Chapter 3

Four Centuries of Service: Resilience and Adaptation in the Luthāma Guthi of Buṅgadyaḥ

Manik Bajracharya

Introduction

Several socio-religious organizations, known as *guthi*s, have been formed over time to serve Buṅgadyaḥ and organize his annual chariot procession (*ratha jātrā*). One such organization, Luthāma Guthi, formed in the seventeenth century, is responsible for managing/maintaining the parts that secure the sanctum of Buṅgadyaḥ's chariot. Documentary evidence reveals that this *guthi* underwent a major transition after the Śāha rulers conquered the Kathmandu Valley in 1768/69. This paper, drawing on a range of textual sources, examines the transitional period of the Luthāma Guthi, focusing on the challenges it faced, including exploitation under state-imposed revenue arrangements, and the legal struggle undertaken to restore its overseership to its original members and to preserve its institutional agency. It will also discuss recent innovations, changes, and challenges the *guthi* currently faces.[1]

Luthāma Guthi has been variously spelled in different sources as Lusā Guthi (Locke 1980), Lusāhā Guthi (*thyāsaphū* manuscript Th1 and H. Śākya VS 2045), Luthā Guthi (*thyāsaphū* Th1), Luthāma

1 I am deeply grateful to Mahendrananda Shakya, head of the Luthāma Guthi, for providing critical insights and information regarding the guthi's functions and history. I also acknowledge the valuable assistance and thoughtful suggestions offered by Philip Pierce, Rabi Shakya, Rajendra Shakya, and Shobhit Shakya.

Published in: Manik Bajracharya, Christiane Brosius, Simon Cubelic, and Rajan Khatiwoda (Eds.), When a God Moves the City: Placemaking in the Buṅgadyaḥ Procession of Nepal, Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2026 (Documenta Nepalica: Book Series, Vol. 9). DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1724.c27867. CC BY-SA 4.0.

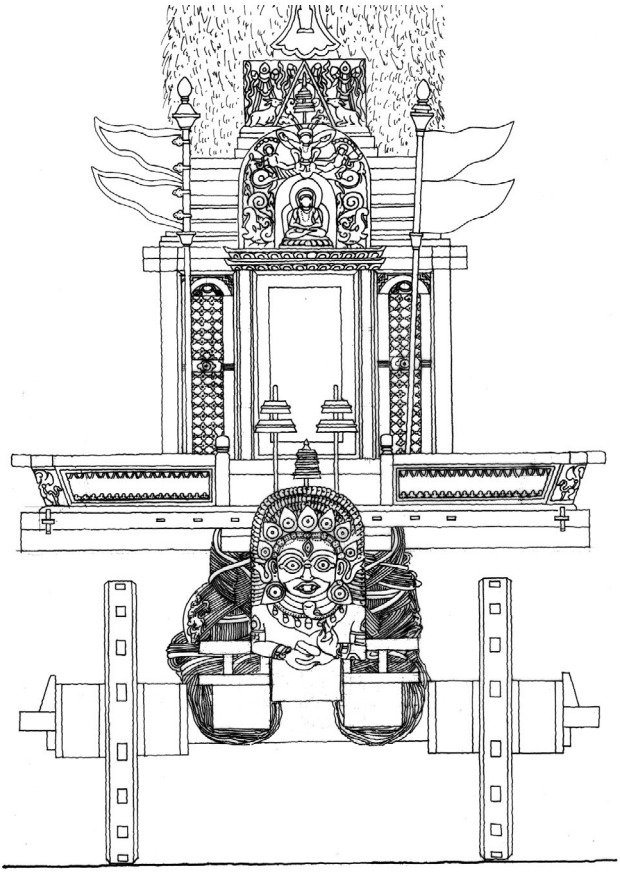

Figure 1: Front view of the sanctum of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot with *luthāma* components fitted, drawing: Bijay Basukala, 2022.

Vimāna Guthi (E_2253_0015D), Lusāḥ Guthi (H. Śākya VS 2045, 75) or Lhusā Guthi (Owens 1989). Established during the reign of King Śivasiṃha Malla (r. 1597–1619) by Jīvarāja Vandya (var. Bãḍā), the *guthi* was formed to manage the *vimāna* (also known as *lusāhā*[2])—the sacred structure that houses the sanctum of Buṅgadyaḥ in the chariot (*ratha*). The *vimāna* is composed of intricately crafted wooden components, gilt metal panels, doors, pillars, and decorative *toraṇa*s (tympanums) (Figures 1, 2). Over the centuries, the Luthāma Guthi has served

2 The word *lusāhā* consists of two words in Nepal Bhasa: *lu/lū* (gold) and *sāhā* (joints), while *luthāma* literally means "golden pillars," both referring to intricately carved gilt panels, various wooden parts, and joints of which the *vimāna* is composed.

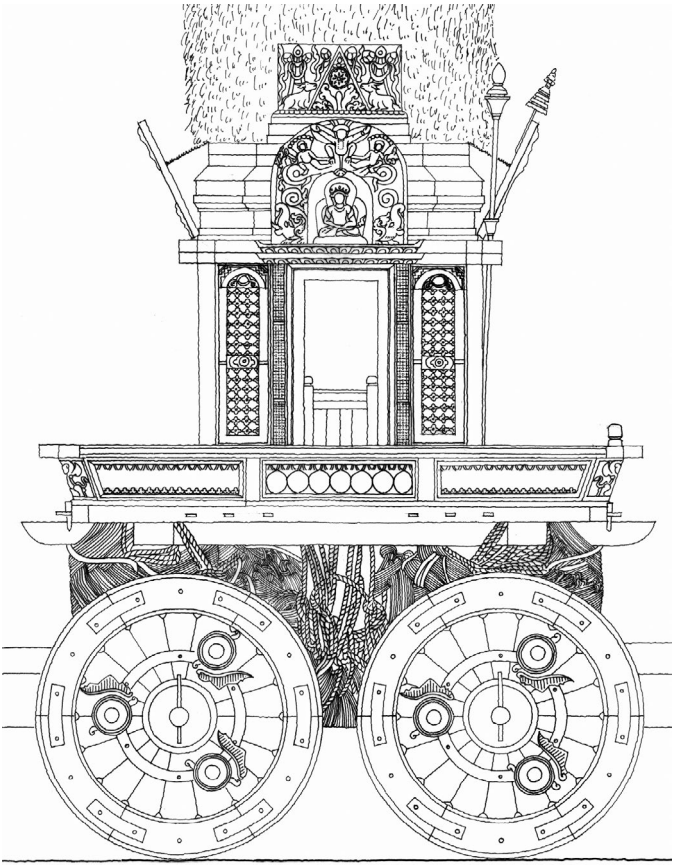

Figure 2: Side view of the sanctum of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot with *luthāma* components fitted, drawing: Bijay Basukala, 2022.

not only as the custodian of these vital structures but also as an essential institution responsible for sustaining the cultural and ritual practices surrounding Buṅgadyaḥ.

The Luthāma Guthi comprises members belonging to the *saṅgha* community of the Mahābuddha Temple.[3] The members claim to be descendants of Jīvarāja Vandya, the legendary figure to whom the founding of the Mahābuddha Temple is attributed. The legend

3 Alternatively known as Bodhimaṇḍapa Vihāra, and sometimes wrongly spelled as Mahābauddha, this *śikhara*-style temple is a branch of Oku Bāhāla. An inventory of this temple is available in the DANAM database, identifier: LAL2340 (https://danam.cats.uni-heidelberg.de/report/9d5039d0-e979-11e9-8bc4-0242ac130002).

recorded in the *vaṃśāvalī*s mentions that Jīvarāja established the *guthi* after he donated the *vimāna* to the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot. The Luthāma Guthi is currently headed by Mahendrananda Shakya with three other members including Nirvanananda Shakya, Durgananda Shakya, and Vikramananda Shakya. These four are members of four of the sixteen families belonging to the clan. The *guthi* works in close cooperation with the Bārāhīs, the clan of carpenters who build the chariot of the deity. Regular tasks of the *guthi* include storing and conserving the *vimāna* parts when the annual *jātrā* is finished, managing the maintenance and repair of the damaged parts, and transporting and fixing the *vimāna* to the chariot just before the start of the annual *jātrā*.

The historical trajectory of the Luthāma Guthi reveals a complex interaction between socio-political transformations and religious traditions. With the conquest of the Kathmandu Valley by the Śāha rulers in 1768/69, the *guthi*, like many other traditional institutions, underwent significant changes. Documentary evidence indicates that the *guthi*'s financial autonomy and ritual duties were challenged under new administrative frameworks, particularly with the imposition of the *ijārā*[4] system, where government-appointed contractors managed its land and resources. This external control led to mismanagement, exploitation, and neglect, compromising the *guthi*'s ability to maintain its essential responsibilities. However, through persistent efforts by its members, including protests and legal battles, the *guthi* eventually reclaimed its agency and its members reasserted their position as the rightful overseers of the *vimāna* and the *guthi* itself.

Sources on the Luthāma Guthi

Although original historical sources proving the establishment of the Luthāma Guthi are still missing, narratives regarding the *guthi* and the construction of the chariot's *vimāna* are found in the nineteenth-century *vaṃśāvalī*s. The *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī* (NBhV) provides an

4 *Ijārā* is a system through which the government granted individuals the right to collect revenue from a source on condition that contractors pay a stipulated sum to the government. The document PD_0002_0002 mentions 1773 as the specific year in which the Śāha administration first imposed the *ijārā* system. This solves a previously existing problem regarding the exact beginning year of the *ijārā* system in Nepalese history. Govinda Ṭaṇḍana had proposed that the starting point was 1780 (Ṭaṇḍana 1995, 58).

account of Jīvarāja's efforts in the form of donating the golden *vimāna* to the chariot of Buṅgadyaḥ and to establishing the Luthāma Guthi. The original manuscript of this *vaṃśāvalī* is archived in the University Library, Cambridge. An annotated edition together with an English translation of this text has been published (see Bajracharya and Michaels 2016).

***Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī* and *Devamālāvaṃśāvalī*:** Even though not directly concerning the Luthāma Guthi, these two *vaṃśāvalī*s briefly mention the donation of the veranda (*khatajalā*), an essential part of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot.

***Thyāsaphū* (concertina fold) manuscripts**: The author has observed three *thyāsaphū* manuscripts concerning the Luthāma Guthi. The first *thyāsaphū* manuscript, Th1, has been digitized as part of the Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Scanning Initiative in collaboration with the Nagarjuna Institute of Buddhist Studies in Nepal. Digital images of this manuscript have been archived under the identifier Bdr-W1NPL76 at the Buddhist Digital Archives of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center in Boston, USA.[5] The material is paper coated on both sides with yellow orpiment (*haritāla*) and has twenty-two unnumbered pages (11 folios). It contains text relating to the Luthāma Guthi in *pracalita* script written by different scribes and registered at different times. The earliest dated event is from NS 888 (1768 CE), while the latest is from NS 938 (1818 CE). A concise list of contents of the manuscript is as follows:

- a list of plots of land belonging to the *guthi* and their crop yields,
- a list of persons responsible for tasks related to Buṅgadyaḥ and the *vimāna*, including metal casters, goldsmiths, and so on,
- rules regarding rituals, feasts, and other activities of the *guthi*,
- rules regarding employment of Bārāhī carpenters and their remuneration,
- rules regarding types of repair work to be done, also in the case when the chariot falls over,
- rules regarding the storage and management of *luthāma* parts after the annual *jātrā* is over,

5 Permalink: https://purl.bdrc.io/resource/W1NPL76.

- a list of the parts of the *vimāna* or *luthāma* and the veranda around it, including gilt panels, wooden joints, bundles of rattan, nails, and so on,
- annual revenue generated from crop yields,
- record of repair work done for the year 1817 and its cost, and
- six of the twenty-two pages of the manuscript contain events related to the *guthi* from the year 1768 to 1818. These pages have been edited and translated as the document PD_0002_0002.

The second *thyāsaphū*, Th2, is in the possession of Mahendrananda Shakya. The material is paper coated on a single side with *haritāla* and consists of fourteen unnumbered pages (7 folios). It contains a report on the *guthi*'s activities in the year NS 1032 (1912 CE) written in a mixture of *pracalita* and *devanāgarī* script by a single scribe. Its contents are as follows:

- a report on the death of the *guthi*'s head and the formation of a new team,
- a list of things including grains, gold, and utensils handed over to the new team,
- rules regarding ritual performances, and
- rules regarding tasks related to the fitting and dismantling of the *luthāma.*

The third *thyāsaphū*, Th3, is also in the possession of Mahendrananda Shakya, the current head of the Luthāma Guthi. The material is paper coated on one side with *haritāla* and has sixteen unnumbered pages (8 folios). It contains a report on the *guthi*'s activities in the year NS 1033 (1913 CE) written in a mixture of *pracalita* and *devanāgarī* script by three different scribes. Its contents are as follows:

- a report on the rituals and feast held on the day Buṅgadyaḥ was brought to Patan from Buṅga,
- a report on the fitting and dismantling of the *luthāma*, and
- a report on the rituals and feasts organized for Dolana Māju and Buṅgadyaḥ.

Documents: Apart from the *vaṃśāvalī*s and *thyāsaphū*s, several legal documents have been found concerning the Luthāma Guthi. These documents, dated between 1802 and 1827, are archived in the microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP).

Among these documents, the NGMPP metadata in *Documenta Nepalica*[6] reveal that E_2253_0015A, E_2253_0015B, E_2253_0015C, E_2253_0015D, E_2253_0015E, E_2253_0015F, E_2253_0015G, E_2254_0001A, E_2254_0001B, E_2254_0001C, E_2254_0001D, E_2254_0001E, E_2254_0001F, E_2254_0001G and E_2254_0001H were microfilmed from the private archive of a certain Manoja Rājopādhyāya of Kathmandu. Other documents including K_0014_0014C, K_0015_0021C, K_0015_0031E, and K_0341_0034 are archived at the Guṭhī Saṃsthān.

Seventeen of these nineteen documents have been edited and translated by the author and included in this article.

Inscriptions: There are two inscriptions regarding the Luthāma Guthi, both engraved on a gilt metal panel affixed to the *vimāna* of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot. Both of the inscriptions record the sponsorship of the renovation of the *vimāna* by Sundaralāla Khaḍgī and his family in 1990. These inscriptions have been edited and translated by Simon Cubelic and Rajan Khatiwoda under the identifiers NHDP_0001_0163 and NHDP_0001_0164.[7]

Literature: Luthāma Guthi has been discussed by a few writers. Hemarāja Śākya, in his works *Mahābuddha Mandira: Saṃkṣipta Itihāsa* and *Śrī Karuṇāmaya Buṅgamalokeśvarayā Saṃskṛtika Pṛṣṭhabhūmi: Saṃkṣipta-Paricaya*, describes the legend of the establishment of the *guthi* by Jīvarāja. John K. Locke, in his book *Karunamaya: The Cult of Avalokitesvara Matsyendranath in the Valley of Nepal, Kathmandu*, deals with the history and function of the Luthāma Guthi. He is largely indebted to Hemarāja Śākya for information about the *guthi*. Bruce McCoy Owens, in his PhD thesis entitled *The Politics of Divinity in the Kathmandu Valley: The Festival of Bungadya/Rato Matsyendranath*, examines the functioning and social dynamics of the *guthi* in the 1980s.

6 *Documenta Nepalica* is a comprehensive database of documents from the NGMPP as well as several other public and private collections. The platform can be accessed at: https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/.

7 For the editions and translations of these documents, see Chapter 5, "Inscriptions in Motion: The Epigraphical Culture of the Buṅgadyaḥ Procession" in this volume. They can also be accessed in the *Documenta Nepalica* platform at: https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/75972 and https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/75973.

Chronology of the Luthāma Guthi

An account of the establishment of the Luthāma Guthi

The *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī*, compiled in the 1830s, provides an account of the establishment of the Luthāma Guthi. According to it, after building the Mahābuddha Temple in Patan, Jīvarāja took the deity's *prasāda*[8] to the Lāmā of Sikkim, who, overjoyed by the gift, presented a plate full of gold to Jīvarāja. Using this gold, Jīvarāja crafted the *luthāma* component parts, which he then dedicated as the *vimāna* to the chariot of Buṅgadyaḥ. At the same time, he also established the Luthāma Guthi.

> [Jīvarāja] built the temple known as Mahābauddha [...] He went to the Lāmā of Sukim [i.e., Sikkim] in Bhoṭa in the north, offered him *prasāda* of Mahābauddha, and explained all the details of the temple. The Lāmā became happy and gave Jīvarāja a plate full of gold. After having stayed there a few days, he bid farewell to the Lāmā and returned to Nepāla. The chariot of Āryāvalokiteśvara-Matsyendranātha used to be built only with wood. Having a virtuous thought, Jīvarāja wished to build it with gold. He prepared the *luthāma*, offered the *vimāna*, and arranged a *guthi* that he made known as Luthāma Guthi. (NBhV 19.2.91~99)

Hemarāja Śākya's book on the Mahābuddha Temple records the date of the *luthāma* donation as Wednesday, the 4th of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in NS 774 (1654 CE).[9] This date, along with the story of the *luthāma* offering, is also inscribed on a plaque affixed to the right-hand railing of the chariot veranda.[10] Notably, this inscription was composed by Hemarāja himself when the renewed *luthāma* parts were donated by Sundaralāla Khaḍgī in 1990.

8 *Prasāda* is usually food and/or other ritual (*pūjā*) materials offered to the deity, which then is sanctified and returned by the deity. The blessed offering is then distributed to worshippers.

9 See H. Śākya VS 2045, 11. John Locke reiterates the date and adds that the information is contained in a manuscript in the possession of *guthi* members (Locke 1980, 304).

10 For an edition and translation of this inscription, see identifier NHDP_0001_0158 in Chapter 5, "Inscriptions in Motion: The Epigraphical Culture of the Buṅgadyaḥ Procession" in this volume. It can also be accessed in the *Documenta Nepalica* database at: https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/74806.

However, this date of the establishment of the *luthāma* and its *guthi* is problematic. Hemarāja does not provide a source for this specific date. In the same book on the Mahābuddha Temple, citing a *thyāsaphū* dated NS 809, he mentions that the temple was completed in NS 721 (1601 CE) and that King Sivasiṃha Malla attended the consecration ceremony (H. Śākya VS 2045, 81–83). If this is accurate, it suggests a gap of 53 years between the completion of the Mahābuddha Temple and the establishment of the Luthāma Guthi. Such a large gap between two closely connected events, especially when Jīvarāja is involved in both, seems implausible.

Moreover, a document issued by Rāmānanda Bã̄ḍā,[11] a descendant of Jīvarāja, in 1802, states that his clan had been serving the *guthi* for 192 years:

> The Luthāma Guthi was established by our ancestor Jīvarāja Bã̄ḍā when he offered the *vimāna* to the chariot of 1 [i.e., Matsyendranātha]. His descendants have been serving this [*guthi*] for 192 years. (Document E_2253_0015A, issued year: 1802)

This suggests that the actual year of the *guthi*'s establishment was around 1610, corresponding to NS 730. This aligns with the account in the *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī*, which places both events during the reign of King Śivasiṃha Malla, who ruled between 1597 and 1619.[12]

Historical records of the Luthāma Guthi

A lacuna remains in the historical record of the Luthāma Guthi between its seventeenth-century establishment and the Śāha conquest of the Kathmandu Valley. The *thyāsaphū*s and other documents, and the inscriptions found so far are all from the nineteenth century onwards. These sources, especially *thyāsaphū* PD_0002_0002 and others, legal documents, tell of events after the Śāha king's conquest of Patan. Until further historical

11 *Bã̄ḍā* (var. *bāḍā*) is a Nepalised form of the Nepal Bhasa term *bare*, used specifically to denote members of the Śākya and Vajrācārya castes (cf. Gellner 1992, 66). Both the terms *bare and bã̄ḍā* are generally understood to derive from Skt. *vandya* ("venerable", "worthy of reverence"), reflecting the ritual status of these groups.

12 For the regnal years of Śivasiṃha Malla, see Slusser 1982, vol. 1, 401, and Michaels 2024, 17. Śivasiṃha annexed Patan and apparently had a period of parallel rule with his brother Sadāśiva Malla.

sources are found, we may assume that the early years of the *guthi* were marked by relative stasis with no significant disruptions.

1768–1773: The political landscape in the Kathmandu Valley shifted dramatically with the conquest of Kathmandu and Patan, in 1768, and Bhaktapur, in 1769, by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha. These events led to a series of changes in the administration of land and taxes. The document PD_0002_0002 reports Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa's first land reform, in 1769, in which the state exacted one-fourth of harvest yields from land. The same document records that the *potā*[13]-levy was imposed in 1773.[14] These land reforms by the Śāhas marked critical points in the socio-cultural life in the Kathmandu Valley, affecting perhaps all the *guthi*s, including the Luthāma Guṭhī.

1773–1801: During this period, the Luthāma Guthi, despite being a privately owned (*duniyā̃/nijī*) *guthi*, was obliged to be transitioned to the *ijārā* system, wherein government-appointed contractors managed its land endowments. This shift brought financial challenges and compromised the maintenance of the *guthi*'s assets and ritual activities, thus causing a diminution in the *guthi*'s agency and independence. *Thyāsaphū* PD_0002_0002 records the names of ten contractors under whose control the *guthi* fell for three decades. The contractors' management varied, with several of them neglecting their duties, leading to dissatisfaction among *guthi* members and other concerned persons. The *thyāsaphū* highlights both the misconduct and occasional good behavior of the *ijārā*-holders towards the *guthi* members and the workers responsible for maintaining the *vimāna*.

One pair of contractors, Balabhadra Jośī and Rāni Mayaju of Mahāpala in Patan, exploited the *guthi*'s land for their own personal gain and neglected their responsibilities. They imposed *pajanī* (a system of temporary reappointment) for the tenants of the *guthi* land. They paid the Bārāhīs (carpenters) minimally and quarrelled with *guthi* members. Another contractor, Khepuvā, faced a personal tragedy

13 *Potā* is a tax imposed on certain categories of *birtā*-lands.

14 This document gives a new insight into the year when the *potā*-levy was first exacted in Nepal. Mahesh Candra Regmi dates this to the years 1770/71, when Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha levied it on purchased, privately owned (*sunābirtā*) lands in the Kathmandu Valley (M. C. Regmi 1964, 40), while Dhanavajra Vajrācārya had earlier opined that it was first exacted by Pratāpa Siṃha Śāha (r. 1775–1777) (D. Vajrācārya VS 2019, 39).

when his son died in an accident involving the chariot. Sāhāvā Ojhā, a contractor from Tirhut, failed to pay the Bārāhīs, causing delays in their work. For five days, the Bārāhīs refused to dismantle the *luthāma* from the chariot. Ojhā's negligence extended to extorting additional harvest from the tenants, who in turn cursed him for his actions. Instead of compensating the workers properly, he insulted them by offering just a paltry amount of food, and he even failed to perform the required *dolana-pūjā*[15], a crucial ritual for the *guthi*.

On the other hand, there were contractors who acted with integrity and respect. Punasiṃha, the royal physician from Bhaktapur, treated the *guthi* members with great honour, ensuring they were well-fed and properly compensated for their work. He paid the Bārāhīs generously, provided the necessary timber, and completed all ritual tasks. Likewise, Bhājudhaṃ Vaidya from Kantipur treated the members with great respect and even involved his daughters and sons-in-law in the activities of the *guthi*.

1801–1805: This was a period of struggle to regain the Luthāma Guthi's independence and to claim its rightful ownership. By 1801, efforts had already been underway to release the Luthāma Guthi from the constraints of the *ijārā* system. In this year, the *guthi* was exempted from the *ijārā* system through a royal decree (document K_0014_0014C). However, the overseership of the *guthi* went to Bhājudhana Jaisī, a person outside of the traditional Luthāma Guthi membership. Documents from 1802/03 reveal a power struggle between Bhājudhana Jaisī and Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā, with multiple royal orders issued to clarify the rightful overseership.

In 1802, Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā petitioned the *cautariyā*s[16] Bam Śāha (var. Sāha in documents) and Rudravīra Śāha (var. Sāha in documents) to have the overseership of the *guthi* restored to its rightful members (document E_2253_0015A). In response, *Cautariyā* Bam Śāha, through a letter issued in the month of Śrāvana in the same year, confirmed

15 *Dolana-pūjā* (also termed as *dolana-koṭi-pūjā* in *thyāsaphū* Th1) is the ritual worship performed at a tree and a shrine at Lagankhel, next to the bathing platform of Buṅgadyaḥ, which is believed to represent the deity's mother, Dolana/Dolā Māju, also identified as the goddess Jñānaḍākinī. In the documents, her name is variously spelled as Dvolaṅa, Dolana, Dolanā, Dulaṃ, and Dulana. More information on this site can be found in the DANAM, id: LAL2820.

16 During the early Śāha period, the *cautariyā* was a senior office customarily held by collateral princes of the Śāha dynasty, ranking among the principal executive authorities of the court.

Rāmānanda as the rightful descendant of Jīvarāja and his overseership to the *guthi* (document E_2253_0015B).[17] In 1803, in the month of Bhādra, a royal order (*lālamohara*)[18] was issued granting Rāmānanda and his fellow *guthi* members the right to retain overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments (document E_2253_0015C). The document also lists fourteen plots of land amounting to sixty-nine *ropanī*s as the *guthi*'s endowment.

In spite of the issuance of the royal order, the legal dispute continued. Further investigations were carried out by officials to confirm whether Rāmānanda was the rightful person to oversee the *guthi* (documents E_2253_0015D, E_2254_0001C and E_2253_0015F). Two *ḍiṭṭhā*[19] officials had to further attest Rāmānanda's right after conducting their own investigation (document E_2253_0015E). In the month of Āśvina 1803, Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī, one of the regents of King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha, issued a document (E_2254_0001D) reiterating what was stated in the *lālamohara* of Gīrvāṇayuddha (document E_2253_0015C), confirming overseership of the Luthāma Guthi to Rāmānanda and his descendants. Further documents were issued to clarify the ownership dispute between Rāmānanda and Bhājudhana regarding crop yields and certain utensils.[20]

Ultimately, in 1805, King Gīrvāṇayuddha reconfirmed Rāmānanda's position (K_0341_0034). This royal order also lists the plots of land belonging to the *guthi*. However, the amount of listed endowed land is considerably less than in the document E_2253_0015C issued two years earlier.

1819–1827: Later years of the nineteenth century saw further state interventions in the affairs of the Luthāma Guthi. In 1819, a *lālamohara* issued by King Rājendra Vikrama Śāha nullified an earlier royal order dismissing Rāmānanda's overseership and assigned the right to appoint an overseer (document K_0015_0021C) to a *ḍiṭṭhā*. In Kārttika of 1826, another *lālamohara* of King Rājendra gave authority over

17 Another copy of this letter can be found in NGMPP E_2254_0001A.

18 *Lālamohara*, often abbreviated as *mohara*, is a royal document bearing the red seal.

19 A *ḍiṭṭhā* was a civil servant ranked above a *mukhiyā* and below a *subbā* (Stiller 1981, 379). Initially serving as judges in Kathmandu courts (Edwards 1975, 107), they assumed various roles, including overseeing arms, serving in the Gorkhali Company, or managing elephant or horse stables (see *Ain-54* § 31.11).

20 Documents E_2254_0001G and E_2254_0001H and the scribal notes E_2253_0015G and E_2254_0001B lay out the situation surrounding the dispute.

the Luthāma Guthi to Hākyā Kaṭuvāla (document K_0015_0031E). Hākyā's overseership of the *guthi* did not last long. After six months, in Vaiśākha 1827, upon a petition by the *guthi* members, King Rājendra transferred authority over the *guthi* to Rāmānanda's sons Amṛtānanda and Sundarānanda (document K_0014_0014C).

1975: In this year, the central figures in the *toraṇa*s of the *vimāna* were restored (Locke 1980, 304, n. 54). However, Locke does not provide a source for this information.

1990: In this year, during the twelve-yearly procession, the *guthi* received a substantial donation from Sundaralāla Khaḍgī of Yiti Ṭola in Patan, who funded the replacement of the gilt panels, reflecting the ongoing devotion and community support for the Luthāma Guthi's preservation.

Transitions in the Luthāma Guthi

As we have seen, the Luthāma Guthi has experienced significant transitions and periods of liminality over the centuries, shaped by external political forces, internal struggles, and shifting administrative systems. The conquest of the Kathmandu Valley by Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha, in 1768/69, marked the beginning of substantial changes, as land reforms and new tax systems imposed by the Śāha dynasty altered the socio-cultural landscape of the valley. The imposition of the *potā*-levy and other reforms impacted the financial stability of *guthi*s like Luthāma, pushing them into more precarious positions. Between 1773 and 1801, the *guthi* was subjected to the *ijārā* system, whereby government-appointed contractors managed its land. This transition eroded the *guthi*'s autonomy, as contractors often mismanaged its resources and disrupted its rituals, resulting in a loss of both financial independence and community cohesion.

By 1801, the Luthāma Guthi was seeking to reclaim its agency through legal struggles, which culminated in royal decrees restoring the overseership to its rightful members. However, even with the issuance of royal orders, disputes over land and authority persisted, reflecting a liminal period where the *guthi*'s governance hung between external control and self-determination. Throughout the nineteenth century, further royal interventions and petitions by *guthi* members highlighted ongoing challenges, but by the mid-twentieth century, the *guthi* had

regained much of its traditional role. Despite setbacks from land reforms, urban expansion, and misappropriation by some of its members, resulting in the loss of many of its land endowments, the community support, as seen in substantial donations and the 1990 renewal, of the *vimāna*, demonstrated the *guthi*'s resilience in navigating these transitions and preserving its cultural significance into modern times.

Transition in land endowments

Land ownership and socio-religious organizations such as *guthi*s are intimately connected. Endowment of land is what makes a *guthi* economically viable. Historically, *guthi*s have relied heavily on land holdings to generate the resources necessary to sustain their activities. For the Luthāma Guthi, the income from its land was essential not only for supporting the recurring rituals but also for funding the maintenance, repair, and renovation of the components of the *vimāna*. Manuscripts Th1 and other documents reflect that the *guthi* had sufficient lands and resources to cover these costs independently, making it economically self-sustaining.

However, over the last two centuries, the Luthāma Guthi has experienced a significant erosion of its land holdings. In 1803, the *guthi* possessed 14 plots of land measuring 69 *ropani*s, as documented in E_2253_0015C, but by 1805, this had reduced to 56 *ropani*s and 3 *javā*s,[21] a loss of 13 *ropani*s in just two years. A further decline is evident in the 1817 record (Th1), which listed 51 and a half *ropani*s across 11 plots. Although the landholding fluctuated, with 56 *ropani*s recorded again, in 1826, it had dropped to 50 *ropani*s and 3 *javā*s by 1827.[22] By the 1980s, according to Bruce Owens, the *guthi*'s land had shrunk to 36 *ropani*s (Owens 1989, 274–275), and by 2023, Mahendrananda reported, only a single plot remained, amounting to roughly 2 *ropani*s, half of which now lies under the Nakhu River.

Several historical and legal developments contributed to this dramatic loss of land endowments. The 1964 land reforms, which redistributed land across Nepal, had an impact on the *guthi*, leading to significant expropriation of its properties. Further losses occurred in 1977 when the construction of Kathmandu's 27-kilometre-long Ring Road resulted in the government seizing more land. Additionally, internal

21 See document K_0341_0034.
22 See document K_0014_0014C.

challenges arose within the *guthi* itself, as some members illegally transferred *guthi* land to their own names, later selling it for personal gain. These disputes, including a five-decade-long legal conflict between the *guthi*'s former elder and other members over land misappropriation, weakened the *guthi*'s land base and caused further fragmentation.

Despite these losses, the Luthāma Guthi has managed to maintain its core functions, though under much more constrained circumstances. The *guthi* still follows its tradition of keeping financial records after the completion of the annual *jātrā*, but the nature of these records has evolved. Earlier documents recorded transactions in terms of land yields, while modern financial records reflect monetary transactions, including interests from a permanent fund.

Notably, the Luthāma Guthi has resisted efforts by the government's Guthi Saṃsthān to take over its management, arguing that the traditional *guthi* management, whose members have a deep affection for and understanding of Newar culture and values, is better suited to preserve the chariot and related rituals than a state-run institution. This example highlights the complex relationship between state policy, land ownership, and the preservation of cultural heritage in Nepal.

Transition in the number of *guthi* members

Historical records show a fluctuation in the number of members of the Luthāma Guthi over time. Document E_2254_0001E recorded five members of the *guthi*. In 1817, according to *thyāsaphū* Th1, the *guthi* had seven members. The manuscripts from 1912 (Th2) and 1913 (Th3) show four and three members respectively. By 1989, Bruce Owens, in his thesis, reported only one active member in the *guthi* (Owens 1989, 274). However, a revival in membership occurred in 2020, when the number increased to four members, representing the sixteen families involved in the *guthi*. This fluctuation in membership reflects the social dynamics and internal conflicts among families of the clan that have affected the *guthi* over the years.

Transition within the Luthāma Guthi's ritual performances

Rituals are an essential part of any religious *guthi* in the Kathmandu Valley. The *thyāsaphū*s show that the Luthāma Guthi once had a significant

number of ritual performances conducted throughout the year. Over the years, however, the nature and frequency of these rituals have undergone notable changes. An examination of the three *thyāsaphū*s reveals the transitions within these ritual practices shifts that reflect social, cultural, and economic transformations within the community.

The ritual performances described in *thyāsaphū* Th1, dating back to 1817, bespeak a rich and elaborate ceremonial tradition. The arrival of the deity from Bungamati to Patan was marked by a feast and *pūjā* offered to the deity. Specific rites such as the *choylābhū* on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha and the *dolana-koṭi-pūjā* on the ninth were performed. These included *pūjā*s not only for Dolana Māju at Lagankhel but also for Buṅgadyaḥ and Jaṭādhārī Lokeśvara (Mīnanātha), underscoring the interconnectedness of the three deities within the ritual complex of the *guthi*. The *guthi* members participated in the *bicāra-pūjā*[23] in Bungamati four days after the completion of the annual *jātrā*. Finally, the *thyāsaphū* mentions the ritual worship of the deities Vidyādharī and Viśvakarmā at the *guthi*'s esoteric shrine (*āgama*).

By 1912 (Th2), there were some noticeable simplifications in the ritual practices. While the core elements, such as the feast and *pūjā* upon the deity's arrival in Patan, remained intact, certain rituals appear to have either been omitted or condensed. The *pūjā*s for Dolana Māju and Vidyādharī and for the *bicāra-pūjā* were still performed. However, it appears that greater emphasis was given to the *pūjā* and the accompanying feast at Jawalakhel on the concluding day of the *jātrā*.

The subsequent record (Th3) from 1913 largely mirrors the ritual activities outlined in 1912. The *thyāsaphū* highlights the offering of lamps to Buṅgadyaḥ on the eighth day of Vaiśākha, Dolana Māju's *pūjā* on the ninth, and the *pūjā* and feast at Jawalakhel.

In contemporary times, the ritual performances of the Luthāma Guthi have significantly diminished in scope. According to Mahendrananda, by 2023, only the *dolana-pūjā* was being regularly performed. There is a marked reduction in both the complexity and number of rituals. The transformation within the ritual performances of the Luthāma Guthi over the past two centuries exemplifies the dynamic nature of religious practice, shaped by shifting community priorities and capacities.

23 The final ritual of the annual procession performed at Bungamati, four days after the conclusion of the chariot procession in Patan. See Owens 1989, 236, 243 for a description of this ritual celebration in Bungamati.

Challenges, innovations, and future prospects of the Luthāma Guthi

One of the significant challenges faced by the Luthāma Guthi in modern times is its lack of a permanent and stable source of income, particularly land endowments, which have historically been a vital component. In the past, the *guthi* often relied on income generated from land endowments to sustain its ritual obligations and renovation of the *vimāna*. Now, however, such resources are either being reduced or stripped away, leaving the institution financially vulnerable. This has resulted in difficulties maintaining the essential services that Jīvarāja and his descendants institutionalized centuries ago, particularly in relation to the periodic restoration of the *vimāna* components.

Historical records indicate that, in its early years, the *guthi* benefitted from royal patronage. For example, in 1673, a few decades after the *guthi*'s establishment, King Śrīnivāsa donated the golden *khatajalā*, the veranda-like platform that is built around the *vimāna*.[24] The *khatajalā* has since then become an essential part of the Luthāma Guthi's accessories. A copper-plate inscription dated NS 866 (1746 CE) records that, the same year, King Rājyaprakāśa Malla renewed the *khatajalā* and donated parasols and banners to the chariot.[25] In 1869, a donor from Hakhā (Patan) offered a *toraṇa* to be placed in the inner sanctum of the chariot.[26] This *toraṇa*, however, is currently managed by the Guthi Saṃsthān. Among the later renewals of the *vimāna*, John Locke mentions the replacement of the central figures in the *toraṇa*s in 1975 (Locke 1980, 304, n. 54). Unfortunately, he did not provide the source for this information. Finally, in 1990, Sundaralāla Khaḍgī of Yiti Ṭola in Patan sponsored a complete renewal of the *vimāna* including the gilt panels.

Fast forward to the present day, and many of the *vimāna* components are seen to have deteriorated significantly. Without sufficient financial resources, the *guthi* struggles to maintain or renovate them. Mahendrananda, in a conversation in July 2023, expressed his wish to renew the *vimāna* for the next twelve-yearly procession of 2027. However, such a renewal is dependent on securing external donations.

24 See *Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī*, 70 and *Devamālāvaṃśāvalī*, 28.

25 Śakya and Vaidya 1970, 226.

26 For an edition and translation of this inscription, see identifier NHDP_0001_0140 in Chapter 5, "Inscriptions in Motion: The Epigraphical Culture of the Buṅgadyaḥ Procession" in this volume. It can also be accessed in the *Documenta Nepalica* database at https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/68196.

Encouragingly, there is potential for Sundaralāla, the earlier donor, to once again sponsor this renewal.

Despite these financial challenges, the Luthāma Guthi has demonstrated resilience through innovative strategies aimed at sustaining its operations. One significant achievement was the creation of a permanent fund, amounting to some three million rupees, which was saved during the COVID-19 pandemic. While this is not a substantial sum in the long term, it provides the *guthi* with a financial cushion for immediate expenses. Additionally, there have been discussions about purchasing a property for the *guthi* to generate a stable source of income. The *guthi*'s original house, which was essential for its functioning, was misappropriated, but efforts are underway to buy a new house.

Looking forward, the members are planning to publish a book on the Luthāma Guthi, timed to coincide with the next twelve-yearly procession of 2027. This publication is expected to draw attention to the *guthi*'s historical and cultural significance and may help attract public support, ensuring the institution's sustainability for generations to come.

Despite various challenges over the past four centuries, this institution has consistently fulfilled its purpose. Its longevity has been sustained through periodic support from the state and the public, as well as by its ability to adapt and innovate in response to changing times.

Conclusion

Jīvarāja's establishment of the Luthāma Guthi in the seventeenth century represented formalization of the specific services he and his descendants have provided to Buṅgadyaḥ. The services included maintaining the *vimāna*, a prominent component of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, performing recurring rituals, organizing feasts, and working in close collaboration with other stakeholders of the annual procession. Despite several ups and downs, and numerous threats to its identity, this institution has been successful, for the past four hundred years, in fulfilling its purpose.

The transformation of the Luthāma Guthi over the centuries offers valuable insights into the resilience of socio-religious institutions in the Kathmandu Valley amid external pressures, internal conflicts, and socio-political changes. With the conquest of the valley by the Śāha dynasty in the late eighteenth century, the *guthi* faced significant

disruptions. The imposition of the *ijārā* system, the loss of land endowments, and the erosion of financial autonomy all contributed to the *guthi*'s struggles, necessitating legal battles to restore its agency.

The institution's ability to navigate these challenges was remarkable, and it eventually regained its independence through persistent efforts and royal orders. However, the progressive loss of land holdings continued which weakened its financial stability. By the twentieth century, land reforms and urban expansion had further depleted its resources, and internal misappropriations led to additional losses. Despite these setbacks, the *guthi* remained committed to its duties, drawing on community support and external donations, as seen in the major renewal of the *vimāna* in 1990.

In present times, the Luthāma Guthi faces significant challenges, particularly in terms of securing a permanent source of income. The reliance on periodic donations only leaves the institution vulnerable, with much of the *vimāna* deteriorating due to a lack of funds. Yet the *guthi* has also demonstrated adaptability. The establishment of a permanent fund and plans to acquire property represent important steps toward securing its long-term sustainability.

Ultimately, the history of the Luthāma Guthi illustrates both the fragility and endurance of the traditional *guthi* system in Nepal. While the *guthi*'s future hinges on overcoming its financial challenges, its ability to innovate and sustain itself over four centuries, is a testament to the institution's profound cultural significance and the dedication of its members. Its continued survival will likely depend on a combination of community engagement, innovative financial strategies, and the preservation of its historical and cultural legacy.

Document editions and translations

1. E_2253_0015A

A copy of an account by Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā of petitions he made to Rudravīra Sāha and Bam Sāha in justification of his claim to control the Luthāma Guthi

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; dated VS 1859 (1802 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guṭhī; microfilmed as E 2253/15; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18745.

Edition

[1r]

श्री ३ मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ १

श्री ५ महाराजा २

लुथाम् गूठ भन्याको हाम्रा पुरुषा जीवराज वांडाले १को रथमाँहां विमान चढाई राष्याको हो । १९२ वर्ष भयो तस्को टह-
ल् उनका संतानले गरिआयाको हो । वीचमंहां वर्ष २ ४ गोर्षाको राज्य भई इजारा पर्दा धर्मार्थ राष्याको गूठ इजारा
हालि खाजौन । पुरुषावाट गरिआयाको टहल भन्या छोड्यौन । ५९का सालमंहां भाजुधन जैसिले इजारा माफ ग-
राया भंदा सुंदा श्री रूद्रवीर साहथि गर्जौं । २ले देवताको धन हर्दा हाम्रो केहि लाग्दैन । २ले देवताको खेत
देवतालाई वक्स्याप्रांत तिन सहरका शिरिस्ताले हामिले पाउन्या हो वाँडाँको गूठ जैसिले कसो गरि लैगयो अ-
न्याय पर्यो भनि विंति गर्दा गुठिहारलाई हरिदियाको छैनं इजाराप माफ गरिदियाको छ भनि आज्ञा भयो । भाजुध-
नलाई खै गरिदिउंला भन्नुभयो । रूवरू भाजुधन जैसिलाई दिहाल् भनिदिनु भयो । दिउंला पनि भन्यो । घर माग्र जाँ-
दाँ कोहि वर्ष मैले खायर दिउंला आज र श्री वंव साहथि हामिलाई भाजुधनले गूठ सुप्यो भन भन्यो । तसमंहां
चित्त वुझेन र श्री वंव साहथि विंति गर्न गर्जौं । उन्ले दियाको दसखतको नकल् ।

Translation

[1r]

Thrice glorious Matsyendranātha - 1
His Fivefold Venerable Majesty[27] - 2
The Luthāma Guthi was established by our ancestor Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā[28] when he offered the *vimāna* to the chariot of 1 [i.e., Matsyendranātha]. His descendants have been serving this [*guthi*] for 192 years. When in the meantime, after 2 or 4 years of Gorkha rule, the *ijārā* [system] was instituted, we did not bid for and enjoy [the physical benefit of] the

27 From the date of the document, it is evident that the unnamed king was Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha (r. 1799–1816).
28 The document spells the name as Bāṃḍā.

ijārā [contract] for the *guthi*, since it was established for the purpose of [accumulating] religious merit. [However,] we did not discontinue the services carried out by our ancestors. When in the year [VS 18]59 (1802 CE) we heard that Bhājudhana Jaisi had had *ijārā* [obligations on the part of the *guthi*] forgiven, we went to Rudravīra Sāha.[29] We petitioned him, saying: "If 2 [i.e., the king] confiscates the deity's property, there is nothing we can do. Since the king [now] has returned the deity's land to the deity, [and since] the Śiristās[30] of the three cities have said that we should receive [charge of the *guthi*], how is it that a Jaisi has seized control of a *guthi* of the Bā̃ḍās? Injustice is being done [to us]," and he told us: "We haven't removed the *guthi* members (text: *guṭhīhāra*); only *ijārā* [obligations] have been forgiven." He said that he would take Bhājudhana to task. He, being face to face (*rubaru*) with Bhājudhana, told him to return [charge of the *guthi*] immediately. He (i.e., Bhājudhana), too, said that he would return it. (This seems to me to be the sense. [However,] when we went to his house to ask for it back, he said: "I will return it [only] after enjoying it for some [more] years. Tell Baṃba Sāha[31] today that [I,] Bhājudhana, [have] handed the *guthi* over." We were not satisfied with this [proposition] and went to make a petition to Baṃba Sāha.

A copy of the letter sent by him (i.e., Bam Sāha).[32]

Commentary

This document is the first in a series of documents concerning a legal issue that arose in 1802 over the control of the Luthāma Guthi. According to the NGMPP catalog card, these copied documents were in the collection of Manoj Rajopadhyaya of Kathmandu. In the current document, Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā explains how in the year VS 1859 he realized

29 Rudravīra Sāha was a son of Vīrabāhu Sāha and a younger brother of *Cautariyā* Bam Sāha. He held administrative positions at the district level at the end of the eighteenth century and during the early years of the nineteenth century (cf. M.C. Regmi 1987, 6). His posts include *subbā* of Kumaun at least until VS 1863 and of Salyan in VS 1866.

30 The Śreṣṭhas, a high-caste Newar clan.

31 Baṃba Sāha (generally spelled as Bam Sāha) was a son of Vīrabāhu Sāha and an elder brother of Rudravīra Sāha. He was appointed as the *subbā* of Kumaun in 1797 (cf. M.C. Regmi 1972, 64). The Nepalese troops there fought the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814–1816 under his leadership.

32 This refers to the document E_2253_0015B in the same collection.

that Bhājudhana Jaisi was misusing his authority over the Luthāma Guthi, and how he made a petition to Rudravīra Sāha, wherein he justified his claim to regain control of the *guthi*. Rudravīra's order to Bhājudhana to immediately return charge of the *guthi* went unheeded, and Rāmānanda had to make a petition to Bam Sāha instead.

The document omits dates and the name of the writer. However, it mentions the year VS (18)59 in its main body, and since the document E_2253_0015B, which is the Bam Sāha's response to the writer's petition, is dated Śrāvaṇa of that year, we can safely assume that the period covered in this document lies within the first four months of the year. Similarly, the writer can be determined to have been Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā, as E_2253_0015B is addressed to him.

As the document mentions, the disputed Luthāma Guthi was established when Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā donated the *vimāna* to the chariot of Matsyendranātha. Jīvarāja, with whom the writer of the document claimed ancestry, was a resident of Oku Bāhāla[33] in Patan and is credited with completing the Mahābuddha Temple. According to the *vaṃśāvalī*s, Jīvarāja received some gold from the Lāmā of Sikkim when he finished building it. He then later used this gold to produce the gilt metal panels and donated them to the chariot.[34] Hemarāja Śākya gives the date of the donation as Wednesday, the fourth of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in NS 774 (1654 CE).[35] This dating, however, is problematic. If Jīvarāja completed the Mahābuddha Temple in NS 721 (H. Śākya VS 2045, 10), and the Luthāma Guthi was created by the same Jīvarāja in connection with the temple, it is unrealistic to believe that there would be a gap of fifty-three years between the two events. Moreover, the document states that the ancestors of the writer had served the *guthi* for 192 years. This would allow us to assume that the *guthi* was established in VS 1667 (1859–192=1667), corresponding to NS 730 (1610 CE) or thereabout. This date can also be confirmed through the *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī*, which mentions the establishment of the *guthi* during the reign of King Śivasiṃha Malla.

33 Also known as Śivadevasaṃskārita Rudravarṇa Mahāvihāra, Oku Bāhāla is one of the major Buddhist monasteries of Patan. For an inventory of this monastery, see in the DANAM, id: LAL2260.

34 See NBhV (Bajracharya and Michaels 2016, 103).

35 See H. Śākya VS 2045, 11. John Locke cites the same date and adds that the information is contained in a manuscript in the possession of *guthi* members (Locke 1980, 304).

Luthāma is variously spelled as Lusā, Lusāhāpau (H. Śākya VS 2045), and Lhusā (Owens 1989). The *guthi* maintains the panels, provides for transporting and fitting the panels to the Matsyendranātha chariot each year, and manages storage of the dismantled panels throughout the year after the festival is over. The members of the *guthi* come from the *saṅgha* of Mahābuddha Bāhāla. Bruce Owens in the 1980s observed that the *guthi* had only one member, though there used to be seven or eight (Owens 1989, 274).

The document mentions the Luthāma Guthi's falling under the *ijārā* system of contractual management, and that this system was instituted after two or four years of Gorkha rule. The definitive year of the imposition of *ijārā* is provided in document PD_0002_0002 as NS 893 (ca. 1773). It is further learned from the current document that the government later removed the Luthāma Guthi from the *ijārā* form of control, and Bhājudhana then somehow managed to tighten his control over the *guthi*. The document thus announces that Bam Sāha was petitioned by Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā to have the *guthi* returned to the original overseers.

2. E_2253_0015B

A copy of an executive order from *Cautariyā* Bam Sāha empowering Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā to operate the Luthāma Guthi
Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Yogesh Budathoki; dated VS 1859 (1802 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2253/15B; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18857.

Edition

[1r]

1 श्री ३ मत्स्येंद्रनाथ १

1 स्वस्ति श्रीमच्चौतरियावम्वसाहकस्य पत्रम् । ---

2 आगे महावुद्द टोलको रामानंद वाडाके । -१-का गूठको इजारा माफ गरि राजगूठको विसेटि भारा मात्र भा-

3 जुधनलाई मोहोर गरिदियाको हो । वाडाले राष्याको लुथाम गूठ हो भनि भाजुधनले
वेओंरा नकहँदा मोहो-
4 रमहाँ पऱ्याको लुथाम गूठ छ । तपनि प्रजा [गूठ] [ह]रि भाजुधन जैसिलाइ दियाको
छैन । तिम्रा पुरुषाले राष्या-
5 को गूठ वीचमहा इजारा पर्दा तिमिले षेत छाडि काम नछाड्याका रह्याछौ ।
परंपराका रीतले गरिआया-
6 को आफ्ना पुरुषाले चढायाको -१-का रथको वित्त शिल्प माफिक मरमत गरि
जीवराज वाडाले च-
7 ढायाको गूठ जानि चलन गर । इति संवत् १८५९ श्रावण शुदि ५ रोज ३ शुभम् । ---

1 तांहांपछि विंति गऱ्यौं । वोका काटि वोकालाई वलि दिनु हुन्न । एका प्रजाको गूठ
अर्का प्रजालाई क्या-
2 न होला भनि वेओरा वुझि मोहोर गराई हाम्रा पुरुषाको गूठ हाम्रा हात चलन
दियाको मोहोरको नकल् ।

Translation

[1r]
Thrice glorious Matsyendranātha – 1
Hail! A letter of the venerable *Cautarīyā* Bamba Sāha.

Āge:[36] to Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā (text: *bāḍā*) of Mahābuddha Ṭola. Having forgiven *ijārā* [obligations on the part of] the *guthi* of 1 [i.e., Matsyendranātha], we had issued a *mohara*[37] to Bhājudhana granting him merely the responsibility of a *biseṭ*[38] of the [Matsyendranātha] *rāja-*

36 Lit. "hereupon" or "henceforth." Common in administrative and legal documents as a procedural marker introducing (1) the formal address to the concerned party or office, or (2) the beginning of a new section, clause, or paragraph.

37 *Mohara* here refers to an abbreviated form of *lālamohara*, royal document bearing the royal seal.

38 A *biseṭ* denotes a traditionally appointed temple steward (cf. M. C. Regmi 1978, 855), that is, a person responsible for administering a religious institution and, in some contexts, an official charged with the accountancy of temple trusts, such as the Paśupatinātha Bhaṇḍāra (cf. Michaels 1994, 158–161). Michaels renders the term as "*viśeṣ*" and relates the different spellings attested to Skt. *viśeṣa* (Michaels 1994, 160, n. 138). It seems more likely that the term comes from Nepal Bhasa and is a variant of *besata/byaṣṭa*, "messenger" (cp. Malla et al. 2000, s.v.).
In the context of Buṅgadyaḥ, the *biseṭ*s supervised *guthi* lands endowed to the deity and were responsible for the logistical arrangements of the festival (cf. Locke 1980, 267). They played a central role in the administration of Buṅgadyaḥ during the Malla and early Śāha periods. A royal order of VS 1863 strips the

guthi.[39] Bhājudhana did not reveal the information that the Luthāma Guthi was established by the Bā̃ḍās. Therefore, [that] royal order (*mohara*) includes the Luthāma Guthi [within the remit]. However, we have neither confiscated [this] *guthi* founded with private land (*prajā-guthi*), nor have we passed it on to Bhājudhana Jaisi. It is learned [from your letter] that when this *guthi*, established by your ancestors, fell under the *ijārā* [system], you gave up the lands but not [your] duties. By following the traditional customs and using your wealth [and] skills (*vitta śilpa*), maintain the [*vimāna* of] the chariot of Matsyendranātha donated by your ancestors. Knowing that the *guthi* was donated by Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā, enjoy [its fruits]. Tuesday, the 5th of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama era] year 1859 (1802 CE).

We then made a petition [to the king]. "A he-goat cannot be sacrificed to another he-goat. How can the *guthi* of one subject be [given] to another subject?" [He] understood and had a *mohara* issued. Below is a copy of the *mohara* that put the operation of the *guthi* of our ancestors back into our hands.[40]

Commentary

This letter was sent by Bam Sāha in response to a petition by Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā of Mahābuddha in Patan (see document E_2253_0015A for the background to the petition). This is the second document of the series concerning a legal issue over the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi fraudulently retained by Bhājudhana Jaisi.

traditionally appointed *diṭṭhā*s as well as the *biseṭ*s serving Buṅgadyaḥ of their authority and appoints a new *diṭṭhā*. The reason for the transfer of power was the misuse of the deity's property (see Locke 1980, 321–322; M.C. Regmi 1974, 129, and the document RRC_0005_0159). Nowadays, the role of *biseṭ*s has declined to merely the ceremonial task of waving yak tail fans in front of the sanctum of the chariot during the festival.

39 *Rājaguthi*: a *guthi* established by the king or royal family. Originally, a *rājaguthi* was an endowment made by members of ruling Gorkha families. That distinguishes it from a *duniyā̃guthi*, an endowment made by private individuals (cf. M.C. Regmi 1976, 58). However, *rājaguthi*s later on included lands that originally belonged to private individuals but had been confiscated by the government or else donated to it (cf. M.C. Regmi 1976, 59). This document contains the term *prajāguṭha*, used as a synonym of *duniyā̃guthi*.

40 The *mohara* in question is reproduced in E_2253_0015C, the following document in the collection.

The document mentions that Bhājudhana was being appointed as a *biseṭ* of a *rājaguthi*, one that concerned with Matsyendranātha. Owing to his nondisclosure of the *guthi*'s origins, the Luthāma Guthi came under his control, even though it was not a *rājaguthi*. The document acknowledges this mistake and allows Rāmānanda to take back charge of it.

The document contains a note at the end which indicates that Rāmānanda made a petition to the king and was able to obtain a royal order (*lālamohara*) confirming his clan's overseership of the *guthi* endowments. A copy of this *lālamohara* is available: E_2253_0015C.

There is another copy of this document in E_2254_0001A. Except for an invocation श्रीदुर्गासहाय: (missing here) and the reading श्रीमत्स्येन्द्रनाथ१ (instead of श्री३मत्स्येन्द्रनाथ१ here) both this and E_2254_0001A are exactly the same. Similarly, the scribal note at the end of this document is comparable to E_2254_0001B except for some additional sentences in the latter document.

3. E_2253_0015C

A copy of an executive order presumably from King Gīrvāṇa granting Rāmānanda Bāḍā the right to retain overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Yogesh Budathoki; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2253/15C; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18862.

Edition

[1r]

1 [श्रीमत्स्येंद्र १]

1 स्वस्तिश्री[?] लिखा पत्रम्

1 स्वस्ति । श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य रुक्का । ---
2 आगे पाटनका ओकु वाहाल टोलको महावुद्ध घरको रामानंद वांडाके । तेरा पुरू-
3 षा जीवराज वांडाले १ को रथमहा सुनको विमान चढाउंदा गूठ राख्याको का-

म चलाई वाकि रह्याका द्रव्यले पछि गूठका खेत वढाउदै खराख्याका गूठको खे-
तको चलन पनि तिमिहेरूले गरिआयाको रहेछ । विमान विग्रदा पनि अद्या-
वधि तिमिहेरूले वनाउंदै रह्याछौ । हाम्रो राज्य भयापछि पनि दुई तिन वर्ष
गूठको भोग्य गऱ्याछौ । हिजो देश घेरा पार्दा गूठ चढायाका पत्र भाद्वाउंमा
लुकाउन लैजांदा भोट्याले खोसि लियाछन् तपनि चौविश हजारका जा-
नुका[र]ले जान्यैको रहेछ । पछि इजारा पर्दा खेत छोडिछस् तपनि गरिआया-
को काम छाडिनछस् । पछि इजारा माफ् गरिदियापछि पनि विग्ऱ्याको तै-
ले वनाउनु पर्दो रहेछ । तेरा पुरूषाले राख्याको गूठ तैले वेहोर्न पायाको र-
हेनछ । त्यो विमान विग्रदा टुट्ता परापूर्वका रीतले वनाउनु सजाउनु । टहल
नघटाई तेरा पुरूषाले राष्याको तपसील वमोजीमको गूठ तेरा संतानलाई नखो-
स्नु गरिवक्स्यौं । परापूर्वका रीतले परापूर्वदेखि गरिआयाको टहल् नघटाई गू-
ठ जानि खातिर्जामासित भोग्य गर । शुभम् । ---
तपसील

ङ्खु रोपनी ---६	भिलुपा रोपनी ---६	ङ्षुवंग रोपनी ---१
पाको रोपनी ---६	सिलापाको रोपनी ---६।	रानिवु रोपनी ---१।।।
टदंहं रोपनी ---६	रानिवु रोपनी ---७	घ्योपी रोपनी ---३
पतिपा रोपनी ---६	कुसुंति रोपनी ---८	तेपना रोपनी ---५
वुगमती रोपनी ---६	थंछे रोपनी ---१	जम्मा रोपनी ठिक ---६९

इति संवत् १८६० मिति साल भाद्र वदि ७ रो ३ शुभम् । ---

ताहांपछि अंवलि श्री शंखधर सुवेदार छेउ वहालि माग्न जांदां पाटन्या भला म-
नुष्य राषि त्यो गूठ कस्को हो विचार गरि लेखिपठाऱ भनि लेखिपठायाका कागत
को नकल् । ---

Translation

[1r]
Śrī Matsyendra[nātha] – 1
...[41] written letter.
Hail! An executive order (*rukkā*) of the venerable supreme king of great kings[42]

41 The text written in the right margin has been blacked out with ink.
42 The name of the king is not mentioned here, but it is evident from the date of the document that it was Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha (r. 1799–1816). At the time of the document, he ruled under the regency of the queens Rājarājeśvarī Devī, Suvarṇaprabhā Devī, and Lalitatripurasundarī Devī.

Āge: To Rāmānaṃda Bã̄ḍā, a resident of Mahābuddha at Oku Bāhāla Ṭola in Patan. To the [Luthāma] *guthi* established by your ancestor Jīvarāja Bã̄ḍā when he offered a golden *vimāna* to the chariot of 1 (i.e., Matsyendranātha) were added further rice field plots with money left over after it completed its tasks. It is learned that you (i.e., the *guthi* members) have been tending to those plots as well. It is also learned that up to the present you have been renovating the *vimāna* whenever it is damaged. You still enjoyed [the fruits of] the *guthi* for two or three years after [the start of] our rule. Earlier,[43] during [the Gorkha troops'] blockade of the region,[44] when you took to Bhādagāũ, in order to hide them there, the documents relating to the donation of the *guthi*, [the documents] were grabbed by the Bhoṭyās.[45] However, it is learned that the well-informed among the twenty-four thousand[46] [households/people] know [that you are the rightful overseers of the *guthi*]. Later, when the *ijārā* [system] was instituted, you gave up the plots but did not give up the regular duties [of the *guthi*]. It is [further] learned that you still had to renovate [the *vimāna*] whenever it was damaged, even after the *ijārā* [obligations on the part of the *guthi*] had been forgiven, and that you were unable to make use of the *guthi* established by your ancestors.

Whenever the *vimāna* is damaged or breaks, repair and restore it, following [thereby] the traditional customs. We have made arrangements so that the *guthi* established by your ancestor [with the endowments] mentioned in the list below [and ever since] provided with undiminished service cannot be taken away from [you and] your descendants. Enjoy [its fruits,] knowing that it is [your] *guthi*, [and]—mindful of your duty—not reducing the services that you have long provided to it by traditional custom. Auspiciousness.

43 *hijo*, lit. "yesterday."

44 The term used is *deśa* (country, kingdom), referring to the Kathmandu Valley or perhaps the kingdom of Patan. The Gorkhali troops blockaded the valley before conquering the kingdoms of Kathmandu and Patan in 1768.

45 The term *bhoṭyā* (var. *bhoṭe*, *bhoṭiyā*) refers to the inhabitants of Bhoṭa or people of Tibetan language and culture (cf. Whelpton 2005, 260). It is also an umbrella term designating Tibetanid groups classified as enslavable alcohol-drinkers in the *Mulukī Ain* as well as a non-ethnically defined legal status (see Ramble 2008, 29–30).

46 The city of Patan is traditionally thought of as containing twenty-four thousand households (Hamilton 1819, 209) or people (cf. Bajracharya and Michaels 2016, vol. 1, 48).

The list [of *guthi* lands]

Ṅakhu, 6 *ropanī*s	Bhilupā, 6 *ropanī*s	Ṅakhuvaṃga, 1 *ropanī*
Pāko, 6 *ropanī*s	Silāpāko, 6 *ropanī*s 1 *javā*	Rānibu, 1 *ropanī* 3 *javā*s
Ṭadahaṃ, 6 *ropanī*s	Rānibu, 7 *ropanī*s	Ghyopī, 3 *ropanī*s
Patipā, 6 *ropanī*s	Kusuṃti, 8 *ropanī*s	Tepanā, 5 *ropanī*s
Bu[ṅ]gamatī, 6 *ropanī*s	Thaṃche, 1 *ropanī*	A total of exactly 69 *ropanī*s

Tuesday, the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhādra in the [Vikrama] era year 1860 (1803 CE).

Later on, when we went to ask for [a] *bahāli*[47] [document] to the *amālī,*[48] the venerable *subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara, he wrote to us: "You should write [to me] in consultation with the notables (*bhalā manuṣya*) of Patan regarding whom the *guthi* is under." A copy of the letter he sent [is below].[49]

Commentary

This document is a copy of an executive order seemingly issued by King Gīrvāṇayuddha to Rāmānanda Bã̃ḍā of Oku Bāhāla in Patan. It grants Rāmānanda and his fellow *guthi* members the right to retain overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments. It was issued in response to a petition by Rāmānanda and is mentioned in a note appended to document E_2253_0015B. There is a gap of one year between this and the document E_2253_0015B, leading one to believe that Rāmānanda had to wait that long to get this *rukkā* issued.

Rāmānanda apparently did not possess any proof of his right to the Luthāma Guthi. As the document mentions, this was because his papers were taken by the Bhoṭes (*Bhoṭyā*s in text) when he fled to

47 The term *bahālī* generally means a letter (or the act of) assigning a new post or rights to someone. Here, it has apparently been used to refer to a document putting the overseership of the *guthi* at the disposal of Rāmānanda and his fellow *guthi* members.

48 A revenue official or functionary of a regional administrative unit (Pant and Pierce 1989, 93, M.R. Pant 2002, 131), having some judicial authority (Krauskopff and Meyer 2000, 183). His office was called *amāla*.

49 This refers to E_2253_0015D, the following document in the collection.

Bhaktapur during attacks by the Gorkhali troops in Patan. The king, however, acknowledges his right to the *guthi* based on information obtained from the general public. No names of suppliers of such information are mentioned, nor does the document provide any details about the Bhoṭes who took the documents. If the ethnonym Bhoṭe refers to Tibetanid peoples, it is puzzling how they could have overpowered Rāmānanda in Bhaktapur, which was still ruled by a Newar king. One might conjecture that the documents were taken while he was on his way to Bhaktapur.

The document lists fourteen pieces of plots amounting to sixty-nine *ropanī*s as the endowment of the *guthi*. Although some of the place names cannot be identified, it is likely that all the plots were in or around Lalitpur district. It is interesting to note that Bruce Owens's study during the 1980s found 36 *ropanī*s of land remaining with the *guthi* (see Owens 1989, 274). This was only half of the original amount of land mentioned in the current document. Owens further mentions that the "*guthiyar* complains of having difficulty extracting the *guthi*'s share of the proceeds from its tenants" (1989, 274).

The document has a note appended at the end which mentions that *Amālī* Śaṅkhadhara had asked the *guthi* members to verify their status through Patan's notables. It is interesting that an *amālī* could object to a right already granted by the king. Could a local authority overrule the king's order? Or was this merely a bureaucratic formality?

An edition of this document has also been published in H. Śākya VS 2045, 90–91. According to this edition, the document was attested by Dāmodara and Ambar Sāha.

4. E_2253_0015D

A copy of an order from *subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara to Patan officials to investigate Rāmananda Bā̃ḍā's claim to the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Yogesh Budathoki; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2253/15D; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18863.

Edition

[1r]

श्री मत्स्येंद्र

स्वस्ति । श्रीअंवलिसुवेदारशंखधरकस्य लिखापत्रम् । ---
आगे सहर पाटनका डिठ्ठा रुद्रनारायण डिठ्ठा भागीराराम द्वाऱ्या चंद्रमणि वराल तुसालको
द्वार्या कालु जैसि विष्णु देवलको विचारी करुणाकर दुलालकेषु ।यथोचित उप्रांत ओकु वा-
हाल टोल श्री माहावुद्दको ननिका रामानंद वांडाले -१ को रथमाहा लुथाम गुठि हाम्रा पुरू-
षा जीवराज ज्यूज्यूले राष्याको हो भंछन् । दानपत्र हेरूं भंदा नेपाल मार्दा भाद्दाउंमा आफ्ना
आलमाल सार्दा गूठ चढायाका पत्र आलमाल समेत भोट्याले खोसि लिया भनि भंछन् ।
तस्अर्थ चौवीस हजार पाटन्या जान्या मानिस वसाली निरूपण गर्दा जीवराज वाडाले
राष्याको होइन हाम्रा पुरूषाले राष्याको हो भनि कोहि भन्न सक्तछ त उस्का हातको मुचु-
ल्का लेषाई लियेर जोरिदेउ । एसैका पुरूषाले राष्याको लुथाम विमान गूठ पनि रहेछ विग्र्या-
को वस्तु सपार्न इनका घर आजसंम राषि जांदा रह्याछन् भन्यानविग्र्याको वस्तु राष्याका भं-
डारका ताल्चाको सांचो पनि अझसम्म इनैका घर राषिन्या रहेछ भन्या सर्कारवाट पनि मोहो-
र गरिवक्स्याको छ वहालि चलाईदेउ सर्वथा । ३ इति सं १८६० साल मिति आश्विन वदि १२ रोज ---शुभम् ।

Translation

[1r]

Glorious Matsyendra

Hail! A letter of the venerable *amālī* [and] *subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara.

Āge: To *Ḍiṭṭhā* Rudranārāyaṇa, *Ḍiṭṭhā* Bhāgīrāma, *Dvāryā*[50] Candramaṇi Barāla, Kālu Jaisī (*dvāryā* of Tusāla) and Karuṇākara Dulāla (*bicārī* of Viṣṇu Devala) in the city of Patan.

50 A *dvāryā* appears to have held different functions depending on context: (1) a revenue-collecting officer within a local administrative unit (Pant 2002, 132; Regmi

Yathocita uprānta:[51] Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā, a resident of the courtyard (*nani*) of glorious Mahābuddha at Oku Bāhāla Ṭola, claims: "The Luthāma Guthi of the chariot of 1 [i.e., Matsyendra] was donated by our ancestor forefather Jīvarāja." When asked to show the deed of donation, he said: "During the conquest of Nepāla [by the Śāhas], while we were moving our goods to Bhādagāũ (i.e., Bhaktapur), the deed endowing the *guthi* was seized by the Bhoṭyās." For this reason, if investigated in the presence of informed persons among the twenty-four thousand (households/people) of Patan, some may claim: "[The *guthi*] was not endowed by Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā (text: *bāḍā*). It was endowed by our ancestor." If someone claims] so, have his statement written in his own hand and attach it [to this letter].

If it is learned that the Luthāma Vimāna Guthi was indeed endowed by his (i.e., Rāmānanda's) ancestor, that people still leave broken parts [of the panels] in his house for repairing, and that his household still keeps the key to the storeroom where the intact parts are stored, by all means grant him a *bahāli* [document]. The king, too, has issued a *mohara*.[52]

Tuesday,[53] the 12th of the dark fortnight of Āśvīna in the [Vikrama] era year 1860 (1803 CE). Auspiciousness.

Commentary

This document is a copy of a letter issued by *Subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara, the *amālī* of Patan. It is the fourth in a series of documents concerning a legal issue that arose in 1802[54] over the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi established by Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā in the seventeenth century in service to the chariot of Buṅgadyaḥ.

This document is addressed to two *diṭṭhā*s, two *dvāryā*s, and a *bicārī* official of Patan who are asked to investigate whether Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā

1970, 149); or (2) a palace security official who also exercised fiscal responsibilities, including the collection of specific levies (cf. Edwards 1975, 106; Regmi 1971, 226).

51 "Thereupon, in due form," marks the formal presentation of a case or a statement in a document.

52 This refers to E_2253_0015C, a *rukkā* issued by the king earlier in the month of Bhādra.

53 The weekday that should appear after the word "रोज" has been left blank in the document. However, the line specifying the date begins with the letter "३", suggesting that it was Tuesday. This is confirmed by Micho Yano's Pancanga date conversion tool (https://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/).

54 See documents E_2253_0015A and E_2253_0015B.

was the rightful overseer of the *guthi*. Śaṅkhadhara orders the officials to allow Rāmānanda to regain control of the *guthi* if three conditions apply: that no one else from Patan claims his right to it; that he still repairs broken panels of the *vimāna* in his own house; and that he still holds the keys to the storeroom where the panels are stored.

The document repeats that the king had issued a *mohara* to Rāmānanda. This refers to the *rukkā* (see document E_2253_0015C) issued by the king a month earlier allowing Rāmānanda to regain control of the *guthi* and its land endowments. It is interesting that the local officials are still called upon to investigate the rightful state of affairs at the *guthi* when the king already had issued the order deciding the case.

There is another copy of this document in E_2254_0001C.

5. E_2253_0015E

A scribal note reporting confirmation to Patan's *amālī* of the original sponsor of the Luthāma Guthi and the queen regent's order to restore control over it to one of his descendants through a *bahālī* document

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Yogesh Budathoki; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2253/15E; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18864.

Edition

[1r]

1 श्री महारानी १

1 एस्को उत्तरा रुद्रनारायण भागिराम दुवै डिठ्ठा प्रेमनारां ब्राह्मण आयेरशंखधर सुवेदार अंवलि छेउ आयेर विमान् चढा-

2 याको पनि वाडाले रहेछ । तसै निमित्त लुथाम गुठ वाडैले चढायाको रहेछ । जान्या सव २४ हजा-

3 र पाटन्याले भन्या । परंतु -१-ले भाजुधन जैसिलाई वेओरा नवुझि रूक्का गरिदियाको रहेछ रूक्का-

4 ले रुक्का हानि वहालि दिन्या हो भंदा अंवलि शंखधरले अघि वहालिको आफ्नु दसखत दिया । तस्को न[कल] ।

Translation

[1r]
The Venerable Queen – 1
In response to this,[55] the two *ḍiṭṭhā*s Rudranārāyaṇa and Bhāgīrāma, [along with] Premanārāṃ Brāhmaṇa, came to *Amālī Subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara and said: "It is learned that the *vimāna* was offered [to the chariot of Matsyendranātha] by a Bā̃ḍā,[56] and that, in addition, the same Bā̃ḍā established the Luthāma Guthi for [the maintenance of] this *vimāna*. All informed persons among the 24 thousand inhabitants of Patan have stated [this]." When, however, -1- (i.e., the Venerable Queen) told *Amālī* Śaṅkhadhara: "It is learned that Bhājudhana Jaisī was granted a *rukkā* without making [proper] inquiries. Annul[57] [this] *rukkā* with [another] *rukkā* and grant a *bahāli* [document to Rāmānanda]," *Amālī* Śaṅkhadhara gave his signature to the aforementioned *bahālī* [document]. A copy of that [document is below].[58]

Commentary

This document is a note written by a scribe. The queen mentioned in the upper margin of the document is very probably Rājarājeśvarī Devī, one of the regents for the underage King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha. The document records the response of three officials of Patan who were asked to investigate the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi. They reported to *Amālī* Śaṅkhadhara, after enquiring with Patan residents, that the *guthi* was indeed under the charge of the Bā̃ḍās. However, it apparently took a *rukkā* from the queen regent herself in order for the *amālī* to issue the document confirming the overseership of the *guthi* to them. The document archived as E_2254_0001D is probably the *rukkā* of the queen mentioned here.

55 I.e., in response to the order of *Amālī* Śaṅkhadhara (see document E_2253_0015D).
56 The unnamed Bā̃ḍā here is Jīvarāja, the original sponsor of the *vimāna* of the chariot (see E_2253_0015A)
57 *hāni* is corrected to *hānī*, "by striking."
58 This refers to E_2253_0015F, the following document in the collection.

6. E_2253_0015F

A document written by Śaṅkhadhara, an official in Patan, confirming Rāmananda's overseership of the Luthāma Guthi

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Yogesh Budathoki; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2253/15F; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18865.

Edition

[1r]

1 स्वस्ति । श्री पाटनका द्वाऱ्या सुवेदार शंखधरकस्य लिखा पत्रम् । ---

2 आगे रामानंद पण्डित वांडाके लुथाम गूठ तेरो ह्वहेछ । मोहोर वमोजीम वहालि चलाई दिञा । आ-

3 फ्ना पुरूषाले गऱ्याको काम गरि आफ्ना पुरूषाले राष्याको शिरिस्तामहा चलि आफ्ना लुथाम गू-

4 ठको आलिवालिको चलन गर । इति संवत् १८६० साल मिति आश्विन शुदि ५ रो ३ शुभम् । ---

Translation

[1r]

Hail! A document written by *Subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara, the *dvāryā* of Patan.

Āge: to Rāmānanda Paṇḍita Bā̃ḍā. It is learned that the Luthāma Guthi [indeed] belongs to you. Pursuant to the *mohara,*[59] I have granted you the *bahāli*[60] [document]. Continue the profession of your ancestors, follow the *śiristā*[61] as established by your ancestors, and make use of the rice fields and harvest[62] belonging to your Luthāma Guthi.

59 This refers to document E_2253_0015C, a *rukkā* issued by the king earlier in the month of Bhādra.

60 I.e., the document that put the overseership of the *guthi* into the hands of Rāmānanda.

61 Meaning unclear. In document E_2253_0015A, this word has been used to denote the Śreṣṭha, a high-caste Newar clan. This meaning, however, does not seem to apply here.

62 *ālibāli*, lit. a ridge of the rice field (*ālī*) and the harvest (*bālī*).

Tuesday, the 5th of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] era year 1860 (1803 CE). Auspiciousness.

Commentary

This document identifies *Subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara as a *dvāryā*. By contrast, documents E_2253_0015C, E_2253_0015D and E_2254_0001C call him an *amālī*. The present designation probably was a mistake on the part of the scribe. Also, unlike in other documents in this set, Rāmānanda is designated as a *paṇḍita* here. It was a title granted first to his ancestor Jayamuni during the reign of Sadāśiva Malla (see NBhV 19.2.102, Bajracharya/Michaels 2015/1, 103).

7. E_2253_0015G

A note re the retrieval of utensils belonging to the Luthāma Guthi
Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Yogesh Budathoki; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2253/15G; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18867.

Edition

[1r]

1 यो रूक्का लैगयापछि द्वाऱ्या चंद्रमणि डिट्ठा रूद्रनारां डिट्ठा भागीरामले माहान्या पठाई पांथि वाटा [फो]-

2 सि सुपाईदेउ भनि पठाया र जांदां धेरै दगावाज गऱ्या । पछि कावु भयर वाटा सुप्यो । पाथि फोसि वि-

3 ग्याको वनाउनु दियाको छ चार दिनपछि शुक्रवारका दिन पुऱ्याइदिउंला भनि सत्य नाना करार

4 गऱ्यो र छाडिदिऊौ । पछि लुक्न पस्यो । ---

Translation

[1r]
Once we had taken this *rukkā* [to them], *Dvāryā* Candramaṇi and the *diṭṭhā*s Rudranārāṃ and Bhāgīrāma sent [a number of] security personnel (*māhānyā*) to have [Bhājudhana Jaisī] hand over a *pāthī*,[63] *bāṭā*,[64] and *phosi*[65] [utensils to Rāmānanda Bã̃ḍā]. When they went there, [Bhājudhana] acted resentful. Later on, he got [himself] under control and handed the *bāṭā* over. He pronounced oaths [and] made various commitments, saying: "The *pāthī* and *phosi* broke and have been given for repair. I will deliver them after four days, on Friday," and [so] we let him go. Later he went into hiding.

8. E_2254_0001C

A copy of an order from *Subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara to Patan officials to investigate Rāmananda Bã̃ḍā's claim to the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2254/1C; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18869.

Edition

[1r]
1 श्रीदुर्गासहाय:

1 स्वस्ति । श्रीसुवेदारशंखधरकस्य लिखापत्रम् । ---
2 आगे सहर पाटनका डिठ्ठा रुद्रनारायण डिठ्ठा भाजुराम द्वाऱ्या चंद्रमणि वराल तुसाल-
3 को द्वाऱ्या कालु जैसि विष्णु देवलको विचारी करुणाकर दुलालकेषु । यथोचित आगे ओ-
4 कु वाहाल टोल श्री महावुद्ध ननिका रामानंद वाँडाले -१को- रथमा लुथाम गुठि हाम्रा [पु]-

63 A container for grains having a volume of one *pāthī*, a unit equivalent to 4,546 litres or 8 *mānās*.
64 A shallow, round storage vessel usually made of copper or brass.
65 A large copper vessel used for distilling rice spirits.

5 रुषा जीवराज ज्युज्यूले राष्याको हो भंछन् । दानपत्र हेरुं भंदा नेपाल मार्द्दा
भाद्दाउंमा [आ]-
6 फ्ना आलमाल सार्द्दा गुठ चढायाका पत्र आलमाल समेत भोट्याले खोसिलिया भनि
7 भंछन् । तस्अर्थ चौवीस हजार पाटनका जान्या मानीस् वसाली निरूपण गर्द्दा
जीवरा-
8 ज वाँडाले राष्याको होईन हाम्रा पुरुषाले राष्याको हो भनि कोहि भन्न सक्तछ त
उस्का
9 हातको मुचुल्का लेषाई लिएर जोरिदेउ । एसैका पुरुषाले राष्याको लुथाम गूठ पनि
रहेछ
10 विग्र्याको वस्तु सपार्न इनका घर आजसम्म राषि जाँदा रह्याछन् नविग्र्याको वस्तु रा-
11 ष्याका भँडारका ताल्चाको साँचो पनि अझसम्म इनैका घर राषिन्या रहेछ भन्या स-
12 र्कारवाट पनि मोहोर गरी वक्स्याको छ वहालि चलाइदेउ सर्व्वथा । ३ सै इति संवत्
१८६० सा-
13 ल मिति आश्विन वदि [१२] रोज शुभम् । ---३

Translation

[1r]
May glorious Durgā protect [us]
Hail! A letter of the venerable *amālī* [and] *subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara.

Āge: To *Ḍiṭṭhā* Rudranārāyaṇa, *Ḍiṭṭhā* Bhājurāma,[66] *Dvāryā* Candramaṇi Barāla, Kālu Jaisī (*dvāryā* of Tusāla), and Karuṇākara Dulāla (*bicārī* of Viṣṇu Devala) in the city of Patan.

Yathocita:[67] Rāmānanda Bã̆ḍā, a resident of the courtyard (*nani*) of glorious Mahābuddha at Oku Bāhāla Ṭola, claims: "The Luthāma Guthi of the chariot of -1-[68] was donated by our forefather Jīvarāja." When asked to show the deed of donation, he says: "During the conquest of Nepāla [by the Śāhas], when we were moving our goods to Bhādagāũ, the deed endowing the *guthi* was grabbed by the Bhoṭyās." For this reason, if investigated in the presence of informed persons among the twenty-four thousand (households/people) of Patan, some may claim: "[The *guthi*] was not endowed by Jīvarāja Bã̆ḍā. It was endowed by

66 Documents E_2253_0015D, E_2253_0015E, E_2253_0015G and E_2253_0015F have the name of this *ḍiṭṭhā* spelled as Bhāgīrāma.

67 This seems to be a shortened form of *yathocita uprānta* ("thereupon, in due form"), which marks the formal presentation of a case or a statement in a document.

68 I.e., Matsyendranātha. The scribe has omitted the name of the deity which usually should have been written in the space above the main text. E_2253_0015D has the name as Matsyendra.

our ancestor." If [someone claims] so, have his statement written in his own hand and attach it [to this letter].

If it is learned that the Luthāma Guthi was indeed endowed by his (i.e., Rāmānanda's) ancestor, that people still leave broken parts [of the panels] in his house for repairing, and that his household still keeps the key to the storeroom where the intact parts are stored, by all means grant him a *bahāli* [document]. The king, too, has issued a *mohara*.[69]

Tuesday, the 12th of the dark fortnight of Āśvīna in the [Vikrama] era year 1860 (1803 CE). Auspiciousness. --- 3[70]

Commentary

This is the second copy of the letter issued by *Subedāra* Śaṅkhadhara, the *amālī* of Patan. For the first copy and further commentary, see document E_2253_0015D.

9. E_2254_0001D

A copy of a rukkā of Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī restoring overseership of the Luthāma Guthi to Rāmānanda
Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2254/1D; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18870.

Edition

1 श्रीदुर्गासहाय: \

1 श्रीमत्स्येन्द्रनाथ १

1 4

69 This refers to E_2253_0015C, a *rukkā* issued by the king earlier in the month of Bhādra.

70 This number signifies that the current document is the third one in the series of copies.

1 स्वस्ति । श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजपट्टराज्ञीश्रीश्रीश्रीमद्राजराजेश्वरीदेवीनां सदा सौभाग्यव-
2 तीनां रुक्का । ---
3 आगे सहर पाटनका रामानंद पण्डित वाँडाके । तेरा पुरुषा जीवराज वाँडाले -१- को[र]-
4 थमहाँ सुनको विमान तुल्याई चह्राउँदा आफ्ना संपत्तिले रोपनी ६९ षेत किनि -१- प्री[ति]
5 गरि लुथाम गूठ सर्कारमा वक्साई चढायाको ह्रहेछ । त्यो विमान विग्रदा तसै षेतका वालि-
6 ले वनाउनु भनि जीवराजले गूठ राषिगयाको रहेछ । आजसम्म अर्काले मोहोर गरी व-
7 ल खाँदा पनि आफ्ना पुरुषाको धर्म जानि घरको संपत्ति लाइ वनाउदै आयाका रह्याछौ ।
8 जीवराजको संतान छंजि त्यो गूठ अर्काले षान पाउँदैन । तसर्थ हिजो वेहोरा नपाउँदा
9 हामिले अर्कालाइ रुक्का गरिवक्स्याको हो । आज वेहोरा वुझि जीवराज वाँडाले राष्याको गू-
10 ठ तनैका संतानकन नषोस्तु गरि मोहोर वमोजीम रुक्का गरिवक्स्यौं । तीम्रो संतान छंजि अ-
11 र्काको लाग नास्ति गरि हामिले वक्स्याको छ । खेत कमाउन्या ह्मोइको खूस तैले गरि खातिर्जा-
12 मासित भोग्य गर । इति संवत् १८६० साल मिति आश्विन शु ६ रोज ५ शुभम् ।
---५---

Translation

May glorious Durgā protect [us].
Glorious Matsyendranātha - 1
4[71]

Hail! A rukkā of thrice venerable Rājarājeśvarī Devī, the principal queen of the venerable king of great kings, [and] ever a fortunate one.

Āge: To Rāmānanda Paṇḍita Bā̃ḍā of the city of Patan.

It is learned that when your ancestor Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā built a golden *vimāna* and offered it to the chariot of -1- (i.e., glorious Matsyendranātha), he bought 69 *ropanī*s [in plots] of paddy land with his own money, joyfully dedicated them to glorious Matsyendranātha, got the Luthāma Guthi authorized by the government and offered it [as well

71 This Arabic number was added probably by the owner of the document to mark its place within a series of similar documents.

to the deity]. It is [also] learnt that Jīvarāja established a *guthi*, stating: "Whenever the *vimāna* is broken, one should repair it using [revenue from] the harvest of the aforementioned land." Even when [the *guthi*] was forcibly taken by others through a mohara [document], you have been repairing [the *vimāna*] with your own household property until today, considering it as your ancestral duty. No other persons are allowed to claim the *guthi* as long as a descendant of Jīvarāja remains. Therefore, given that, having failed to receive [accurate] information, we issued a *rukkā* to another person,[72] [allowing him to assume overseership of the *guthi*], [but that we now] understand the details, we today have issued [this] *rukkā* in accordance with the *mohara*[73] so that no one shall be allowed to seize the *guthi* established by Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā from his descendants. We have granted you [this *rukkā*] so that no others can claim [the *guthi*] as long as a descendant of yours remains. Choose at will tenants to cultivate the land, be conscientious and enjoy [the surplus fruits].

Thursday, the 6th of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] era year 1860 (1803 CE). Auspiciousness. --- 5.

Commentary

The document of which this is a copy is an executive order by Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī, one of the regents of King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha. The document reiterates the *mohara* of Gīrvāṇayuddha (document E_2253_0015C), issued in the previous month, confirming overseership of the Luthāma Guthi to Rāmānanda and his descendants. The content of these two royal orders is very similar, except that the one from Gīrvāṇa lists the plots of land endowed to the *guthi*.

72 The person in question here is Bhājudhana Jaisī, who had assumed overseership of the guthi, and against whom a petition was filed in 1802 (see E_2253_0015A and the documents that follows).

73 The *mohara* referred to here is probably the executive order of King Gīrvāṇayuddha issued on the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhādra in VS 1860, which granted Rāmānanda the right to retain overseership of the *guthi*. See document E_2253_0015C for a copy of this mohara.

10. E_2254_0001E

A copy of a petition submitted by Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā and fellow *guthi* members claiming their right to the harvests and utensils belonging to the Luthāma Guthi

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2254/1E; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/11551.

Edition

[1r]

1 अर्जि \

1 श्रीदुर्गासहाय: \

1 श्रीमत्स्येन्द्र १

1 धर्म २

1 अर्जि ---

2 हाम्रा ज्युज्यु जीवराज वाडाले -१-को रथको लुथाम् विमान गरि चढाएर लुथाम गूठ चढायाको हो ।

3 तस दिन राजा खुसि भयर वाडाको सव काम गर्नु र -१-को रथको किलासंम ठोकनु र आफ्ना स-

4 क्य वनाउनु गरिआयाका वर्ष [ ][74] भया । त्यो कार्खाना अजसंम हाम्रै घर छ । चौविश हजार पा-

5 टनले जान्यैको छ । वीचमाहाँ कोहि वर्ष इजारा पर्द्दा आफ्नु गूठ आफैले इजारा षान इछ्या नला-

6 गि षेत छो[ड्याको] थियो तपनि काम छोड्याको थिएन । हाम्रा गूठ [भा]-

7 [जु]धनले मोहोर गरि खाँदा अन्याय पऱ्याको थियो । -१-को -२-

8 चलाउन जीवराजका संतानकन जुन् प्रजाको गूठ उसै प्रजाले चलाउनु भनि मोहोर रुक्का

9 दस्खत् मंगलभट्टको वहालि भयर हामिले वालि ल्यायाको आज धान लिन भाजुधन जैसिले

74 A blank space in the original.

10 हामिलाइ प्यादा लायो । जीवराज वाडाको संतान भाजुधन जैसि रहेछ भन्या हामीलाइ दंड ग-
11 रि वाटा पाथि फोसि भाजुधन जैसिलाइ सुपि दियाजावस् । हामि ५ जीवराज वाडाका संता-
12 न रह्याछौं भन्या वाटा पाथि फोसि हामिलाइ सुपि दिया जावस् । न्हुहलछिमहाँ सभा जोरि दिया जा
13 वस् । तिन सहरका प्रजाले आफ्ना पुरुषाको गूठ प्रजाले षान पाउनु ।
14 हाम्रा पुरुषाको गूठ हामिले खान नपाउँदा हाम्रो चित्त वुझेन । फिऱ्याद ३ ।
15 रामानंद प्रभृति सव वाडाको कुर्नेस वंदगी । फिऱ्याद ३ ।

Translation

[1r]
Petition (*Arjī*)
May glorious Durgā help [us]
Glorious Matsyendra[nātha] - 1
dharma - 2
Arjī
Our great-grand father Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā established the Luthāma Guthi after he had offered the *luthāma* [or the] *vimāna* to the chariot of -1- (i.e., glorious Matsyendranātha). That day the king was happy. It has been […][75] years since [the *guthi* members started] carrying out all the tasks of the Bā̃ḍās, [everything] down to hammering nails into the chariot of -1- (i.e., glorious Matsyendranātha) and repairing [damaged parts] to the best of their ability. The workshop has been in our own house to this day. This is known to Patan, [the city of] twenty-four thousand [people/households]. Meanwhile, when the *ijārā* [system] was imposed upon [the *guthi*] for some years, we, not wishing to enjoy [the material benefits of] the *ijārā* [contract] for our own *guthi*, let go of the plots [belonging to the *guthi*]. We did not, however, discontinue services [to the *guthi*]. We were treated unjustly when Bhājudhana took our *guthi* by having a *mohara* issued. In order to perform -2- (i.e., *dharma*, pious acts) [to the glory] of -1- (i.e., glorious Matsyendranātha), a *mohara,*[76]

75 A blank space in the original.
76 This probably refers to an executive order issued (presumably by Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī) on the 6th of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in VS 1860 (see document E_2254_0001D). It restored overseership of the Luthāma Guthi to Rāmānanda.

rukkā daskhat,[77] and assignment of rights (*bahāli*) by the Maṅgal-abhaṭṭa[78] were issued to the descendants of Jīvarāja, stating: "The subject to whom a *guthi* [owes its existence] should manage it." We then received the harvests [from the plots belonging to the *guthi*]. Today Bhājudhana sent a bailiff (*pyādā*) to us to collect the unhusked rice [harvested from the *guthi* plots]. If it turns out that Bhājudhana Jaisī is a descendant of Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā, let us be punished, and let the *bāṭā, pāthī*, and *phosi* [utensils] be handed over to him. If we five turn out to be Jīvarāja's descendants, let us be given the utensils back. Let there be an assembly organized at Nhuhalachi. The subjects of the three cities[79] have the right to enjoy their ancestral *guthi*, but we have not been allowed to enjoy this right. We are, therefore, displeased. Complaint! Complaint! Complaint!

Salutations and praises of Rāmānada and all other Bā̃ḍās. Complaint! Complaint! Complaint!

Commentary

This document is a petition made by Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā on behalf of five members of the Luthāma Guthi including himself. It does not mention the date or the name of the authority to whom the petition was submitted. Based on other documents in the series, though, the year can be determined to have been VS 1860 (1803 CE). From the document, it is apparent that Rāmānanda had been able to collect the harvest yield on the *guthi* plots, overseership of which had been restored to him earlier that year. Bhājudhana, the previous overseer of the *guthi*, however, sent a bailiff to collect that yield from him. This document was submitted in reaction to this act.

77 This probably refers to the executive order issued by King Gīrvāṇayuddha on the 7th of the dark fortnight of Bhādra in VS 1860 (see document E_2253_0015C. It reinforced the restoring of overseership of the Luthāma Guthi to Rāmānanda.

78 The chief court (*mūla sabhā*) of Patan. It was one of the three chief courts of the Kathmandu Valley, the other two being the Itā Capalī in Kathmandu and the Lāmpāṭī in Bhaktapur. The court of Maṅgalabhaṭṭa already existed during the Malla period (see Vaidya & Vajrācārya VS 2055, 155).

79 I.e., the cities of Kantipur, Lalitpur, and Bhaktapur.

11. E_2254_0001F

A copy of a letter from *Ḍiṭṭhā* Bhāgīrāma of Patan recommending that its unnamed recipient decide in favour of Rāmānanda regarding ownership of the harvest on land belonging to the Luthāma Guthi
Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2254/1F; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/11552.

Edition

[1r]

1 श्री दुर्गा \

1 श्री ५ करुणामय

1 स्वस्ति । श्रीसर्वोपमायोग्येत्यादिराजभारासामर्थ श्री३ मि-
2 तिनीज्यूका पावमा भागीराम डिठाको सहस्रकोटि सला-
3 म । उभयो: कुशलं च । उप्रांत लुथाम गूठि राषन्या वां-
4 डाको नाति तांहां तपाञिंको पावमा पनि रुंन आयेछ ।
5 एस्को गुहार [गर्नै] पर्न्या हो गरिदिनु हवस् । हिजो एस्को
6 वराज्यूले राष्याको हो भनि जांन्या २४ हजार छ । सर्कार-
7 वाट लालमोहोर रुक्का दशखत सव गरि हामिले व-
8 हालि पनि दियाको हो । आज हिमाइत् गरि ऐल्हेको
9 वालि म षांछु भनि वालि थुन्न भाजुधन जैसि आ-
10 इरहेछ । वालि हामिले दियाको छैन । हजूरमा विंति पारि
11 हुंछ भन्या पनि एस्को वेहोरा ऐले विंति गर्न्या छ । उद्दा-
12 र गरिपठावनु भया -१-कोसोझो हुंन्या छ । वहुत
13 विंति पत्रमा कति लेषौं । जान प्रवीण हुंनै हुंछ । शुभम् ।

Synopsis

This document is a letter written by the *ḍiṭṭhā* Bhāgīrāma to an unnamed recipient. In it Bhāgīrāma requests the recipient to decide in favour of Rāmānanda Bã̃ḍā[80] regarding the right to harvest crops from plots

80 The document does not mention Rāmānanda's name, but from other documents in the series it is clear that it is him.

belonging to the Luthāma Guthi. He reports that Bhājudhana Jaisī, the former overseer of the *guthi*, had intended to collect the harvest and stresses that the *guthi* was established by an ancestor of Rāmānanda and that a *lālamohara*, a *rukkā,* and a *bahālī* document had already been issued in his favour.

12. E_2254_0001G

A copy of an executive order of Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī directing judicial officials of Patan to come to a decision regarding the rightful owner of crop yields from plots belonging to the Luthāma Guthi
Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2254/1G; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18871.

Edition

[1r]

1 अर्जि पुगजि रुक्का गरिवक्सनु भएछ तस्को नकल । ---८

1 श्रीदुर्गासहाय \

1 स्वस्ति। श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजपट्टराज्ञीश्रीश्रीश्रीमद्राजराजेश्वरीदेवीनां स-
दासौभाग्यवतीनाम्
2 रुक्का । ---
3 आगे पाटनका डिठ्ठा द्वाऱ्या विचारी प्रधानके । जीवराज वाडाले लुथाम
विमान चढाइ लुथा-
4 म गूठ चढायाको हो सक्कारिवाट इजारा माफ गरि लुथाम गूठ छाडिवक्सँदा
तिन सहरका प्र-
5 जाको सह्रले हामिले पाउन्या हो भनि रामानंद वाडाले
आफ्ना ज्युज्युको गूठ हो भनि मोहोर
6 रुक्का दस्खत् मंगलभटको वहालि चलाइ लैगयाका धान भाजुधन जैसिले
पनि मोहोर रुक्का
7 दस्खत् देषाइ धान लिन गयो भनि पाटनका वाडा सव हाम्रा हजूर फिऱ्याद
गर्न आया । जीवरा-
8 जको संतान को रहेछ को रहेनछ कक्षे हामिलाइ ढाटि लैगएछ कक्षे साँचो विंति

9 गरि लैगएछ ताहाँ छुट्याउन सक्छौ त झुट्टाको कंढो भाँचि साँचालाइ नियानु गरि वाटा
10 पाथि फोसि सुपिदेउ । ताहाँ छुट्याउन सक्यौन भन्या वाटा फोसि लियाइ आहि
पठाइदेउ ।
11 न्हुहलछिमहाँ निरूपण गरि षेडाहाको कंढो भाँचि छिनिवक्सौला । इति संवत् १८६०
12 साल मिति मार्ग शु रो शुभं । ---८

Translation

[1r]

Once the petition (*arjī*) was received, [the queen] issued a *rukkā*. [Below is] a copy of it.

May glorious Durgā protect [us].

Hail! A *rukkā* of thrice venerable Rājarājeśvarī Devī, the principal queen of the venerable king of great kings, [and] ever a fortunate one

Āge: To the *ḍiṭṭhā*s, *dvāryā*s, *bicārī*s and *pradhāna*s[81] of Patan.

All the Bā̃ḍās of Patan came to complain to us, saying: "'Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā established the Luthāma Guthi after offering the *luthāma* [or the] *vimāna* [to the chariot of Matsyendranātha]. When the government released the Luthāma Guthi [from operation under] the *ijārā* [system], we asked whether we should acquire [overseership of the *guthi*], [just like] subjects of the three cities [with regard to other such *guthi*s].' So said Rāmānanda Bāḍā. Noting that the [Luthāma] Guthi was [originally established by] his own great-grand-father, he [thus] took possession of the unhusked rice [harvest from the *guthi* land] on the authority of *mohara*, *rukkā daskhat* and *bahālī* [documents] from the Maṅgalabhaṭṭa. Bhājudhana Jaisī, too, went to take possession of the unhusked rice, showing *mohara* and *rukkā daskhat* [documents]." If you can determine who [between the two] is the descendant of Jīvarāja and who is not, who has lied to us and [deceitfully] took possession [of the harvest], and who is truthful, you should punish[82] the deceitful one, make the truthful one warm (*niyānu*),[83] and hand over to the latter the *bāṭā*, *pāthī* and *phosi* [utensils]. If you cannot decide there,

81 Although no clear functions of the *pradhāna* post during the Śāha period can be ascertained, the title seems to denote different functionaries: those who were headmen of certain communities within the Kathmandu Valley and beyond, and local officials who collected revenue in villages.

82 *kaṃḍho bhā̃cnu*, "to break the back."

83 The phrase *niyānu garī* literally means "having made warm." However, *niyānu* may alternatively be understood as the shortened form of *niyānisāpha*, "justice."

confiscate the *bāṭā*, *phosi* [etc. utensils] and send them here. We will investigate it at Nhuhalachi and pass judgement, punishing the culprit.

On the [...] day of the bright fortnight of Mārga in the [Vikrama] era year 1860 (1803 CE). Auspiciousness. --- 8[84]

Commentary

This document is a copy of an executive order of Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī directing officials with judicial powers in Patan—*ḍiṭṭhā*s, *dvāryā*s, *bicārī*s, and *pradhāna*s—to pass judgement on the dispute between Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā and Bhājudhana Jaisī regarding ownership of the crop yields of the Luthāma Guthi. This *rukkā* was issued in response to a petition submitted by Rāmānanda and other members of the Luthāma Guthi.[85]

13. E_2254_0001H

A copy of an executive order from *Cautariyā* Amara Siṃha Śāha directing judicial officers of Patan to come to a decision regarding the rightful claimant to the crop yields from plots belonging to the Luthāma Guthi

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya; dated VS 1860 (1803 CE); Manoja Rājopādhyāya, Kathmandu, Matsyendranātha Guthi; microfilmed as E 2254/1H; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18872.

Edition

[1r]

1 श्री

1 तसै भंदा अघि भयाको श्री अमरसिंह साह चौतरियाको दस्खत्को नकल ---९

84 This number signifies that the current document is the eighth in the series of copies.

85 See document E_2254_0001E for the other copy of this petition.

श्रीदुर्गासहाय

श्री महारानी १

स्वस्ति । श्रीमच्चौतरियाअमरसिंहसाहकस्य लिखापत्रम् । ---
आगे पाटनका डिठ्ठा द्वाऱ्या विचारी गैह्रके । यथोचित जागीरका मोहोर पनि पछिका ता-
गीर गरिदियाका सहि हुंछन् । न्यायको मोहोर अघि भयाको अन्याय पऱ्याको भया न्याय
पारि दियाको पछिको सहि हुंछ । अमालिका दशषतका[86] अर्थकन दोहोरा पनि हुंछन् ।
क्या अर्थलाइ भन्या पछि निरूपण गर्द्दा ढाँटको कंढो भाँचन र साँचाकन निरूपण गरि नि-
यानु गरिदिनु दाउले दिंछन् । तसर्थ जीवराज वाँडाको संतान भाजुधन जैसिमा र रामानं-
द वाँडामाहाँ जो ठहर्छ उस्कन आलिवालिको नियानु गरि भोग्य गराइदिन्या पो हो र कै-
ल्है कसैलाइ कैल्है कसैलाइ गर्द्दा तिमिहरुले थाम्न्या हो । त्यो निरूपण गर्नु शक्छौं भन्या
भला मनुष्य राषि निरूपण गरि दण्डपाति गरि छिनिदेउ । हामिले त निरूपण गर्न शक्यौन
भन्या भनि पठाउ । तिमिहरु शुद्दा राषि काठमाडौमा निरूपण गरिदिउँला । -१-
काजग्गा-
हमहाँ अन्याय पऱ्या वेहोर्नु तिमिहरुलाई पर्न्या छ । निरूपण गरि मोहर रुक्का [गरी] सुम्प्याका
धान रामानंद वाँडाकाहाँवाट वलात्कार गरि ल्यायाका उसैका घर पुऱ्याइदिनु पर्छ । भन्या-
का दिनमाहाँ जुन् सभामा भन्यो उ सभामा नआईपुग्न्या झुट्टा । इति संवत् १८६० मिति
मार्ग शु ३ रोज ५ । शुभम् । ---९

Translation

[1r]
Śrī
[Below is] a copy of the document signed by the venerable *Cautariyā* Amara Siṃha Sāha issued earlier than that[87] – 9
May glorious Durgā help [us]
Venerable Great Queen - 1

86 Read: *daskhata*.

87 This probably means that the current document was issued prior to the *rukkā* of Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī (see document E_2254_0001G) copied immediately above in the series.

Hail! A letter written by the venerable *Cautariyā* Amara Siṃha Sāha

Āge: To the *ḍiṭṭhā*s, *dvāryā*s, *bicārī*s [and others] of Patan.

Yathocita: Even [in the case of] *mohara*s relating to *jāgīra*s[88], [other *mohara*s] that override (*tāgīra*) them are valid. If [regarding] a *mohara* conveying a judicial decision there was a misjudgement earlier, a [reconsidered] judgement made at a later time is valid. A missive (*daskhata*) issued by an *amālī* may have a double meaning. What is the reason [for this]? [He] issues it so that he can, during his later verdict (*nirūpaṇa*), punish the guilty and give justice to the truthful. For this reason, whoever between Bhājudhana Jaisī and Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā is proven to be the [true] descendant of Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā, [your duty is] to adjudicate in favour of him and let him enjoy the harvests [of the plots belonging to the Luthāma Guthi]. [Your duty is also to] check whether judgements have been made inconsistently. If you are able to reach a verdict, do so, and do it in the presence of notable persons. Inform me if you are unable to do so. I will deliver a verdict in Kathmandu in your presence. You will be responsible for a misjudgement made in the land of -1- (i.e., the venerable great queen). After delivering your verdict, you should return to the house of Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā the unhusked rice, which he had obtained earlier by authority of the *mohara* and *rukkā* and which was then forcibly taken away from him. The person who is absent in a court summoned on a stated date should be considered guilty.

On Thursday, the 3rd of the bright fortnight of Mārga in the [Vikrama] era year 1860 (1803 CE). Auspiciousness.

Commentary

In the document of which is a copy, *Cautariyā* Amara Siṃha Sāha orders officials of Patan to determine who between Bhājudhana and Rāmānanda is the true descendant of Jīvarāja Bā̃ḍā, the founder of Luthāma Guthi. He directs them to come to judgement in consultation with local notables, with the winning party to be given the right to collect harvests from the *guthi*'s plots. A note in the upper part of the document mentions that this document was issued prior to an earlier document in the series, a *rukkā* of Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī (document E_2254_0001G).

88 Existed before 1951, *jāgīra* was a form of land tenure in which revenues on lands were assigned as emoluments to government employees and functionaries (cf. Regmi 1976, 71).

14. K_0014_0014C

A copy of a *lālamohara* from King Rājendra restoring to Amṛtānanda and Sundarānanda their ancestral right to overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Rabi Acharya; dated VS 1884 (1827 CE); Bhadrakālī, Macchindranātha Guthi, Pā. Bam. BK 8 Ms. no. 224; microfilmed as K 14/14C; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/49188.

Edition

[165]

1 १६५ नं

1 २२४ नं

1 पो १६। पा• ११ सी• ५३

1 मछीन्द्रको
2 गुठि

1 भं• नौ हर्ष
2 हे• नौ• राम

1 आगे सहर पाटंको [ओ]कुवहाल महावुःध घरको अमृतानंद सुन्दरानन्द
2 वाडाके । तेरा पुर्षा जीवराज वाडाले श्रीमछीन्द्रनाथका रथमा सुनको वी-
3 मान चढाउँदा राष्याको गुठी पछी वीचमा ईजारा गरी मंगलभटवाट
4 पजनी हुन्दो रहेछ । ५८ सालमा भाजुधन जैसीले थुंदा गुठी ईजारा
5 हुदा देवताको लुथान र रथका वीमान सवै वीग्र्यो ईजारादारले वनायेन
6 भनी वींती गर्दा ईजारा मेटी भाजुधन जैसीका नाउँमा मोहर भयाको रहेछ ।
7 सर्कारवाट ईजारा मेटीवक्स्यापछी मेरा पुर्षाका गुठी मैले षानु पाऊन्या
8 हो भनी तीमीहरुको वावा रमानंद वाडाले श्री५वुवाज्यूका हजुरमा
9 वींती गर्दा चौवीस हजारका जानकार वुढा वुढाहरूसीत जाचदा तिमे-
10 हरूका पुर्षाले राष्याको रहेछ र ६० सालमा रमानंद वाडालाई मोहर
11 गरी थामीवक्सनु भयको रहेछ । रामानन्द दराहालका जांचमा पोता
12 नतीर्याको भनी जफत गर्दा फेरी ६२ सालमा मोहर गरी थामीवक्स-
13 नु भयाको रहेछ । ८३ सालमा हाक्या कटुवालले रामानंद वाडाका नाउँ-

को मोहर हानी आफ्ना नाउँको मोहर गराई लुथां गुठीमा वहाली ग-
र्दा तीमीहेरूले हाम्रा हजुरमा वींती गर्दा दफ्दरषाना श्रीकुमारीचोक-
वाट चढाजचाउँदा राजगुठी हो भन्या मानीस नठहर्दा हीजोका जाचमा रह्या-
को जीउँता वुढा वुढाहरूसीत सोधदा ईनै वादाका पुर्षाले राष्याको हो भं-
दा सुनाथ्युं भंदा हीजो पनी श्री५वुवाज्यूवाट तीमीहेरूका वावुको नाउँ-
मा मोहर गरी[वक्सनु] भयाको रहेछ । आज हामीले पनी तपसील वमो-[cont.]
[unknown seal]

[166]
[unknown seal]
१६६ नं

जींका षेत रोपनी ५०।।। को पोता रूपैया २७।। सालवसाल तीरी श्री-
मछीन्द्रनाथका रथका सुनको वीमान तोरन लुथां वीग्र्याको सा-
लवसाल वनाई परापुर्वदेषी चलीआयाको गुठी चलाई सेष र-
ह्याको षानु भनी थामीवक्स्यौं । आफ्ना षातीरज्मासीत पुर्षाको गुठी जा-
नी भोग्य गर ।
तपसील

असामी	षेत रोपनी	दर	रूपैया
ङषु	६	।।	३
पाको	६	।।।	४।।
पतीपा	६	।।।	४।।
भेलुपा	६	।।।	४।।
लानीवु	७	।//	२।//
कुसुंती	८	।।	४
थछे	१	।	।
ङषु वगर	१	।	।
लानीवु	१।।।	।।	।।।//
धोपो	३	।//	१//
टेपना	५	।//	१।।।//

ईती सम्वत १८८४ साल वैसाष सुदी १५ रोज ६ [शुभ्म्] ।

Translation

[165]
No. 165[89]
No. 224[90]
po. 16 *pā*. 11 *sī*. 53[91]
[Document relating to] the *guthi* of Matsyendranātha (text: *machīndra*)
bhaṃ. nau.[92] Harṣa
he. nau.[93] Rāma.

Āge: To Amṛtānanda Bāḍā and Sundarānanda Bāḍā, residents of Mahābuddha (text: *mahābuḥdha*), Oku Bāhāla in Patan. It is learned that the *guthi* established by your ancestor Jīvarāja Bāḍā when he offered a golden *vimāna* to the chariot of glorious Matsyendranātha was later on placed under the *ijārā* [system], and [overseership of it] was assigned (*pajanī*) through the Maṅgalabhaṭṭa (i.e., the chief court of Patan). It is [also] learned that in VS [18]58 Bhājudhana Jaisī hindered [further operations under that system] by making a petition, saying: "Since the *guthi* has been placed under the *ijārā* [system], the *luthāma* (text: *luthāna*) of the deity and the *vimāna* of the chariot have broken, and the contractor (*ijārādāra*) has not repaired them." The *ijārā* [system as it related to the *guthi*] was [then] abolished and a *mohara* was issued in the name of Bhājudhana Jaisī.

[Then,] when your father Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā (text: *ramānaṃda bāṃḍā*)[94] petitioned to [our] fivefold venerable father,[95] saying: "Since Your Majesty has abolished the *ijārā* [system], I should be allowed to enjoy the *guthi* of my ancestors," and after enquiring with elders among the twenty-four thousand [households/people of Patan] and determining that [the *guthi*

89 This is the folio number within the bundle containing this document.
90 This is the serial number of the document within the bundle, assigned at the Guṭhī Saṃsthān.
91 This unknown set of letters and numbers probably refers to the location of the original document of which this is a copy.
92 The abbreviation *bhaṃ* stands for *bhaṃne* ("the one who reads out") and *nau.* for *nausindā*, a low-ranking clerk in offices. It may thus be understood that this person reads the original out while another person checks the copy for errors as he goes along.
93 The abbreviations stand for *herne nausindā* ("a *nausindā* who watches"), the clerk who rechecks the copied document for errors while another person reads out the original.
94 Except of the current document and K_0015_0021C, his name is consistently spelled as Rāmānanda.
95 I.e., King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha.

was indeed] established by your ancestors, he instated Rāmānanda [as the overseer of the *guthi*] in the year [VS 18]60 by issuing a *mohara*.

Upon an examination [conducted] by Rāmānanda Dahāla,[96] [the *guthi*] was expropriated for failing to pay *potā*-levies, [but later our father] again instated [Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā as overseer] in the year [VS 18]62.

In the year [VS 18]83, when Hākyā Kaṭuvāla had the *mohara* of Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā annulled and got another *mohara* issued in his own name to receive overseership of the Luthāma Guthi, [and] when you petitioned to us [to reverse this], we had [the matter] examined by the land registration office (*daphdarakhānā*) and the venerable Kumārī Coka[97]. They could not determine that anyone identified the [Luthāma] *Guthi* as a *rājaguthi*. Upon inquiring with the living elders who participated in the earlier examination,[98] [we] were informed: "We have heard that [the *guthi*] was established by an ancestor of these very Bā̃ḍās." My fivefold venerable father had also issued a *mohara* in your father's name in the past.

[166]
No. 166[99]
Today we, too, have instated [you as overseers of the *guthi*], declaring: "You shall pay annually a *potā*-levy of 27 rupees, 2 *sukā*s for the plots, covering 50 *ropanī*s 3 *javā*s as listed [below], repair the golden *vimāna*, *toraṇa* [or] *luthāma* (text: *luthāṃ*) of the chariot of glorious Matsyendranātha every year, [if] damaged, manage the *guthi* following the traditional custom and enjoy the surplus." Being mindful of your duty, enjoy [its fruits,] knowing that it is the *guthi* of your ancestors.

The list [of *guthi* lands and the tax on them]

Column (*asāmī*) [of plot locations]	**Plots [in] *ropanī*s**	**Rate**	**Rupees**
Ṅakhu	6	2 [sukās]	3 [rupees]
Pāko	6	3 [sukās]	4 [rupees], 2 [sukās]
Patīpā	6	3 [sukās]	4 [rupees], 2 [sukās]

96 H. Śākya VS 2045, 93 reads *Dāhāla*.
97 Also spelled as Kumari Chowk, it functioned as the state-level office of account for the kingdom where all accounts of collections and contractors were examined.
98 This refers to the inquiries made in VS 1860 mentioned above.
99 This is the page number within the bundle containing this document.

Column (*asāmī*) [of plot locations]	Plots [in] *ropanī*s	Rate	Rupees
Bhelupā	6	3 [sukās]	4 [rupees], 2 [sukās]
Lānību	7	1 [sukā], 2 [ānās]	2 [rupees], 2 [sukās], 2 [ānās]
Kusuṃtī	8	2 [sukās]	4 [rupees]
Thache	1	1 [sukā]	1 [sukā]
Ṅakhu Bagara	1	1 [sukā]	1 [sukā]
Lānību	1 [ropanī], 3 [javās]	2 [sukās]	3 [sukās], 2 [ānās]
Dhopo[100]	3	1 [sukā], 2 [ānās]	1 [rupee], 2 [anās]
Ṭepanā	5	1 [sukā], 2 [ānās]	1 [rupee], 3 [sukās], 2 [ānās]

Friday, the 15th of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha in the [Vikrama] era year 1884 (1827 CE).

Commentary

This copy of the *lālamohara* leaves out the king's eulogy (*praśasti*), and therefore does not mention the name of the issuer, King Rājendra Vikrama Śāha (r. 1816–1847). The document is archived with the serial number 224 and on pages 165 and 166 of the bundles of copies marked as pā. bam. bk. 8 at the Guthi Saṃsthān. An edition of this document which includes the *praśasti* of King Rājendra is available in H. Śākya VS 2045, 92–93. Another edition is available in Tandan 1995, 146–147.

This document in contrast to earlier related documents (E_2253_0015A to G, E_2254_0001A to J, K_0341_0034 and K_0015_0021C) does not mention the name of the *guthi*, namely the Luthāma Guthi.

The list of plots in the current document in comparison to the documents E_2253_0015C and K_0341_0034 shows that the *guthi* lost a considerable portion of its land endowments gradually over time. Document E_2253_0015C, issued in 1803, listed a total of 69 *ropanī*s of land, while K_0341_0034 from 1805 lists 56 *ropanī*s 3 *javā*s. Twenty-two years later, the amount of land had shrunk to 50 *ropanī*s 3 *javā*s.

100 Śākya VS 2045, 93 reads *ghopo*.

15. K_0015_0021C

A copy of a *lālamohara* from King Rājendra dismissing Rāmānanda's overseership of the Luthāma Guthi
Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; dated VS 1876 (1819 CE); Bhadrakālī, Macchindranātha Guthi, BK 9 Ms. no. 195; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/49186.

Edition

[274]
1 पो १४ प १२ पा ६४ मी ३६९

1 १९५

1 गुठी

1 भं नौ हर्ष
2 हे नौ वासु

1 आगे पानीज्यु प्रति । श्रीमछिंद्रनाथका लुथाम गुठि अधिदेखि ताँहा दीट्ठा
2 भैजान्याले वाहालमार्फत पङ्जनी गच्याको रहेछ । पछि रमानन्दले मोहर
3 गराई लैगयाको मोहर हानि अघि परंपरादेखि चलिआयाको वमोजीं गुठ च-
4 लाऊनु भनिवक्स्यौं । ईति सम्वत १८७६ साल भाद्र सुदी ६ रोज ५ सुभ्म् ।

Translation

[274]
po 14 *pa* 12 *pā* 64 *mī* 369[101]
195[102]
guṭhī[103]

101 This unknown set of letters and numbers evidently refers to the location of the original document (from which the present copy was made) within a set of similar documents.
102 This is the serial number of the document within the bundle, assigned at the Guṭhī Saṃsthān, Bhadrakālī.
103 This refers to the subject which the document falls under.

bhaṃ. nau. Harṣa
he. nau. Bāsu.

Āge: To the attending priest of Matsyendranātha (*pānejyu*)

It is learned that [overseership of] the Luthāma Guthi of glorious Matsyendranātha has, since previous times, been assigned (*pajanī*, text: *paṅjanī*) through [the issuance of] a *bahālī* (text: *vāhāla*) [document] by the *ḍiṭṭhā* appointed there. Later Rāmānanda [Bā̃ḍā] (text: *ramānanda*) had a *mohara* issued. We [hereby] annul the *mohara* that he received and declare that the *guthi* should be managed according to the traditional custom.

Thursday, the 6th of the bright fortnight of Bhādra in the [Vikrama] era year 1876 (1819 CE).

Commentary

This copy of a *lālamohara* is on page 274 of a bound volume containing copies of similar documents. The copy leaves the king's eulogy (*praśasti*) out, but from the date it is clear that the issuing authority is King Rājendra Vikrama Śāha. The document, addressing the officiating priest of Matsyendranātha, dismisses Rāmānanda's overseership of the Luthāma Guthi. We know from earlier *lālamohara*s that the overseership of the *guthi* was assigned to Rāmānanda first in VS 1860 (see document E_2253_0015C) and then, after a break, was restored in VS 1862 (see document K_0341_0034).

The document mentions that the assigning of the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi was customarily done through the *ḍiṭṭhā*,[104] who would issue a *bahālī* document to the assignee. The editor has not come across the corresponding document in this case. It is not clear whether the *ḍiṭṭhā* was in some way affiliated with the Matsyendranātha Guthi or was acting in some external administrative capacity. The document then orders in vague terms that the traditional custom regarding the overseership of the *guthi* be revived. The document, however, does not appoint any new overseer to the Luthāma Guthi, and its purpose seems to have been simply to inform the addressee priest that Rāmānanda no longer was in charge.

104 It remains uncertain whether one particular *ḍiṭṭhā* was affiliated with the *guthi*, since more than one individual may have been authorized to issue such documents. Cf. document E_2253_0015E, which mentions two *ḍiṭṭhā*s.

16. K_0015_0031E

A copy of a *lālamohara* from King Rājendra appointing Hākyā Kaṭuvāla as the overseer of the Luthāma Guthi

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya; dated VS 1883 (1826 CE); Bhadrakālī, Macchindranātha Guthi, BK 9 Ms. no. 242; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/52321.

Edition

[1r]

1 पो १६ ष १३ पा ५८ मी ३१४

1 गुठी चीताईदारी

1 भं नौ हर्ष
2 हे नौ राम

1 २४२

1 [a seal probably of the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā]
1 आगे हाक्या कटुवालके । सहर पाटनका श्री मछिन्द्रनाथका रथको सुनाका विमां-
2 को तपसील वमोजींका गुठि षेतको अषत्यार गरि रामानंद वाडाका नाउँमा भयाको
3 गुठिका मोहर हानि तलाई वक्स्यौं । आफ्ना खातिरज्मासीत परापुर्वदेखि चली
4 आयाको गुठि चलाई सालिंदा श्री मछिंद्रनाथका भडारका रुपया १०० दा-
5 षिल गरी सेष वाकि रह्याको ली गुठि जानी भोग्य गर । ---
6 तपसील्

ङ्षु रोपनी	६	पतिपा रोपनी	६	भीलुपा रोपनी	६
रानिवु रोपनी	७	कुसुंति रोप[नी]	८	ङ्षुवगर रोपनी	१

[1v]

1 २९७ नं
[unknown seal]

पाको रोपनी	६	रा[नि]वु रोपनी	१।।।	सीलाको रोपनी	६
घ्योपो रोपनी	३	थछे रोपनी	१	तेपना रोपनी	५

7 ईति सम्वत् १८८३ साल् कार्तिक वदी ५ रोज् ६ । शुभ । ---

Translation

[1r]
po 16 *ṣa* 13 *pā* 58 *mī* 314[105]
[This document concerns] the overseership of the *guthi.*
bhaṃ. nau. Harṣa
he. nau. Rāma.
242
[a seal, probably of the Guthi Bandobasta Aḍḍā]

Āge: To Hākyā Kaṭuvāla

We have annulled the *mohara* that was [issued earlier] in the name of Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā and have granted you authority over the irrigated *guthi* land (*kheta*) listed in the details [below] relating to the golden *vimāna* of the chariot of glorious Macchindranātha in the city of Patan. Being mindful of your duty [and] knowing that this is [your] *guthi*, operate the *guthi*, which has been running since olden times, deposit 100 rupees every year into the treasury of the glorious Macchindranātha, and enjoy the surplus.

The list [of *guthi* lands]

Ṅakhu	6 ropanīs	Patipā	6 ropanīs	Bhīlupā	6 ropanīs
Rānibu	7 ropanīs	Kusuṃti	8 ropanīs	Ṅakhuvagara[106]	1 ropanī

[1v]
297[107]
[unknown seal]

Pāko	6 ropanīs	Rānibu	1 ropanī 3 javās	Sīlāko[108]	6 ropanīs
Ghyopo[109]	3 ropanīs	Thache	1 ropanī	Tepanā	5 ropanīs

Friday, the 5th of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] era year 1883 (1826 CE). Auspiciousness.

105 This probably refers to the archival identification number of the original *mohara*. The meanings of the abbreviations *po*, *ṣa*, *pā* and *mī* are unknown.
106 E_2253_0015C has Ṅakhuvaṃga while K_0341_0034 has Ṅakhuvaṃraga.
107 This refers to the folio number within the bundle.
108 Document E_2253_0015C has this place name spelled as Silāpāko.
109 Documents E_2253_0015C and K_0341_0034 give the name of this place as Ghyopī.

Commentary

The original of this copy of a *lālamohara* annuls Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā's overseership of the Luthāma Guthi in service to Buṅgadyaḥ and gives the authority to the addressee, Hākyā Kaṭuvāla. The copy leaves out the *praśasti* and does not mention the name of the issuing king, Rājendra Vikrama Śāha (r. 1816–1847). The document is archived with the serial number 242 and is found on pages 296 and 297 of the bundle containing copies marked as *po* 16 *ṣa* 13 *pā* 58 *mī* 314 at the Guthi Saṃsthān. In contrast to earlier related documents (E_2253_0015A to E_2253_0015G, E_2254_0001A to E_2254_0001J, K_0341_0034 and K_0015_0021C), this document does not mention the name of the Luthāma Guthi. Instead, it refers to the *guthi* as serving "the golden *vimāna* of the chariot of glorious Macchindranātha."

The document does not mention any designation Hākyā Kaṭuvāla may have had. He was granted similar authority to oversee the Savāpāli Sadāvarta Guthi of Patan in 1821 (see K_0013_0030A) and the *jātrā guthi* of Guhyeśvarī in 1822 (see documents DNA_0010_0013 and K_0014_0014A). Hākyā's overseership of the Luthāma Guthi did not last long. In another document K_0014_0014C, issued six months after the current one, overseership of the *guthi* was restored to Amṛtānanda Bā̃ḍā and Sundarānanda Bā̃ḍā, the sons of Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā.

The document lists land endowments of the *guthi* amounting to a total of 56 *ropanī*s and 3 *javā*s. This is similar to what is listed in another document relating to the *guthi* issued in 1805 (see K_0341_0034).

17. K_0341_0034

A copy of an executive order from the king granting Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā the right to resume overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Rabi Acharya; dated VS 1862 (1805 CE); Bhadrakālī, card nos. 1–12; Jaiśikoṭhā, Bha. Gu. La. Ms. no. 111; for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/52547.

Edition

[1r]

1 ।।१४६।।

1 -१११ नं

[unknown seal]

1 सम्वट् १८६२ साल मीती मार्ग वदी ११ रोज मा

1 मार्फट् नर्सीह्

1 आगे सहर पाटंका ओकु वाहाल टोल महावुध्र घरको रामानंद वाडाके ।
2 तेरा पुर्षा जीवराज वाडाले श्री३मछिंद्रनाथका रठमा सुनको वीमान
3 चढाउडा गुठ् राष्याको २४ हजार पाटं साधडा लुथाम गुठ् तेरा पुर्षा
4 जीवराज वाडाले राष्याको ठहरीयेछ र त्यो गुठ् तलाई थामीवक्स्याको र-
5 हेछ । आज पनी त्पसील वमोजिंको गुठ् तलाई थामीवक्स्यौं । पुर्षादेषी
6 गरीआयेको वीमानको काम गरी वनाउनु सजनु । टहल नघटाई षाती-
7 रज्मासीत भोग्ये गर ।
8 तपसील

ङ्षु रोपनी ---६	रानीवु रोपनी ---७	रानीवु रोपनी ---१।।।
पाको रोपनी ---६	कुसुंती रोपनी ---८	घ्योपी रोपनी ---३
पतीपा रोपनी ---६	थंछे रोपनी ---१	तेपना रोपनी ---५
भील्पा रोपनी ---६	ङ्षुवंरग रोपनी ---१	वुगमती रोपनी ---६

13 इती सम्वट् १८६२ सा[ल] [मी]ती मार्ग वदी ११ रोज १ सु ।

[unknown seal]

Translation

[1r]
146[110]
No. 111[111]
[unknown seal]
On [...][112], the 11th of the dark fortnight of Mārga in the [Vikrama] era year 1862 (1805 CE).

Through (*mārphat*) Narsīṃha

Āge: To Rāmānanda Bāḍā, a resident of Mahābudha, Oku Bāhāla Ṭola, Patan.

Regarding the *guthi* established by your ancestor Jīvarāja Bāḍā when he offered a golden *vimāna* to the chariot of Matsyendranātha: When an enquiry was made [among] the 24 thousand [households/people] of Patan, it was determined that the Luthāma Guthi was [indeed] established by your ancestor Jīvarāja Bāḍā. Therefore, [overseership of] the *guthi* was restored to you.[113] Today we restrore to you, further, the *guthi* [lands] listed [below]. [Continue] doing the work on the *vimāna*, repairing and restoring it as it was done by [your] ancestors. Do not reduce your services, be mindful of your duty and enjoy [the surplus of the *guthi*].

The list [of *guthi* lands]

Ṅakhu, 6 ropanīs	Rānību, 7 ropanīs	Rānibu, 1 ropanī 3 javās
Pāko, 6 ropanīs	Kusuṃti, 8 ropanīs	Ghyopī, 3 ropanīs
Patīpā, 6 ropanīs	Thaṃche, 1 ropanīs	Tepanā, 5 ropanīs
Bhīlpā[114], 6 ropanīs	Ṅakhuvaṃraga[115], 1 ropanī	Bu[ṅ]gamatī, 6 ropanīs

110 This is a serial number probably assigned at the Jaisī Koṭhā, where this document was originally stored.

111 This is the serial number of the document within its bundle, assigned at the Guṭhī Saṃsthān, Bhadrakālī.

112 The space for the weekday is left blank in the original. Since the date is rewritten at the bottom of the document, the weekday can be supplied here as Sunday.

113 This is probably referring to the royal order of VS 1860 (document E_2253_0015C) in which overseership of the Luthāma Guthi was restored to Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā.

114 Document E_2253_0015C has Bhilupā.

115 Document E_2253_0015C has Ṅakhuvaṃga.

Sunday, the 11th of the dark fortnight of Mārga[śīra] in the [Vikrama] era year 1862 (1805 CE).[116] Auspiciousness.

Commentary

This document is a copy of an executive order issued, seemingly by King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha, to Rāmānanda Bāḍā. The document is archived at the Guthi Saṃsthān, Bhadrakālī, and has one seal each at the top and bottom margins. One Narsīṃha stood witness to it.

The document grants Rāmānanda the right to again exercise overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments, which amount to 56 *ropanī*s 3 *javā*s. A similar royal order had been issued to him two years prior, in VS 1860 (document E_2253_0015C). The current document does not provide any clue as to why the overseership had to be revalidated two years later. The answer lies in document K_0014_0014C, an order issued in VS 1884 by King Rājendra Vikrama Śāha, which mentions that the overseership of the *guthi* was reinstated to Rāmānanda in VS 1862 after it had been taken from him for failing to pay the *potā* tax.

The Luthāma Guthi seems to have lost a considerable amount of endowed land between VS 1860 and VS 1862. In comparison to E_2253_0015C, the current document does not mention plots in Silāpāko and Tadaha totalling 12 *ropanī*s 1 *javā*. The reason for this loss is unknown.

Another, clearer NGMPP microfilm of this document is K_0029_0048B.

18. PD_0002_0002

A *thyāsaphū* recording events in the history of the Luthāma Guthi in the early Śāha period

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; scanned and uploaded to the Buddhist Digital Archives of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center in Boston by the Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Scanning Initiative, id: Bdr-W1NPL76, https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:W1NPL76;

116 The text *mārga vadī 11 roja 1 su* has been added above the line after crossing out the text *agahana vadī 12 roja 2 śu*.

for the digital edition, see https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/62156.

Edition

[1]

1 सं ८८८ देश चार । श्री ३ पृथ्वीनारायण महाराजा एल देश दुहां विज्यात ।
2 सं ८८९ वुया चौथाइ सामा दुकाल । सं ८९३ वुया पोता काल । गुलियां इ-
3 जारा काल । गुलियां मनाओनि कायाओ तोलताओ विल । लुथाम गुथिया जक ध-
4 नंद महावुद्धया धर्मश्रीजु शि वाहारया धननंदजु हतखाया रतनजु हतखा-
5 या पाक आनंदजु महावुद्धया थ्वतेसिनं इजरा तयाओ दाम हनां जा देवया र-
6 थस लुथाम गुथि चिंता यायमफु धकं कुतर मदयकं चोनाओ महापालया
7 रानि मयजु वलभद्र जोसिन थ्व गुथि दर्शन याङा धक थ्व गुथिया हर्ता भर्ता जुयाओ
वुया
8 सामा दकोयां थओ खुसि याङाओ वु पजनि याक जुरो । थ्व वेलस साह्मा भाओ जा-
[cont.]

[2]

1 कि फं ३० तकाया वा फं ७० तकाया कयगू फं ९० पाथिं तकाया छव फं ८० तका
2 या काय योम दु । सेने ल्होने वाराही तयाओ सिज्या याकेमात्र जुको ताल लाचकाओ
3 भरियान कुवुयकाओ महावुद्धस नायकया छेस नुगू वाहारस ज्या याकर ओयि-
4 ओ । गुथिहार म्हं ७ माधर समेत वोनाओ नको नके नकाओ वाराही तयाओ नकी-
5 ल जक तानाओ नमा ताय छपो १ द्वोलङ पूजा छ १ पोल गुथिहार वुझय यानाओ
6 वलनंन काओ गुथिया साम्हा थओ षुसि याङाओ वर्ष २ नसि वलभद्र जोसिन लुथा-
7 म गुथि नया । ॥१॥ थ्वनंलि धंरानि मयजु महापालया वर्ष २ लुथाम गुथि नया ।
॥२॥
8 थ्वनंलि जोङ वाहारया लोहकर्मि न्हूलजेनं तका ७२ दाम तयाओ वर्ष ५ ङादसंम
[cont.]

[3]

1 लुथाम गुथि नया । ॥३॥ थ्वनंलि दौवाहा भेरुकूटया पोमं माहातनं वर्ष २ निद-
2 या लुथाम गुथि नया । ॥४॥ थ्वनंलि मंग्ल भिंदेओ कोनेया षेपुवा जयनरसिंनं
3 वर्ष २ निदया लुथाम गुथि नया । थुगु दंनं नुगलस रथ भेतवुराओ खेपुवाया का-
4 य रथन कानाओ सिक । ॥५॥ अमाली श्रीकाजी वंधु राणाया पाला ।
सं ९०४ संवतस ।
5 थ्वनंलि गाल वाहाल कोथुछे ननिया भंदाखार रहिक स्वां हं अंतसिंनं वर्ष २ नि
6 दं लुथाम गुथि नया । थुगुलि दं नं तफालोहं भति मथ्यओं रथ भेतवुर । श्रीरण-
7 वहादूर महाराजाया पर्याय । ॥६॥ अमाली श्रीहस्तदल वाजु साहाव । थ्वनंलि
8 खोपोया राजवैद्य पुनसिंहन वर्ष ५ ङाद संम लुथाम गुथि नया । गुथिहारयात [cont.]

[4]

महाआदरनं मान्य याङाओ नकु । पोर १ छि नमा तायगू पोल छि १ दोलन पूजा पोल
छि १ नमा कोकाय गुथिहार माधर संसर्गन महारस आदर याङाओ विचार यास्यं
सेङ ल्होने वाराही ज्या तय सि छिकर छोयाया ज्यारा दस्तुर मालकों चरय याङा-
ओ लुथाम गुथि नया जुरो । ॥७॥ थ्वनंलि इलंन्हेया भाजुधं जोसिन तका १०५ दा-
म तयाओ वर्ष ३ स्वदंया लुथाम गुथि भुक्तमान याङाओ गुथिहारया पोल १ न-
मा तानाया भोज पोल १ दुलं पूजाया भोज याकाओ गुथि नया जुरो । अमाली श्रीवम्म
साही चौताराया पाला । ॥८॥ थ्वनंलि ए देश ओगलया हितिचुक्का वैद्य भाजुधंनं
वर्ष ११ जिमछद संम गुथिहारया व्यवहार मालको आदरभाव दयकाओ [cont.]

[5]

म्ह्याय मोचा जिराजं नं समेतं वोनाओ गुथि ङायकर ओयाओ गुथि भुक्तमान
याङा । थ्व वेरस अमारी तपाहितिया ओनओ शिव महाजनया पारा । ॥९॥
थ्वनंलि तनिग्लया तिल्हुतिया साहावा ओझान तका १०५ दाम तयाओ वर्ष १ छदं
लुथाम गुथि नया । थ्व वेलस वुया पेल पाथि फनं कायाओ म्होयतस्येनं महा-
श्राप विया । वाराहीया दस्तुर जाकि फं ३० शुय दस्तुर मवियाओ न्हु ङा ५ न्हुया र-
थस लुथाम लित काया विल मओ जुल । माधर छम्ह जक ङान्हुया पिवाल चोङा-
ओ दुःख सिया जुरो । थ्व वेरस सेङ ल्होने नकिल ताय नापं मयाक । वाराही ज्या
याकेयात धानी १ छि कचि लंभा कुल छि १ प्याथ ला हयाओ वाराहीया ज्या वि ला
धी क नकी तायत छनु तयाओ गुथियारयात आदरभाव मयास्य दुलन पूजा [cont.]

[6]

नापं मयास्यं लुथाम गुथि भुक्तमान याक जुरो । अमारी श्रीसर्दार प्रवर राणा-
या पाला । ॥१०॥ थ्वनंलि इलंन्हेया भाजुधं जोसिनं थओ नामस मोहर याकाओ
राजगुथि धक श्रीरणवहादुर स्वामिजु हेयेकाओ मिचय यानाओ नया तर । मो-
ह ५ या रु हरिणचक्रया मोड मात्र तया ।

Translation

[1]

In the [Nepāla Saṃvat] year 888 (1768 CE), the country became open, [and] the thrice venerable great King Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa entered into the country of Patan (Yala, text: *ela*).

In the year [NS] 889 (1769 CE), [the king] took one-fourth of the harvest (*sāmā*).

In the year [NS] 893 (1773 CE), a *potā*-levy on land was exacted. Some [of the land] had [the contractual system of] *ijārā* imposed [upon

it], [while] other [land] was exempted after *manāoni*[117] had been taken. As for the Luthāma Guthi, Dhanaṃda of Mahābuddha,[118] Dharmaśrī of Śi Bāhāra,[119] Dhananaṃda of Hatakhā, Ratana of Hatakhā, and Pāka Ānanda of Mahābuddha placed [a bid for] the *ijārā* [contract]. They, [however], did not make any serious effort, saying [as they did] that they could not invest money (*dāma hanāṃ*) to take care of the Luthāma Guthi, [the patron institution] of the deity's chariot. [Instead,] Rāni Mayaju and Balabhadra Jośī (text: *jāsi*) of Mahāpāla took charge of this *guthi*, saying that they had been paying *darśana* to it.[120] They used all the harvest of the [*guthi*] lands as they saw fit and caused the *pajanī* [system] to be imposed on the lands.[121]

[2]
At this time, there were people who charged [the following] prices for the harvest: 30 *phaṃs*[122] of husked rice per *takā,*[123] 70 *phaṃ*s of unhusked rice per *takā*, 90 *phaṃ*s [or] *pāthi*s of [dried] peas per *takā* and 80 *phaṃ*s of wheat per *takā*. [Rāni Mayaju and Balabhadra Jośī] employed Bārāhīs[124] to repair the damaged [parts], had work done only on the wood [parts], and had porters carry [the parts] to the house of the

117 The meaning of this term is unclear. If it is derived from the Nepali verb *manāunu* (to cause to be agreed), it may be translated as "an agreed/negotiated amount."

118 This is the locality consisting of Mahābuddha Bāhāla, also known as Bodhimaṇḍapa Vihāra. For more information on this monastery, see DANAM, id: LAL2340.

119 Read: Si Bāhāla; also known as Suvarṇakīrtisaṃskārita Śrivaccha Mahāvihāra, Si Bāhāla is one of Patan's major Buddhist monasteries. See DANAM, id: LAL0690 for more on the monastery.

120 *Darśana* generally means a vision, sight, or blessing of a deity or an honourable person (see Eck 1988 and and Michaels 2011). However, the term seems to have been used here in the sense of being avidly devoted to the *guthi* or to the deity in service to whom the *guthi* was established.

121 It probably was the tenants of the *guthi* lands upon whom the temporary assignments (*pajanī*) were conferred.

122 *Phaṃ* is the Nepal Bhasa term for *pāthī*, a traditional volumetric unit equivalent to 8 mānās (approximately 4.546 litres).

123 *Takā* (var. *taṃkā*) is a unit of money. Since the prices mentioned here are of the Śāha period, the term probably denotes *mohararupaiyā* or rupee.

124 A Bārāhī (alternatively known as *vaḍhaī*, see Emmrich 2007, 139) is a person from the carpenter caste responsible for constructing wooden parts of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot. Bārāhīs claim to have come to the Kathmandu Valley from Kāmarūpa in Assam, the original place of Buṅgadyaḥ (cf. Owens 1989, 281).

head (*nāyaka*) [of the Luthāma Guthi] at Nugū Bāhāla[125] at Mahābuddha in order to have the work done [there]. They invited 7 *guthi* members including the *mādhara*[126] and fed them as required. They employed Bārāhīs only to hammer the nails. They carried out the tasks of *namā tāya*[127] - 1 and *dvolaṅa-pūjā*[128] - 1, argued[129] with the *guthi* members, [and] forcibly took and used the harvest of the *guthi* [land] as they wished. Balabhadra Jośī (text: *jāsi*) [thus] enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 2 years. --- 1

After that, Dhaṃrāni Mayaju of Mahāpāla enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 2 years. --- 2

Then, the stone-mason Nhūlaje of Joṅa Bāhāra[130] enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 5 years by [agreeing to] pay a [contractual] sum of 72 *takā*s. --- 3

[3]

After this, Pomaṃ Māhāta[131] of Bherukūṭa[132] [near] Dau Bāhā enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 2 years. --- 4

Then Khepuvā Jayanarasiṃ from [the area] below Maṅgla (i.e., the Patan Darbar Square area) Bhiṃdeva [Temple][133] enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 2 years. This year, the chariot fell on its side,[134] and Khepuvā's son died, trapped in the chariot. --- 5. [This happened] during the

125 Alternatively known as Nagu Bāhāla, Nau Bāhāla, or Rūpavarṇa Vihāra, it is a branch monastery of Oku Bāhāla. See DANAM, id: LAL2380 and Locke 1985, 108 for more information on this monastery.

126 The meaning of the term is unclear.

127 This is the act of fixing the *luthāma* parts to the chariot.

128 This is the alternative spelling for *dolana-pūjā*.

129 Even though the expression *bujhaya yānāo* literally means "having convinced," in this sentence it connotes an argument between the *ijārā*-holders and the *guthi* members.

130 This probably is Jom Bāhāla, also known as Viśvakarmāvatāra Mahāvihara, lying south of Patan Darbar Square. See DANAM, id: LAL2680 for more on this Buddhist monastery.

131 The reading of the letter *maṃ* in the original is unclear. *Māhāta*/*māhātha* (lit. "minister") here probably indicates that this person was of the Amātya caste, someone who held a ministerial post during the Malla period. Families of Amātyas still reside in the courtyard of Bherukūṭa.

132 Also known as Bhelakhu Bāhāla or Bhairavakūṭa Mahāvihāra, it is a monastic courtyard located close of Dau Bāhāla. For more information on Bherukūṭa, see DANAM, id: LAL0230 and on Dau Bāhāla, see DANAM, id: LAL0220.

133 For details on this temple, see DANAM, id: LAL1380.

134 For descriptions of past breakdowns of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, see Emmrich 2007 and R. Śākya 2007.

time of the venerable *amālī* Kājī Bandhu Rāṇā in the year [NS] 904 (1784).

Thereafter, Svāṃ Haṃ Aṃtasiṃ, the caretaker of the Bhaṇḍārakhāla (text: *bhaṃdākhāra*)[135] and a resident of Kothuche Nani at Gāla Bāhāla,[136] enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 2 years. This year, too, the chariot fell on its side just as it was about to reach Taphālohaṃ. [This happened] during the reign of the venerable great king Raṇa Bahādura. --- 6. Venerable Hastadala Vāju Sāhāba was the *amālī*.

Thereafter, the royal physician Punasiṃha of Bhaktapur (text: *khopo*) enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 5 years.

[4]
He honoured the *guthi* members and fed them with great respect. He carried out the tasks of *namā tāyagu* - 1, *dolana-pūjā* - 1 and *namā kokāya* - 1.[137] He consulted with the *guthi* members and the *mādhara*[138] and took great pleasure in solicitously honouring them. He employed Bārāhīs to repair the damaged [parts] and paid necessary wages and fees for carrying (*chikara*) timber. He thus enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi. --- 7

After this, Bhājudhaṃ Josi of Ilaṃnhe enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for 3 years by [agreeing to] pay the sum of 105 *takā*s. He had feasts arranged for the *guthi* members [on the occasion] of *namā tāya* - 1 and another feast for *dolana-pūjā* - 1, and [thus] enjoyed the *guthi*. [This was] during the time of the venerable *amālī cautariyā* (text: *cautārā*) Bamma Sāhī. --- 8

Thereafter, Bhājudhaṃ Vaidya of Hiticuka at Ogala[139] in Kāntipura (Yẽ Deśa, text: *e deśa*) enjoyed the *guthi* for 11 years.

[5]
He respected the customs of the *guthi* members as called for, invited his daughter(s) and son(s)-in-law [to participate] as well, and [thus]

135 The Bhaṇḍārakhāla is the royal garden, which functioned also as a royal treasury during the Malla period (cf. G. Vajrācārya VS 2033, 123).
136 This is the area around Gāḥ Bāhāla, also known as Nimnaśrī Viśvaśānti Vihāra. For more information, see DANAM, id: LAL0510.
137 *namā tāya* and *namā kokāya* probably mean the tasks of installing and dismantling part of the *luthāma*.
138 The meaning of the term is unclear.
139 The locality currently known as Indracoka in Kathmandu.

organised *guthi* activities. At this time, Onao Śiva Mahājana[140] of Tapāhiti was the *amālī*. --- 9

Thereafter, Sāhāvā Ojhā, a Tirhutiya residing in Tanigla,[141] enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi for one year after [agreeing to] pay the sum of 105 *takā*s. At this time, since he took *pela pāthi phanaṃ*[142] on the land, the tenants cursed [him] greatly. Since he did not pay the Bārāhīs' fee of 30 *phaṃ*s of husked rice, they refused to come and disassemble the *luthāma* from the chariot for five days. The *mādhara* had to wait alone and suffer for five days. At this time, no repair work on damaged [parts] was carried out and no nails were hammered. In order to have the Bārāhīs work, [he] brought one *dhārnī*[143] (text: *dhānī*) of uncooked garlic and one *kurha*[144] (text: *kula*) of fatty meat, {*vārāhīyā jyā vi lā dhī ka*},[145] [and] spared [merely] a day to hammer nails. He enjoyed the Luthāma Guthi without either acting respectfully towards *guthi* members or performing the *dolana-pūjā*. [This was] the time of the venerable *amālī sardāra* Pravara Rāṇā. --- 10

Thereafter, Bhājudhaṃ Josi of Ilaṃnhe had a royal order (*mohara*) issued in his name. He persuaded venerable Raṇa Bahādura Svāmī that [the Luthāma Guthi] was a *rājaguthi* and, having [so] intruded himself, enjoyed it. He gilded only the heads of the [deers of] the hariṇacakra[146], using 5 *mohara*s worth of gold.

Commentary

This document is a leporello (*thyāsaphū*, concertina fold) manuscript containing records of events relating to the Luthāma Guthi of Patan's Buṅgadyaḥ (aka Matsyendranātha). Digital images of the manuscript have been archived under the identifier Bdr-W1NPL76 at the Buddhist

140 Śreṣṭha families bearing the title Onaḥ are still residing at Tapāhiti, a locality north of Nyākhācuka in Patan.

141 The locality of Taṅgala, immediate south of the Patan Darbar Square.

142 The meaning is unclear. It may mean "four [additional] *pāthī*s [of grain per plot]."

143 A measure of weight equal to 12 *pāus*, equivalent to 2,393 kg.

144 A volumetric measure equivalent to two *mānās* (Malla 2000, s.v. *kurha*), with four *kurhas* in one *phaṃ*. The unit is used mostly for measuring grain.

145 The meaning is not clear.

146 The *hariṇacakra* (var. *hariñcakra*) is the rectangular gilt panel depicting a central wheel, with a parasol and a deer on either side. It is mounted above the tympanum (*toraṇa*) over the sanctum door of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot.

Digital Archives of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center in Boston, USA. The manuscript was digitized as part of the Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Scanning Initiative in collaboration with the Nagarjuna Institute of Buddhist Studies in Nepal.[147] The manuscript itself is untitled, but the archive has given it the title "Guthi *thyāsa-phū*." The material is paper coated on both sides with *haritāla*. It has 22 unnumbered pages and measures 14 × 8 cm when folded. The number of lines per page varies from eight to thirteen. The owner is named as Yagya Ratna Shakya, his place of domicile unmentioned. The language is Classical Nepal Bhasa written in the *pracalita* script. Interestingly, the document uses first-person verb forms for third-person verbs, such as *nayā* instead of *nala*, *yāṅā* instead of *yāta*, *biyā* instead of *bila*, and *tayā* instead of *tala*.

The manuscript contains text relating to the Luthāma Guthi by different scribes and registered at different times. The earliest dated event is from NS 888 (1768 CE) while the latest is from NS 938 (1818 CE). The contents of the manuscript include rules regarding the distribution of grains to the *guthi*'s caretakers and the Bārāhīs, a list of parts required for constructing the *vimāna* (or *luthāma*) section of the chariot, rules for storing and securing the parts, a list of seven *guthi* members taking care of the organization's activities, a list of land endowments and their harvest yield, and expenditure details of certain rituals. Six of the 22 pages of the manuscript contain a list of events written in a *ghaṭanāvalī*[148] style. The edition and translation presented in this document concern these six pages.

The document records that the newly arrived Śāha kings began exacting the *potā*-levy on the lands and imposing the *ijārā* system of contractual management in NS 893 (1773 CE). This year differs from what has been mentioned by some historians. Mahesh Candra Regmi dates it to the year 1770/71, when Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha levied it on all *sunābirtā*[149] (purchased and privately owned) lands in the Kathmandu Valley (M.C. Regmi 1964, 40), while Dhanavajra Vajrācārya

147 The scans are available here: https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:MW1NPL76, accessed on May 20, 2021.

148 For a discussion on *ghaṭanāvalī* and other genealogical historiography of Nepal, see Y. Raj 2012.

149 Privately owned land which was liable to some taxation (cf. Whelpton 1991, 286). This form of land grants emerged when state owned (*raikara*) land was sold to individuals, and was originally tax free and inheritable. Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha levied taxes on such lands in the Kathmandu Valley (cf. Regmi 1964, 39–40).

mentions that it was first exacted by Pratāpa Siṃha Śāha (r. 1775–1777) (D. Vajrācārya VS 2019, 39). Govinda Ṭaṇḍana has proposed that the earliest date of *ijārā* was 1780 (Ṭaṇḍana 1995, 58). The present document gives 1773 as the definitive year of the first imposition of *ijārā* by the Śāhas.

This document records a list of events from a period covering Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha's conquest of Patan in 1768 to the reign of King Raṇa Bahādura Śāha. It mainly records the names of *ijārā*-holders of the Luthāma Guthi, their contract period, and occasionally the contractual amount paid and the names of the *amālī*s. A table of *ijārā*-holders is presented below (Table 1).

Table 1: Ijārā holders of the Luthāma Guthi during 1768 to the reign of King Raṇa Bahādura Śāha.

Name(s) of *ijārā*-holder	**Duration (in years)**	**Contractual amount paid (in *takā*s)**
Rāni Mayaju and Balabhadra Jośī	2	
Dhaṃrāni Mayaju	2	
Nhūlaje	5	72
Pomaṃ Māhāta	2	
Khepuvā Jayanarasiṃ	2	
Svāṃ Haṃ Aṃtasiṃ	2	
Punasiṃha	5	
Bhājudhaṃ Josi	3	105
Bhājudhaṃ Vaidya	11	
Sāhāvā Ojhā	1	105

The document narrates that Bhājudhaṃ Josi had a *lālamohara* issued in his own name and took over overseership of the Luthāma Guthi. A legal issue arose against this Bhājudhaṃ Josi (alternatively spelled Bhājudhana Jaisī in other documents) in the early nineteenth century (see documents E_2253_0015A–E_2253_0015G, E_2254_0001A–E_2254_0001J, K_0014_0014C, K_0015_0021C, K_0015_0031E, and K_0341_0034) and finally the overseership was returned to the original *guthi* members.

The document also records the conduct of *ijārā*-holders towards *guthi* members and the construction workers of the chariot, along with the *ijārā*-holders' attitude towards the performance of certain rituals. The rituals of *namā tāye* and *dolana-pūjā* are specifically mentioned. This document thus provides a *guthi* member's perspective of how the government and the contract holders affected the functioning of *guthi* activities. It provides evidence of how during the early Śāha period the *guthī*, its members, land endowments, and concerned actors such as the Bārāhīs and the tenants of the *guthi* land were exploited by the state and the contractors, neither of whom probably had any direct connection to the original ritual and tradition. The exploitation sometimes gave rise to protests in the form of cursing or refusing to participate in the construction of the chariot.

ORCID®
Manik Bajracharya https://orcid.org/0009-0005-1732-2377

References

1. Primary sources

a. Vaṃśāvalīs and ghaṭanāvalī thyāsaphūs

Bhāṣāvaṃśāvalī: Laṃsāla, Devīprasāda. VS 2023. *Bhāṣā Vaṃśāvalī (Dvitīya Bhāga)*. Kathmandu: Nepāla Rāṣṭriya Pustakālaya.

Devamālāvaṃśāvalī: Yogī, Naraharinātha. VS 2013. *Devamālā Vaṃśāvalī*. Gorakṣagranthamālā, vol. 89. Kathmandu: Pīramahanta Kṣiprānātha Yogirāja.

NBhV: Bajracharya, Manik, and Axel Michaels. 2016. *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī, History of the Kings of Nepal: A Buddhist Chronicle*. Vol. 1: *Introduction and Translation*; vol. 2: *Edition*. Kathmandu: Himal Books.

Th1: (See document PD_0002_0002) A *thyāsaphū* recording events in the history of the Luthāma Guthi in the early Śāha period, 22 folios. Buddhist Digital Resource Center: W1NPL76. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/62156.

Th2: A *thyāsaphū* recording events of the Luthāma Guthi in the year NS 1032 (1912 CE), 8 folios. In possession of Mahendrānanda Vandya, Oku Bāhāḥ.

Th3: A *thyāsaphū* recording events of the Luthāma Guthi in the year NS 1033 (1913 CE), 7 folios. In possession of Mahendrānanda Vandya, Oku Bāhāḥ.

b. Documents

DNA_0010_0013. VS 1879. A rukkā from the king granting Jātrā Guthi land to Hākyā Kaṭuvāla to enjoy kuta thereof. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/catitems/viewitem/721.

E_2253_0015A. VS 1859. A copy of an account by Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā of petitions he made to Rudravīra Sāha and Bam Sāha in justification of his claim to control the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18745.

E_2253_0015B. VS 1859. A copy of an executive order from Cautariyā Bam Sāha empowering Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā to operate the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18857.

E_2253_0015C. VS 1860. A copy of an executive order presumably from King Gīrvāṇa granting Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā the right to retain overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18862.

E_2253_0015D. VS 1860. A copy of an order from Subedāra Śaṅkhadhara to Patan officials to investigate Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā's claim to the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18863.

E_2253_0015E. VS 1860. A scribal note reporting confirmation to Patan's amālī of the original sponsor of the Luthāma Guthi and the queen regent's order to restore control over it to one of his descendants through a bahālī. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18864.

E_2253_0015F. VS 1860. A document written by Śaṅkhadhara, an official in Patan, confirming Rāmānanda's overseership of the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18865.

E_2253_0015G. VS 1860. A note re the retrieval of utensils belonging to the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18867.

E_2254_0001A. VS 1859. A copy of an executive order from Cautariyā Bam Sāha empowering Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā to operate the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18858.

E_2254_0001B. VS 1860. A scribal note re Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā's obtaining a mohara document from Queen Rājarājeśvarī that returned overseership of the Luthāma Guthi to his clan. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18868.

E_2254_0001C. VS 1860. A copy of an order from Subedāra Śaṅkhadhara to Patan officials to investigate Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā's claim to the overseership of the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18869.

E_2254_0001D. VS 1860. A copy of a rukkā of Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī restoring overseership of the Luthāma Guthi to Rāmānanda. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18870.

E_2254_0001E. VS 1860. A copy of an arjī submitted by Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā and fellow guthi members claiming their right to the harvests and utensils belonging to the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/11551.

E_2254_0001F. VS 1860. A copy of a letter from Ḍiṭṭhā Bhāgīrāma of Patan recommending that its unnamed recipient decide in favour of Rāmānanda regarding ownership of the harvest on land belonging to the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/11552.

E_2254_0001G. VS 1860. A copy of an executive order of Queen Rājarājeśvarī Devī directing judicial officials of Patan to come to a decision regarding the rightful owner of crop yields from plots belonging to the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya in collaboration with Pabitra Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18871.

E_2254_0001H. VS 1860. A copy of an executive order from Cautariyā Amara Siṃha Śāha directing judicial officers of Patan to come to a decision regarding the rightful claimant to the crop yields from plots belonging to the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/18872.

E_2254_0001J. VS 1860. An executive order from five ministers of Patan empowering Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā to operate the Luthām Guṭhī. National Archives. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/catitems/viewitem/18881.

K_0013_0030A. VS 1878. A lālamohara from King Rājendra appointing Hākyā to operate Patan's Sāvāpāli Sadāvarta Guṭhī. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/catitems/viewitem/51805.

K_0014_0014A. VS 1879. A lālamohara from King Rājendra appointing Hākyā Kaṭuwāla to operate Jātrā Guṭhī of Śrī Guhyeśvarī. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/catitems/viewitem/27007.

K_0014_0014C. VS 1884. A copy of a lālamohara from King Rajendra restoring to Amṛtānanda and Sundarānanda their ancestral right to overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/49188.

K_0015_0021C. VS 1876. A copy of a lālamohara from King Rājendra dismissing Rāmānanda's overseership of the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/49186.

K_0015_0031E. VS 1883. A copy of a lālamohara from King Rājendra appointing Hākyā Kaṭuvāla as the overseer of the Luthāma Guthi. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/52321.

K_0341_0034. VS 1862. A copy of an executive order from the king granting Rāmānanda Bā̃ḍā the right to resume overseership of the Luthāma Guthi and its land endowments. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/52547.

NHDP_0001_0140. NS 990. A votive inscription by Harṣa Narasiṃha on the tympanum (prabhā) to be annually installed inside the sanctum of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot. Edited and translated by Simon Cubelic. Nepal Heritage Documentation Project. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/68196.

NHDP_0001_0158. NS 1111. An inscription, composed by Hemarāja Śākya and affixed to the right-hand side railing of the balcony of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot, recording the history of donations for the various parts of the sanctum of the chariot. Edited and translated by Simon Cubelic in collaboration with Manik Bajracharya and Rajan Khatiwoda. Nepal Heritage Documentation Project. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/74806.

NHDP_0001_0163. VS 2047. A votive inscription installed on the railing of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot recording Sundaralāla Khaḍgī's and Gītādevī's donation for the luthāma. Edited and translated by Simon Cubelic and Rajan

Khatiwoda. Nepal Heritage Documentation Project. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/75972.

NHDP_0001_0164. VS 2047. A votive inscription affixed to the sill of the door to the sanctum of the Buṅgadyaḥ chariot recording Sundaralāla Khaḍgī's donation for the luthāma. Edited and translated by Simon Cubelic and Rajan Khatiwoda. Nepal Heritage Documentation Project. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/75973.

PD_0002_0002. n.d. A thyāsaphū recording events in the history of the Luthāma Guthi in the early Śāha period. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. Buddhist Digital Resource Center: W1NPL76. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/62156.

RRC_0005_0159. VS 1863. A copy of a royal order appointing Sīu Narasīṃ as a ḍiṭṭhā to oversee the management of Patan's Matsyendranātha guthis. Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya. National Archives Nepal. https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/65979.

2. Secondary sources

Bajracharya, Manik, and Axel Michaels. 2016. *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī, History of the Kings of Nepal: A Buddhist Chronicle.* Vol. 1: *Introduction and Translation*. Kathmandu: Himal Books.

Eck, Diana L. 1998. *Darśan. Seeing the Divine Image in India.* 3rd ed. Chambursburg: Anima Books.

Edwards, Daniel W. 1975. "Nepal on the Eve of the Rana Ascendancy." *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 2 (1): 99–118.

Emmrich, Christoph. 2007. "'All the King's Horses and All the King's Men': The 2004 Red Matsyendranatha Incident in Lalitpur." In: *When Rituals Go Wrong: Mistakes, Failure, and the Dynamics of Ritual*, edited by Ute Hüsken, 137–153. Leiden: Brill.

Gellner, David N. 1992. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamilton, Francis. 1819. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the Territories Annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha*. Edinburgh: A. Constable.

Heritage PodTalk. "Heritage PodTalk #3 with Mahendrananda Shakya, President of Lusa Guthi." Streamed live on June 30, 2023. YouTube video, 46:05. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GL8tuqXDz1U.

Krauskopff, Gisèle, and Pamela Deuel Meyer. 2000. *The Kings of Nepal & the Tharu of the Tarai*. Los Angeles/Kirtipur: Rusca Press/CNAS.

Locke, John K. 1980. *Karunamaya: The Cult of Avalokitesvara Matsyendranath in the Valley of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Sahayogi Prakashan.

——. 1985. *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal: A Survey of the Bāhās and Bahīs of the Kathmandu Valley*. Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press.

Malla, Kamal P. et al., eds. 2000. *A Dictionary of Classical Newari: Compiled from Manuscript Sources*. Kathmandu: Nepal Bhasa Dictionary Committee.

Michaels, Axel. 1994. "The Legislation of Widow Burning in 19th-Century Nepal. Edition and Translation of the Chapter Satijānyako of the Mulukī Ain." *Asiatische Studien* XLVIII (4): 1213–1240.

——. 2011. "Darśana." In *Religion Past and Present Online*. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_03411.

——. 2024. *Nepal: A History from the Earliest Times to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Owens, Bruce McCoy. 1989. "The Politics of Divinity in the Kathmandu Valley: The Festival of Bungadya/Rato Matsyendranath." PhD diss., Columbia University.

Pant, Mahes Raj. 2002. "Documents from the Regmi Research Collection I." *Ādarśa* 2: 61–152.

Pant, Mahes Raj and Philip H. Pierce. 1989. *Administrative Documents of the Shah Dynasty Concerning Mustang and Its Periphery (1789–1844 A.D.)*. Bonn: VGH.

Raj, Yogesh. 2012. "Towards a Case Typology of Historiography: Reading Historical Texts from South Asia." *Studies in Nepali History and Society* 17 (1): 63–104.

Ramble, Charles. 2008. *The Navel of the Demoness: Tibetan Buddhism and Civil Religion in Highland Nepal*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Regmi, Mahesh C. 1964. *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal.* Vol. 2: *The Land Grant System: Birta Tenure*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of International Studies, University of California.

——. 1970. "A Glossary of Revenue, Administrative and Other Terms Occurring in Nepal Historical Documents." *Regmi Research Series* 2 (6): 148–149.

——. 1971. *A Study of Nepali Economic History 1769–1846.* New Delhi: Mañjuśrī Publishing House.

——. 1972. "Kumaun Documents-1." *Regmi Research Series* 4 (4): 61–70.

——. 1974. "Guthi Administration." *Regmi Research Series* 6 (7): 128–133.

——. 1976. *Landownership in Nepal*. Berkeley, CA/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

——. 1978. *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

——. 1987. "Hastadal Shahi." *Regmi Research Series* 19 (1): 6–8.

Śākya, Hemarāja. VS 2045. *Mahābuddha Mandira: Saṃkṣipta Itihāsa*. Lalitpur: Cakrarāja Śākya.

——. VS 2048. *Śrī Karuṇāmaya Buṅgamalokeśvarayā Saṃskṛtika Pṛṣṭhabhūmi: Saṃkṣipta-Paricaya*. Lalitpur: Rājakumāra Śākya.

Sakya, Hemaraj, and T.R. Vaidya. 1970. *Medieval Nepal: Colophons and Inscriptions*. Kathmandu: T.R. Vaidya.

Śākya, Ravi. 2007. *Buṅgadevayā Ghaṭanāvalī*. Lalitpur: Nhū Hisu Pucaḥ.

Slusser, Mary Shepherd. 1982. *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of Kathmandu Valley*. Vol. 1: *Text*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Stiller, Ludwig F. 1981. *Letters from Kathmandu: The Kot Massacre*. Kirtipur: CNAS.

Ṭaṇḍana, Govinda. 1995. *Nepālamā Gūṭhīvyavasthā*. Kathmandu: Nepal Research Group.

Vaidya, Tulasīrāma, and Bhadraratna Vajrācārya. VS 2055. *Madhyakālika Nepālako Praśāsanika Itihāsa (879–1726 ī.)*. Kathmandu: CNAS.

Vajrācārya, Dhanavajra. VS 2019 (1963). *Paṇḍita Sundarānandaviracita Triratna-Saundarya-Gāthā*. Kathmandu: Nepāla Sāṃskṛtika Pariśad.

Vajrācārya, Gautamavajra. VS 2033. *Hanūmānḍhokā Rājadarabāra*. Kathmandu: CNAS.

Whelpton, John. 1991. *Kings, Soldiers and Priests: Nepalese Politics and the Rise of Jang Bahadur Rana, 1830–1857*. Delhi: Manohar.

——. 2005. *A History of Nepal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.