* omitted from translation.

N. S. 845–846

A series of three **donations** of land, accompanied by purchases of the plots concerned. In style, they use the sales formula, prefixing it by (*amuka*)*nāmnā dattam* (scil. *keṣetram*). One obvious advantage of the present model is that the donor at no time assumes the legal status of a 'holder', i. e. cannot be requisitioned to pay taxes, levies etc. Apart from the three specimens here published, one would expect there had been separate documents to record the details of the donations, their purposes, the rites to be performed, etc.

The agents stem from the same family, the younger brother buying land, first, from one of his elder brothers (845), then, from sons of another elder brother (846 (1), (2)). The vendor of 845 acts as a witness to 846 (2). This Śākya family, then, held property that was not administered according to the joint family pattern.

39. N. S. 845

Sale of a field of three *javas*, with attendant donation. The antecedent is not transmitted to the new possessor, no explanation being given for this deviation from custom (see Codicil). –

Uku Bāhāḥ apparently had a monastery attached, which is named Nūgu Bāhāl. –

The scribe, familiar to us from N. S. 808 onwards, is less careful than usual, incidentally disclosing something of the technique of producing documents: see Introd., p. 23.

Size: 695 × 41 (25) mm. Written in two columns, separated by a vertical series of St. Andrew's crosses. Sealed by round seal, 6 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī
inscribed in a circle

Document

Column A

- 1 [siddhaṃ] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 8[4]5 āśvina śukla dvitīyāyān=tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ śrī-māṇiglād=āgneyasthaḥ || vaṃku-vāhāra cākalaṃ yantā mahāvuddha nani yetā-dumdu-grha śākyavaṃśa śrī-śubhaśrī ju nāmnā datt[am] [saṃgha]-
- 2 bhojya-guthi nāmnata¹ sakāśāt, || tatr=aiya vaṃku-vāhāra nūgu juyā vāhāra cākalaṃ yetā-grha jyeṣṭha-bhrātṛ śākyavaṃśa śrī-ratnaśrī ju nāmnāḥ svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || yilavi-kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || pīṃthalācche
- 3 yo[g]idāsa [bhār]oyā kṣetrā[t]=paścimataḥ || dvija-vara-śrī-natabhāju bhaṭṭa-śarmmaṇaḥ kṣetrād=uttarataḥ || [blank space up to end of Col. A]
- 4 eteṣāṃ=madhye || ta[c-che]tra traya-pad-āṅka jaya sva 3 su-karṣaṃ saṃparibhogyan=tad=yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānena tathā sañcār-ārghena yath-ocita-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-[sv]-ādhinena ten=ānivṛttikaṃ nyāyena

Column B

- 1 vikrayatvam=bhavati || yadi syād=daivika-rājika vinā tat-kṣetra=
- 2 sya śaṅkaṭa-vivāda-kāle tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyaṃ
- 3 at[r]a patr-ārthe sāksī ubhaya-sva-gotra śrī-dharmmadhara ju dṛṣṭa=
- 4 ḥ || pūrvva-tala-patra dhārṇṇaka-phukimjayāke juro || kraya pna sarvva so=

In right margin, from bottom to top:

- 1 dhana pāṃcū
- 2 juro || śu[bha]
- 3 ||

Note

- 1) [ta] wedged in between *mna* and *sā*: em. *nāmnā* (for *nār*), in conformity with the usual practice of the scribe).

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 845, on the second lunar day of the bright half of Āśvina.

[Donor] Given by him who is named the Ven. Śubhaśrīju, of Śākya family, of the inner house south of the courtyard (*nani*) at Mahāvuddha, north of the circle of Vaṃku Bāhāl, situated south-east from *śrī-Māṇigla*, in *śrī-Lalitavrūmā*,

[P] in front of those who are named the *guthi* for feasting the Order,

[V] by him who is named the Ven. Ratnaśrīju, of Śākya family, his elder brother, of the south house in the circle of Nūguju Bāhāl, even there (in) Vaṃku Bāhāl,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Milavi Field, west of the field¹ of Yogidāsa Bhāro, of Piṃthalācche, north of the field of the best of the Twice-Born, the Ven. Natabhāju Bhaṭṭa Śarman, [blank]² – in their midst, this field of three *padas*, in figures: *java* three 3,

[R] to be completely enjoyed³ together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁴ concerning this field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the Ven. Dharmmadharaju, of the same *gotra* as both (parties).

[Codicil] The old palm leaf is with the clan of the holder.

[Receipt] The purchase price has been paid including everything.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) ablatives in text.
- 2) the remainder of the description has not been filled in.
- 3) the customary *tat-kṣetram* which resumes the subject of the sentence is omitted.
- 4) °*kāle* omitted from translation.

40. N.S. 846

Sale of a field of $2\frac{1}{8}$ *ropanikas*, with attendant donation. – Donor and vendors seem to belong to the same family (unless *svagoṭra*- and *jyeṣṭhabhrātr*- form a *tatpuruṣa* rather than a *dvamḍva* compound). The vendor acts conjointly with his brother, his mother having been informed about the transaction: the brother, then, will have been a minor, and the mother was involved in the guardianship of his rights. – *bhontā* is not clear: if they belonged to the police or the military, they appear to have been assigned to certain quarters. –

The scribe – familiar from 808 onwards; cf. N.S. 846/2, another imperfect piece – has allowed the authorized text to run on to the reverse side: the only instance in the present collection. – A number of omissions, no doubt accidental. Note that obvious defects did not preclude authorization by sealing.

Size: 559 × 42 (21) mm. Damaged on upper margin; right end torn off: some loss of text. – Sealed by round seal, 6 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī
inscribed in a circle

Document

Obverse:

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 846 phālguna śukla dvādaśyān=tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ
śrī-mā[n](i)glād=āgneyasthaḥ || va(m)k[ū] vā[hā]ra cākalaṃ yantā-mahāv[u](d)[dha] gṛha
[ś]ākyavaṃśa śrī-śubhaśrī ju nā[m]n(ā da)[tt](aṃ) śrīmac-chrī-śrī-vaṃk[ū] vihāra-[v]u(d)=
[dha-bhaṭṭā]raka-guthi-samūha-nāmnā [sakā](śāt) ///
- 2 tatr=aiva vaṃk[u] vāhāra cākalaṃ yantā-duṃdu-mahāvūddha yetā-gṛha sva-gotra-jyeṣṭha-
bhrātṛ śākyavaṃśa śrī-puṇyadhara ju bhrātṛ saha, mātā guṇavatī mātrāju vidyamāna
yānana nāmnah svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || hmodola-kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || na vihāre
śrī-hnuraka ///
- 3 yā kṣetrāt=paścimataḥ || [space of approx. 17 akṣaras left blank] sv-alpa-mārgga [va]
guthiyāva kṣetrāt=pūrvvataḥ || nogla bhontā śrī-ratnapāṇi juyā kṣetrād=dakṣiṇataḥ ||
eteṣām=madhye || tat-kṣetram=arddha-pād-ādhika-dvaya-ropanikaṃ roḥ-āṅka roya nasi 2
vā j[a]va ///
- 4 rṣa saṃparibho[gya]n=tad=yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānena yath-ocita-mūlyam=ādāya
kraya-vikraya-svādhinena ten=ānivṛttikaṃ nyāyena vikrayatvam=bhavati || yadi syād=da-
ivika-rājika vinā tat-kṣetra=
- 5 sya dhārṇakena pariśodhanīyaṃ || atra patr-ārthe sākṣī ubhaya-sva-gotra [remainder of line
left blank]

In upper margin, above line 1:

|| nkaṭa-vivāda-kāl(e)* -

Reverse:

- 1 śrī-ranaśari [dṛṣṭa]ḥ¹ || kraya sa=
- 2 rvva-sodhana pācu juro || śubhaṃ ||
- 3 pūrvvatalapatra, phukimjayā vāju
- 4 le na sa piṃ kāyā madu juro ||

Note

- 1) almost illegible.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 846, on the twelfth lunar day of the bright half of Phālgua.

[Donor] Given by him who is named the Ven. Śubhaśrīju, of Śākya family, in Mahāvuddha house, north, (in) the circle of Vaṃkū Bāhāl,

[P] in front of him who is named the Group of the *guthi* of the Thrice Venerable Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka of Vaṃkū Monastery,

[V] by him who is named¹ the Ven. Puṇyadharaju, of Śākya family, his elder brother², of the same *gotra*, of the south house of Mahāvuddha, inside the north³ circle of Vaṃkū Bāhāl, even there, together with his brother, (his) mother Guṇavati⁴ having been apprised,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region called Hmudola Field, west of the field⁵ of the Ven. Hnuraka, in Na Monastery, [blank]⁶, east of the small lane and of the field of the *guthi*, south of the field of the Ven. Ratnapāñiju, (of) Nogla *bhontā* (??) – in their midst, this field of two *ropanikas* and half a quarter, *ropanikas* in figures: *rova* two 2, half a *java* ///

[R] /// to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation⁷, is sold by this irreversible rule⁸, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, (at the customary rate⁹) as prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes¹⁰ concerning this field, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: the Ven. Ratnaśrī¹¹, who is of the same *gotra* with both (parties), (has seen it).

[Receipt] The purchase¹² has been paid, including everything.

[E] *śubham*

[Codicil] The former palm leaf has not come to be given out ... the father of the family ...¹³

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnā*.
- 2) i.e. the donor's. – In 846/2, he is called the elder brother's son, which is more likely.
- 3) or: within the north of the circle?
- 4) *mātrāju* not translated.
- 5) ablatives in text.
- 6) the southern boundary not entered.
- 7) (*sa-ka*)*rṣa*, as the present scribe usually has it.
- 8) *kraṇeṇa* omitted.
- 9) *saṃcār*^o omitted.
- 10) *°kāle* omitted from translation.
- 11) This is the form of the name given in N.S. 846/2.
- 12) *pna* omitted.
- 13) *le ṅa sa* not clear; omitted from translation. The second akṣara perhaps stands for *pha*: cf. *phu* (reverse, line 3), but the shape of *ṅa* in *yāṅana* (obverse, line 2) is identical with that of the letter under discussion.

Sale of a field of 2 *ropanikas*, with attendant donation. For procedural details, see 846/1, which records the same type of transaction between the same agents. – Note the deed was authorized in spite of the deficient description of the plot.

Size: 561 × 43 (27) mm. Slight damage to lower margin. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle surrounded by dots

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 846 phālguṇa śukla caturddaśyān=tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāy-āṃ śrī-māṇiglād=āgneyasthaḥ || vaṃku-vāhāra cākalaṃ yantā-gr̥ha mahāvuddha śāky-avaṃśa śrī-śubhaśrī ju nāmnā dattaṃ śrīmac-chrī-śrī-vuddha- bhaṭṭāraka-guthi-samūha-nāmnā sakāśāt, || tatr=aiya
- 2 vaṃku-vāhāra mahāvuddha yetā-gr̥ha jyeṣṭha-bhrātṛ-putra śākyavaṃśa śrī-puṇyadhara ju bhrātṛ-saha mātā guṇayatī mātrāju vidyamā[na] yāna nāmnāḥ svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || hmudola-kṣetra-nāma-pradeśe || [blank space up to end of line; approx. 25 akṣaras]
- 3 [space of 50–60 akṣaras left blank] eteṣāṃ=madhye || tat-kṣetra dvaya-ropanikaṃ roṇ-āṅka roṇa nasi 2 sa-karṣa saṃparibhogyan=tad=yathā-nagara-kāla-[prava]rttamānena tathā saṃ=
- 4 cār-ārghena yath-ocita-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhin[e]na ten=ānivr̥ttikaṃ nyāy-ena krayena vikrayatvam=bhavati || yadi syād=daivika-rājika vinā tat-kṣetrasya śaṅkaṭa-vivāda-kāle tadā dhārṇṇakena pariśodhaniyaṃ | atra patr-ārthe sākṣi ubhaya-sva-gotra śākyavaṃśa śrī-ratnaśrī
- 5 ju dr̥ṣṭaḥ ||| ḥ kraya pna sarvva-śodhana pacū juro || śubhaṃ ||
In upper margin, above line 1:

vaṃku-vāhāra x

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 846, on the fourteenth lunar day of the bright half of Phālguṇa.

[Donor] Given by him who is named the Ven. Śubhaśrīju, of Śākya family, of Mahāvuddha, the north house, in the circle of Vaṃku Bāhāl, situated south-east from śrī-Māṇigla, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[P] in front of him who is named the Group of the Thrice Venerable Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka's *guthi*, ¹-(of) Vaṃku Bāhāl⁻¹,

[V] by him who is named the Ven. Puṇyadharaju, of Śākya family, the elder brother's son², of the south house of Mahāvuddha, of Vaṃku Bāhāl, even there, together with his brother, (his) mother³ Guṇavatī having been apprised,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region called Hmudola Field [blank space left for description of plot] – in their midst, this field of two *ropanikas*, *ropanikas* in figures: *rova* two 2,

[R] to be completely enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁴, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the Ven. Ratnaśrīju, of Śākya family, of the same *gotra* with both parties.

[Receipt] The purchase price has been paid, including everything.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) from the upper margin.
- 2) presumably, of the vendor.
- 3) *mātrāju* omitted from translation: redundant.
- 4) °*kāle* not translated.

42. N.S. 849

Sale of a field of 3 *ropanikas*, purchased by a female, the owner's brother(s) acting as witness. Again, the reference to the right sold is missing. – When taking down the text, there was an error as to the southern neighbour. Rather than write a new copy, the scribe perfunctorily effaced the old text and inserted the correct name: which is interesting in view of Nārada's warning (see Introd., pp. 26, 29).

Size: 511 × 34 (14) mm. Imperfectly written: two omissions, rectified. – Upper margin badly damaged. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle surrounded by dots.
Impression slightly indented on left side.

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvata 849 āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa dvā=daśyā(ṃ) [tithau śrī- la](i)ta(vrū)-
māyāṃ śrī-mān(i)(g)lāt=[p]ū(rv)va[stha] cālācche cākṣaṃ yantā-dundu-gṛha la. .ṃ. śvarī-
mayīsa nāmnā sakāsāt, || yacch.lācche yautā-gṛha lālāvīrasimha-bhārosa nā(m)n(ā)
[sva]kr(i)[ya sva](bhu)[jya]mānikam || dati-kṣetra-(nāma) pradeśe, guthiyā kṣetreṇa paścima-
ta x x x (x) (pra)jāpatiyā kṣetreṇa
- 2 mārggeṇa uttarataḥ śrī-rājayā kṣetreṇa pūrvvata[ś]=ca || ¹-deju[cā]-kṣetreṇa dakṣiṇataḥ⁻¹
etan-maddhe tat-kṣetra traya-ropanikam rova sva 3 yathā-nagla-kāla-pravarttamānas=tathā
saṃcār-ārghena yath-ocit-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya []²tta bhavati yadi syā daivika-
rājikam vinā śamkṣa-vivāda-kāl[a] tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyam, atra
- 3 patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇṇakasya bhrāte amarasimha bhāro mīlahma bhāro dvayo dṛṣṭa || kṛi
pna sarvva-sodhana pācu ||, sv-ādhinen-[ā]varttakam nyāyena krayena vikraya || [space of
approx. 15 akṣaras left blank] śubham ||

In right margin

dakṣiṇataḥ

Notes

- 1) 1–1 effaced. The syllables *pūrvvataś=ca* superscribed upon effaced akṣaras: hence, the name of the possessor of the field is incomplete. Read /// *dejuyā?*
- 2) The missing passage is found in line 3.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 849, on the twelfth lunar day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha.

[P] In front of her who is named La . .m.śvarī Mayī, of the north inner house of the circle of Cālācche, situated east from śrī-Māniḡla, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[V] by him who is named Lālāvīrasimha Bhāro, of the west house in Yacch.lācche,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Dati Field, west of the *guthi*'s field, north of the field of . . ., the potter, (and) of the road, south¹ and east of the Ven. King's² field, [south of /// *deju*'s field]³ – in their midst, this field of three *ropanikas*, *rova* three 3,

[R] is sold through a purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes⁵, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by both of them, by the holder's brother⁴, Amarasimha Bhāro, (and) Mīlahma Bhāro.

[Receipt] The purchase price has been paid, including everything.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) *dakṣiṇataḥ*, from the right margin.
- 2) or is this the abbreviation of a proper name? One should expect a second *śrī*°.
- 3) this is the effaced text.
- 4) or: brothers; the plural or dual are not marked at times.
- 5) °*kāle* omitted from translation.

43. N.S. 861

Sale of half of a field of 6 *ropanikas*, the vendor being one of the witnesses of N.S. 849. The transaction is again witnessed by his brother. – The *guthis* owning the neighbouring plots are not defined: but see N.S. 866.

Some innovations in the text of the formula, repeating those of N.S. 821. Both deeds were apparently written by the same scribe.

Size: 421 × 36 (23) mm. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle, surrounded by a circle composed of dots

Document

- 1 [siddhaṃ] śreyo 'stu || samvata 861 māgha kṛṣṇa saptamyān=tithau śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ śrī-mānīglād=āgneyastha vaṃku-hiti[ph]jusa cāklaṃ yetā-dundu-gṛha śākyavaṃśa śrī-cikiti jusa nāmnā sakāsāt, || yethacche-vāhāra yetā-gṛha amātya-amarasimha-bhārosa nāmnena svakriyaṃ
- 2 svabhujyamānikaṃ || co[tv]aṃ kṣetra nāma pradeśe || tyāgla palusimha-bhāvoyā kṣetreṇa paścimataḥ guthiyā kṣetreṇ=ottarataḥ mārggeṇa pūrvvataḥ guthiyā kṣetreṇa dakṣiṇataḥ eteṣāṃ madhye tat-kṣetra ṣad-ropanikaṃ rova ṣu 6 thvatesa arddha-bhāgana rova 3 jukva juro || yathā-
- 3 nagla-kāla-pravarttamānas=tathā saṃcār-ārghena yath-ocit-mūlyam=ādāya krī-vikrī-sv-ādhīnatvaṃ kṛtvā daivika-rājikaṃ vinā yadi śaṃkaṭa-vāda-vivād-ādikaṃ syāt=tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇṇakasya bhrātā milu

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 861, on the seventh lunar day of the dark half of Māgha.

[P] In front of him who is named the Ven. Cikitiju, of Śākya family, of the inner house, south of the circle by the water spout¹ (*hiti*) of Vaṃku (Bāhāl), situated south-east from *śrī-Mānīgla*, in *śrī-Lalitavrumā*,

[V] by him who is named Amarasimha Bhāro, Amātya, of the south house in Yethacche Bāhāl,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region called Cotvaṃ Field, west of the field² of Palusimha Bhāvo, of Tyāgla, north of the *guthi*'s field, east of the road, south of the *guthi*'s field – in their midst, this field of six *ropanikas*, *rova* six 6, – being only half of it, *rova* 3 –

[R] having been bought³ (in) the state of being under one's own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after the price has been taken as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties, assertions and counter-assertions etc., except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: the holder's brother, Milu.

Notes

- 1) lit.: by the edge of the water spout.
- 2) instrumentals in text.
- 3) em. *krītvā*; the sentence is incomplete, lacking a finite predicate.

44. N.S. 864

Sale of three fifths of a field of three *ropanikas*, the purchaser being identical with him of N.S. 861. The vendor calls his father's elder brother to witness.

This looks like another deed from the hand of the scribe of N.S. 821, 861; the sales and liability formulas repeat his peculiarities. The former has undergone further abbreviation, the receipt formula being omitted from the Sanskrit text. This may be intentional: ever since the Newārī formula had been introduced, the °*mūlyam ādāya* passage could be taken as redundant. On the other hand, in N.S. 866, it is again included. – All these vacillations mean the authorities who sealed the deeds permitted themselves considerable latitude. –

Size: 511 × 39 (19) mm. Damages to upper margin. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle surrounded by a circle of dots

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvata 864 āṣāḍha kṛṣṇa tṛtīyāyān=tithau śrī-lalitavrumāyām śrī-māniglād=āgneyastha vaṃku-hiti[phu]lala yetā-dundu-gṛha śākyavaṃśa-śrī-cikiti jusa

- nāmnā sakāsāta || hatakhā cākuṭa nani yautā-gr̥ha śākyavaṃśa-śrī-candrasim̥ha jusa
 nāmn[e]na svakrīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ || jholav[o]khā
- 2 l[u]k[ā]cche kṣetra nāma pradeśe, [approx. 45 akṣaras left blank] eṣālaṃṣusa viśvakarm̥mā
 dhanasim̥ha bhārosa kṣetreṇa pūrvvataḥ yināyalaṃ [hñe]yā dhanadeva juyā kṣetreṇa
 dakṣiṇataś=ca || etat-madhye tat-kṣetra traya-
- 3 ropanikaṃ rova sva 3 thvatesa paṃca-bhāgasa traya-bhāga juro || yathā-nagla-kāla-pravartta-
 mānas=tathā saṃcār-ārghena kṛtvā daivika-rājikaṃ vinā śaṃkṛta-vāda-vivād-ādikaṃ
 syāt=tadā dhārṇakena parisodhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇakasya jeṣṭha-pitr=
- 4 vya śrī dina ju dṛṣṭa || thva vuyā krī pna sarvva-sodhāna pācakaṃ dhum̥gva juro
 || śubhaṃ ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 864, on the third lunar day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha.

[P] In front of him who is named the Ven. Cikitiju, of Śākya family, of the inner house, south of ...¹ the water spout of Vaṃku, situated south-east from śrī-Mānīgla, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by him who is named the Ven. Candrasim̥haju, of the west house in Cākuṭa² courtyard (*nani*) in Hatakhā,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Jholavokhālukācche Field, [blank space³], east of the field⁴ of Dhanasim̥ha Bhāro, the carpenter, of Eṣā crossroads⁵, and south of the field of Dhanadevaju, of Yināyalaṃhñe – in their midst, this field of three *ropanikas*, *rova* three 3, – being three parts out of five of this –

[R] having been bought⁶ at the customary rate, such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] (If) there should be difficulties, assertions and counter-assertions etc., except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen (by) the holder's father's elder brother, the Ven. Dinaju.

[Receipt] The purchase price of this field has been paid, including everything.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) *phulala* not clear. N.S. 866, dealing with what probably is the same locality, has the familiar *yitiphusa* 'by the edge of the water-spout'.
- 2) *Cākuṭa* not clear.
- 3) the eastern and the southern boundaries are omitted in the text.
- 4) instrumentals in text.
- 5) Nowadays, *Ikhālakhū*.
- 6) em. *kṛtvā*. The sentence lacks a finite verb.

45. N.S. 866

Sale of a field of three *ropanikas*, the purchaser being known from N.S. 861 and 864. Possibly, this is the remainder of the field of 6 *ropanikas*, half of which had been bought in 861. But the field goes by a different name. – The holder's brother serves as a witness. –

It is strange to see an unmistakably Hindu ring being given to the name of a Buddhist monastery: *Bhīṃcche Bāhāḥ*, in N.S. 628 called *viśu)nicche vāhāra*, here appears as *viṣṇucche*°.

This is another document written by the scribe known since N.S. 821, repeating most of his peculiarities, though more carefully executed than N.S. 864.

Size: 478 × 36 (24) mm. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle surrounded by a circle of dots

Document

Obverse:

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 866 vaiśākha śukla, pratipadyān=tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāy-āṃ śrī-māṅglād=āgneyasthaḥ vaṃku-vāhāra cākala yetā-yiti[phu]sa gṛha śākyavaṃśa-śrī-cikiti jusa nāmnā sakāsāt, yorag[o]trapanihma nani yautā-gṛha śivadeva-bhārosa nāmnāḥ svakīyaṃ
- 2 svabhujyamānikaṃ || ko[l]atvaka kṣatra-nāma-pradeśe, [pa]rusiṃha bhāvoyā kṣatreṇa paścimataḥ viṣṇucche-vāhārayā kṣatreṇ=ottarataḥ guthiyā kṣatreṇa pūrvvataḥ tavagaṇe-vāhārayā kṣatreṇa dakṣinataḥ etan-madhye tat-kṣatra traya-ropanikaṃ rova sva 3 tat-kṣatra yathā-
- 3 nagara-kāla-pravarttamānas=tathā saṃcār-ārghheṇa yath-ocit-mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhanatvaṃ kṛtvā daivika-rājikaṃ vinā yadi śaṅkaṭa-vāda-vivād-ādikaṃ syāt=tadā dhārṇṇakeṇa parisodhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇṇakasya bhrātṛ [p]āhāna bhāro dṛṣṭaḥ || śubhaṃ ||

Reverse:

- 1 [siddham] pūrvvapatra dhārṇṇakayā ṣu bhi o cchapu patina coṇasa
- 2 ma kāyā krī pana sarvva sodhāna pācakaṃ dhuṃgva juro || śubhaṃ ||

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 866, on the first lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. Cikitiju, of Śākya family, of the house by² the water spout, south of the circle of Vaṃku Bāhāl, situated south-east of śrī-Māñīgla, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by him who is named¹ Śivadeva Bhāro, of the west house in the courtyard (*nani*) of those belonging to the *Yora gotra*,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Kolatvaka Field, west of the field³ of Parusiṃha Bhāvo, north of the field of Viṣṇucche Bāhāl, east of the *guthi*'s field, south of the field of Tavagaṇe Bāhāl – in their midst, this field of three *ropanikas*, *rova* three 3,

[R] this field, having been sold⁴ in the state of being under one's own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties, assertions and counter-assertions etc., except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the holder's brother, Pāhāna Bhāro⁵.

[E] *śubham*

[Codicil] Hail. The former document was not taken, since it remains ...⁶ of the holder.

[Receipt] The purchase price has been paid, including everything.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) *nāmnah* and *nāmnā* interchanged.
- 2) lit.: at the edge of.
- 3) instrumentals in text.
- 4) em. *krītvā*; the sentence lacks a finite verb.
- 5) *sic!* this must be an error for *bhāvo*, as is shown by N.S. 861, where Palusiṃha again bears this designation.
- 6) The Newari text not clear.

46. N.S. 878

Sale of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *karṣa* of garden land. The purchaser's name has been effaced, nothing but faint traces being left. – The plot is situated in the immediate vicinity of that of N.S. 886, and perhaps forms part of the latter. – The present scribe, not identical with him of N.S. 821*sqq.*, uses the same modifications of the formula. –

Size: 532 × 35 (22) mm. Damages to lower margin. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in a circle surrounded by a circle of dots

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 878 kārṭtika śuklaḥ || pūrṇṇimāyān=tithau || śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ śrī-māṇiglat=pūrvvasthaḥ || vaṃkū-vāhāra yantā-livi yantā-gṛha śākyavam¹-śa-śrī- - - - jusa nā¹mnā sakāsāt, || nogla-bhonta-nani vantā-gṛha śākyavamśa śrī-ta[o]dhika jusa nāmaḥ svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānikaṃ ||
- 2 valātā vāṭikā-nāma-pradeśe || dhārṇṇakasya vāṭikāyāḥ paścimataḥ | caitra-vāhāra lācchi śrī indrapati jusa vāṭikāyā uttarataḥ | cākra-vāhāra la[kṣmī]pratāpasimha bhāroyā kāyayā vāṭikāyāḥ pūrvvataḥ | thayināyayā śrī-ratnamuni-vadejuyā vāṭikāyāḥ dakṣiṇataḥ || eteṣām=madhye tad-vā=
- 3 ṭikā s-ārddha-dvayo karṣ-āṅka karṣa nasi tyā 2¹/₂ tad-vāṭikā yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamānas=tathā saṃcār-ārghena yath-ocit=mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādhinatvaṃ kṛtvā yadi śaṃkṛta-vāda-vivād-ādikaṃ syāt=tadā dhārṇṇakena pariśodhaniyaṃ atra patr-ārthe sākṣī dhārṇṇakasya putra śākyavamśa-śrī-dhanavanta ju dṛṣṭaḥ ||

In right margin, written from bottom to top

- 1 sarvva-śodhāna
- 2 pāc[u] || śubham ||

Notes

- 1) 1-1 effaced.
- 2) Cf. *yināyalambhneyā* 864?

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 878, on full-moon day of the bright half of Kārṭtika.

[P] In front of him who is named¹ the Ven. [blank], of Śākya family, of the north house, of the north courtyard (*livi*), in Vaṃkū Bāhāl, situated east from śrī-Māṇigla, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā,

[V] by him who is named¹ the Ven. Taodhika, of Śākya family, of the east house, in the courtyard (*nani*) of the *bhonta*² at Nogla,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Valātā Garden, west of the holder's [= vendor's] garden, north of the garden of the Ven. Indrapati, (living in) the main road in Caitra Bāhāl, east of the garden of Lakṣmīpratāpasimha Bhāro's son, of Cākra Bāhāl, south of the Ven. Ratnamuni Vade's garden, of Thayināya – in their midst, this garden of two and a half *karṣas*, in figures: *karṣa* two one-half 2¹/₂,

[R] this garden, having been sold³ (in) the state of being under one's own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties, assertions and counter-assertions etc., then it has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by the holder's son, the Ven. Dhanavantaju, of Śākya family.

[Receipt] It has been paid, including everything.

[E] *śubham*

Notes

- 1) *nāmnah* and *nāmnā* inverted.
- 2) *bhonta*: a military officer? Cf. *nogla bhontā* from S. 846/1.
- 3) em. *krītvā*: as usual in this version of the sales formula, the finite verb is missing.

47. N.S. 886

Sale of a garden, measuring five *karṣas*. The plot apparently includes that of N.S. 878; if so, it must have been acquired by the present vendor some time between the dates of the two deeds. The codicil again demonstrates the importance of the antecedent. Size: 303 × 35 (24) mm. Sealed by round seal, 7 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: śrī

inscribed in two concentric circles, separated by a circle composed of dots

Document

Obverse

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvat, 886 caitra śukla, aṣṭamyān=tithau, śrī-lalitavrūmmāyā śrī-māṅglāt=pūrvvasthan dathalācche yetā-dundu-grha vīranarasimha-bhārosa nāmnah sakāsāt, || vāhāra lukhā laṃ yetā-grha [pā]travamśa-rā[ū]rtta-rāje=
- 2 ndra-vāvūsa nāmnah svakriyam svabhujyamānikam || valātā vāṭikā nāma-pradeśe || mārg-geṇa paścimataḥ indrapati jusa vāṭikā uttarataḥ cāka-vāhārayā pani¹ vāṭikā pūrvvataḥ ratnam[ū]ṇi jusa vāṭikā da[kṣ]iṇataś=caḥ³ || etan-ma=
- 3 dhye tad-vāṭikā pañca-karṣ-āṅka karṣa nā 5 etad-vāṭikā yathā-nagara-kāla-pravarttamā-nas=tathā saṃcāl-ārghēṇa yath-ocit-mūlyam=ādāya kreyā-vikreyā-svādhīnā ten=ānivṛ-ttakam nyāyāṇa kriyā vikriyatam bhavati || yadi syā daivika-
- 4 rājika vinā tad-vāṭikāyā śaṅkaṭa-vi [r]ājika vinā tad.vāṭikāyā śaṅkaṭa-vivād-ādikam syāt=tadā dhārṇṇakena parisodhanīyam atra patr-ārthe sākṣi dhārṇṇakasya bhrātā bhāgisimha-vāv[ū] dṛṣṭaḥ || kre pna sarvva-śodhāna pāc[ū] juro ḥ³ pūrvva

Reverse

- 1 patra dhārṇṇakayā ma-vyākasa pi=
2 na kāyā juro || śubham=astu ḥ³ ||

Notes

- 1) people from Cākra Vihāra? Cf. N.S. 878, which gives a name.
- 2) these akṣaras are repeated.
- 3) the visarga is used as a punctuation mark.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 886, on the eighth lunar day of the bright half of Caitra.

[P] In front of him who is named Vīranarasimha Bhāro, of the inner house to the south of Dathalācche, situated east from śrī-Māṅḡla, in śrī-Lalitavrūmmā,

[V] by him who is named¹ Rājendra Bābū, Rāutta, of Pātra family, of the south house by the road at the entrance to the Bāhāḥ²,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region named Valātā Garden, west of the road, north of Indrapatiju's garden, east of the garden of the people from Cāka Bāhāḥ, and south of Ratnamūṅḡju's garden – in their midst, this garden of five *karṣas*, in figures: *karṣa* five 5,

[R] this garden is sold through this purchase by irreversible rule, by (a party) under its own jurisdiction as to purchases and sales, after having taken the price as agreed, at the customary rate such as is prevalent in (the present) town and at (the present) time.

[Liability] If there should be difficulties, counter-assertions etc. concerning this garden, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then it should be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in the matter of this document: it has been seen by Bhāgisimha Bābū, the holder's brother.

[Receipt] The purchase price has been paid, including everything.

[Codicil] The former document, though it was not entirely the holder's, has been taken out.³

[E] Let it be propitious!

Notes

- 1) em. *nāmnā*.
- 2) The name of the Bāhāl ist not given.
- 3) i.e. although the former document did not prove the holder held the entire plot? The probable antecedent, N.S. 878, refers to two and a half *karṣas* only. – The precise meaning of *pina kāyā* is not clear: perhaps in this context it means 'accepted'?

Mortgages

Texts and Translations

Fragment of a mortgage of a field of three *ropanikas*, 200 *paṇa purāṇa* being borrowed. Since the subsistence tax goes to a monastery, it will be the right of cultivation which is mortgaged. The mortgagor is a Śākyaabhiḥṣu from the Parinirvāṇa Grand Monastery, the mortgagee a *madhyaka*:- cf. pkt. *majjhaa*- 'barber'?¹

Size: 214 × 40 mm. Vertically broken into five parts; some damage to upper margin. No traces of a seal. – Ed. HŚ No. 1.

Text

- 1 [siddham]² samvat, 100 3 mārggaśira śukla di[vā] x x [·]yām, śrī-parirvvā[ṇṇa]-mahā-vi[rh]āya³-śāka-bhikṣ(u)///
- 2 śrī-nogvala-nivāsino madhyaka-ma[dh]uśi[nh]asya sakāśāt, yaluvī-grām-otara⁴-paścimāy-āṃ diśi [s]vā[d]i///
- 3 vastu-bhūme paścimattaḥ tata-vihāra-vas্তু-bhūm-auttarataḥ pūrṇṇacandras(ya) bhūme pūrvvataḥ mūla-piṇḍa śrī-pari[ṇṇ]i[r]vāna (v)i///
- 4 vadina⁵ ostu-pradese tri-ropanikā kṣetram, etat[,] vastu vandhaka[tv]en=odiśya pa[ṇ]āṇā[m]m=purāṇa śata-dvaya a ṣu [rbhu]///
- 5 kadācid=daiva-rājako-o[pa]tau⁶ | dhāraṇakeṇa svayam=piriśy[o]dhyam=ity=attra sākṣiṇa | vaidya tapanākara varmma ///
- 6 ra varmma||

Notes

- 1) Sheth: Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo s. v., quoting from Deśināmamālā, ed. Pischel, p. 258. –
- 2) unusual shape: curved stroke added to upper right. –
- 3) em. *vihār-ārya*^o. –
- 4) pal.: *mo* rather than *mau*, for which see line 3. –
- 5) em. ^o(a)vadhina[?] –
- 6) em. -otpattau.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 103, on the day of the bright half of Mārggaśiras.

[Mortgagor] (By) the Noble Śākya monk, of śrī-Parinirvāṇa Grand Monastery

[Mortgagee] in front of Madhusinha the barber (?), living in śrī-Nogvala,

[O] in the north-west region of Yaluvī village¹ west of the land which is the property of . . . , north of the land which is the property of this² monastery, east of Pūrṇṇacandra's land –

[T] – its basic subsistence tax (to be given to) śrī-Parinirvāṇa Monastery . . . –

[R] for a period of . . . in the region of (this) property, a field of three *ropanikas*. Having declared this property in a state of pledge, two hundred *paṇa purāṇa*³

[Liability] ... at any time, when arising through Fate or through the Royal Court, it has to be cleared up by the holder himself. Thus.

[W] Witnesses in this (matter): Tapanākaravarmma the Vaidya, (and) ///ravarmma.

Notes

- 1) [s]vā[d]i/// left untranslated. –
- 2) em. *tad-vihāra*°. –
- 3) a ṣu [rbhu]/// left untranslated.

49. N. S. 121

A loan of 150 *paṇa purāṇa*, the borrower, a Śākyaabhikṣu, pledging his right in the subsistence tax of a particular field for a period of seven years, in lieu of interest. The right of cultivation of this field rested with two individuals, brothers presumably, who were not consulted in the matter.

If we have understood the last sentence correctly, the debtor obtained the loan at a concessionary rate: the owner is content with one and a half times the sum of his property, while according to the normal rate of interest, 15 %, his capital would be more than doubled within the period contracted; according to the *dvaiguṇya* rule, the upper limit is attained after 6 years and 8 months. This may account for the duration of the mortgage.

Size: 380 × 35 (28) mm. Broken in two places. Seal lost. Ed. HŚ No. 2.

Text

- 1 ¹ samvat 100 20 1 śrāvana kṛṣṇa divā ṣaṣṭyām | śrī-jayā[**bh**]imāna-mahāvihāra=m=adhivāsinā sākyabhikṣu-devendra[ru]cinā svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakaṃ | śrī-tegvala-ka=m=adhi=
- 2 vāsiṇaḥ śrī-jñānajai pākasya sakāśāt | tat-sthāna-pūrvv-ottarasyān=diśi | [t]avaṅka-pradeśe | vṛhat-mārggasy=ottarataḥ | śrī-vi[jva - g]uṣṭa vihāra-vastu-bhūmeḥ pūrvataḥ | tad-va=
- 3 stu-bhūmeḥ paścimataḥ | etat-madhye pañca-ropanikam kṣetram | divākarajīva-mahijivābh-yām kṛṣyamānam | tasya mūla-piṇḍa deya dhā mā 3 | etad vastu traya-māṅika-mātra[m] sa=
- 4 pta-varṣ-āvadhi vandhakam=uddiśya paṇa purāṇa pañcās-ādhika-śatam=ekam || samuddhṛt-ānkataḥ | paṇa pū 100 50 piṇḍa-bhoga vṛddhyā | daivika-rājika-saṅkaṭ-otpatt[au]² dhāraṇakena svayaṃ
- 5 sodhyam=ity=atra s[ā]kṣiṇaḥ tatr=aiva sthān[e] nāyaka citrabhoga pākās=c=eti || o || ś-ārdhha-vastu ni[ya]mībhūtaṃ || o ||

Notes

- 1) space of one akṣara left blank; the customary symbol [siddham] very faint. –
- 2) o of unusual shape; cf. °*tollake* in N.S. 159/1, line 4.

Translation

[D] The year 121, on the sixth day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa.

[Debtor] By the Sākya monk Devendra[rū]ci, resident of the śrī-Jayābhīmāna Grand Monastery,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[Creditor] in front of the Ven. Jñānājai Pāka, resident of śrī-Tegvalaka,

[O cont'd] in the northeastern direction of this district, in the Navāṅka region, north of the Great Road, east of the land which is the property of śrī-Vi[jva –]gupta Monastery, west of the land which is the property of the same – in their midst, the field of five *ropanikas* which is being cultivated by Divākarajīva and Mahijīva;

[R, T] 3 *mā(nikas)* of grain are to be given as its basic subsistence tax. Having declared this property, (which amounts) to three *mānikas* merely, pledged for a period of seven years, one hundred and fifty *paṇa purāṇa* have been delivered, in figures, *paṇa pu* 150. The enjoyment of the subsistence tax (serves as) interest.

[Liability] In case of difficulties pertaining to the Gods or the Royal Court, this is to be settled by the debtor himself. Thus.

[W] And witnesses in this (matter): the Nāyaka Citrabhoga Pāka in this very district.

[E] *iti*

[Codicil] One and a half of the property (i. e., the sum borrowed) has been agreed upon (i. e. as the limit of capital and interest¹).

50. N. S. 159/2

Fragment of a mortgage. 550 *paṇa purāṇa* are being borrowed for a period of nine years, a field of three *ropanikas* serving as surety. – Its basic subsistence tax goes to an unspecified Buddha, who is mentioned without the customary honorifics.

Size: 404 × 36 (29)mm. Sealed; size of seal: 23 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [a legible photograph of the seal was not available.]

Document

- [siddham] samvat 100 50 9 vaiśā[kha]¹ śuk[1]a pañcamyāṃ, [.lamidbhūmyā]m² div(āsi)no amatākaravarmana sakāsāta, tatr=ai[va] (dhi)vāsin[o] jai pākana svak[ī]yaṃ svabhujyamāna(kam) [yuṣe]d[e]m=pradese mārgga-tilmaka[sya]///
- [ṇya]m̐mi[he] pākasya bhūme dakṣi[na]taḥ etat-ma[dhya] tri-ropanikaṃ kṣetra rova 3 tasya mūla-piṇḍa vuddha-bhaṭārakasya vastu pañca-mānikā dhā mā 5 tata kṣetra ka[ka]³-bhoga-mātra nava-varṣ-āvadhinā [sa]///

- 3 paṇānām=purāṇa pañcās-ottara-pañca-śata gṛhīt⁴-āṅkat[a] paṇa pu 100 5 50⁵ yadi syā daivika-rājika-vyāghātena dhāraṇakena svayam=parisv[o]dhyam=ity=atra śā[kṣī]⁴ kamalākaravarma [ś=ca]ti ||
- 4 [secunda manu] [pa]ṇa pu 200 [patti] hanā

Notes

- 1) pal.: *kha.* –
- 2) pal.: *.ū.* –
- 3) em. *ka(rṣa)[ka]*^p –
- 4) pal.: *.i.* –
- 5) Note the sequence of figures: for this style, cf. Ś. Rājvaṃśī (Kailash 2, p. 109, pl. 90:400; p. 113, pl. 97: 516, 517 etc.); Dh. Vajrācārya (Pūrṇimā 20, p. 280).

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 159, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha. [Mortgagee] In front of Amatākaravarman, resident in [.lamidbhūmi]. [Mortgagor] By Jai Pāka, resident in this very place,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region of [Yuṣedem], (east of?) the road and the watercourse ... south of the land of ///ṇyaṃmihe Pāka: in their midst, a field of three ropanikas, rova 3,

[T] – its basic subsistence tax (being) the property of the Venerable Buddha, viz., five mānikās, mā(nikās of) grain 5 –

[R] This field, the usufruct of its cultivation merely, for a period of nine years ... five hundred and fifty *paṇa purāṇa* have been taken; in figures: 550 *paṇa pu*.

[L] If there is (a hindrance) through an obstacle pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court, it is to be cleared up by the holder himself.

[W] And witness in this is Kamalākaravarman.

[E] *iti*

[Codicil] 200 *paṇa purāṇa* ? have been returned?¹

Note

- 1) *patti hanā*, conjectural. *pati(m)* = skt. *prati* (Jørgensen, Dict., s. v.); its use could stem from verbs like skt. *praty-ā-dā*. This would point to *haye* rather than to *hane*.

51. N. S. 189

Mortgage of an annual income from a field enjoyed by a nun. The similarity between her name and that of the monastery is peculiar.

The field is not described in the text of the document, nor does the text mention the quantity of grain that constitutes the right which is mortgaged. This probably means the present contract is

a prolongation of an earlier one. In this context, its duration, 11 years, is of interest: in all probability, the mortgagee assumes the mortgagor's rights for the entire period they had been granted. See Introd., pp. 53, 62.

Is the *guthi*'s share mentioned as a standard for comparison? or does she enjoy the income to pay for her duties as a member of the *guthi*? Note a nun is here seen to mortgage part of her husband's property. The document does not mention his decease.

As to Rudravarman and his role, see the introductory note to N. S. 185. If the suggestion there made is true, the present document must have come to Uku Bāhāḥ while it still was of some value, i. e. between N. S. 189 and 200. It may have been between these years, then, that the Bāhāḥ assumed its Sanskrit name. –

Size: 420 × 29 (22) mm. Right side broken. *e|a, o|ā* hard to distinguish. Inflectional endings at times faulty. – Sealed; seal lost. – Ed. HŚ No. 4.

Text

- 1 [siddham] samvata 100 80 9 caitra kṛṣṇa divā saptamyām śrī-nogvalak-[ā]dhivāsinā kulaput-
ra-rudravarmasya śakāśāt | śrī-du[!]¹vamḥmaṃ tejamatī-mahā(vihā)vihār-ārya-bhikṣuṇi-
tejākaramatyā svakīyaṃ svabhu[jyamā]nakam |
- 2 pūrvva [na]nā[du!] grāma dvādasi-goṣṭhim=ucit-ānucita [s]a[m]a-taṇḍu-bhāga s-ārddha-
paty-ansa-m[ā]tram=ekāda[sa]-varṣ-āvinā vandhakatven=odisya paṇānām=[pu][r]āṇa
pa[nca]s-ādhika-sata-dvay-ānkato pa(ṇa pu 200) 50 ya=
- 3 di syād=d[ai]vika-rājika-vyā[ghā]te sati dhāraṇakena svayaṃ parisodhyam=ity=atra śākṣī
[y]ucch[o] pākasya param=pramānam=iti || o ||

Notes

- 1) palaeogr. –
- 2) the akṣara strongly resembles a '50'.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 189, on the seventh day of the dark half of Caitra.

[Mortgagee] In front of Rudravarman, son of a Noble Family, resident of śrī-Nogvalka,

[Mortgagor] by the Noble nun Tejākaramati, of the śrī-Dulvamḥmaṃ¹ Tejamatī Grand Monastery,

[O] her own property, which is enjoyed by herself, (in) Dulgrāma,² which is in the east (?),³ the same share of rice in pleasant and unpleasant circumstances, which is that of the *guthi* of the Twelfth Day, together with half her husband's share only,

[R] after (this) has been declared in a state of pledge for a period of eleven years, two hundred and fifty *paṇa purāṇa*, in figures: 250 *paṇa pu*, (have been taken).

[Liability] If there be an obstacle pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court, it has to be cleared up by the holder himself.

[W] Witness in this is Yuccho Pāka's highest authority.

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) Could this mean: which is in Du? –
- 2) em. °*grāme*. –
- 3) *pūrvva nanā*; perhaps there was another village of the same name. Or does it mean 'afore-mentioned', and contain a reference to the earlier document?

52. N. S. 189

Mortgage of the right to cultivate a field of one *ropanika*- and a half, for the duration of five years. – One *Nārāyaṇa Svāmi* appears as a witness.

Size: 424 × 44 mm. Some akṣaras faded. – Sealed. Oblong seal, measuring 14 × 27 mm, showing the mortgagor's name in an abbreviated form. – Ed. HŚ, No. 5.

Text

Seal: *da[r]śam pāka ||¹*

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvat, 100 80 9 vaiśākha śuk[1]a divā pañcamyām, | śrī-tegvalk-ādhivāsino vuddārāṇe pākasya sakāśāt, | śrī nogvalke 'dhivāsino da[r]ś[ś]anadeva pākena svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam | kasavati uttara-pradeśe | dinakara śiṃhasya bhūme pa=
2 ścimataḥ | vai[sya]-tejavarmasya [bhū]me utta[ra]taḥ | [y]ul[v]i vinai pākīya-bhūme pūrvataḥ | vaisya-kām[o]jana bhārokiya-bhūmer=ddakṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye s-ārddh-aika-ropanikam kṣetram rova 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹ tasya mūla-piṇḍa śrī-paranirvāṇa mahā-vihāra-ācā=
3 rjja-bhikṣu vrahma[[pu]]com deya da[śa]-prasthā [pra 10]² tri-mānikā dhā mā 3 tat=karṣaka-lābha-mātram paṃ³-varṣ-āvadhinā vandhakaten=oddisya paṇānām purāṇa satam=ek-ottara-sahasram=ek=āṃkato paṇa pu 1000 100 yadi syād=daivika-rājika-[ghā]te sa=
4 ti te[n=ai]va dhāraṇakena svam so[dha]vyam=i[ty]=atra śākṣi nārāyaṇa-svāmi param pramānam=iti || ||

Notes

- 1) palaeogr. – (Seal 1) Cf. name in TEXT.
- 2) much faded, hardly legible. –
- 3) kākapada; ca below line.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 189, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha

[Mortgagee] In front of Vuddārāṇa Pāka, resident of śrī-Tegvalka,

[Mortgagor] by Darśśanadeva Pāka, resident of śrī-Nogvalka,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the northern region of Kasavati, west of the land of Dinakarasiṃha, north of the land of Tejavarma, the Vaiśya, east of the land of the family of¹ Yulvīvinai Pāka, south of the land of the family of² Kāmojana Bhāro, the Vaiśya – in their midst, the field of one and a half *ropanīka*, *rova* 1½,

[T] its basic subsistence tax to be given to the Ācārya monk Vrahmapuṣṭ, of śrī-Par(i)nirvāṇa Grand Monastery, (viz.), ten *prastha*, *pra* 10, (and) three *mānikās* (of grain), grain *mā* 3,

[R] After the gains of its cultivation only have been declared in a state of pledge for a period of five years, eleven hundred *paṇa purāṇa*, in figures, 1100 *paṇa pu*, (have been taken).

[Liability] If there be an obstacle³ pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court, it is to be cleared by this very holder himself.⁴ Thus.

[W] Witness in this (matter:) Nārāyaṇa Svāmi is highest authority.

[E]

iti

Notes

- 1) °*pākīya*. –
- 2) °*bhārokīya*. –
- 3) em. *vyāghāte*. –
- 4) em. *svayaṃ*.

53. N. S. 193

Mortgage of the basic subsistence tax in two *ropanīkas* of arable land, the southern part of a field of four *ropanīkas*. This is pledged for three years; the sum borrowed amounts to 300 *paṇa purāṇa*.

Two titles are not clear. For *cchūmūrṭti*, cf. N.S. 273/2 *uttaracchu ṭolaka-*, which is part of śrī-Nogala: perhaps the *cchū* was some administrative unit, rather small in size, and the *cchūmūrṭti-* its head. – *āmañca-* seems to be without a parallel. –

Size: 458 × 42 (32) mm. Slight damages to upper margin. Sealed by a roundish seal, 21 mm in diameter.

Text

- Seal: 1 [floral device over horizontal line]
2 śrī-rāghavagu=
3 ptaḥ

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvat 100 90 3 kārttika śukla ekādaśyāṃ | śrī-lalitavrumāyāṃ | śrī-[sā]tigvala-sthānā¹-nivāsina pradhāna-puruṣa-cchū-mūrtti-śrī-rāghavagupta-bhallokena svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakaṃ | tasy=aiva
- 2 śrī-tegvala-ṭollakā¹ -nivāsina āmañca-bhauryākara² varmmasya śakāsāt | khunā-pradesa-nāma-sajñakaṃ | teṃlaṃ uttataḥ hniṣaṃhñilu-kṣetrasya paścimataḥ | etat-madhye catu-ropanikaṃ kṣetraṃ
- 3 tat-madhye cchitvā dvi-ropanikaṃ kṣetraṃ dakṣiṇa-bhāga rova 2 tasya mūla-piṇḍakaṃ varṣām=prati deya dhā mā viṃ[s]i tri-mānikā 3 tat piṇḍaka tri-varṣ-āvadhinā vandhakat-ven=oddisya paṇānāṃ purā=
- 4 na tri-śat=āṅkata paṇa pu 300 yadi syā daivi-rāji-vyāghāte sati dhāraṇakena svayaṃ parisodhyaṃ | atr=ārthe sākṣi kula-putra hemākaragupta-bhallokasya paraṃ pramānam=iti
|| ||

Notes

- 1) em. *sthān-ā(dh)ṛ*, *ṭollak-ā(dh)ṛ*? –
- 2) the name could be read *bhauryakira*. –

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 193, on the eleventh day of the bright half of Kārttika.

[Mortgagor] By the Ven. Rāghavagupta Bhalloka, headman, *cchūmūrtti*, living in *śrī-Sātigvala* district in *śrī-Lalitavrumā*,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[Mortgagee] in the presence of Āmañca¹ Bhauryākara-varma, living in *śrī-Tegvala* ward,

[O cont'd] in the region named *Khunā*,² north of *Teṃla*, west of *Hniṣaṃhñilu* Field, – in their midst, a field of four *ropanikas*, divided in its middle, a field of two *ropanikas*, (its) southern part, (measuring) *rova 2* –

[T] its chief subsistence tax,³ which has to be given every year,⁴ (is): *mānikās* of grain, at one twentieth: three *mānikās*, 3 –

[R] this subsistence tax, having been declared in a state of pledge for a period of three years, (is being transferred) for three hundred *paṇa purāṇa*, in figures: *paṇa pu 300*.

[Liability] If there should be an obstacle pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court,⁵ it is to be cleared up by the holder himself.

[W] Witness in this matter is the highest authority of *Hemākaragupta Bhalloka*, son of a Noble Family.

[E]

iti

Notes

- 1) Perhaps this title is connected with *āmātya-*, the Dvirūpakoṣa variant of *amātya-*, which the Śabdakalpdruma glosses by 'mantrī, balādhyakṣah'. For the nasalization, see Tagare: Hist. Gr. Apabhr., § 34. –
- 2) lit.: known by the name Khunā Region. –
- 3) *mūla-piṇḍaka-*, for what otherwise is *mūla-piṇḍa-*. Note the concept is resumed by the word *piṇḍaka-*.
- 4) Thus rather than 'per monsoon'? –
- 5) the usual anacoluthon; em. *syā(d)=daivi(ka)-rāji(ka)*.

54. N. S. 1[9]3

Mortgage of part of a garden, adjoining the mortgagor's house, for a period of seven years. – Two changes in terminology: the introduction of *śrī-lalitavrumāyām*¹ and the replacement of °*adhivāsin-*|°*nivāsin-* by °*vāstavya-*.²

Size: [A scaled photograph was not available.]

Text

Seal: pajjata hāvo[m]

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvat 100 [90]³ 3 vaiśākha śukla pañcamyām | śrī-lalitavrumāyām | śrī-vaṅku ṭolake vāstavya-pajjata-bhāvokena⁴ svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam | tatr=aiva ṭolake vāstavya-ra[jj]aka⁵ subhākarasya sakāśāt | tatr=ai[va]
- 2 pradese | [sy]ādūkhoma[h]nikā | mārgasya paścimataḥ | ha[llu]-hāvokīya-bhūmer=uttarataḥ | dhāraṇaka-gṛhasya pūrvataḥ | tasy=aiva vā[ṭ]ikāyā dakṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye arddhava-karṣa vā[ṭ]ikā tasyā rova vu karṣa $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶
- 3 tad-vā[ṭ]ikā paribhog-ārtha sapta-varṣ-āvadhinā van[dh]akatven=oddiśya gṛhītam=pañānām=purāṇam aṣīty-ādhika-śatam=ekam=aṅkato pi paṇa pu 100 80 yadi syād=daivika-rājika-vyā[gh]āt-otpattis=tena dhāra=
- 4 ṇakena svaya(m) sodhy=ety=atra sākṣī tatr=aiva ṭolake kulaputra-śrī-harṣākaraguptah param=pramāṇa iti || o ||

Notes

- 1) In other types of texts, °*vrumā* is attested prior to that date: see the colophon dated N. S. 159 [Petech, Med. Hist., p. 39]. –
- 2) This style again occurs in colophons, prior to 193: see, e.g., Petech, Med. Hist., p. 41 (from N. S. 167). –

- 3) akṣara very faint and its interpretation far from certain on palaeographical grounds. N.S.189, however, still lacks the expanded place name, while the other document from N.S. 193 has it. –
- 4) Note the alternation between *bhāvoka-* (text) and *hāvo* (seal and line 2). –
- 5) *rañjaka* ?
- 6) pal.: $\frac{1}{2}$.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 1[9]3, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

[Mortgagor] By Pajjata Bhāvoka, living in śrī-Vaṅku Ward, in śrī-Lalitavrumā,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself,

[Mortgagee] in front of Rajjaka Subhākara, living in this very same ward;

[O cont'd] in this very same region, [Sya]dūkhoma[hṅ]ikā, west of the road, north of the land of the family of Hallu Hāvo,¹ east of the house of the holder (i. e. mortgagor), south of the garden of the same – in their midst, a garden of half a land *karṣa*,² its (area) $\frac{1}{2}$ a *rova* land *karṣa*,

[R] This garden having been declared in a state of pledge for a period of seven years, for the sake of its usufruct, one hundred and eighty *paṇa purāṇa* have been taken; in figures: 180 *paṇa pu*.

[Liability] If there should arise an obstacle pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court, it has to be settled by the holder. Thus.

[W] Witness in this (matter): The Ven. Harṣākaragupta,³ son of a Noble Family, is chief authority.

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) *hāvokīya*. –
- 2) *vu-karṣa-* (land- or field-*karṣa*): a land measure; cf. Appendix I. It amounts to half a *ropanika*; the plot mortgaged, then, measures a quarter *ropanika*. Usually, *vu* is not prefixed to such measures; cf., however, the term *bhū-māṣaka-* (Sircar, Ind.Ep.Gloss.), four of which make up one *bhū*. –
- 3) This name occurs in the designation of a Vihāra in N.S.213, possibly because he was its benefactor.

55. N. S. 194

Mortgage of a garden, measuring two and a half *karṣa*, the loan being given by an inhabitant of a monastery. The sum borrowed is very high, amounting to 1600 *paṇa purāṇa* per *ropanika*. – One of the adjoining plots seems to be owned by a female, Gajā – unless this is an abbreviated name. –

As to the name of the monastery, one Harṣākara Gupta served as a witness in N. S. 1[9]3. If he is the same person, it seems likely he and his wife endowed the monastery either during his lifetime or shortly after his death. The style *śivadeva-saṃskārita*^o was adopted by monasteries during Śivadeva's reign: see N. S. 239. – For the witness Rudravarma, cf. N. S. 185, 189. Size: 394 × 50 (43) mm. Some akṣaras faded. Sealed by a round seal, 26 mm in diameter. Ed. HŚ No. 7.

Text

- Seal:* 1 [ornamental device]
2 **vāsudevaḥ**

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvat, 100 90 4 vaiśākha śukla divā pañcamyāṃ | śrī-u¹dayalakṣmī-harṣākaragupta²-mahā-vihāre bhikṣu-ratnamatyāṃ śakāsāt | śrī-[s]ā[t]igvala-[to]lake vāstavyakula-
- 2 putra-vāsudevena svakīyaṃ³ | s[u]bhujya)māṇakam | [ṣyapim] pradese | [o]mṛāṇasya vāḍikayā paścimataḥ | candra pākasya vāḍikayā dakṣiṇataḥ | ga[jā]yā vāḍikasya pūrvvataḥ
- 3 munāṃtalayā vā[ḍ]ikasy=ottarataḥ | etan-madhye s-ārddha-dvaya-karsa vāḍi 2¹/₂⁴ tan-vāḍikasya traya-varṣ-āvadhinā van[dh]akaten=odisya panāṇāṃ⁵ purāṇa sahasram=ekato pi⁶ pa
- 4 na pu 1000 vṛddhir=a[sya] vāḍika-paribhogyam yadi syāta devika-rājik-otpattau dhāraṇakena svayaṃ sodhyam=it⁷=atra sākṣi śrī-nogvalake pradhāna-p[u]ruṣa rudā⁸ karava
- 5 rmmasya pramāṇam=iti || o ||

Notes

- 1) pal.: u. –
2) cf. N. S. 213. –
3) or: *svakī[yāṃ]*. –
4) pal.: $\frac{1}{2}$. –
5) sic! –
6) probably an error for [a](m)kato or ek(=āṅk)ato pi. –
7) em. *ity=atra*. –
8) em. *rudrākara*^o.

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 194, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

[Mortgagee] In front of Ratnamati,¹ monk in the Grand Monastery (called) śrī-Udayalakṣmi-Harṣākaragupta,

[Mortgagor] by Vāsudeva, son of a Noble Family, resident in śrī-[Sā]tīgvala Tolaka,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the region of [Ṣyapiṃ], west of the garden of Omrāṇa, south of the garden of Candra Pāka, east of the garden of Gajā, north of the garden of Munamṭala – in their midst, a garden of two and a half karṣa, $2\frac{1}{2}$,

[R] having declared this garden² in a state of pledge for a period of three years, one thousand *paṇa purāṇa*, in figures: *paṇa pu* 1000 only,³ (have been taken). Interest is the usufruct of his garden.

[Liability] If there should arise (difficulties) pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court,⁴ (they) have to be cleared up by the holder himself. Thus.

[W] Witness in this (matter) is the authority of Rud(r)ākaravarman, headman, in śrī-Nogvalaka.

[E]

iti

Notes

- 1) em. *ratnamatyāḥ*. –
- 2) em. *vāḍikāṃ*. –
- 3) transl. according to note 6 of Text. – *pi* = ‘only’? –
- 4) the customary anacoluthon, much distorted.

56. N. S. 251

Mortgage of part of a field, measuring 4 *ropanikas*. The monks of Uku Bāhāḥ, the mortgagees, do not themselves assume its cultivation, but leave it with its owner, laying down a fixed rate of interest payable in grain. The duration of the mortgage seems to be left to the debtor’s discretion. – Among the neighbours, there is a woman, perhaps acting as guardian for her son.

Size: 652 × 52 (45)mm. Seal lost: punctures in the left part of the palm-leaf indicate the document had been sealed. Part formerly underneath the seal unrolled, revealing an abstract of the transaction. – Ed. HŚ No. 16.

Text

a) abstract underneath seal

- 1 [siddham]¹ samvat, 200 50 1 dudvaravāhni vū rova 4 suvarṇṇa kheri pla 3 karṣa 2 maṃsa
6
- 2 dhānya māni 17 sākṣi paribhāṣā s=aiv=eti

b) open text

- 1 [siddham]¹ samvat, 200 50 1 vaiśākha śukla pañcamyām śrīmal-lalitapure śrī-vaṅku-ṭolake
śrī-rudravarma-mahā-vihārāsa²-sa[n]gha-bhaṭṭarakānām sakāśāt, | śrī-nogala ṭolake livi-
kuṭumva-ja-
- 2 pradhāna-puruṣa-śrī-bh[ṛ]guvarman[ā] svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakan, | dudvaravāhni-
pradeśe | ṛṇikīya-kṣetrāt=paścimataḥ | śākya-bhikṣu-ratnabhadrasya bhūmer=uttarataḥ |
vaiśya-śrī-śaśivarma-mātu=
- 3 r=bhūmeḥ pūrvato dakṣiṇataś=ca | eta[n]=madhye catu-ropanika-kṣetram=aṅkato pi rova
4 tat=kṣetraṃm=ṛṇi-[sv-ecch-ā]vadhitven=oddiśya g[ṛ]hīta suvarṇṇa-kheri pla 3 karṣa 2
maṃsa 6 varṣam=prati deya dhānya mā
- 4 ni 17 yadā saṅkaṭ-otpattir=asti tadā dāraṇaken³=aiva śodhaniyan, | atr=ārthe sākṣi
śrī-harṣavarmā pramāṇam=iti || o || o ||

Notes

- 1) written left of the margin. –
- 2) *rya* superscribed above *sa*, to read *r-ārya-*. –
- 3) sic!

Translation

a) abstract underneath seal

Hail! The year 251 – the field¹ Dudvaravāhni – 4 rova – 3 pla, 2 karṣa, 6 maṃsa (in) gold kheri (currency) – 17 mānikās (of) grain – witness – such is the table (of essentials)

b) open text

Hail!

[D] The year 251, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha,

[Mortgagee] In front of the Venerable (monks of the) Noble Order² of śrī-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, in śrī-Vaṅku ward, in śrīmat-Lalitapura,

[Mortgagor] by the Ven. Bhrguvarman, headman, born of the Livī Family, in śrī-Nogala ward,

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the Dudvaravāhni region, west of the debtor's³ field, north of the land of Ratnabhadra, the Śākya monk, east and south of the land of the Ven. Śaśivarma's, the Vaiśya's, mother – in their midst, a field of four ropanikas, in figures, rova 4,

[R] having declared this field in a state of being limited by the debtor's own wish,⁴ 3 *pla*, 2 *karṣa*, and 6 *maṃsa* (in) gold *kheri* (currency) have been taken. 17 *mānikās* (of) grain have to be given per year.

[Liability] If difficulties arise, then they have to be cleared by the holder.

[W] Witness in this matter: the Ven. Harṣavarman is the authority.

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) Note *vū* is the equivalent of skt. *pradeśa*. –
- 2) Accepting the emendation of Text, note 2. –
- 3) °*ka*° ignored. –
- 4) i. e. probably: the debt to be redeemed at his own discretion: em. *svicchāvadhī(nā vandhaka)tvēna*°?

57. N. S. 261

Fragment of a mortgage of a field measuring one *ropañika*. The loan is given by the monks of Uku Bāhāḥ, who assume the right to cultivate the field pledged for five years. – The conditions of liability are changed, acts of God being excluded from the owner's risk.

Size: 320 × 35 mm. Broken into five parts. A few akṣaras faded. Sealed by oval seal, 19 × 27 mm. – Ed. HŚ No. 18.

Text

- Seal:* 1 [ornamental device]
2 [siddham] śīlaca(n)drābhakta

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvat 200 60 1 vaiśākha śukla pañcamyāṃ śrī-lalitavru[m](ā)yāṃ śrī-śivadeva sañ[s]kārīta-śrī-rudravarma maha¹-vihār-ārya-saṅgha-bhaṭṭarakānām sa[kāṣe] | ta///
- 2 svakīyaṃ svabhujyamāṇakaṃ | ma[ya]laṃ yit[ā]²-pradeśe | svalpa-mārggasya paścimataḥ **vusimccheṃ**-vihāra-saṅgha-vastu-bhūmeḥ uttarataḥ [dha]³nikīya-bhūmeḥ ///
- 3 e[ka]-ropañik=(ā)ñkataḥ kṣetra (ro)va 1 tata karṣaka-lābha-mātraṃ pañca-varṣ-āvadhinā vandakatven=[o]disy[a] pañānān=grhīta suvar[ṇṇa-khai]ri karṣa-dva///
- 4 yadi syād=devika-rājika vinā sañkaṭ-otpatti [sa]t[i] tadā dhāraṇakena parisodhānīyaṃ⁴ | atr=ārthe [s]ākṣī śruta-drṣṭ(a)-jñātāra tya[n]khocche – ///

Notes

- 1) sic!
- 2) *yit[ī]* more likely, palaeographically. –
- 3) [*r*]nikīya? unlikely.
- 4) sic!

Translation

Hail!

[D] The year 261, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha

[Mortgagee] In front of the Venerable (monks of the) Noble Order of śrī-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, which is adorned by śrī-Śivadeva, in śrī-Lalitavrumā ...

[Mortgagor] (*lost*)¹

[O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the southern region (of?) Mayalaṃ,² west of the small lane, north of the land which is the property of the Order of Vusiṃcchem Monastery, (east) of the land of the creditor, ... (of) one *ropanika*, in figures, a field (of) *rova* 1,

[R] Having declared the gains of its cultivation merely to be in a state of pledge for a period of five years, of money³ (in) gold *khairi* (currency), two *karṣas* ... have been taken.

[Liability] If there should arise difficulties, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then they have to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in this matter: They who have heard, seen, and know, are ... of Tyāṅkhocche

...

Notes

- 1) The mortgagor's name is given on the seal. –
- 2) Maya Way(*laṃ*)? –
- 3) verbatim: of *paṇas*; the name of the old currency is seen to persist, probably in the more general sense of 'money'. –

58. N. S. 272

Mortgage of the right in the subsistence tax from a field of three and a half *ropanikas* for a period of five years; it amounts to 11 *mānikās*, i. e. 3.14 *mānikās* per *ropanika* yearly. The right is here called *piṇḍa-* and resumed by *piṇḍaka-*: perhaps it includes subsidiary levies; cf. Introd., pp. 71 ff. – Parties to the transaction are a Brāhmaṇa, the possessor of the right, and the Saṃgha of a monastery, all its monks concurring. –

Size: 468 × 44 mm. Worm holes in lines 2 and 3. Right end broken off, with insignificant loss of text. – Sealed by an oval seal, 19 × 22 mm. – Ed. HŚ No. 20.

Text

Seal: 1 bhīmārja
2 nasoma
3 || o ||

Document

- 1 [siddham] samvat, 200 70 2 vaiśākha śukla divā pūrṇamāsyām, śrī-lalitavrumāyām | śrī-tega[lke], śrī-mānījīva-mahā-vihārya¹-bhikṣu-sarva-saṃghānām sahānumatānām, sakā-sāt, || tatr=aiva, śrī-dakṣiṇak[ū]ṇa-sthān=ādhivāsina, vrā[h]maṇa | śrī-
- 2 bhīmārja⁴nasomena svakīyaṃ, subhujyamānakam, || [jya]mākhy[e]la yuṭṭā-pradeśe | khil-makasya āscimataḥ mārgasya uttaraḥ dhāraṇakīya-kṣetre p[ū]rvavataḥ⁴ yuṭṭā-kuṭumvaja-śrī-vikramapāla varmano kṣetre dakṣiṇataḥ | eta=
- 3 t=madhye s-ārddh-ādhika-traya-ropanikam, yata kṣetraṃ, rova $3\frac{1}{2}$ tata kṣetrasya piṇḍa deya varṣika ekādaśa mānikā 10³ 1 tataḥ piṇḍaka-paribhoga[nī]yam, || pañca-varṣ-āvadhinā vandakatven=odisya 5 tata suvarṇa-khairi pla dvay=āṅka=
- 4 taḥ grhītaḥ pla 2 yadi syād devaka-rājika-saṃkaṭa-vyāvād=otpattau sati tadā dhāraṇakena svayaṃ, sodhyanīyam, || atr=ārthe sākṣi | vusimcchem śrī-nārāyana bhāro | yaṃgala-vihāra, mahi bhāro | duthavucchem, bhāvo thakura, drṣṭa pra[m](ānam=iti)///
- 5 daṃko lāko na hi vu hoyu madu vu jurom | devaka-rājika maju valaḥ ||

Notes

- 1) em. °vihār-ārya°. –
- 2) pal.: $\frac{1}{2}$ (two vertical strokes). –
- 3) pal.: 10. –
- 4) sic!

Translation

Hail!

- [D] The year 272, on the day of the full moon of the bright half of Vaiśākha, [Mortgagee] in front of the whole Order of Noble Monks of śrī-Mānījīva Grand Monastery in śrī-Tegalka, in śrī-Lalitavrumā, (all of them) being agreed, [Mortgagor] by the Ven. Bhīmārjanasoma, Brāhmaṇa, residing in the South Corner district, even there,
- [O] his own property, which is enjoyed by himself, in the western region (of?) Jyamākhyela, west of the *Khilamaka*,¹ north of the road, east of the field² of the holder's family,³ south of the Ven. Vikramapālavarman's field,² who is born of the South Family – in their midst, a field which (measures) three and a half *ropanikas*, rova $3\frac{1}{2}$,
- [T] eleven mānikās, 11, per year to be given as subsistence tax of this field,⁴ all that pertains to this subsistence tax to be fully enjoyed (by its owner).

[R] Having declared it in a state of pledge for a period of five years, 5, two *pla*, in figures: *pla* 2, (in) gold *khairi* (currency) have been taken.

[Liability] If there should arise difficulties and disputes pertaining to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then they have to be cleared by the holder himself.

[W] Witness in this matter: the Ven. Nārāyana Bhāro (of) Vusiṃccheṃ; Mahi Bhāro (of) Yaṃgala Monastery; Ṭhakura Bhāvo (of) Duthavuccheṃ (are) seen as authority.

[Codicil] It is obtained for good.⁵ It is a field where there is no ...⁶ . 'The Gods or the Royal Court' has come not to be [= litigation was abandoned?].

Notes

- 1) 'drain for excrements' (M. R. Pant). –
- 2) the locative again, cf. 262. –
- 3) *dhāraṇakīya*^o. –
- 4) em. *tat-kṣe*^o. – em. *tat-piṇḍakaṃ* in same sentence. –
- 5) or: everything is obtained?. –
- 6) *na hi vu hoyu* not clear.

59. N. S. 273

Mortgage of the right to cultivate a field of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*, for a period of seven years. – Nogala, until recently a ward, seems to have been subdivided.

Size: 443 × 50 (42) mm., twice broken; slight damage to upper margin. – Sealed by oval seal, 17 × 22 mm. – Ed. HŚ No. 21.

Text

Seal: 1 śrī
2 janādhana

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo stu samvat, 200 70 3 vaiśākha śukla divā pañcaṃmyā[ṃ] śrī-lalitavrumā-yāṃ śrī-vamku-ṭolke śrī-sivadeva-saṃskārit, śrī-rudravarma-mahā-vihār-ārya-saṃgha-bhaṭṭarakānāṃ jeṣṭha-kaneṣṭha-sahā-numatānāṃ sakāsāt | tasminn=eva vru
- 2 māyāṃ śrī-nogala uttaracchu -ṭolk=ādhivāsina, janārddhanadeva [graṣa]mo[dh]aradeva sah-ānumatābhyāṃ svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakāṃ, | tatr=aiva vrumāyāṃ dakṣiṇa-pradeśe, go[jhaku]khetra-vū-nāma-sajñakāṃ | kevasa bhāvoyākasya khetre paścimataḥ

- 3 **nogala-**[y]itiphusacchem vaisyadatto bhāroyākasya khetre pūrvvataḥ śrī-māhendravarma-
mahāra-saṅgha-vastu-khetre dakṣiṇataḥ etat=madhye s-ārddh-ādhika-dvaya-ropanikaṃ
yata khetra rova $2\frac{1}{2}$ ¹ tasya mūlapiṇḍa dhānya-misra-tāṇḍula māni 2 tat=karṣaka-
- 4 paribhogya-lābha-mātraṃ sapta-varṣ-āvadhinā vandakatven=odisya, suvarṇṇa-khairi nava-
maṃsa-ādhika² pla=m=ek=ānkato pi grhīta pla 1 karṣa 1 maṃsa 9 yadi syān=devika-rājika
vinā saṅkaṭa-vyāvāde sati tadā dhāraṇakena svayam=pariso=
- 5 dhyaniyaṃ atr=ārthe śākṣi lakṣmīdhara bhārosa pramānam=iti ||
^ karṣaikādhika

Notes

- 1) pal.: $\frac{1}{2}$. –
2) ^ (*kākapada*): for text, see line 5.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 273, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

[Mortgagee] In front of the Venerable (monks) of the Noble Order of śrī-Rudravarma Grand Monastery, which has been adorned by the Ven. Śivadeva, in śrī-Vaṃku ward, in śrī-Lalitavrumā, elder and younger (monks) being agreed together,

[Mortgagor] By Janārdhanadeva and [Graṣa]mo[dh]aradeva, resident(s) of Uttaracchu ward, (in) śrī-Nogala, even there in this *vrumā*, the two of them being agreed together,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves, in the southern region even there in the *vrumā*, (the land¹) known as Go[jhaku] Field, west of the field² of Kevasa Bhāvo,³ east of the field of Vaisyadatta Bhāro,³ (of) the house by⁴ the well in Nogala, south of the field which is the property of the Order of śrī-Māhendravarma Grand Monastery⁵ – in their midst, a field which (measures) two and a half *ropanikas*, rova $2\frac{1}{2}$,

[T] its basic subsistence tax (being) 2 *māni(kā)s* of rice mixed with grain,

[R] after the gains of its cultivation merely have been declared in a state of pledge for a period of seven years, one *pla*, one *karṣa*,⁶ and nine *maṃsa* (in) gold *khairi* (currency) have been taken; in figures: 1 *pla*, 1 *karṣa*, 9 *maṃsa*.

[Liability] If there are difficulties and disputes, except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then they have to be cleared up by the holder himself.

[W] Witness in this matter is the authority of Lakṣmīdhara Bhāro.⁷

[E] *iti*

Notes

- 1) *vū*. –
2) locatives in text. –
3) double genitives, Newārī and Sanskrit. –
4) lit.: at the edge of. –
5) em. *ma(hā)-vi)hāra*. –
6) the addition from line 5. –
7) the Newārī genitive.

Mortgage of the right to cultivate a field of three *ropaṇikas*, located in Thānkoṭ. The sum borrowed is 12 silver *śivakās* and one *maṃsa*, the mortgage running for three years. The mortgagors held their property under the joint-family system and explicitly recorded the consent of their descendants. –

A title, **mūrtyaṅga* (text: *m(ū)rttaṅga*), which may be connected with the *cchumūrṭti* of N. S. 193/2. – The text may have been copied out of a book of precedents: note *daṇḍas* of the *bhāvo* | *kasya* type.

Apart from the year and the numeral 11, both added by H. Ś., the reverse side bears two remarks: a hand which most probably is that of the original scribe has added [siddham] **thamkhavaṭa** vu vandaka ptra. The document, then, went by the name of **bandhakapatra*. Another writer has added the identification note, written from bottom to top, frayed, and hard to read: it seems to have run (tham)[kh]vāta vu nā[ma] 'the name: Thamkhvāta Field'.

Size: 505 × 37 mm. Right end frayed, the text of about 6 *akṣaras* being lost. – Sealed by a round seal, 13 mm in diameter.

Text

Seal: [A legible photograph of the seal was not available.]

Document

- 1 [siddham] śreyo 'stu || samvata 424 vaiśākha śukla pañcamyāṃ | śrī-lalitavrūmāyāṃ | śrī-mānīgalakai | dakṣiṇa-vihārai haṭako-vihārai haṭako -ccheṃ-kuṭu[vva]-ja-m[ū]rttaṅga¹-śrī-lakṣmīvarddhanavarmana | śrī-rāma[vramma]varma śrī-rathnarāma[va]rma ete potra-ān[u]mat[ā]nāṃ [sva]///
- 2 nikaṃ sa eva vi[hā]ra livi-ccheṃ vāstavya | [uda]rāma bhāvo | kasya śakāsāta | **thamkhvaṭa**-[vū]²-nāma-pradeśe | ³-[ya]thīca⁻³ [space of 4 akṣaras left blank] kṣetre | pacchimata | khilmakasya [ru]ttata | [space of approx. 7 akṣaras left blank] kṣetre | dakṣiṇata | etat-ma///
- 3 [ya] kṣetra rova 3 sa-ka(r)ṣaka-paribhogyāṃ traya-varṣ-āvaddhinā vandakatven=oddhisya tena grhīta vavā śivakā 12 maṃsa 1 yadi syāta devika-rājikaṃ vinā sam[ṣṭha]-vyāvāda-kāle tadā dhāranakena so[dhya]nīyaḥ | [a](tra) [sākṣi] sa eva vihāra [livicch. .]///

Notes

- 1) pal.: .ṃ and .ṛ are not easy to distinguish.
- 2) pal.: see preceding note. –
- 3) very much faded; probably meant to be effaced.

Translation

Hail! Let it be auspicious!

[D] The year 424, on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

[Mortgagor] By the Ven. Lakṣmīvarddhanavarman, *mūrttaṅga*, born in the family of Haṭako house, in the south monastery, Haṭako Monastery, in śrī-Mānigalaka, in śrī-Lalitavrūmā, and the Ven. Rāma-vrammavarman, and the Ven. Rathnarāmavarman, these¹ with their grandsons concurring,

[O] their own property, which is enjoyed by themselves²,

[Mortgagee] in front of Udarāma Bhāvo, living in the back house of this same monastery,

[O cont'd] in the region named Thaṃkhvaṭa Field,³ west of the field⁴ ... *yathīca*, north of the drain for excrements, south of the field of ... , – in their midst, a field (of three *ropanikas*,) *rova* 3,

[R] to be enjoyed together with the right of cultivation, having been declared in a state of pledge for a period of three years, 12 silver *śivakās* and 1 *maṃsa* are taken by them.⁵

[Liability] If there should be difficulties and disputes,⁶ except for such as pertain to the Gods or to the Royal Court, then this has to be cleared up by the holder.

[W] Witness in this (matter) is of the House in the Courtyard (*livīccham*) of this same monastery.

[E]

Notes

- 1) *ete* not incorporated into the Sanskrit sentence. –
- 2) [*sva*](*kīyam svabhujyamā*)*nikam* –
- 3) = Thānkoṭ (suggestion of M. R. Pant). –
- 4) locatives in text. –
- 5) text: *him (tena)*, mechanically applying the formula. –
- 6) °*kāle* omitted from translation.

Appendix

Unverified Documents

Appendix

Unverified Documents

In spite of all efforts, originals or photographs of the following sales or mortgage documents were not obtainable for purposes of the present edition. Hence, we append a diplomatic reprint, transliterated, of the texts as formerly published. Because of their tentative nature, they have been used in the introduction only when indispensable.

NB! Corrections have been refrained from, even when they seemed obvious.

61 N.S. *192

Mortgage of the *karṣaka* right in a field of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *ropanikas*, for a period of five years, the sum advanced perhaps being 700 *paṇa purāṇa* (line 4). Its *mūlapiṇḍa* apparently was the property of a monk belonging to the Mahārāja-Vihāra. – Ed. HŚ, No. 6.

- 1 samvat, 192 vaiśākha-śukla-divā dutiāyāṃ śrī-yamvu-sthān-ādivāsina casāna maṇḍavara
... .. vāsi kula-putra-rāghavasimhavarma sakāsā
- 2 t, śrī saṅgām-ādivāsina-nāyaka-indrākara-pākena svakīya subhujyamānaka
tad-grām-ottara-pradeśa vattamakasya paścim-ottara-pra
- 3 me pūrvvata vatamakasya dakṣinata en-madhye sād-ādika-dvaya-ropanika
idatra rova $2\frac{1}{2}$ tasya mūla-piṇḍa śrī-mahārāja-vihāra-diyāsina-stha-bhikṣu
- 4 tārāsena-vastu dvaya-mānikā daya dhā mā 2 yata kārṣaka-lābha-mātra pañca-varṣ-āvadina
vatvaken-ādisyaṃ paṇānā purāna saṅga-satāni saṅkata
- 5 dvir-asya kārṣaka-bhoga-vadikasya daivika-rājika-byāghātena sati dhāraṇakena sayam so-
dhanīya sakhina śrī-bhāginī-madhyama-mahā-vihār-ādivāsina bhikṣu bhīmadamta ta
- 6 yāmmalai yad, vuvāra vudārāne taya paraṃ pramāṇam=iti |

62 N.S. *235

Sale of the usufruct of a garden plot measuring one *karṣa*, by one *bhikṣu* to another. – The quantity of 6 kuḍa mentioned in line 2 may be the *dhānya vīsa*-. – Ed. HŚ, No. [9].

- 1 ūṃ samvat, 235 jeṣṭha-kṛṣṇa-trayodaśyāṃ | śrī-bhāginī-madhyama-mahā-vihār-ādhivāsina
bhikṣu-kanakaśrībhadrasya sakāsāt || tat, vihār-ādhivāsina bhikṣu-sadayaśrībhadrasya
svakīyaṃ svaprakmānakeṇa vihārasya=ottara-pradeśe || bhikṣu-harṣabhadrasya vāṭikāyāḥ
paścimata || m, ta-mārggasya=ottara ...
- 2 yāḥ pūrvvata || bhikṣu a bhadrasya vāṭikāyāḥ uttarata || etat, madhye paṃcovala
nāma-dherya dhānya voja ṣaṭ, kuḍa-māpitaṃ vāṭikā prastha 1 kuḍa 2 m=eka-karṣaka-
vāṭikā-paribhogam, || yathā-deśa-kāla-saṃcār-ārgheṇa śuvarṇam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-
sv-ādhīnatvena anivarttaka-nyāyena krīna vikrītaṃ bhavati || atr=ārthe

3 kārāṇa sya khiṇḍhi likhita bhi **harṣaśrībhadrasy**=aiva pramam=pramāṇ=eti
||o|| prakāra prato juro dasavarimato dhāraṇaṇa soddharapayu mālu juro ||o||

***63* N.S. *245**

Fragment of the mortgage of the gains of cultivation (*karṣaka*-). Duration of the mortgage: 9 years. The sum borrowed seems to have been one *karṣa* and 4 *mamsas*. Es. HŚ, No. 13.

- 1 oṃ samvat, 245 vaiśākha yāṃ || śrī-lalitakramāyāṃ śrī-rudravarma-mahā-vihār-ādhi śākya-bhikṣu-sthavira-jivākarabhadrasya sakāśāt,
- 2 yān=diśi viśya-harṣa-bhāro-bhūme ścimataḥ | śrī-nogvalke ddhamṣevu chem-kuṭumvajānāṃ mādyā-vastu-bhū ttarataḥ nesāndū-bhārokiya-bhūmeḥ pūrvvataḥ | tilmakasya dakṣi
- 3 tat-karṣaka-lābha-mātram na(va)-varṣ-āvadhinā vandhakatven=oddiśya tayā suvarṇṇa-kṣeri catur-mann-ādrika-karṣan=ekam=ānkataḥ karṣa 1 manma | piṇḍaka-bhogah | yadi śāṅka

***64* N.S. *245**

Transaction affecting a garden of 1^{1/2} *karṣas*, acquired by a monk of śrī-Parinirvāṇa-Mahāvihāra. – Ed. HŚ, No. 14.

- 1 oṃ samvat, 245 āśāḍha-śukla-pratipadi || śrī-parinirvāṇa-mahā-[vi]hāra-bhikṣu-suja ... bhadrasya sakāśāt, || śrī-lalitakramāyāṃ haṭakhā-ṭolke 'dhivāsinaḥ
- 2 dhamādharaśīlena svakīyaṃ subhujyamānakam, || hosimdhālam pūrvva-pradeśe | mahisa mārggasy=ottarataḥ | tanigvala-vihārasaṇa vastu-vāṭikā pūrvvataḥ su-lpa-mārgga
- 3 sya dakṣiṇataḥ etata-madhye s-ārddh-aka-vāṭikā 'nkataḥ karṣa 1^{1/2} tasya mūla-piṇḍa di-mānik-ārdha mā aṣṭa-prastha pramāna taṇḍula paṃ 2 ta
- 4 nāta pattātakam dhā na sodhyanīyam=ity=atra sākṣi ta-jñātāra akṣaya-bhadra vijaya rabhadra ete param=pramāṇ=eti ||

***65* N.S. *249**

Mortgage of the gains of cultivation (line 3: **karṣaka-lābhamātram*) in a field of 3 ropanikas for a period of five years. The sum borrowed cannot be determined. 'The usufruct of (the right of) its cultivation serves as interest' (*vṛddhir asya *karṣaka-bhogah*, line 3). – Ed. HŚ, No. 15.

- 1 oṃ samvat, 249 vaiśākha-śukla-pañcamyā gvalake pūrva-dakṣiṇa-dvavāstavyah varddhakiya kīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam, | śrī-vaṇakulī vinayākara

- guptasya śakāśāt,
- 2 dravarma-bhūmeḥ paścimataḥ | śrī-māhen dravarma vihāra-sthavira-hāvo-kṣetra-sy=ottarataḥ | vai sidharavarma-bhūmeḥ pūrvvataḥ | śrī-jagadānakṣa kṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye tri-ropanikaṃ yat=kṣe
- 3 kā dhā m=āṅkata ... thaka-lāna-mātraṃ pañca-va dhinā vandhakatven=oddiśya suvarṇṇa-kheri eka-ka kaṣalam=ek=āṅkataḥ gṛhitaḥ suvarṇṇa-kheri pa rṣa 1 vṛddhir=asya kathaka-bhārā yadi syād=de ...
- 4 rthi sākṣi dṛṣṭa-śruta-jñātā rānagrvallo pramāṇam=iti ||o||

***66* N.S. *252**

Mortgage of the gains of cultivation of one third of a field, for a duration of nine years, the sum borrowed being 2 *karṣa* and 6 *maṃsa*. The mūlapiṇḍa levy from this field was the property of the saṃgha of the Vārta-Kalyāṇagupta Monastery, for which see Dhanavajra Vajrācārya: No. 133, p. 497. – Ed. HŚ, No. 17.

- 1 śreyo stu | samvat, 252 caitra-śukla-divā pañcamyāṃ śrī-lalitakramāyāṃ śrī-tegvalake sthāne śuyīkuta-ṭolak-ādhivāsinā kula-putra-pradhāna-puraṣa-sthapitirāja-bhāro-nāmnāyā sakāsāta | 0 tatr=aiva śrī-nogvalake pūrva-pa
- 2 'dhivāsinā cā-bhāvo-nāmena svakīyaṃ subhujyamānakam || suvarṇṇa-nadyāyā dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśi || kanyamavajja-bhāvakīya-kṣetre paścimata duvāravallorlha-nāma-kṣetre uttarata || mārgasya pūrvata || suvarṇṇa-nadyāyā dakṣiṇata etat-madhye
- 3 panikaṃ yatra kṣetraṃ sva traya bhāgasya-m=eka-bhāgan=datvā || tasya mūla-pyaṇḍa vārttakalyāṇagupta-vihāra-saṅgha-vastu dhānya vīsenā vibhajya 261 prastha 3 tat, kṣetraṃ karṣaka-lābha-mātraṃ nava-varṣ-āvadhi vandakaten=oddiśya panā
- 4 ṇa suvarṇṇa-khairi ṣaṭa-maṃs-ādhika-karṣa-dvay-āṅkita gṛhita karṣa 2 maṃsa 6 yadi śyā devika-rājika-vyāghāte sati dhāraṇakena sodhanīyaṃ || sākhi dṛḍhikaraṇīya bhikṣu-soma-bhadraḥ rāna-nāyakaḥ dhilo-bhāroḥ traya pra

***67* N.S. *294**

The Saṃgha of the Rudravarma Grand Monastery buys the right in the *cātī* levy from a group of persons: this consists of 5 *prasthas* of unhusked rice, collected from a field of 4 *ropanikas*. – Ed. HŚ, No. 29.

- 1 śreyo stu samvat, 294 caitra-śukla-divā dutīyāyāṃ śrī-lalitakramāyāṃ śrī-vamku-ṭolke śrī-rudravarma-mahā-vihār-ārya-sarvva-saṃgha-bhaṭṭarakānām sakāsāta | phamdvāla-nāyaka-mūrtti kaipurū-bhāvo rasala-bhāvo suṭhau-bhāro cāmo
- 2 -bhāvo cuḍau-bhāvo kāhala vuḍau-bhāvo ete sah-ānumatābhi svakīyaṃ svabhujyamānakam | tatr=aiva kramāyāṃ pūrvva-pradeśe jhṛhanā-khetra-sajñaka sv-alpa-mārggāsya paścimataḥ nāyaka-śrī-varadnāravarmāna khetrer=uttarataḥ dakṣi

- 3 णतास=ca khilamkasya pūrvvataḥ etat-madhye catu-ropanikaṃ yata kṣetra rova 4 tasya cātī
 ṭāṇḍula prastha 5 tata cātī-paribhoganiyaṃ yathā-desya-sañcār-ārghena mūlyam=ādāya
 kraya-vikraya-sv-ādḥinatvena krayena vikriyastam=bhavati
 4 atra śākṣi bhāro-m=iti ||o||

***68* N.S. *296**

Sale of part of a garden, one and a half *karṣa* in size. The recipient of its *mūlapinḍa* (which amounts to 1 *prastha* and 2 *kuḍa* of unhusked rice per annum) is not mentioned. – Ed. HŚ, No. 30.

- 1 śreyo stu || samvat, 296 pauṣa-śukla-pūrṇamāsyāṃ || śrī-lalitakramāyāṃ śrī-rudravarmma-
 mahā-vihār-ādḥivāsina śrīkarabhadrā-nāmanā śakāśāt, || tatr=aiva vihār-ādḥivāsina śrī-
 candra-bhāvo-nāmanā śvakī [...]
 2 nakam || tatr=aiva kramāyāṃ dakhinasyāṃ visi śipimcabalṭokā-nāma-dheyāṃ śrī-paraṇivā-
 vihāra-varadhara-bhāvomkīya-bhūme paścimataḥ | śrī-sātīgvala-nāgā-bhallokīya-vāṭikāyā
 uttarataḥ | pūrvataś=caḥ | brā ...
 3 vāṭikāyā dakṣiṇataḥ | etat-madhye s-ārdh-aika-karṣa-vāṭikā-madhe chitvā paṇa-karṣa-tray-
 āṅkata paṇa-karṣa 3 tasya mūla-pinḍa varsam=prati deya tam=prastha 1 kuṭa 2 tat-
 karṣaka-paribhāga-mātram | yathā-na
 4 na mūlyam=ādāya kraya-vikraya-sv-ādḥinatven=ātivattaka-nyāyena krayena vikriyam bha-
 vati || paribhāsā c=ātra pañca-varṣāt, prāka dhāraṇakena parisodhaniyaṃ atr=ārthe śākṣi
 hṛdau-nāyaka-hāvom pramā

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Index

The present index is confined to the Introduction, and to such words of the deeds themselves as have been discussed. A word index to the Sanskrit text seems dispensable since the wording of individual documents largely follows the pattern set forth in Ch. 3.2, Introd. The Newārī passages will be indexed together with the vocabulary of donations. A few Newārī words, though, have been included here, particularly terms of unknown or uncertain meaning. Names of Persons (Introd., pp. 89 ff.) and Place Names (Introd., App. III, pp. 95 ff.) are not repeated.

M = Mortgage (pp. 185 ff.), followed by year

S = Sale (pp. 101 ff.), followed by year

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Facsimiles of Documents

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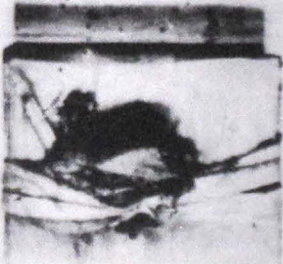


ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ यस्मिन् भगवत्पुत्रो जन्मते तस्यै नमः ॥
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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ यस्मिन् भगवत्पुत्रो जन्मते तस्यै नमः ॥
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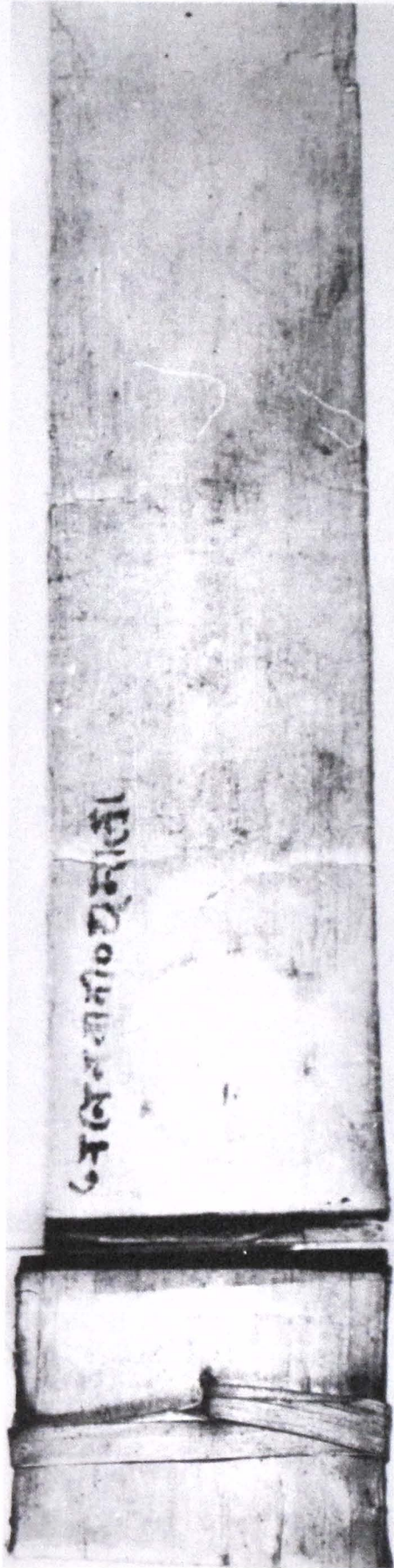
१ मम न श्रवणं प्रकृत्युदित्वा यथा यथा भाषा ॥ श्री गुरु ललाटे विद्यामिना श्री विद्याय रम्यामि
 धुन क इति ममा मता सात साति गामा सुर्व सुदने प्रपानने धुन क प्र मीमा क इव म श्री क म क क रः
 पा अयो द्वि त प्रथवा यलिक इ वा ॥ न क्रिये क म क प्र क य रि का रा क य म हि ज्ञान अनि व डे क न्या
 म क क वी वा दाने ली श्रु क सा कि श्री मा मी श्र न क न न य उ मा नि क र डे न य मा न कि ॥ ० ॥ वा गो द मो कि

ममामि म न श्रु की मा कुरु डी ना ग ल ला पा मि ना
 वः इ कि ना ग व मी प व र म मी क र षा नि क र मी म क र म धु रि व रः
 क न्या य न श्रु ती य दि श्र म् ल्य मा द ध श्र नि व डे क न्या य न य डे क म ड व न
 सा कि क ॥ ० ॥

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Handwritten text in a narrow vertical column, likely a manuscript fragment. The text is dense and appears to be in a cursive or semi-cursive script. There are several small, dark spots or marks scattered along the right side of the fragment.

पुत्र्याऽप्यु ॥ मयुक्तगुरु आख्याऽहं क्षमय, म्योतिष्यो जल्लितिके आयाऽगमात्तिसंघ, आसथ्य कुत्ति गति कवाहम मरावाहिटु ह या कुयुमयाउरु कासमठम ना नामका
आउकुनायितयै त्रिवास्ति ॥ नामाऽहं इयादायतिरुं कले संया गडिमावमनि १ क्षोमधस्य सोदिकाम इउ, यया यवाडाडिमाधकाऽया ॥ गतगत, अस कय इरमयादि १०५५ ॥
स्याहं इति केनाऽकके, विनोनाऽस्यु, धादिकाम इऽया यथा विवाग डिवाकृ जसं कंठे याना १ हा कपलनशभा कुठे निया न साधनियं अं गु य गाथे सा क्रीभाऽपु, कसववाऽपु, सुसंरगा

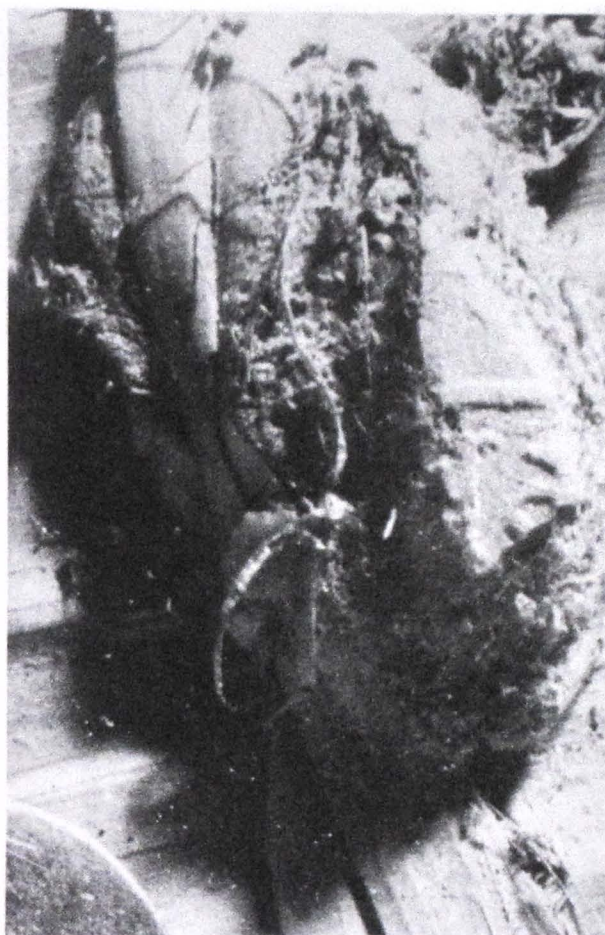
नामकासाहं अमरुममडकलीरुं का १०५५, पाहं, लेयु सिठगावा यानाधुनसि का, यीहं उयमान्ति, साहं अरुत्तिका १ नामधुइना १
यथा नशय कोत्तपुं कुं, मनि मं वमायनेय आडिकु मुलासाहये डीकि अया इतं ननोतिवुं, अ-यापसं अलिकु मपसुं, नकि रुइ
सिठगावा इह ॥ १०५५ धि कुं जागागी ११११ कासीरव्याम का १॥ कियं कि ससहं सा धान्थुं व इना ॥ यु न ॥

१. अथैव ॥ १८२ ॥ अवलोक्य ॥ नृपि संति ॥ श्रीमिनि ॥ कुमायं श्रीमा विभुवा आ प्रकालिक वी कवाहाव श्रीमग श्री ॥ १८३ ॥ मनी हाट
 मनि की सा सो जाल करणाम यदरेग वहिनि प्रजिदव इ स करणन यद्विमग ॥ अदु कसु कणु न डरुवग ॥ निडू लाकू इवेन लोकाया करुणन
 करुणवसूठ धुणसं अदु कया सो विगानन अदु कया इ शाना एग करुण गे करु की सम यति गार्थे यथ मन मन वाव पुवर्तु मान रु
 जीयग करु वणि अदि अद वी कवाजि का विना ग अदु कया गार्थे गार्थे वावद वाव गदा अदु वान यनि याथे नी अ अणु यण

नी हाव यान ग हाव का ग ना सा ग वा अ ग ना मते अता इरु नी ना थ सि ह शा ना म न ल की य हा उर
 कणु न दू र्वा ग य स्वा गा सु शा न वी अ न रो वा कणु न द कि वा ग ध ॥ ए ग र्वा गार्थे ग र्वा ड य नि य नि की
 गान रु ध अ सु वा ना र्थि न य ॥ अ वि मू ल्य मा दा य जि वि जी सा य म न ग ना नि व र्त्त की ना य व क पा वि
 ग य गार्थे सा नी ग ना नी वा व द वे र्त्त म द ह ॥ गार्थे गार्थे जी य न स र्त्त म अ न अ व की र्थु श श न ॥ १८३ ॥

१। नेत्यासुसखु ७००। नववण्डु ॥ नीवकूवाहायथातिविठतागुरुनाश्ववगणीयुनयदुसया. खगकुजीधवमरुसवाथयता।
 नकडलेदायाशोअधन. रायापूध्वनीनीकोसयात्तरुद्रवकसक. दाकिलेथगातिवि. पाष्टिमणीकुकेधवकसक.
 गादाएनईवकूवादाययोकूलेकूसुयधि३४धतकुयागासगवाणीयुनयदुससुथम. श्यायापालथा।
 यधि३४धतकुवाकुनीधवमरुयागिडीडिडीखमिठियाकि. उगाध्वव. संकर. डाकाल. यवः
 क्रिउरयसागावनीनक्रआतिरु. यिकुणी. मियवउध्वंथादृष्टु।
 ७००।

Specimens of Seals I



Documents No. 2, N. S. 185
Left of the remnants of clay,
the knot (p. 104) is plainly visible



Documents No. 52,
N. S. 189

Specimens of Seals II



Documents No. 53,
N. S. 193

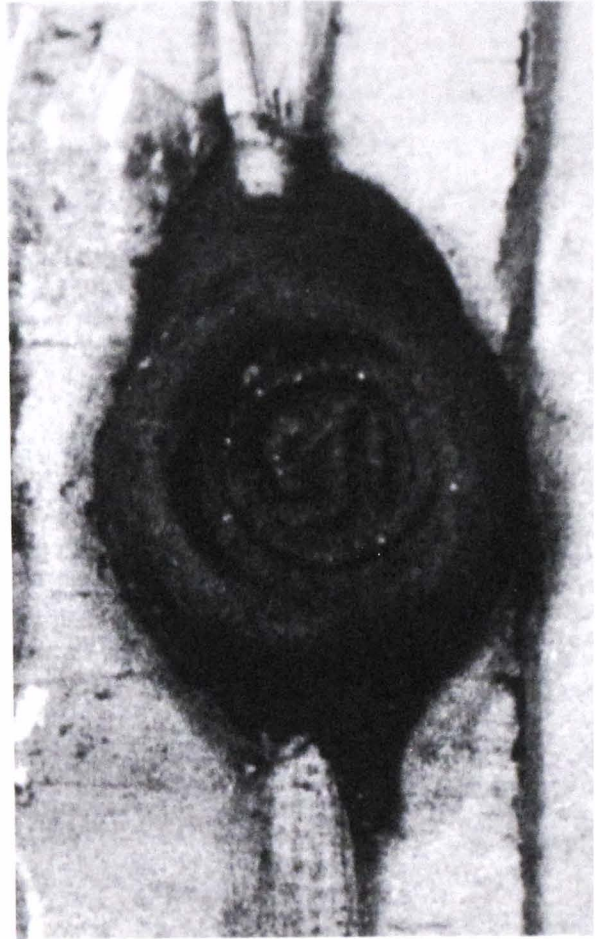


Documents No. 55,
N. S. 194



Documents No. 57,
N. S. 261

◀ Documents No. 37, N. S.821



▲ Documents No. 40, N. S.846



◀ Documents No. 41, N. S.846

