

TOTEMISM IN MANANDHARS: AN ETHNOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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This is an ethnolinguistic study of Manandhars of Kathmandu. Manandhars 'the oil pressers' locally called them Saemi, are the chunk of Newar society in Nepal. They are scattered in seven major oil pressing mills in Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Kabhre, hence called them Nhasah saemi (the oil pressers of seven mills). Besides, they play the traditional musical instruments. They are identified or differentiated with totems, which are based on their profession, physique, nature, locality, which is called Kunam or Binamin short for kulnam (clan name) and bishesnam (special name). Among the seven mills, only three mills (Pakopukhudyami, Nhusahmi, and Casandomi) practice totemism.

Key words: Totemism, Kulanaam, binaam

1. Introduction

This paper attempts to analyse the totems of *Manandhar* with an ethnolinguistic approach. The vestiges of forms of Newar social organization which are based, not upon the ideology of hierarchy along the poles of the pure and polluted likecastes, nor upon the rivalry and privilege as the classes, but simply on the principle of identity and difference. In Newar society some families from Shresthas of Patan and the peripheral area of Kathmandu valley, Jyapu of Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and few families of Manandhars from Kathmandu and Banepa have a system of classification, which in Newar is called *Kunaam* [kunã] कुनां in short for *Kulanaam* कुलनाम (lineage name) or *Binaam* [binã] बिनां for *Vishesnaam* विशेषनाम (special name). These names are of animals, birds, insects, flowers, artefacts, physical features, and so on, which are descriptive in nature. Among many primitive tribes divided into sibs (clan or gentes). The sib name is derived from an animal, plant or natural object. The sib members display special attitudes towards these creatures or things which are their totems. The institution which comprises the sibs, their totems, attendant beliefs, costumes and rituals is called totemism. Totemic syndrome, in brief, involves: (i) clan organization; (2) clans taking animal or plant names as emblems; and (iii) belief in a relationship between groups and their totems (Malla; 1996, 2015:368).

Manandhar is one of the groups of Newar society, traditionally known as the oil pressers, hence they are colloquially known as *Saalmi* सालमि or *saaemi* साएमि. They are divided into seven major oil mills, known as *Nhae-saa:* न्हएसः. At present they introduce themselves as *nhae-sa:* [n^hɛ-sa:] न्हएसः (seven hundred), which is a mal-pronunciation of the word *saa:* साः and *sa:* सः. *Saal* साल stands for oil mill, pronounce with low vowel sound, whereas *sa:* सः stands for hundred pronounce with mid low vowel. The word *saa:* is derived from *Saar* सार. The process of derivation can be traced as *saar* सार > *saal*

Gipan 3:2. 200-218.

साल [lateralization] > *saa*: सः [loss of ultimate letter]. *Mi* मि is an archaic word used as suffix means person. That is *Saalmi* is a skilled person related to oil pressing.

The word *Manandhar*, parallels for *saaemi*: in official documents, is derivation of *Maanadhari* [manad^hari] मानधरि (NS357). *Maandhur* [manad^hur] मानधुर (NS485). *Maanadhar* is a compound word formed with two different Sanskrit words *maana* मान 'standard' and *dhar* धर 'the holder'. The implied meaning of *maanadhar* [manad^har] is the standard mark or the measurement holder, the skill holder, skilled person (Apte; 1984:504).

The term *Saalami* is used in NS594 (1474AD) (Panta; 1999:11) during the reign of Yaksha Malla. However, the lexical meanings of these two words connote the same meaning, hence the terms *Maanandhar* and *Saaemi* are synonyms.

Maanadhari is mentioned in a facsimile related to land and deeds in 13th century AD (NS357/1237AD) (Rajvamsi; 2040:53). The word was used for a lady *Manandhar*. *-i* suffix in the word *Manandhar* indicates feminine gender according to Sanskrit grammar. The word *Manandhar* found in Gopal RajVamsavali (Malla, Vajracharya; 1985:64.112, 158).

The word *salami* was appeared in official documents since the end of sixth century of Nepal era (NS594), i.e end of the 15th century (1600AD) (Manandhar 1114:11, 1121:8-9). During Rana regime *Saalmi* was prevalently used in official documents (Pageni: 2012)

Besides, the *Manandhars* are addressed as *tusya* तूस्या (तू *tuu-siya* सिया mustard-drier NEW) (Bajracharya; 1989:108), *cekankarmi* चैकनकर्मि oil-worker, NEW-SKT), *taila-kaar* तैलकार (oil-worker SKT) (Sharma; 1997:164), *taili* तैली (oil worker NEP) (Bajracharya; 2045:11). All of these four words convey the same meaning 'oil worker'.

Besides, the *Manandhars* were/are famous for their skill of making the scaffold. They are credit for fine and strong scaffold till the date. In Kathmandu they prepare the chariot of the living Goddess Kumari and erect the *ya:sim* यःसिं, the cultural wooden pole symbolizes the proclamation of the commencement of the annual festival of the Kumari at Hanumandhoka Palace, Kathmandu Durbar square. These are the skills they hold culturally, for which they have an organization called *Guthi* गुथि.

Manandhars are scattered in Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Kabhre, Nuwakot (*Nyaa-ga:-mani*), Ramechhap, Rautahat, Parsa and Kaski. Traditionally they were confined in the core area of Kathmandu city; 1) *Dai-saa*, 2) *Phalcaa-saa*, 3) *Nhuu-saa*, 4) *Paa-ko pukhu-dyaam*, 5) *Casaa-dwam*, 6) *Watu*, 7) *Tham-hiti*. Now they are extended to outside Kathmandu valley. According to Gyan Kazi Manandhar (2012), a Banepa based *Manandhar* and culture expert, 284 families of *Manadhars* are in Bhaktapur, 150 Families in Pakrabas, and 250 families in Rupakot of Ramechhap, 300 families in Banepa, 25 families (156 persons) in Panauti. According to Suresh Kiran Manandhar, editor of Nepalbhasha daily *Nepalbhasha Times*, 90 families of *Manandhars* are reside in Hetauda. At *Ipa* tole

(locality), and *Sanglam* of Sankhu there are 50-50 families (400 persons) of Manandhars reside. In *Nyagahmani*, *Okharpauwa*, and *Phedi* there are 30 families (180 persons). According to Central Organization of Manandhars 2266 families have enrolled in the organization. About the same ratio has not registered in the organization. However, in the country there are approximately 23,000 Manandhars (Saemi; 1130:5).

2. Methodology

This paper is organised into four sub headings namely Introduction, Methodology, Analysis and Conclusion.

For this study Saemi (2000:30) and Manandhar (2004: 60-61)'s data from Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Thimi and Banepa have been used as resource material. The collected data are analysed with an ethnolinguistic approach. The collected data are grouped in Bhaktapur and Kathmandu groups. Bhaktapur group consists of *Banepa*, *Thimi*, *Panauti* and *Sanga* follows the rule of Bhaktapur Newar (BN), whereas Kathmandu follows the rule of Kathmandu-Patan Newar (KN) variety.

Domainwise the available data were categorized into 10 groups. Total 125 totems were found in four major cities. Banepa fulfils all the categories, Kathmandu fills 9, Bhaktapur does 7 and Thimi fills only 6. Banepa and Kathmandu supply 48 totems whereas Bhaktapur does 20 and Thimi 9. The domains fill by the respective localities indicate the domination of the group and nativity of the Manandhar society. The coverage of the domain of the respective localities is shown in Table No 1.

Table No 1: The coverage of the domain by the localities

Domain	BNP (48)	%	BKT (20)	%	THM (9)	%	KTM (48)	%
<i>Architecture</i>	7	5.6						
<i>Beast and Animal</i>	11	8.8	2	1.6			5	4.0
<i>Demon and deity</i>	3	2.4	3	2.4	1	0.8	3	2.4
<i>Dignity and profession</i>	7	5.6					18	14.4
<i>Food items</i>	5	4	4	5	2	1.6	3	2.4
<i>House</i>	5	4			2	1.6	4	5
<i>Location</i>			1	0.8			4	5
<i>Ornament</i>					1	0.8		
<i>Personal Name</i>	1	0.8					1	0.8
<i>Person</i>			2	1.6	2	1.6		5
<i>Tool(Musical)</i>	2	1.6	2	1.6				
<i>Habit and State</i>	7	5.7	6	4.8	1	0.8	6	4.8
Total	48	38.4	20	16	9	7.2	48	38.4

Source: Field survey 2017

5. Data analysis

Though the Manandhars are homogenous in nature of work, cultural rite and physique, some of them have tendency of classifying with different features which we called totems. These totems are examined in two groups consisting four steps; Text, its syllabic structure, syllabic meaning and implied meaning. Some the word are explained in terms of morphophonemics and additional cultural and social information.

1) *Animal, Bird and Insects*

In this category animal, bird and insects are included, which are found near by the human shelter. *-ca* is a diminutive (DIM) suffix in the object where as it works as proximal suffix in human relation. e.g. *Babu-ca* (boy-PRX) 'dear boy'.

<i>Text</i>	<i>Syllabic structure</i>	<i>Syllabic meaning</i>	<i>Implied meaning</i>
<i>Bakhun</i>	ba-khun	pigeon	pigeon
<i>Boha</i>	boha	crane	crane
<i>Byaan</i>	byaan	frog	frog
<i>Cakhun</i>	ca-khun	sparrow	sparrow
<i>Coleca</i>	cole-ca	goat-DIM	goat
<i>Dhom</i>	dhom	jackal	jackal
<i>Gainda</i>	gainda	rhinoceros	rhinoceros
<i>Giddha</i>	giddha	vulture	vulture
<i>Ikhumca</i>	ikhum-ca	nightingale-DIM	nightingale
<i>Imaa</i>	imaa	eagle	eagle
<i>Sulu</i>	sulu	nightingale (?)	nightingale (?)

2) *Architecture*

The shelter and its related architectural structures and things positioned in classifying a person. The person and his or her family is recognized with the same name. In this category such architectural structures and things are included.

<i>Asan pha:</i>	asan-pha:	fixed-plinth	fixed plinth
<i>Bahi</i>	bahi	courtyard	courtyard
<i>Dabuuca</i>	dabuu-ca	stage-DIM	a small stage
<i>Dhwaakhaasi</i>	dhwaakhaa-si	gate-edge	near the gate
<i>Nanica</i>	nani-ca	square-DIM	small square
<i>Pukhuca</i>	pukhu-ca	pond-DIM	pond

3) *Deity and demon*

The human belief, aspiration, reverence play a vital role in human psychology which reflects in their practice in the form of Totems.

<i>Bhaila:</i>	bhaila:	Bhairava	Bhairava
<i>Bhakku</i>	bha:-ku	Bhairava-pond	Bhairava pond

Bhakku is a combination of two different words *bhala* and *kunda*. *Bhala* is derived from *bhara* ‘weight’ [lateralization]. It further undergoes the processes of disyllabification (*bhal*), loss of ultimate letter and remains *bha*:*Bha*: in contemporary Newar used as a slang means vagina. *Kunda* ‘pond’ > kund [desyllabification] >kun [loss of ultimate letter] > kun: [compensatory length]. When these two words *bha*: and *kun*: combine, again undergoes the process of morphophonemic; *bha*:-*kun*:>*bhakkun*: [progressive assimilation] >*bhakku* [loss of ultimate sound]. The word generally convey the meaning of the old ladies’ vagina. In Newar there are different synonyms of vagina according to the age group of the ladies; like *maasi* for general, *pisi* for teenager, *naasi* for infant, *tisi* for child (below teenage), *bhakku* or *bhaku* for old lady. However the word conveys the both of the meaning vagina as well as bhairava kund. Kund ‘lake’ represents vagina. During the paddy plantation the Newar use to chant the vulgar rhymes in the field even the presence of the ladies known as *bha*: *kaegu* or *bhau puigu* (chanting the vagina),

like *diam koe waa pi: nyaa:*, *maincaayaa maasi: imulin nyaa:*, *pae:::: ho* ‘it is happening paddy plantation beneath the sloppy area, an ant stinks in the vagina of a damsel...be fucked...’. This (*bha*: *kaegu*) is performed by the male farmer, as they believe, for regular and smooth monsoon rain. One of the professions of the *Manandhars* is agriculture. So the term *bhakku* may denote for vagina as well as *bhairavi* (Goddess Bhairavi). *Bhairavi* is supported by *sawal* ‘attendant of a horse’ male counterpart of *bhakku* (character) in *devipyaakhan* ‘dance of Goddess’ of Kilagal, Kathmandu.

<i>Bhuu</i>	bhuu	ghost	ghost
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Bhuu is derived from *bhuut* ‘the ghost’, under the morphophonemic process. The process runs like *bhuut*>*bhuu* (deletion of ultimate sound)

4) Dignity and decorum

<i>Dwaa:</i>	dwaa:	Leader	Leader
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Dwaare is the combination of *Dwaar* ‘gate’ and *-e* ‘person’. *Dwaare* ‘gate keeper or leader’ becomes *dwaa:*, when it undergoes the morphophonemic process. *Dwaar-e*>*Dwaar* [desyllabification]>*Dwaa* [loss of ultimate letter].

<i>Laahu</i>	laa-hu	‘hand (ARC)-clean’	clean hand
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Lahure ‘one recruited in Lahore of Pakistan’ is borrowed to Newar society, which later changes into *laahu*. It is supposed that *laa-hu* ‘hand(ARC)-clean’ is the action performed whilecooking is happen, one of the main characteristics of the *Manandhars*. Between these two interpretations the later one is more akinto the ethnological interpretation.

<i>Paalaa</i>	paa-laa	turn-falls	authority holder
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Paalaaor Palais derived from Tibetan Newar merchants (TBN). Prior to 1960, in Tibet Newar merchants have a group, which manages extra business activities that is called *Pala*. Some of the *Manandhars* were engaged in the business of Tibet. So the word might be derived from the same group.

<i>Ka:mi</i>	ka:-mi	work-person	worker
<i>Sa:mi</i>	sa:-mi	oil mill-person	oil presser

-mi suffix connotes archaic form for a person. The word *karmi* 'worker' is derived from Sanskrit which undergoes the process of morphophonemic alteration as follows: *karmi*>*kalmi* [lateralization] >*ka:mi* [loss of ultimate consonant].

Bhaktapur Newar (BN) has a tendency of converting the sound /a/अ of Kathmandu-Patan Newar (KN) into /aa/आ and vice versa. Thus *Saa:mi* (सा:मि) from KN became *Sa:mi* (स:मि). Banepa, Thimi, Panauti and Sanga are the varieties which coincides with Bhaktapur Newar (BN)

<i>Gaatha</i>	gaatha	gardener	gardener
<i>Vaidya</i>	vaidya	physician	
physician			

5) Food items

<i>Chhoelaa</i>	choe-laa	burnt-meat	a Newar dish
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The word *Chuyalaa* (छुयाला) [c^hu-ja-la] consist three syllables. First syllable is verb root, second is self-past(SP) suffix and last one noun. The word undergoes the process of morphophonemics syllablewise. The upper back vowel of the syllable *chu* (छु) [c^hu] 'burn' alters into *cho* (छो) [c^ho] with a process of vowel lowering. With the contact of first syllable, the glide of second syllable loses and remains /aa/ (आ) [a]. The last word *laa* (ला) [la] 'meat/flesh' remains constant. Now the word *chuyala* (छुयाला) becomes (छुआला) [c^hu-a-la]. Because of vowel lowering in first syllable affects second syllable too and alters into same category that is mid front vowel. Hence the process is known as vowel fronting and vowel rising and forms *choela* (छोएला) [c^ho-e-la]. Again the process of vowel rising continues in second syllable and becomes *choila* (छोइला) [c^hoila] 'burnt meat' for non-Newar speakers. Now it became special mutton dish of Newar community.

<i>Chucummarhi</i>	chhu-cum-marhi	flour-powder-bread	flour bread
<i>Haamca</i>	haamo-ca	sesame-DIM	Sesame

Haa-mo-caa becomes *Haam-caa*, when it undergoes the process of disyllabification in the middle syllable. *Hamo* 'as same' is the main source of oil know *til* in Sanskrit language, hence the extraction of *til* is called *taila* (ADJ), later changed into *tela* [monophthongization]. *Tel* is noun, one of the totems of manandhars is *tailkaar* 'oil worker'.

<i>Khaiguli</i>	khai-guli	Acacia catechu –ball	Acacia catechu ball
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Khai is the short form of *khayar* i.e *guli* Acacia catechu. *Guli* is the classifier of round object. The process of morphophonemics in *Khayar* (Acacia catechu (खयर)) can be display as follows: *Khayar*>*khaya* [loss of ultimate letter] >*khaya:* [compensatory length] >*khay* [loss of ultimate sound] >*khai* [deglidation]. The same totem is owned by one of the Shrestha from Bhaktapur, who performs as a herbal trader.

This group of Manadhars, in Banepa, are known as *lhasha-khom* (Tibet-weird), that mean habitual to Tibet. This group is usual to travel Tibet. On the way to Tibet people suffered of cold wave and the skin of an individual was ruptured, bruised. For the protection of skin people used to paste of Acacia catechu on the face. Hence they were named as *Khaiguli*.

Ta:bwa ta:-bwa big- CLF heavy dish

Bwa: as a classifier (CLF) convey the meaning of part, whereas as a word convey the meaning of cultural feast in the Newar community. It consists of each variety of food items in huge amount, to make one complete dish.

6) *House*

Chem stands for residence. After combine the word with, the category of house changes, like *kot* (fort) and *chem* (house) gives the meaning Palace or forte. *Ta:-kha-chem* (big-CLF-house) stands for big and large house.

Dhalam chem dhalam-chem acceptance-house accepted house

A house where people gather to worship the god and accept the good omen of god or *dhaarini*, hence the house is called *Dhalamchem*, and the people of that particular house is known as *dhalamchem*.

Kotchem kot-chem fort-house palace
Libichem li-bi-chem passage-house back pass
Manaachem manaa-chem yeast tablet-house yeast house
Ta:khaa chem ta:-khaa-chem big-CLF- house a big house

7) *Personal Name*

Baasu baasu Baasudev Krishna

This is the personal name of someone. *Baasu* is the short name for Lord Krishna. One of his name is *Bashudev*, since he was the son of *Basu*. *Baasu* is the name derived by his spring offs after his name.

8) *Tool (Musical)*

Bansuri Bansuri flute flute
Khim khim drum Nepali drum

Khim means tactile musical instrument. *Maga:-khim* 'drum played by the Magars' *komca-khim*, 'pitcher shaped drum' *damo:-khim* 'hunched drum'. Probably *khim* may derived from *khaga* 'sky (SKT)' so on who play blowing sound instrument like conch called *khaagün* Bhaktapur. The famous Nepali poet Siddhicaran Shrestha's totem is *khaagi* in Bhaktapur.

9. *Habit and state (Physique)*

Bataase bataas-e (NEP) wind-person of Bataase

Bataas (air) is a word from Nepali language. /-e/ is suffix denoting the status and locative marker in Nepali language. This word is used here because of aerial or neighbouring language influence. *Bataase* is the place near *Namobuddha*, where Buddha fed the tiger his own body flesh, the person belong to same place is called *Bataase*. Another implied meaning of the word *Bataase* is used to one who flirts, or lean and thin person.

<i>Bhuyu</i>	bhuyu	grey	grey
<i>Chyaakam</i>	chyaa-kam	surplus- nail	wooden extract
<i>Purkya</i>	purkya (NEP)	dwarf	dwarf
<i>Khatri</i>	khatri	hybrid	hybrid
<i>Pulaam</i>	pulaam	old	old
<i>Saen</i>	saen	Tibetan	Tibetan
<i>Tyaapaa</i>	tuu-yaa-paa	mustard-POS-CLF	mustard cake

3.1 Bhakatapur group

3.1.1 Banepa

Banepa in Newar called *Bhonta*, hence the denizen are called *Bhomi*. The Manandhars of Banepa called as *Bhonta Saemi* (BSM), have proverbial rhyme about the totems of Manandhars of Banepa, goes like: *bhuyuphasi pale, dwaale kaale, chyaakan duye, soeyaata kubiye, bhuyaata hacyaake, imam daaeke*. भुयूफसि पाले, द्वाले काले, छ्याकं दुये, साँयात कुबिये, भुयात हच्याके, इमां दाएके। (It is a white gourd to be split, dried it onto the pan, wooden extract be burnt, the brave man be loaded, disc should be served and the eagle will fly over the man). This proverb includes almost the major totems of BSM. *Bhonta* Newar (BTN) has a tendency of converting the sound /ʌ/अ of KN into /a/आ and vice versa. *Saa* [sa:] सः from KN became sa:[sʌ:]सः in KN.

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In this category animal, bird and insects are included, which are found near by the human shelter. *-ca* is a diminutive (DIM) suffix in the object where as it works as proximal suffix in human relation. e.g. *Babu-ca* (boy-PRX) 'dear boy'.

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2) Architecture

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<i>Bhuu</i>	Bhuu	ghost	ghost
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Bhuu is derived from *Bhuut* 'the ghost', under the morphophonemic process. The process runs like *bhuut>bhuu* (deletion of ultimate sound)

4)) *Dignity and decorum*

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Pala is derived from Tibetan Newar merchants (TBN). Prior to 1960, in Tibet Newar merchants have a group, which manages extra business activities that is called *Pala*. Some of the Manandhars were engaged in the business of Tibet. So the word might be derived from the same group.

<i>Ka:mi</i>	ka:-mi	work-person	worker
<i>Sa:mi</i>	sa:-mi	oil mill-person	oil presser

-mi suffix connotes archaic form for a person. The word *karmi* 'worker' is derived from Sanskrit, which undergoes the process of morphophonemic alteration as follows: *karmi* > *kalmi* [lateralization] > *ka:mi* [loss of ultimate consonant].

Bhaktapur Newar (BN) has a tendency of converting the sound /a/अ of Kathmandu-Patan Newar (KN) into /aa/आ and vice versa. Thus *Saa:mi* (सःमि) from KN became *Sa:mi* (सःमि). Banepa, Thimi, Panauti and Sanga are the varieties which coincides with Bhaktapur Newar (BN)

<i>Gaatha</i>	gaatha	gardener	gardener
<i>Vaidya</i>	vaidya	physician	physician

5) *Food items*

<i>Chhoelaa</i>	choe-laa	burnt-meat	a Newar dish
<i>Chucummarhi</i>	Chhu-cum-marhi	flour-power-bread	flour bread
<i>Haamca</i>	Haamo-ca	sesame-DIM	Sesame

Haa-mo-caa becomes *Haam-caa*, when it undergoes the process of disyllabification in the middle syllable. *Haamo* 'sesame' is the main source of oil known *til* in Sanskrit language, hence the extraction of *til* is called *taila* (ADJ), later changed into *tela* [monophthongization]. *Tel* is noun. One of the totems of Manandhars is *tailkaar* 'oil worker'.

<i>Khaiguli</i>	Khai-guli	Acacia catechu –ball	Acacia catechu ball
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This group of Manadhars, in Banepa¹, are known as *lhasha-khom* (Tibet-weird), that mean habitual to Tibet. This group is usual to travel Tibet. On the way to Tibet people suffered of cold wave and the skin of an individual was ruptured, bruised. For the protection of skin people used to paste Acacia catechu on the face. Hence they were named as *Khaiguli*.

<i>Ta:bwa</i>	ta:-bwa	big- CLF	heavy dish
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Bwa: as a classifier (CLF) convey the meaning of part, whereas as a word convey the meaning of cultural feast in the Newar community. It consists of each variety of food items in huge amount, to make one complete dish.

6) House

Chem stands for residence. After combine the word with, the category of house changes, like *kot* (fort) and *chem* (house) gives the meaning Palace or forte. *Ta:-kha-chem* (big-CLF-house) stands for big and large house.

<i>Dhalam chem</i>	Dhalam-chem	acceptance-house	accepted house
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A house where people gather to worship the god and accept the good omen of god or *dhaarini*, hence the house is called *Dhalamchem*, and the people of that particular house is known as *dhalamchem*.

<i>Kotchem</i>	kot-chem	fort-house	palace
<i>Libichem</i>	li-bi-chem	passage-house	back pass
<i>Manaachem</i>	manaa-chem	yeast tablet-house	yeast house
<i>Ta:khaa chem</i>	ta:-khaa-chem	big-CLF- house	the big house

7) Personal Name

<i>Baasu</i>	baasu	Baasudev	Krishna
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This is the personal name of someone. *Baasu* is the short name for Lord Krishna. One of his name is *Bashudev*, since he was the son of *Basu*. *Baasu* is the name derived by his spring offs after his name.

8) Tool (Musical)

<i>Bansuri</i>	Bansuri	flute	flute
<i>Khim</i>	khim	drum	Nepali drum

Khim means tactile musical instrument. *Maga:-khim* 'drum played by the Magars' *komca-khim*, 'pitcher shaped drum' *damo:-khim* 'hunched drum'. Probably khim may derived *khaga* 'sky (SKT)' so on who play blowing sound instrument like conch called *khagiin* Bhaktapur. The famous Nepali poet Siddhi Caran Shrestha's totem is *khaagi* in Bhaktapur, who was migrated to Okhaldhunga district in his childhood with his father in

¹Personal conversation with Gyan Kazi Manandhar(83), a Banepa based Manandhar and culture experton 2016.10.18.

due course of his father's service tenure. The poet is credit for the famous lyric *mero pyaaro Okhaldhungaa*.

9. Habit and state (Physique)

<i>Bataase</i>	ba-taas-e (NEP)	wind-person	of Batase
<i>Bhuyu</i>	bhu-yu	grey	grey
<i>Chyaakam</i>	chyaa-kam	surplus- nailr	wooden extract
<i>Purkya</i>	Pur-kya	dwarf	dwarf
<i>Khatri</i>	kha-tri	hybrid	hybrid
<i>Pulaam</i>	pu-laam	old	old
<i>Saen</i>	saen	Tibetan	Tibetan
<i>Tyaapaa</i>	tuu-yaa-paa	mustard-POS-CLF	mustard cake

3.2.2 Bhaktapur

The Manandhars, in Bhaktapur city are scattered at *Saakolaan*, *Tinachen* (150F), *Tapaalaachi* (27), *Tekhaadoh* (43), *Golmadhi* (67) tole. They are in total 287 families.

1) Animal, Bird and insects

<i>Cole</i>	co-le	she-goat	she-goat
<i>Maakhaa</i>	maa-khaa	chicken	chicken

2) Demon and deity

<i>Bhakaju</i>	bha-ku-ju	bhariavi-HON	Bhairavi
<i>Mahaa-dyo</i>	ma-haa-dyo	great-deity	Lord Shiva
<i>Maan-dyo</i>	maan-dyo	great- deity	Lord Shiva

Man and *mahaa* are derived from *mahaan*. The morphophonemic process of these three words are as follows: *Mahaan* > *maaan* [devocalization] > *maan* [assimilation]

3) Food items

<i>Khau-pa</i>	khau-pa	mustard cake-CLF	Mustard cake
<i>Khyae-gulli</i>	khyan-gulli	piece of gourd-CLF	slice of gourd
<i>Maltaa</i>	maltaa	chilly	chilly
<i>San-khosya</i>	san-kho-sya	soft walnut	soft walnut

4) Location

<i>Cibaakosa</i>	cibaa-kosa	stupa-beneath	beneath a stupa
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4) Person

<i>Saako-mi</i>	saako-mi	Sankhu-person	of Sankhu
<i>-syo</i>	syo-syo	marrow-DUP	bone marrow

5) State

<i>Datdhasya</i>	dat-dhasya	mid- sunken	sunk in mid
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<i>Dhaan</i>	dhaan	drum	drum
<i>Nhepam maru</i>	nhepam-ma-du	ear-NEG-COP	Deaf

/t//d/>/r/---/v/

/t/and /d/ becomes /r/ before vowel. *cha-ta-kaa* becomes *charaka* and again it alters into *char-kaa* (one rupee) because of disyllabification, *po-taa-si* becomes *po-ta-si*, which further changes into *por-si* (steamer). in the same manner *madu* becomes *ma-ru* (have not).

<i>Nhetu</i>	nhetu	dirty hair	dirty hair
<i>Pityaa</i>	pityaa	hungry	hungry
<i>Waen</i>	waen	mad	mad

6) Tools

<i>Kuu</i>	kuu	spade	spade
<i>Potaasi</i>	potaasi	steamer	steamer

5.1.3 Thimi

Mulamkhel-Jalakhu and *Sibaha* are the localities of Manandhars in Thimi, where 50-55 families reside.

1) Demon and deity

<i>Laakhe</i>	laakhe	demon	demon
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2) Food item

<i>Nibwona:</i>	ni-bwo-na:	two-CLF-eat (ST)	eats two parts
<i>Hyaamglaa</i>	haamu-guli	sesame-ball	sesame ball

Hyaamuglaa is the blending of *hyaamu* and *glaa*. *Hyaamu* > *hyaam* [desyllabification] > *haam* [deglidation]. *Guli* > *gali* [vowel lowering] > *gala* [regressive assimilation]. Thus *hyaamglaa* is derived from *hamoguli* 'sesame ball'.

3) House

<i>Bhimchen</i>	bhim-chem	good-house	good house
<i>Hapaachen</i>	hapaa-chen	support-house	supportive house

4) Ornament

<i>Sikha:</i>	sikha:-cum	brick-powder	brick powder
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Sikha: conveys the meaning of chain at present. But *sikhah-cum* conveys the meaning of brick powder. One of the Manandhars' duty is to wash the wall with lime and make the wall sound, for which in those days they used to make brick powder. This '*sikhah*' is the short form of *sikhahcum*.

5) *Person*

<i>Dhaukhya:mi</i>	dhau-khya:-mi	curd-plain-person	of Dhulikhel
<i>Thaatumsaami</i>	thaatum-saa-mi	upper-oil mill-person	mill owner

In Kathmandu it is pronounced as *Thatu-saa-mi*, that is upper-oil mill-person. This is because of geographical variation *a* becomes *aa* in Bhaktapur variety. Besides this *m* is inserted at the ultimate position of the word *thatu*.

6) *Habit and State*

<i>Waae</i>	waae	mad	mad
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Waae 'mad' of BN is pronounced as *wae* in KN, since /a/ of KN changes into /aa/ in BN.

3.2 **Kathmandu**

Majority of Manandhars live in Kathmandu. Traditionally they were confined in the *saa* 'oil mills' at the core area of Kathmandu city, like *Dai-saa*, *Phalcaa-saa*, *Nhuu-saa*, *Paa-ko pukhu-dyaam*, *Casaa-dwam*, *Watu*, and *Tham-hiti*. Among them *Paa-ko pukhu-dyaam* and *Tham-hiti* have no oil mills. Now they are extended to outside Kathmandu valley. Besides some of the Manandhars are fled away in the peripheral vicinity of Kathmandu city like *Phasku*, *Bhuimdhunga* from *Swayambhu (Pukhgudyami)*, whereas some are from *Tawalachi*, *Ason* to *Nyagahmani*, *Phedi*, and *Ranipauwa*. At *Nyagahmani* there are 30 families (200 persons) from *Surti* (tobacco seller) family. At the same time the Manandhars of *Daisaa* and *Thanhiti*, *cassdwam* have no totemic practice. *Pukhgudyami* practice a lot of totems.

1) *Animal, bird and insect*

<i>Cirikusi</i>	ciri-kusi	minor flee	a small flee
<i>Dhom</i>	dhom	Jackal	Jackal
<i>Kusi</i>	kusi	flee	flee
<i>Maaka:</i>	maaka:	monkey	monkey
<i>Maa-khaa</i>	maa-khaa	mother-chicken	hen

2) *Demon and deity*

<i>Balkrishna</i>	Bal-Krishna	child- Krishna	Little Krishna
<i>Bhalamydyo</i>	Bhalam-dyo	Bhairava- god	God Bahirava
<i>Laakhe</i>	laakhe	Demon	Demon

The man works in a giant manner, or the man with giantly appearance called *Lakhe*, later it was converted as a family name.

3) *Dignity and Profession*

<i>Dhan</i>	dhan	erect	established one
<i>Dhebaa luphinhaa</i>	dhebaa-luphin haa	money-stumbled	Dashed against
<i>Hukhe</i>	huk-kae	hukka-holder	hukka server
<i>Jhinchyaado:</i>	jhin-chyaa-do:	eightteen thousands	18,000 holder

The manandhar who holds eighteen thousands rupee is called *Jhinchyaado*:. In course of time as the Newar used to shorten the syllable of the word, the word is clipped and remained into a single syllable word झिन (*jhin*). Pageni (2015: 314) quotes this word into two different totems [झिँ (*jhin*), and ईन (*In*). actually it was misspelt by the scribe in the manuscript,from which he had transcribed.

<i>Kajikhala:</i>	kaji-khala:	coordinator-group	coordinator's family
<i>Kanchaa</i>	kanchaa	youngest	youngest
<i>Kutu-paam</i>	kutu-paam	fort- guard	fort ground
<i>Maltaabhaansin</i>	maltaa-bhaa-sin	chilly-rate-know	Chilly merchant
<i>Master</i>	master	teacher	teacher (ENG)

The word *Master* is used for a teacher except the subject Nepali and Sanskrit, after the Rana introduced English education as an influence of English rulersruled over the India for more than 100years. Previously a teacher is called Guru.

<i>Matyam</i>	ma-tyam	NEG-stuff	non stuffed
<i>Naaya:</i>	naaya:	leader	leader
<i>Pradhan</i>	Pradhan	Chief of the army	Chief
<i>Pa:maa</i>	pa: -maa	chief-army	chief of the army

Pradhan and *Pa:maa* are the same, former one is Sanskrit term whereas the latter one is localized Newar term. The same totem is used by the Shrestha Newars as a surname. *Pradhan* in Sikkim, Dajeeling, Kurseong, SiligudiofIndia is used as an identifying status of a Newar.

<i>Saahu</i>	saahu	merchant	merchant
<i>Sakhaa-paa</i>	sakhaa-paa	lime-paint	White washer
<i>Sincaa</i>	sin-chaa	vermilion-slope	Sagital line

The lexical meaning of *sincaa* is medial line on the head made for hair styling. This very word *Sincaa*, as the informant informed, is derived from Mohan Singh. In Mananadhar society there are somany hearsays about Mohan Singh. According to Devamala Vamsavali (chronology) as quoted by Wright (1989), 'during the reign of Rana Malla (NS622/1501AD) Mohan Singh Manandhar of Banepa was blessed with a golden head of a buffalo by Kumara Kunda (Goddess Candeshwori) and subsequently a few days later a hermit gifted single lined bead fruit *Rudraksh*. Because of the goddess' blessing Mohan Singh became rich. Then he offered the golden crown to the lord Pashupati and lit the Akhanda Dip (incessant lamp) of 36*Pathis* (180litres) of Mustard oil at the Pashupati Temple on Jestha Shukla Saptami (7th day of Waxing moon of the month of May) The tradition is till the date existing. The Mannadhars get the receipt for the same from Pashupati Bhandar (store) office each year. The same Mohan Singh Manadhar's descendants migrated to Kathmandu, who named themselves as *sing* 'lion (symbol of king)' but other people named *sing-ca khalah* (Singh- DIM- group) 'the family of Singh'. They are 11families at *out tole* locality of Kathmandu (29).

<i>Surti</i>	surti	tobacco	tobacco seller
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The manandhars of *Tamlachi*, Asan usually deal with the tobacco. Hence they were called *surti*.

Beside this (Pageni, 2015: 314) quotes a new totems [थु (*Thu*)] among the Mananadhars of Pako pokhaldyang (simply: *Pako*).

Thu	thu	owner	owner
4) <i>Food items</i>			
<i>Coki</i>	co-ki	edge-rice (ARC)	broken rice
<i>Paalu</i>	paalu	ginger	ginger
<i>Salim</i>	salim	earthen pot	earthen pot seller

Sali lexically means a small earthen pot, but here stands for sieve, used to filter mustard paste in the oil mills of Manandhars.

5) *House*

<i>Kasaachem</i>	kasaa-chem	bronze-house	bronze smith's house
<i>Ka:sichem</i>	ka:si-chem	balcony-house	a house with balcony
<i>Ta:khachem</i>	ta:-khaa-chem	big-CLF- house	a big house
<i>Mina:sata</i>	mi-na:-sata:	fire-eat-inn	a gutted inn

6) *Location*

<i>Galko</i>	gal-ko	shelter-beneath	near the city
<i>Kwaakcaa</i>	kwaa:-ko-co	Fort-beneath-edge	below the Palace

Kwaakcaa is a locality beneath the Hanumandhoka palace. *Kwath* means palace *ko* means beneath, *co* means edge and hill. This locality is a small hill beneath the Hanumandhoka palace. Just opposite to this hillock there is another locality that is *ca-swan-dom* means hillock of *ca* flower. Both of these hillock or high land are border of the palace as well as the marker of security measure of city building, known as *nagar nigamsurakshay*

<i>Maaga:</i>	maa-ga:	Mother-shelter	Maaligaaun
<i>Lubi</i>	Lu-bi	rise-serpent	raised serpent

Lubi indicates four options; a) the raised serpent, b) rise and set, like sun rise and set c) gold donor, and an avenue of back side. Among these four options considering the social and economic status option (c) is not seems appropriate. Geographically option (a) is not considerable. Option (b) is somewhere considerable. According to the locality (nearby) *nhusal* 'new oil mill' the avenues which is in rare side is much more possible.

7) *Person*

<i>Baakaademi</i>	baakaa-de-mi	half-country-person	of Baakade
<i>Wanlaaemi</i>	wan-laa-e-mi	east-ST-EP-person	The eastern man

Wanlaaemi is provided by Prof Dr. Tri Ratna Manandhar in a personal conversation (pc) on 2016.8. 11). The word is of three syllables. In Newar the deictic markers are *Wantaa* 'East', *Yautaa* 'West', *Yantaa* 'North' and *Yetaa* 'South'. First syllable indicates direction, second syllable situation, third epenthesis and forth syllable indicates archaic word for person. The *Thahitimi* (denizen of Thahiti) Manandhars performs *wahla* some 35years

back in BS2038/ 1981AD (personal conversation with Jitendra Mandhar on 2017.2.36.50PM at Balaju), whom are called *wa:laami*. The first one is till the date not justifiable whereas latter one is so.

<i>Sako-mi</i>	sako-mi	Sankhu-LOC	of Sankhu
<i>Gorkhaa-li</i>	gorkhaa-aali	gorkha-LOC	of Gorkha

Gorkhaa is a locality from where the great king Prithivi Narayan Shaha, the conqueror of Kathmandu valley. The locality is not Newar word, which takes Nepali locative suffix. In Nepali the loconyms like *Banepa*, *Dumja*, *Gorkha*, *Pokhara*, *Syangja*, *Palpa*, *Rolpa*, ends with /aa/ आ combines with /-ali/ आली, suffix, the localities like Bhaktapur, Patan, Parbat ends with /a/ अ take /-e/ ए, whereas the loconyms like Lubhu, Bhadgaun, Sakhu, Thimi, ends with /-i/ इ and /-u/ उ takes /-le/ ले suffix for detail see (Shrestha;2016:14).

8) Personal name

<i>Kaalusing</i>	kaalu-sing	black-horn	Personal Name
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9) Habit and State

In Newar habit and state are symbolized with vowel length. *ta:* symbolizes big and its synonyms whereas *ci* indicates small and its synonyms. The context distinguishes with the help of the classifier (CLF) attached with.

<i>Ci:-dhi:</i>	ci:-dhi:	small-CLF	small one
<i>Ta:-dhi:</i>	ta:-dhi:	big-CLF	bigger one
<i>Ta:-ja:</i>	ta:-ja:	big- members	a large family
<i>Tan-ga:</i>	tan-ga:	big- shelter	a large shelter
<i>Na:si:n</i>	na-si:n	eat-habit	A gourmand
<i>Si-syaa:</i>	si-syaa:	louse- pain(HAB)	miser

4. Conclusion

Kunaam (Totems) in Manandhars are mainly found in Banepa, Bhaktapur, Thimi, and Kathmandu. The Manandhars of peripheral area do not have a practice of totemism. There are 121 totems practiced by the Manandhars. Locality-wise in Banepa they practice 48, Bhaktapur 20, Thimi 11 and Kathmandu 44. Domainwise in Banepa they cover 8 domains whereas in Kathmandu it is 11 domains. In Bhaktapur it is 7 and in Thimi it covers only 4 domains. The practiced totems in Banepa cover the domain of 1) Animal and Birds, 2) Super natural elements, 3) Personal Name, 4) Architecture, 5) Musical instrument, 6) Food items, 7) House, 8) Dignity and profession, 9) Physique, 10) Deity whereas in Bhaktapur covers the domain of 1) Deity, 2) Location, 3) Animal, Bird and insects, 4) State, 5) Itinerary, 6) Tools, 7) Person. At Thimi, it includes 1) Residence, 2) Mental state, 3) Food itinerary, 4) Object. In Kathmandu 1) locality, 2) Demon and deity, 3) Animal, bird and insect, 4) Size, 5) Position, 6) Food, 7) House, 8) Profession and status, 9) Personal name, 10) Nature, are the areas of totemism. The Manandhars, in Bhaktapur city are scattered at *Saakolaan*, *Tinachen*, *Tapaalaachi*, *Tekhadoh*, *Golmadhi* tole. They are in total 287 families. Majority of Manandhars live in Kathmandu. Traditionally they were confined in the *saa* 'oil mills' at the core area of Kathmandu city, like *Dai-saa*,

Phalcaa-saa, Nhuu-saa, Paa-ko pukhu-dyaam, Casaa-dwam, Watu, and Tham-hiti. Among them *Paa-ko pukhu-dyaam* and *Tham-hiti* have no oilmills. Now they are extended to outside Kathmandu valley. Besides some of the Manandhars are fled away in the peripheral vicinity of Kathmandu city like *Phasku, Bhuidhunga* from Swayambhu (*Pukhgudyami*), whereas some are from *Tawalachi, Ason to Nyagahmani, Phedi, and Ranipauwa.* At *Nyagahmani* there are 30 families (200 persons) from *Surti* (tobacco seller) family. At the same time the Manandhars of *Daisaa* and *Thanhiti, cassdwam* have no totemic practice. *Pukhgudyamis* practice a lot of totems. *Mulamkhel-Jalakhu* and *Sibaha* are the localities of Manandhars in Thimi, where 50-55 families reside.

Abbreviations

ADJ	Adjective	ARC	Archiac
BKT	Bhaktapur	BN	Bhaktapur newar
BNP	Banepa	BS	Vikram samvat
CLF	Classifier	DTX	Deitics
DIM	Diminutive	ENG	English
HON	Honorific	KPN	Ktm-patannewar
KTM	Kathmandu	LOC	Locative
NEG	Negative	NEW	Newar language
NS	Nepal samvat	PRX	Proximal
SKT	Sanskrit language	SP	Self-past
TBN	Tibetan newar	THM	Thimi
ST	Stative		

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