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Sexual Relations With Widowed Sisters-In-Law

Sexual relations with the widowed wives of elder brothers seem to have been a common practice among many communities in the hill regions of Nepal. It is interesting that even high-caste Upadhyaya Brahmans and Chhetris followed this practice. In an earlier issue (Year 2, No. 12, December 1, 1970, PP. 277-284) we have discussed this custom among members of the Jaisi Brahman community.

In Dullu-Dailekh, according to an official order issued on Aswin Sudi 4, 1879 (September 1821) in the name of "people belonging to the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes (Char Varna Chhattes Jat)" stated that sexual relations with the widowed wives of elder brothers did not traditionally constitute a punishable offense in that region.¹

Regulations promulgated for Doti district on Ashadh Sudi, 1886 (July 1829) recognized this custom among the Khasiya community subject to the condition that the younger brother should take his widowed sister-in-law as his wife only with the consent of the latter's paternal relatives and on payment of Rs 12 to them. If such relatives did not give their consent and preferred to take the woman-back, they were required to pay the same amount to the younger brother.²

This custom was prevalent among the Majhi community also.³

The following regulations were promulgated by the government of Nepal for country-wide enforcement on Ashadh Sudi 7, 1893 (July 1836).⁴ They show how widely prevalent this custom was in Nepal at that time:

From King Rajendra,

To people of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes throughout our kingdom.

1. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 43, P. 359.

2. Ibid, P. 635.

3. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 38, P. 551.

4. Chittaranjan Nepali, General Bhimsen Thapa Ra Tatkalin Nepal (General Bhimsen Thapa and Contemporary Nepal), P. 203; Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 43, PP. 583-585.

It appears that sexual intercourse with the married wife of one's own elder brother is a great sin. What has been done in the past has been done since this is a Jungly country, it is necessary to make arrangements relative to caste matters. Henceforth, no person, except among the Kiratis, Limbus, Lapches and Jumlis for the time being, shall knowingly commit sexual intercourse with the married wife of his own elder brother. Any person who does not comply with this restriction shall be punished as follows according to his caste:-

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Punishment</u>
Upadhyaya Brahman, Jaisi Brahman and Sanyasi	... Deprivation of caste, shaving of the head in patches and exile.
Kshatriya castes related to the royal family	... Deprivation of caste and exile.
Other Kshatriya, castes Rajputs, Khas, Vaishya, Magar, Gurung and Ghale	... Cutting of genital
Newar and Shudra castes	... Confiscation of property
Damai, Sunar, Kami, Sarki, Gaine, Hurke, Kadara and other castes water touched by whom cannot be taken, and Balami, Majhi, Danuwar, Sunuwar Mirmi, Bhot, Chepang, Pahari, Darai, Kumhal, Baramu, etc	... Enslavement

These regulations were repealed on Chaitra Sudi 6, 1901 (March 1845), however.

King Girban's Letter To Kaji Ranjor Thapa^x

Introduction

King Girban was 17 years of age in the beginning of 1871 Vikrama (1814 A.D.). The Kingdom of Nepal at that time extended from the Sutlej to the Tista in the Himalayas. The affairs of the administration were in the hands of General Bhimsen Thapa. Kaji Amar Simha Thapa had been deputed to defend the district of Simla in the western part of the kingdom. He was staying at Bagal (Arki), while his son, Kaji Ranjor Thapa, was staying at Nahan, capital of Sirmur. At that time, the British in India were making efforts to annex the hill areas of the Kingdom of Nepal. They were therefore creating border disputes with a view to inciting a war. Major Bradshaw, who had been deputed to demarcate the boundaries, behaved rudely with the Nepali representatives, Rajguru Ranganath Pandit and Kaji Dalabhajan Pande. War appeared imminent.

The following letter was sent by King Girban to Kaji Ranjor Thapa in reply to a letter reporting the death of Capt. Chandra Bir Kunwar, who was the husband of Kaji Ranjor Thapa's sister.

From King Girban Yuddha Bikram

(Royal Titles)

Blessings to Kaji Ranjor Thapa. All is well here. We want the same there. The news here is good. Your letter dated Baisakh Sudi 7 reached us on Jestha Sudi 3. We have noted the contents thereof.

You have reported that Capt. Chandra Bir Kunwar is dead, and that one of his two sons will be deputed to build the fort of Nalapani, while the other will stay at the capital.

One is born in this world in order to undergo the fruits of actions performed in past life. After the fruits of such actions are undergone, the soul is separated from the body. It then departs to another world to undergo the fruits of actions performed by it during its residence in the body. This is the way of the world.

^xBabu Ram Acharya, Aitihāsik Patra (Sankhya 5), (Historical Letter, No. 5), Purusartha, (Nepali, monthly, published from Kathmandu), Year 1, No. 3, Falgun 2006 (February-March, 1950), 113-115 PP.

Contd...

Capt. Chandra Bir Kunwar was our servant. Along with you, he was attending wholeheartedly to our affairs, giving up food and drink. He was lucky enough to renounce his body on the banks of the Ganga.

We have still his sons in our midst. They will be able to learn enough to fulfill our orders. It is good that Balabhadra Kunwar is building a fort at Nalapani.

The doon (valley) area attracts everybody. It appears to be the heart of the kingdom. If a strong fort is built at Nalapani, everything can be properly attended too. When this was reported to us, we issued orders directing that a fort should be built there. But the fort is not yet ready because 2 or 3 persons were given charge of the work and no reminders were sent.

The fort should not be built in an ordinary manner. Perhaps Balabhadra Kunwar does not know everything about a fort. Whenever you have time, go there and direct how it should be built. Go there frequently to find out how much has been completed and how much is still left, and thus expedite the work. The fort can be built in a proper manner if you do so.

You know the position of the Sikhs and the Kabils. Matters relating to the boundary in that area have been written to your father and you too will come to know of them accordingly. If despite your best possible efforts the dispute grows and stiff conflict takes place, we do not know that may happen there. If the boundary dispute is not settled, Kaji Ambar Simha Thapa, who is staying at Bagal, will attend to the matter. You are staying at Nahan, and there is nothing to worry about in that area. If any dispute arises, fighting will certainly take place in the doon area. We had directed previously also that in view of this possibility a regiment of troops should always be stationed there. You may have sent reminders to insure that this directive was implemented. In case soldiers from this regiment have been sent anywhere for any purpose, make arrangements to insure that the regiment stationed in the doon area remains intact. Find out information about that area and send it to us.

Sunday, Jesta Sudi 4, 1871 Bikrama (May 1814).

Comment

This letter has been written on behalf of King Girban. But it is clear that it contains the ideas of Bhimsen Thapa. The speculation that the first attack of the British would be in the doon area, that is, Dehradun, later proved to be correct.

Contd...

Chandra Bir Kunwar had been appointed as Subba of Pyuthan in 1844 or 1845 Vikrama. He lived continuously in the hill region since then. Balabhadra Kunwar thus appears to have been born in the western hill region. When he was first appointed in government service, he was given the responsibility of constructing forts. On the auspicious day of Vijaya Dashmi in 1871 Vikrama (October 1814), Bhimsen Thapa had sent Kaji Rewant Rana Kunwar from Kathmandu to defend this fort. But British troops besieged it during the previous night. The skill with which Balabhadra Kunwar resisted the enemy on this occasion has been highly praised even by the enemy.

Reign And Abdication Of King Rana Bahadur Shah¹

By

Chittaranjan Nepali.

On Baisakh 1851 Vikrama (April 1794) Rana Bahadur Shah dismissed Regent Bahadur Shah and assumed direct control of the reins of administration. Ranodyot Shah and Sher Bahadur Shah were then appointed Chief Chautariya and Chautariya respectively. The Chief Chautariya occupied a leading position in the administration at that time. He was usually appointed from among the close relatives of the king. He discharged the same functions as a Prime Minister does under a cabinet system. Subordinate to the Chief Chautariya was a Council of 4 Kajis, which assisted him in running the administration of the State. Apart from the members of the Council of Kajis, there were other Kajis, who ranked below them in order of precedence. The junior Kajis were in charge of one department each.

Although the main duty of these 4 Kajis was to assist Chautariya in the discharge of his state function, they wielded considerable influence on the administration. Most well-known and influential among the four members of the Council at that time was Damodar Pande. But according to the order of precedence, Kirtiman Basnet occupied the topmost position. Till then the convention of entrusting all powers to a single person and designating him as Mukhtiyar (that is, Prime Minister) had not emerged. Instead, the functions of Prime Minister of the present days were performed by the Chief Chautariya, who was selected from among the brothers or sons of the king other than the heir-apparent. The institution of Mukhtiyar evolved in Nepal only after Rana Bahadur Shah returned to Nepal from Varanasi to resume his reign after living as a Swami. It was later converted into the Prime Ministership. The view expressed by some historians that the post of Prime Minister and the modern system of administration originated in Nepal with the emergence of Damodar Pande does not appear to be correct.²

1. Chittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah (King Rana Bahadur Shah), Kathmandu: Mary Rajbhandari, 2020 (1963), Chapter II: "Shasan Sanchalan Evam Rajyatyag (Samvat 1851-1855)," (Reign and Abdication, 1794-1798), 22-33 PP.

2. Balachandra Sharma, Nepal Ko Aitihāsik Ruprekha.

Contd...

Rana Bahadur Shah, even after assuming control of the administration, could not rule the country peacefully for long. After only a few years, a struggle began between him and his nobles. The swift and bold steps initiated by Rana Bahadur Shah after assuming power to break orthodox and superstitious practices faced stiff opposition from the then conservative society. The nobles began to exploit this social opposition to the king for attaining their own political ends. This led to a struggle between the king and the nobility. It assumed such serious proportions that ultimately the king had to abdicate and renounce worldly life.

The main cause of the conservatives' revolt against the youthful king was his marriage to Kantiwati, the daughter of a Brahman. Rana Bahadur Shah was first married to Rajeshwari Devi in 1846 Vikrama (1789 A.D.). The first queen had no offspring. Rana Bahadur Shah's second queen was named Suvarnaprabha, who gave birth to a son named Ranodyot Shah. Ranodyot Shah, however, was not declared the heir to the throne. But he was appointed as Chief Chautariya when Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah ascended the throne. He remained in this post throughout his life. Historians are not unanimous about Queen Suvarnaprabha. Some say that she was the married queen of Rana Bahadur, but that her son was not declared the heir to the throne because she came of Kshetriya family. According to another historian, Ranodyot Shah was not declared the heir to the throne because his mother was only a concubine.³ However, these conflicting opinions have been set at rest by the inscription on a big bell installed by Rana Bahadur Shah at the Hanuman-Dhoka palace in Kathmandu, which refers to Suvarnaprabha as "Bhogyia Rani." (Concubine).

Kantiwati was the third woman whom Rana Bahadur Shah had married. She was the daughter of a Brahman belonging to the Mishra caste. Rana Bahadur's marriage to Kantiwati was the result of a romance. It was from this Brahman woman that a son was born to Rana Bahadur Shah on Sunday, Ashwin 12, 1854 (October 27, 1794). The child was named Girvanyuddha Bir Bikram Shah. He was proclaimed the heir to the throne.

Some historians have concocted the story that Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah was not the son of Kantiwati, but was actually the son of a Chautariya. According to them, the son of a Chautariya had been secretly lifted by a nurse and substituted for that of Kantiwati.⁴ However, the historians who have made this claim have not produced any evidence to support it. Instead they

3. Hamilton, An Account Of The Kingdom Of Nepal, P. 20.

4. (1) Kashi Prasad Shrivasti, Nepal Ki Kahani, P. 38.

(2) Ramji Upadhyaya, Nepal Ko Aitihāsik Dīgdarshan, P. 181.

have admitted that it is based on hearsay. It appears that those who could not appreciate the revolutionary and progressive ideas of the youthful King Rana Bahadur Shah have concocted this story. In a copper inscription he issued while abdicating the throne in favor of Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah, Rana Bahadur Shah himself described the latter as the son of his youngest queen, Kantiwati. Moreover, in his book Satkarma Ratnawali,⁵ King Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah has described himself as the son of Kantiwati. This shows that the story is completely baseless.

Rana Bahadur Shah's marriage to the daughter of a Brahman was regarded as intolerable by the orthodox-minded society at the time because it was a violation of the prevalent social as well as of religious customs. The union between a Kshetriya and a Brahman girl was in itself an immoral thing in the eyes of the society at that time. When the child born from the same Brahmin girl was proclaimed as the heir to the throne, it was but natural that the conservatives should have felt all the more infuriated. However, nobody had dared voice their opposition to the king. They merely circulated rumors that the king had gone mad. They started the propaganda depicting the anti-traditional steps of the king as the result of his madness and of his blind lowliness. The propaganda had gained currency to such an extent that for a hundred years Rana Bahadur Shah continued to be labelled as insane and his measures were depicted simply as an outcome of his madness.

But a careful study of every move of Rana Bahadur Shah would clearly reveal that it did not even have the trace of madness or blind prurience. This is also proved by the fact that in the area around the temple of Jagannath which he constructed in Falgun 1853 (March 1797) in southern Kathmandu along with the Bhairavi-Chakra, he sought to abolish all caste barriers as at the temple of Jagannath Puri in India. The words inscribed on the Bhairavi-Chakra installed at the temple are as follows: "People belonging to all castes are like Brahmans when initiated with the Bhairavi-Chakra." This inscription, as also his courage in declaring as his heir his son by the Brahman girl Kantiwati proves his opposition to caste discrimination. It was a different matter if the contemporary society did not approve of his actions.

The anti-traditional steps initiated by King Rana Bahadur Shah were opposed in different ways. Brahman astrologers predicted that the "immoral relationship" between the king and Kantiwati would not last long and that either the king or the queen would die soon.⁶ At the same time, they spread the rumor that Girvanyuddha Bir Bikram Shah would die of small-pox. The nobles then started engaging themselves in political maneuvers as well as in exercising pressure on the king to abdicate.

5. Itihas Prakash, Part I, P. 63.

King Rana Bahadur Shah was confronted with a serious crisis when opposition to him mounted on all sides. He had no special advisor to reassure and comfort him. Bhimsen Thapa had not yet started his political career, nor was he present in Kathmandu during this crisis. He was then staying in the eastern hills. Ranganath, the Chief Royal Priest, who later emerged as Rana Bahadur Shah's supporter, was also not in Kathmandu at that time. He had gone to Varanasi to meet his father, who had been expelled by Bahadur Shah. It was really difficult for Rana Bahadur Shah to face the crisis under these circumstances. Naturally, Rana Bahadur Shah even began to doubt whether Crown Prince Girvanyuddha Bikram would be able to ascend the throne after his death in case the crisis prolonged. Hence he thought it proper to enthrone his son while he was still alive. The few supporters he had also advised him to abdicate.⁷

Accordingly, Rana Bahadur Shah decided to abdicate in favor of Girvanyuddha Bir Bikram, who was the hardly 18 months old. He then asked the ruler of Palpa, Prithvipal Sen, who was the most powerful among the rulers of principalities, to put the Rajatilak (auspicious mark to be affixed on the forehead of the king on his coronation). Rana Bahadur Shah did so in order that his adversaries might not be in a position to dispute the legality of the enthronement of his son, and no principality too might object to it when he retired from the scene. Palpa was the principality with which Bahadur Shah had established matrimonial relations. Thus Rana Bahadur Shah's success in having Girvanyuddha crowned by the ruler of Palpa represented a diplomatic tactic.

By persuading the ruler of Palpa to put the Rajatilak, Rana Bahadur Shah morally obliged him to recognize Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah as king. Rana Bahadur Shah also succeeded in compelling other nobles in Kathmandu to sign a document on Magh Sudi 15, 1855 (January 1799) pledging themselves to remain loyal to King Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah.

Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah, Kaji Damodar Pande and all other Chautariyas, Kajis and Sardars, as well as military officers, signed this pledge. Among the nobles, only Rajguru Gajaraj Mishra did not sign it.⁸

7. Hamilton, op. cit., P. 251.

8. Itihas Prakash, Part I, P. 21.

After securing this pledge of loyalty to King Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah, Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated by means of a proclamation issued on Falgun 2, 1855 (B.S.) (February 13, 1798) and renounced worldly life. The proclamation indicated who should function as Regent, and also explained the functions of the administration and the duties of employees at the royal palace. It authorized the junior queen to act as Regent until Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah attained maturity.

Some historians have claimed that all nobles had agreed to recognize Girvanyuddha Bikram as their king even though he was born of Kantiwati, so, with the desire of getting themselves rid of an insane (?) king.⁹ Some other historians have put forward this claim in an exaggerated form, describing the abdication of Rana Bahadur Shah as the "victory of the people."¹⁰ It would even be no exaggeration to say that by distorting historical facts in this manner these historians have tried to undermine the bonds traditionally existing between the king and the people in Nepal.

The skillful arrangements made by King Rana Bahadur Shah before abdicating in favor of Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah and the methodical and systematic steps initiated by him against social traditionalism show that he can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as half-mad. That he could persuade the entire nobles to sign a document pledging themselves to remain loyal to King Girvanyuddha Bikram and issue wide-ranging instructions in regard to the administration through a proclamation fully reveals his statesmanship.

For some historians to interpret this event as the "triumph of the people's power over the government", is not only a gross exaggeration, but also ridiculous. In the first place, the significance of this event should be assessed in the light of the prevailing circumstances, not from the viewpoint of modern political thinking. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that there existed any organized popular force during those days. If even the "nutiny" that occurred 50 years later against foreign domination in India was not an organized one, the popular force in Nepal could hardly be organized at that time. The claim that there existed any popular force in Nepal originated mainly from British sources. Hence there is ample room to doubt the truth of the claim made by British sources who have never shown themselves impartial in their assessment of Rana Bahadur Shah and his measures.

9. (1) Balachandra Sharma, Nepal Ko Aitihāsik Ruprekha, P. 244.

(2) Surya Bikram Chyāwali, Amar Singh Thapa, P. 19.

10. Kashi Prasad Shrivastav, Nepal Ki Kahani, P. 38.

On July 24, 1837, in accordance with the instructions of Brian H. Hodgson, Dr A. Campbell, Acting Assistant at the British Residency in Kathmandu, sent a detailed report on the death of Bhimsen Thapa to the British government. The report cast some aspersions on Rana Bahadur Shah, who had been assassinated 37 years earlier. According to it, "having been tormented by the death of the queen (i.e. Kantiwati) and under the pressure of the public opposition, Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated in favor of his son in 1802."11 Slightly altering this statement, the author of Nepal Ki Kahani has said that this event took place in 1800.12

As a matter of fact, Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated in favor of his son in 1855 Vikrama (1798 A.D.) and Queen Kantiwati died a year later, in 1799. Hence there is no shred of truth in the claim that King Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated because his heart was broken by the death of his queen and yielding to the pressure or organized strength of the people who were opposed to his "lunatic acts."

On the contrary, Swami Nirvananda, as Rana Bahadur Shah called himself after his abdication, enjoyed considerable public support. This is evident from the preparations made by him from Patan for a conflict against the nobles of Kathmandu and the fear this evoked among such brave nobles as Damodar Pande. Of course, there were people who saw in his marriage with Kantiwati evidence of his atheism, lunacy or prurience. But there was no dearth of persons ready to join him in the event of a civil war. The Nepali people have been following the Chakra cult and establishing all kinds of social intercourse with their teachers or priests covertly, if not overtly. It was therefore not surprising that they should have supported the cause of Rana Bahadur Shah. Another reason why it was natural for him to get public support was that he had to participate actively in politics even after renouncing worldly life in order to insure that those nobles who had not signed the pledge of loyalty did not engage themselves in anti-national activities in the name of the child King Girvan with British support.

Instead of concocting such a story, these historians should have been able to write that Rana Bahadur Shah had been compelled to abdicate as a result of the conspiracy of some powerful nobles who wanted to keep their position secure with the help of foreign elements, that he achieved his aim of safeguarding the sovereignty of Nepal with the support of his own people, even though in the process he had to become a martyr, and that all those relying on palace intrigues were ultimately defeated by the combined strength of the king and the people.

11. H. Hunter, Life of Hodgson, P. 91.

12. Kashi Prasad Shrivastav, op. cit., P. 38.

The author of Nepal Ki Kahani has also claimed that Rana Bahadur Shah had murdered Ranoddip Shah (Ranodyot Shah), son of his elder queen, out of anger over the death of his queen. This claim too is false. It is another attempt to defame Rana Bahadur Shah in keeping with the pattern set up by the British for hundreds of years. The truth is that Ranodyot Shah was alive during and even after the assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah.

After abdicating in favor of Girvanyuddha Bikram Shah, Rana Bahadur Shah renounced worldly life and accompanied by his two queens, moved to Devapatan. He changed his name to Nirvanananda and adopted the following titles:-

Swastishri Samasta Yogakalakovid Yogindragana Chintaniya Sachchidananda Swarup Paripurna Parabrahmanuchitanatadekatadhigamaikalasa Samsarika Sakalavishayavinimukta Manasetyadivividhalokottara Gunagramabhirama Shri Mahaniravananda Swamiram Sadasatkarmashalinam.

He was addressed as "Swami" or Swami Maharaj."

The Fall Of Bhimsen Thapa And The Rise Of Jung Bahadur Rana

Baburam Acharya writes:-^x

General Bhimsen Thapa, who had become all powerful in Nepal, fell from power because of the ambitions of his brother, General Ranabir Singh Thapa, the autocratic attitude of his nephew, General Mathbar Singh Thapa, and the intrigues of the British envoy, Brian H. Hodgson. However, King Rajendra Bikram Shah proved himself incapable of running the administration. As a result, his two queens, Samrajyalaxmi Devi and Rajyalaxmi Devi, started interfering in the administration.

The Senior Queen, Samrajyalaxmi Devi, has been bring to been about the downfall of Bhimsen Thapa since 1837. Bhimsen Thapa was accused of having poisoned her infant son, Devendra Bikram Shah. He was therefore arrested and put in irons. The physician who had treated the infant Prince, Bhajuman Baidya, was also arrested. Soon afterwards, Bhimsen Thapa's relatives were also arrested, along with the royal physicians, Sardar Ekadev Upadhyaya and Ekasurya Upadhyaya. Their property was confiscated. Bhajuman Baidya confessed under torture that he had treated the infant Prince with medicine given by Ekadev Baidya. But Ekadev Baidya did not plead guilty even when his cheeks were burnt with red-hot iron, his eyes taken out, his skin flayed and salt and pepper applied thereon. Bhajuman Baidya was impaled. Both Ekadev Upadhyaya and Ekasurya Upadhyaya were then sentenced to rigorous imprisonment.

King Rajendra wanted to appoint Kaji Dalabhanjan as Mukhtiyar on the same day that Bhimsen Thapa had been arrested. However, Rajajung Pande became Mukhtiyar through the influence of Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi. He began to be called Diwan. As he was the grandson of Kalupande, his family was called Kala Pandes.

However, Ranajung Pande did not command the support of the majority. He was therefore unable to control the Bhardars who supported the King. He was therefore compelled to resign after only 3 months.

King Rajendra then appointed Rajguru Ranganath Pandit as Mukhtiyar and made him commander of a regiment. Dalabhanjan Pande too was given the command of a regiment. The command of the rest of the army was given to Ranajung Pande

^xBaburam Acharya, "Bhimsen Thapa Ko Patandekhi Jung Bahadur Rana Ko Utthan Nabhayesamma Nau Varsha Ko Halchal." (Developments During The Nine-Year Period Between The Fall Of Bhimsen Thapa and The Emergency of Jung Bahadur Rana), Ruprekha (Nepali, monthly): Year 3, No. 5, Aswin 2019 (September-October 1962), 9-16 pp.

During the previous year, Ranganath Pandit had been entrusted with the task of curtailing Jagir land assignments. The new schedules of Jagir assignments had already been finalized. By reducing the emoluments of military officers by 50%, Ranganath Pandit increased the revenue. But the proposal to reduce the emoluments of ordinary soldiers also was abandoned because of the pressure of Ranajung Pande. The large Jagir holdings assigned to members of the Thapa family were resumed.

In March 1838, the charges against Bhimsen Thapa were withdrawn. He was permitted to stay at Borlang in Gorkha. Ekadev Upadhyaya and Ekasurya Upadhyaya also were released.

After the appointment of Ranganath Pandit as Mukhtiyar, Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi appointed Kulachandra Shah and Pushkar Shah as Chautariyas, Dala Bahadur Pande (who belonged to the other branch of the Pande family known as Gora Pande) was appointed as Kaji. In the mean time, Guru Krishnarām Mishra too went over to the party of Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi. Ranajung Pande developed contacts with military officers. Since the party had become powerful in this manner, Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi made Ranajung Pande Mukhtiyar again in October 1838.

After becoming Mukhtiyar, Ranajung Pande sent emissaries to Burma, China, Lahore and Gwalior with letters from King Rajendra. He repaired forts in the Mahabharat region, recruited an additional 7,000 troops and accumulated stocks of food supplies and arms and ammunition, 8,000 troops were kept ready in Kathmandu, ready to march down to the Tarai wherever necessary. This led the British Resident, Brian H. Hodgson, to report to his government that Ranajung Pande was anti-British. Governor-General Lord Auckland then made a display of strength by sending troops to the Nepal-India border.

In an effort to pacify the Governor-General, King Rajendra recalled Bhimsen Thapa. Bhimsen Thapa accordingly came to Kathmandu in April 1839. Lord Auckland then recalled his troops from the Nepal-India border.

On the pretext of deceiving the English, Bhimsen Thapa advised King Rajendra that Chautariya Fatte Jung Shah and Kaji Prasad Singh Basnet should each be given the command of the regiment. 2 other regiments had already been placed under other persons. As a result, the strength of the army under the command of Ranajung Pande declined. This of course was the main objective of Bhimsen Thapa.

At this, Queen Samrajyalaxmi revived the charge against Bhimsen Thapa that he had poisoned the infant Prince Devendra Bikram Shah. 2 more charges were added. A forged document was produced as evidence to substantiate
 Ekadev Upadhyaya were once more

Earlier, after his release, Ranabir Singh Thapa has become a Sanyasi, while Mathbar Singh Thapa had gone to India. However, Sher Jung and others were imprisoned. Their property was confiscated.

Meanwhile, it was reported to Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi that the youngest wife of Bhimsen Thapa had abused her. She was accordingly arrested. On July 20, 1839, Bhimsen Thapa heard the rumor that his wife was going to be disgraced. He therefore cut his throat with a Khukuri. Thereupon King Rajendra and Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi ordered that he should be taken to the banks of the Bishnumati river and left there. Bhimsen Thapa died there after 9 days. His dead body was given to dogs and jackals. His wives were taken to the hills bare-footed and imprisoned there.

A period of intranquillity, lawlessness and corruption followed the suicide of Bhimsen Thapa. Unable to control the situation, Ranajung Pande became insane in March 1840. In early April, 1840, Queen Samrajyalaxmi appointed Pushkar Shah as Mukhtiyar.

Neither Ranajung Pande nor Pushkar Shah was anti-British. Even then, they made necessary preparations to offer resistance in the event of aggression. But Brian H. Hodgson described them as anti-British in his reports to his government.

At this time, there was a dispute between the British and Nepal on the question of the ownership of 18 villages in the Sahodara area of Parsa district. In April 1840, Subba Bhakhatwar Khadka sent officials to collect taxes at a fair being held in the disputed area. This confirmed the reports of Brian H. Hodgson and Lord Auckland sent Colonel Oliver with troops to that area. Pushkar Shah then transmitted the revenue collected there to Brian H. Hodgson and suggested that the border should be surveyed.

Meanwhile, the army had not been given Jagir emoluments for 2 years. King Rajendra had decided to replace Jagir land assignments with cash salaries. On June 21, 1840, the soldiers raided the houses of 7 Bhardars, including Pushkar Shah and Ranganath Pandit, who had supported the idea of abolishing their Jagir land assignments, and destroyed official documents.

Apprehending an unpleasant situation, King Rajendra and Queen Samrajyalaxmi invited Brian H. Hodgson to the royal palace and kept him there through the night. The next morning, they went to the Tundikhel and announced that Jagir land assignments would continue to be made as before.

Brian H. Hodgson, however, reported to his government that King Rajendra had made an anti-British speech before the soldiers. Lord Auckland then wrote a letter to King Rajendra suggesting that he remove his ministers. King Rajendra accordingly dismissed Pushkar Shah and appointed Fatte Jung Shah as Mukhtiyar on November 1, 1840. This was what Brian H. Hodgson wanted.

Contd...

The dismissal of Pushkar Shah from the office of Mukhtiyar did not please Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi. She therefore expressed her desire to pass the rest of her life in Banaras. In the beginning of 1842, she left for Banaras. King Rajendra followed her in an attempt to persuade her to return. The East India Company Government did not permit her to enter Indian territory. Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi then came back to Kathmandu and suggested that King Rajendra become should abdicate so that she might carry on the administration as Regent with Prince Surendra Bikram Shah on the throne. But King Rajendra Bikram did not agree to this proposal. Samrajyalaxmi Devi then again left for the Tarai. This time King Rajendra did not follow her. Samrajyalaxmi Devi later returned to Kathmandu because she was suffering from malaria. No physician was ready to treat her at the risk of his life. The result was that she died in October 1842.

King Rajendra then began to dance to the tune of the Junior Queen, Rajyalaxmi Devi. Previously, Rajyalaxmi Devi had felt afraid that the eyes of her infant sons, Ranendra Bikram and Birendra Bikram, would be taken out in case King Rajendra abdicated in favor of Surendra Bikram and handed over the reins of administration to Queen Samrajyalaxmi Devi. Queen Rajyalaxmi Devi now tried to depose Rajendra, place Prince Ranendra Bikram on the throne, take out the eyes of Surendra Bikram and his brother, Upendra Bikram, and take over the reins of administration herself. She decided to implement her plan with the help of Hathbar Singh Thapa. She manipulated things in such a manner that King Rajendra and Fatte Jung Shah began to act according to her advice. In July 1842, Sher Jung Thapa and other Thapas were released. The funeral rights of Bhimsen Thapa were performed on a grand scale August 1842, with an offering made of Kusha grass. The Bhardars, including Fatte Jung Shah, extended cooperation in this move.

Two brothers of Ranajung Pande, Karabir Pande and Kapardar Kularaj Pande, remained safe for two years because they had been employed as bodyguards of Crown Prince Surendra. Kularaj Pande started showing himself as anti-British. He began to organize mock battles before Surendra Bikram between the Nepalis and the British, in which the later were invariably defeated.

In the meantime, one Kasinath Mal, who had been declared guilty of some offense, took asylum at the British Residency. Brian H. Hodgson refused to extradite him. King Rajendra Bikram personally went to the Residency to arrest Kasinath Mal. Surendra Bikram and Kularaj Pande too followed him. However, Brian H. Hodgson intervened, and King Rajendra had to go back empty-handed. Kasinath Mal was handed over to the Nepali authorities after a few days, however.

Brian H. Hodgson then started instigating Fatte Jung Shah against King Rajendra, Crown Prince Surendra and the Kala Pandes in an effort to have administrative authority transferred to Queen Rajyalaxmi. Possibly, his plan has already been approved by the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough.

Sensing the designs of the English Resident, Sher Jung Thapa formulated a plan to destroy his enemies, the Kala Pandes. An anonymous letter was sent to King Rajendra informing him that Fatte Jung Shah, Ranganath Pandit and Prabhu Shah, acting in collaboration with Brian H. Hodgson, had decided to share the kingdom among themselves. Prabhu Shah was the father of Queen Rajyalaxmi. King Rajendra, acting upon this anonymous letter, arrested Karabir Pande and Kalaraj Pande and put them in irons. The property of these two persons, as well as of Ranajung Pande, who had gone mad was confiscated. However, Kaji Ranadal Pande, another brother of Ranajung Pande, was allowed to remain in office in Palpa for a few months more.

At the time when Fatte Jung Shah was Mukhtiyar, King Rajendra tried to win over Crown Prince Surendra Bikram by conferring on him the title of Maharajadhiraj. However, Prince Surendra began to indulge in despotic and tyrannical activities. After the Kala Pandes had been arrested, Fatte Jung Shah drafted a petition and led a delegation of nobles and officers to King Rajendra demanding that the administrative authority should be handed over to Queen Rajyalaxmi. Finding no way out, King Rajendra complied with this demand in the beginning of January 1843. Queen Rajyalaxmi then invited Mathbar Singh Thapa to come back to Nepal. Mathbar Singh Thapa left Simla on his way to Nepal. However, he stopped at Gorakhpur to study the situation. By that time, his sister's son, Jung Bahadur Kunwar, had already become a Kaji. Queen Rajyalaxmi sent Jung Bahadur Kunwar to Gorakhpur to persuade Mathbar Singh Thapa to return. Mathbar Singh Thapa accordingly came to Kathmandu in the middle of April 1843.

After arriving in Kathmandu, Mathbar Singh Thapa stayed at a public rest-house, declaring that he would not enter into his residence until his family was cleared off the charges that had been framed against it. In July 1843, therefore, the poison case was discussed again at the Council of Bhardars in the presence of King Rajendra and Queen Rajyalaxmi. The Thapas were declared innocent and their confiscated property was restored. The case was proved to have been concocted by the Kala Pandes. Although the sons of Damodar Pande were opposed to violence and had not put anybody to death, Mathbar Singh Thapa treated them with great cruelty. He poisoned the insane Ranajung Pande after disgracing him publicly. On the same day, Ranajung Pande's two brothers, along with four other persons, were executed. Devi Bahadur Kunwar was also executed along with them. Kulachandra Shah was banished to the hills, while Krishnaram Mishra was exiled. The property of these persons, as well as of 40 others who fled, was confiscated.

In November 1843, Mathbar Singh Thapa became Mukhtiyar as well as Minister and Commander-in-Chief. In December 1843, Major Lawrence replaced Brian H. Hodgson as British Resident in Nepal.

Contd...

Queen Rajyalaxmi Devi had appointed Mathbar Singh Thapa as Mukhtiyar with the hope that he would help her to carry out her plans. However, Mathbar Singh Thapa spent one whole year in organising the army. He took over the command of the regiments under Fatte Jung Shah and others. He also added 5 other regiments to his command. Thereafter, sure of his strength, he instigated Surendra Bikram Shah against King Rajendra and Queen Rajyalaxmi Devi to demand administrative powers.

Conflict naturally ensued. Surendra Bikram, on the advice of Mathbar Singh Thapa, proceeded towards the Tarai in December 1844. Mathbar Singh Thapa then told King Rajendra that the treaty with the British would be abrogated if Surendra Bikram crossed the Chure hills. King Rajendra, Queen Rajyalaxmi and Mathbar Singh Thapa then followed Surendra Bikram and overtook him in Hitaura. At Hitaura, Mathbar Singh Thapa persuaded King Rajendra to sign a document delegating all his powers to Surendra Bikram.

• 16 persons who had tried to prevent King Rajendra from relinquishing his authority in this manner were executed. Surendra Bikram then came back to Kathmandu along with King Rajendra and Queen Rajyalaxmi.

Mathbar Singh Thapa then became all-powerful, since Surendra Bikram was not capable of running the administration. He dismissed top-ranking Bhardars such as Fatte Jung Shah, Ranganath Pandit and Kaji Abhiman Rana who had been the advisers of King Rajendra. However, Kaji Gagan Singh Bhandari, who was the advisor of Queen Rajyalaxmi as well as the personal attendant of Prince Narendra Bikram Shah, was retained, although he was removed from the position of Kaji. Fatte Jung Shah then left Nepal for India, and therefore his property was confiscated.

Notwithstanding these developments, Queen Rajyalaxmi did not lose heart. She decided to put an end to the life of Mathbar Singh Thapa with the support of King Rajendra. But it was not possible to arrest Mathbar Singh Thapa like Bhimsen Thapa. Accordingly, Queen Rajyalaxmi hatched a plot to kill Mathbar Singh Thapa, with the advice of Gagan Singh Bhandari and the active support of Jung Bahadur.

At 10:00 in the night of May 17, 1845, King Rajendra summoned Mathbar Singh Thapa to the royal palace on the pretext that Queen Rajyalaxmi had had a severe attack of colic. Kaji Kulman Singh Basnet was sent to the residence of Mathbar Singh Thapa to ask him to hurry.

Mathbar Singh Thapa accordingly went to the royal palace alone. He was shot dead as soon as he entered the royal apartments. One of the brothers of Jung Bahadur helped his sons and nephews to flee the same night.

Contd...

On May 28, 1845, King Rajendra and Prince Surendra Bikram delegated all administrative powers to Queen Rajyalaxmi at a meeting which was attended by the Rajgurus, Chautariyas, Kajis, Sardars and other Bhardars.

Queen Rajyalaxmi thereupon reinstated Gagan Singh Bhandari as Kaji. Jung Bahadur was given charge of the Kumarichok (Audit Department), as well as the Basantapur and Bhandarkhal treasuries. In addition, he was given the command of 3 military regiments. Gagan Singh Bhandari functioned as acting minister for 4 months.

Since King Rajendra had delegated all administrative powers to Queen Rajyalaxmi, the Lal Mohar (Royal Seal) was also handed over to her. However, all royal orders were issued in the name of King Rajendra. As such, the country was governed under a dual system of administration.

In September 1845, Chautariya Fatte Jung Shah, General Abhiman Rana and Kaji Dalabhanjan Pande were taken into the government from King Rajendra's group. Chautariya Fatte Jung Shah became Prime Minister, while the other two persons became ministers. Queen Rajyalaxmi appointed General Gagan Singh Bhandari also as minister. The 3 ministers belonging to King Rajendra's group were given command of 2 regiments each, while 7 regiments were placed under Gagan Singh Bhandari. This arrangement continued for a year.

Jung Bahadur became general in the beginning of 1846. Meanwhile, Queen Rajyalaxmi was planning to remove the supporters of King Rajendra who had been included in the government, and accomplished her plans with the help of Gagan Singh Bhandari. However, it was not a simple matter to arrest 3 ministers who were commanding 6 regiments. In the meantime, Gagan Singh Bhandari was assassinated in the night of September 14, 1846. Jung Bahadur then organized a horrible massacre and finally took over the reins of administration from the hands of King Rajendra and Queen Rajyalaxmi. He thus established the Rana regime which lasted more than a century.

Balchandra Sharma writes:^x

On November 1, 1840, Ranajung Pande was dismissed from the Prime Ministership. A new Cabinet consisting of Ranganath Poudyal, Rajguru Krishnarām, Guru Prasad Shah, Dalabhanjan Pande and Abhiman Rana, with Chautariya Fatte Jung Shah as Prime Minister, was then formed. King Rajendra was compelled to take this step because of British opposition to the government of Ranajung Pande. However, the dismissal of Ranajung Pande angered the Senior Queen, Samrajyalaxmi Devi. She left Kathmandu for Banaras, and King

^xBalachandra Sharma, Nepal Ko Aitihasik Ruprekha (Historial Outline Of Nepal), Banaras: Krishnakumari, 2008 (1951), PP 213-288.

Rajendra followed her. However, the East India Company Government did not permit them to cross the border, on the advice of the British Resident in Kathmandu, Brian H. Hodgson. The king and the queen returned to Kathmandu. The warm welcome which they received in Kathmandu encouraged Samrajyalaxmi Devi to make fresh efforts to consolidate her authority. She tried to persuade King Rajendra to abdicate in favor of her minor son, Surendra Bikram Shah. Since these efforts proved unsuccessful, Queen Samrajyalaxmi again left Kathmandu for Banaras, and again King Rajendra followed her. But the queen died at Hitaura on the way on October 6, 1840.

Meanwhile, the Crown Prince, Surendra Bikram Shah, had developed a peculiar character. He started indulging in cruel and insane deeds. Even then, King Rajendra made no efforts to control him.

After the death of Queen Samrajyalaxmi, the Pande faction took the side of Surendra Bikram Shah and encouraged his tyrannical acts.

King Rajendra, Crown Prince Surendra Bikram and the Junior Queen, Rajyalaxmi Devi, all tried to exercise administrative authority. Because of the contradictory orders issued by them, the Bhardars as well as the common people had to suffer much.

On December 6, 1842, a meeting was held under the joint chairmanship of Chautariya Fatte Jung Shah and Guru Prasad Shah. 67 persons, including top ranking Bhardars, military officers and respectable citizens attended the meeting. The meeting expressed regret over the tyrannical acts of Crown Prince Surendra Bikram as well as the manner in which the administration had deteriorated. It then formed a committee to draw up a petition to be submitted to King Rajendra. The petition described the hardships of Bhardars and the common people and demanded that immediate action should be taken to remove them.

On December 7, 1842, a massive procession reached the Hanumandhoka palace with the petition inscribed on a gold plate. High-ranking civil and military officials, as well as the common people, took part in the procession. King Rajendra received the petition. He wanted to share the administrative authority between him and Crown Prince Surendra Bikram Shah. But influential people wanted that all powers should be vested in Queen Rajyalaxmi.

King Rajendra Bikram Shah was eventually compelled to accept the demand of the majority.

Contd...

On January 5, 1843, he issued the following proclamation:-^x

"Henceforth, the people shall comply with the orders of Queen Rajyalaxmi Devi. I have conferred on her the following powers voluntarily:-

- (1) To issue orders for imprisonment, mutilation, exile, capital punishment and dismissal of any person other than members of the royal family,
- (2) To appoint and dismiss government employeés, and to effect changes in their titles and posts,
- (3) To maintain diplomatic relations with China, Tibet and Britain, and
- (4) To wage war and negotiate treaties as necessary with these foreign powers,

I solemnly vow that I too shall do nothing without the consent of Queen Rajyalaxmi Devi. The common people are hereby directed not to comply with the orders of the Crown Prince. In case anybody does so, he shall be punished by the Queen."

Documents

1. Conferment of Administrative Authority on Crown Prince Surendra.

A. From King Rajendra^x

We hereby bestow the title of Maharajadhiraj on our son, Surendra Bir Bikram Shah. While retaining my throne and the royal authority, I shall give commands to Maharajadhiraj Surendra Bir Bikram Shah, who in turn shall issue commands to the Mukhtiyar and Bhardars and conduct the affairs of the administration. I shall retain the dignity and prestige of the throne and the royal authority that have come down from our ancestors. Maharajadhiraj Surendra Bir Bikram Shah shall exercise the administrative authority and all such authority as has been exercised so far by me. He shall also exercise my royal authority after duly submitting a representation to me, while exercising his own authority over the Mukhtiyar and Bhardars. He shall conduct the affairs of the administration in this manner.

Marga Sudi 1, 1901 (November 1844)

^xRegmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, PP. 808-809.

From Minister And Commander-In-Chief General Mathbar Singh Thapa Bahadur,
B. To Captain Yuddhadal Shah and Officers of the Shri Chandra Nath Company
Greetings.

We have received your previous letter. All is well here. We want the same there. The news here is good. Shri 5 Maharajadhiraj Surendra Bir Bikram Shah said that Bekh Birta lands granted by His Majesty to all others had been confirmed, but the lands granted to him had not been confirmed. He therefore said he would go to Kashi. Accordingly, he proceeded to Dhup wabas.

His Majesty then said that Surendra Bir Bikram Shah did not go away in this way. He pointed out that previously also he had bestowed on Surendra Bir Bikram Shah the authority of Maharajadhiraj, and that now also he would bestow his authority on Surendra Bir Bikram Shah so as to be exercised in consultation with him, while exercising his own authority over the Mukhtiy and Bhardars. His Majesty then issued a royal order to this effect in the name of Shri 5 Maharajadhiraj Surendra Bir Bikram Shah.

According to this royal order, all the 5,200,000 people of the kingdom along with Bhardars, signed a pledge of loyalty and submitted it to Shri 5 Maharajadhiraj Surendra Bir Bikram Shah. I am sending herewith a copy of this royal order, as well as the pledge signed by us.

A salute of 51 guns were fired here to celebrate this conferment of authority on Shri 5 Maharajadhiraj Surendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, who has ordered that a salute of 21 guns should be fired there.

Have all Jagirdars, common people and government employees, as well as officers up to the rank of Hudda, in the company, and Dwares, Tharis and respectable people belonging to different areas, write down their names and affix their seal or signature on a document prepared according to the copy of the pledge mentioned above, and send the documents here soon.

Marga Sudi 15, 1901
(December 1844)

^xIbid, PP. 806-807.

Contd...

C. From His Majesty King Surendra^x

To Gurus, Purohits, Chautariyas, Kajis, Bhardars, Military officials and the 5,200,000. people.

On Kartik Sudi 8, 1899 (November 1842), when Chautariya Fatte Jung Shah was Mukhtiyar, our father granted a royal order bestowing on us the title of Shri 5 Maharajadhiraj, as well as authority to issue coins, weights and measures in our name.

Later, on Marga Badi 1, 1901 (November 1844), when General Mathbar Singh Thapa was Mukhtiyar, we beheaded 16 persons and issued notices to all that our authority had been established. On this day, our father had granted the title of Shri 5 Maharajdhiraj in our name through a royal order, and thus our authority had been established.

In 1903 (1846), when our father left for Kashi, he granted a royal order to the effect that the entire administration should be conducted under our authority.

Now our father's name shall be retained in letters sent to China and the British, in the throne, in coins, weights and measures, and in administrative affairs conducted according to the orders of Prime Minister and Commander-In-Chief General Jung Bahadur Kunwar under our authority.

In case any order is issued by our father or ourselves on unjustified grounds sentencing the Prime Minister and Vazir and any member of the Kunwar family to death, disgrace, or confiscation of property, it shall not be complied with unless they have acted against our person, our throne, or our treasury.

If we issue an order sentencing them to death; disgrace or confiscation of property on unjustified grounds, and if any person harms their interests out of enmity, we shall sentence him to capital punishment, or deprive him of his caste, according to his caste status.

Baisakh Sudi 1, 1904
(May 1847)

^x Naya Raj Pant, "Prithvi Narayan Shah Ko Sainik Prabandha Ra Unko Rajniti." (Military Organization and Politics of Prithvi Narayan Shah). Simhanad, Year 1, No. 5, Asadh-Shrawan 2020 (June-July, 1963), 17-23 PP.

Contd. . .

2. Appointment Of Mathbar Singh Thapa as Prime Minister^x

From King Rajendra,

To Mathbar Singh Thapa Bahadur, son of Nain Singh Thapa, grandson of Ambar Singh Thapa, resident of Gorkha.

We hereby appoint you as Mukhtiyar of all civil and administrative affairs throughout our country, as well as Prime Minister, Commander-In-Chief and General with Jagir emoluments amounting to Rs 12,401. Remain in attendance during war and other occasions as commanded by us, be faithful to our salt and utilize the following lands and revenues as your Jagir with due loyalty.

(Particulars of lands and revenues follow).

Aswin Badi 7, 1901
(September 1844)

3. Appointment Of Jung Bahadur as Kaji^{xx}

From King Rajendra,

To Jung Bahadur Kunwar, son of Balanarsingh, and grandson of Ramakrishna Kunwar,^{xxx} resident of Kathmandu.

We hereby grant you the office of Kaji, with 1,160 muris of Khet lands and Rs 3,500.00 as your Jagir emoluments. Remain in attendance during war and on other occasions as commanded by us and be faithful to our salt. Utilize the following lands and revenues as your Jagir.

(Particulars of lands and revenues follow).

Poush Sudi 4, 1902
(January 1846)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 26, P. 23.

^{xx}Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 26, PP. 41-42. Jung Bahadur had been Kaji previously also, but had been replaced by Karnabir Pande on Chaitra 1900 Vikrama. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 33, PP. 544-570.)

^{xxx}This is a mistake, for Jung Bahadur was the grandson of Ranajit Kunwar, a son of Ramakrishna Kunwar.

Contd...

4. Appointment of Jung Bahadur as Prime Minister^x

From King Rajendra,

To Shri^{xx} Jung Bahadur Kunwar, son of Balanarsingh and grandson of Ranajit Kunwar, resident of Kathmandu.

We hereby appoint you as Mukhtiyar of all civil and administrative affairs throughout our country, as well as Prime Minister, Commander-In-Chief and General with Jagir emoluments amounting to Rs 12,401. Remain in attendance during war and other occasions as commanded by us, be faithful to our salt and utilize the following lands and revenues as your Jagir with due loyalty.

(Particulars of lands and revenues follow).

Marga Badi 10, 1903
(November 1846)

^xRegmi Research Collections, Vol. 26, PP. 142-163.

^{xx}The honorific term "Shri" was not used in the letter conferring Jung Bahadur's appointment as Kaji.

(S.B.M.)

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Food Procurement And Supply In Kathmandu Valley, 1796

In Baisakh, 1853 (April-May, 1796) an acute food scarcity occurred in Kathmandu Valley. The government introduced a procurement levy at the following rates on different categories of lands in Deurali, Dandawa, Tamaguru, Jiwanpur, Ruping, Kewalpur, Kiranchok, Pindarichok and elsewhere in West No. 1 district.¹

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|---|
| 1. Birta, Jagir and Manachamal lands | ... | 10 pathis of rice per
100 muris of paddy-lands |
| 2. Ditalab lands | ... | 1 muri do. |

A similar levy was imposed on Ijaradars, at the rate of 1 muri of rice per Rs 1000 of the value of their contracts.

The rice thus procured was to be delivered to officials posted for this purpose in Kathmandu against immediate cash payment at the following prices:-

<u>Commodity</u>		<u>Quantity Per Rs 1</u>
1. Coarse paddy	...	11 pathis
2. Fine paddy	...	8 ,,
3. Coarse rice	...	4 ,,
4. Semi-milled coarse rice	...	4.5.,
5. Fine rice	...	3 ,,
6. Semi-milled fine rice	...	3.5.,

These prices were effective until Shrawan, 1853 (July-August, 1796). Adjustments were to be made later according to the season.

The rice was to be sold to the public at the same rates. In order to make allowance for loss in re-weighing, an additional 2 manas per Rs 1 was to be supplied under the levy.

1. "Arrangements Regarding Food Procurement and supply in Kathmandu, Baisakh Badi 3, 1853 (April 1796), Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, PP. 105-106.

Similar orders were issued to other areas in West No. 1 and East No. 1 districts also. For Sindhu, Mahankal, Jarayotar and other areas in East No. 1, there was also a levy of 30 pathis of rice per 100 muris of Guthi lands.

Arrangements for food procurement and supply were made in Patan also on Baisakh Sudi 11, 1853 (May 1796)² In addition to the levies mentioned above for Kathmandu, there were also the following:-

15 pathis of rice per 100 muris of monastic lands.

7 pathis of rice per 100 muris of lands cultivated on Kut tenure.

30 pathis of rice per 100 muris of Guthi lands.

The sale prices were as follows:-

<u>Commodity</u>		<u>Quantity Per Rs 1</u>
1. Hakuwa rice	...	4.5 pathis
2. Semi-milled Hakuwa rice	...	5 ,,
3. Hakuwa paddy	...	13 ,,
4. Coarse paddy	...	11 ,,
5. Fine paddy	...	8 ,,

Other prices were the same as in Kathmandu.

Foodgrains were procured from Lubhu, Sanagaun, Bisankhu, Harisiddhi and other villages, as well as Thankot, Chitlang, Tistung, Palung and Chisapani for supply in Patan.

Traders in Patan were directed to sell rice at 5 pathis per Rs 1.

In Bhadgaun, arrangements were the same as in Patan but with one exception. The price of Hakuwa paddy there was fixed at 12 pathis per Rs 1.³

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2. "Arrangements Regarding Food Procurement and Supply in Patan, Baisakh Sudi 11, 1853 (May 1796), Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, PP. 110-111.
 3. "Arrangements Regarding Food Procurement and Supply in Bhadgaun, Baisakh Sudi 11, 1853 (May 1796), Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, PP. 111-112.

Taxation In Mahottari District, 1809

In Jestha, 1866 (May 1809) many ryots came to Kathmandu from Saptari and Mahottari with complaints of over-taxation and oppression. Officials were deputed from Kathmandu to investigate such complaints. They were directed to have excess collections refunded to the ryots and help the local Ijaradar in realizing outstanding payments due to him.¹

Jethraiyat Raghunath Rai and others of Mahottari district submitted a similar complaint on Kartik Sudi 10, 1866 (November 1809) that the Subba of the district was not collecting taxes and granting remissions at rates prescribed in 1793.

The government then issued this order confirming arrangements made in 1793. It directed:²

In case the Subba issues Ijaras in his own behalf in the district, the person taking up such Ijaras shall make the stipulated payments to him. They shall make collections in installments from the people at the prescribed rates.

Simultaneously, the government issued another order confirming the tax assessment rates prescribed in 1793. These rates were inclusive of such additional cesses as Abuwab and those due to revenue collection officials.

The rates varied according to the crop. The highest rate was Rs 6 per bigha for land under tobacco. The lowest rate was for Kurthi (lentil) and soybean, amounting to 14 annas. Irrigated lands growing paddy paid Rs 4 per bigha.

In addition to the land tax, the following cesses were collected:-

1. Katiyari or taxes on occupations:

10 annas each on local residents.

6 annas each on newcomers.

1. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, P. 77.

2. Ibid, PP. 111-112.

2. Bihadani or tax on marriages at Rs 3 each.
3. Sagaudha or tax in lieu of communal facilities such as forests and water sources: at Rs $4\frac{1}{8}$ each.

Both Bihadani and Sagaudha included Sair at 11 annas and Jimidari at 5 annas.

The order also provided for the following:-

1. The Amil was empowered to allot waste lands for reclamation.
2. In case any person died without any heir, his property should accrue to the State after allotting a portion thereof for the maintenance of his mother.
3. No Sair (customs) duties were to be levied on essential commodities procured by the ryots for personal consumption from the south. Sair duties on such commodities were to be collected only in case these were meant for sale.
4. Wages for porters employed to transport government supplies (Begar) were prescribed as follows:-

To Sindhuli	...	Rs 1
To Darbhanga	...	5 annas
5. Mokaddams were entitled to free agricultural labor (bethi) privileges at the rate of 1 plowman and 1 laborer per year (from every family).
6. Disputes were to be settled, and punishment awarded to offenders, after obtaining confession from them in the presence of Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Birta owners, Mokaddams and other respectable people and in consultation with Panchas.
7. Chaudharis and Kanugoyes were to submit annual reports to the government regarding waste and cultivated lands and revenues from different sources.
8. Expenditure on local religious ceremonies, emoluments of Patwaris and other functionaries, etc. was to be incurred as usual.

9. Persons guilty of rape were to be fined with Rs 25, Rs 15, Rs 10 or Rs 5 according to their status. The customary share of the Amil in such fines was abolished, but that of Chaudharis and Kanugoyes was retained at 10% and 5% respectively.
10. The land tax was to be paid in several installments during the period from Aswin to Baisakh.

Regulations On Taking The Flesh Of Dead Cattle,1805^x

From King Girban,

To Kashinath.

We hereby authorize you to identify persons belonging to the following communities who take or do not take the flesh of dead cattle and supply or do not supply hides, and award justice in accordance with the regulations, in all parts of our kingdom west of the Kanaka-Tista and east of the Jamuna rivers:-

Gurung	Lama
Rohani	Bhujyal
Murmi	Chepang
Chabagishesh (?)	Kirat
Limbu	Thami
Sunuwar	Baramu
Hayu	Pahari, etc.

1. Persons who take the flesh of dead cattle but do not supply hides shall be apprehended; arrears of hides due from them shall be collected. Fines shall be imposed according to the regulations. They may continue to take the flesh of dead cattle and to pay such fines.
2. Persons who do not take the flesh of dead cattle and do not supply hides shall be made to sign a bond to this effect. They shall not be harassed.

^x Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, P. 180.

Rates Of Fines

Mukhiya - Rs 2 per household.

Gourung - Rs 1 ,,

Mijhar - Rs 2 ,,

Other Prajas:-

Abal - Rs 2

Doyam - Rs $1\frac{3}{4}$

Sim - Rs 1

Chahar - 8 annas

Umras:-

Abal - Rs 8

Doyam - Rs 6

Sim - Rs 4

Chahar - Rs 2

The Mulukikhana

The Mulukikhana was the State Treasury during the Rana regime. The Chief Officer, who was known as Khajanchi, belonged to the Guru-Purohit (Royal Priest) family. Disbursement of revenues kept at the Mulukikhana was made through the Kaushi Toshakhana office.¹

Regulations in the name of the Mulukikhana were last issued on Baisakh 7, 1933 (April 19, 1933).² According to these regulations, the main functions of the Mulukikhana were as follows:-

- (1) To receive amounts deposited by different government offices as well as by the Mint, in addition to gold or silver bullion and (Indian) currency notes.
- (2) To receive the sum of Rs 1 million paid yearly by the British government through the Nepali Vakil in Delhi.
- (3) To keep Rs 1 million (Nepali currency) and Rs 0.5 million (Indian currency) in Chalti Dhukuti for day-to-day purposes, and all surplus amounts in Tin-Sancha-Dhukuti. (This Dhukuti had 3 locks, with one key each in the possession of the Khajanchi, the Tahabil Dittha and the Taharir).
- (4) To issue funds to the Kaushi Toshakhana as sanctioned through orders called Harsanda.

1. A brief description of the functions of the Mulukikhana and the Kaushi Toshakhana is given in: Satish Kumar, Rana Polity In Nepal. Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1967, P. 102.

2. A copy of these regulations are available at the Ministry of Law of His Majesty's Government.

Contd...

- (5) To maintain the following funds separately:-
1. Guthi Rakam.
 2. Chandrabatti Prakash Bijuli Rakam.
 3. Depreciation Bijuli Rakam.
 4. Swasthya Niwas Samstha Rakam.
 5. Public Works Rakam.
 6. Ropeway Rakam.
 7. Mahasamar Sabha Rakam.
 8. Trichandra Hospital Rakam.
- (6) To exchange Indian and Nepali currencies at Indian Rs 100: Nepali 124, and charge discount at 3%. (Exchange transactions were the responsibility of the Sarafkhana Phant of the Mulukikhana).

Arrangements For Segregation Of Lepers, 1855

From Prime Minister Jung Bahadur,¹

To Bicharis of Majhkhand Adalat in Pokhara.

The following petition has been received from the ryots and respectable people of Tallakot in Batulechaur:-

"In the Batulechaur area of Kaski, there have always been a few persons suffering from leprosy. The general belief is that they were suffering in this manner because of the sins committed by them during their past life. They mix freely with everybody, whether suffering from leprosy or not, and do not take food and drink separately.

"These days, 2 or 3 members of the same family are suffering from leprosy, while in other cases the entire family is so afflicted. Parents have started refusing to give their daughters in marriage in areas around Batulechaur, on the ground that this is a village of lepers. Since this disease is contagious, we too are feeling panic-stricken.

"We and our children would remain safe in case an order was issued directing that lepers should live in a segregated area, and should not mix and take food and drink with other people and not use common sources of water.

"You are accordingly directed to hold a meeting attended by local village headmen, respectable people and others and segregate lepers in an area situated away from main paths and sources of water. In the future, lepers shall not mix with other people. In case you do not make arrangements for the segregation of lepers in this manner, and in case the ryots and respectable people of that area again submit complaints to us, you shall be held responsible."

Bhadra Sudi 6, 1912
(September 1855)

1. Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 33, PP. 248-249.

Contd...

The following law relating to the maintenance and segregation of lepers was promulgated during the Prime Ministership of Jung Bahadur:-²

"Orders have been issued to the effect that men who are suffering from leprosy should not enter into urban areas. They shall be kept outside of urban areas. Employees of the Guthi Kachahari Office shall give them daily rations as well as two suits of homespun cloth from Guthi revenue every year. In case any such person complains that he has not been provided with rations and clothes in this manner, a fine of Rs 10 shall be imposed on the employees of the Guthi Kachahari Office.

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2. His Majesty's Government, "Garib Kangaal" (On Poor and Indigent Persons).
In Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Dev Ka Shasan Kalma Baneko Mulki Ain
 (The Legal Code Enacted During The Reign of His Majesty Surendra Bikram Shah Dev), Katmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 2022 (1965), Section 4, P. 419.

Triarchy In Nepal, 1799-1800 A.D.*

King Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated and became a Sanyasi on Falgun Sudi 2, 1855 Vikrama. The administration of Nepal thereafter began to be conducted in the name of King Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah. But the top-ranking administrative officials were the same as those during the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah. These included the Chief Kaji, Kirtiman Basnet, as well as Kaji Damodar Pande, Kaji Tribhuvan Khawas and Kaji Narsing Gurung. At the time of his abdication, Rana Bahadur Shah had appointed Sarbajit Pande as Kaji and given him charge of affairs relating to China and Tibet. At that time, Nepal's foreign relations were limited primarily to China and Tibet. There was a Nepali Wakil in Calcutta to maintain contact with the English East India Company Government in India. But the trade treaty signed with the East India Company Government in 1848 (1792 A.D.) had become defunct by that time. As such, no special relations existed with that government. It is true of course that in the letter which Rana Bahadur Shah wrote to Lt. General Alfred in Calcutta informing the latter of his abdication and the accession of Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah to the throne, he had referred to Nepal's friendship with the East India Company Government. Even then, Nepal's special relations were confined to the north. Accordingly, Sarbajit Pande may be regarded as the Foreign Minister of that time. His appointment in that position had been notified to China and Tibet also. In reply, the Chinese Amba in Lhasa had sent him a letter of congratulations.

After his abdication, Swami Rana Bahadur Shah (alias Nirvananda) began to live at Deopatan along with his wife. Although he had become a Sanyasi, he had not kept himself aloof from politics and administration. In fact, his attention was concentrated in these fields and his abdication and renunciation of worldly life was only a political maneuver. This is evident from the arrangements made by him for his abdication, as well as his subsequent political activities.

Rana Bahadur Shah's political activities after his abdication show that he had made Girban Yuddha King during his life time because he was afraid that the Bhardars might not recognize the latter as King after his death. His inability to trust the Bhardars fully becomes clear also from the arrangements which he had made for running the administration after his abdication. This lack of trust is further substantiated by the discrepancy between the date of these arrangements and the pledge which the Bhardars signed in support of King Girban Yuddha Bikram. The copper inscription issued by Rana Bahadur at the time of his abdication is dated Falgun Sudi 2, 1855 Vikrama. In other words, he had abdicated on that date in favor of Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah. But the pledge signed by the Bhardars is dated Magh Sudi 14, 1855 Bikrama, that is, 17 days earlier. Thus, before actually abdicating from the throne, Rana Bahadur Shah tried to insure that the Bhardars did not create any obstruction to his plans. He was afraid lest

*Chittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah (King Rana Bahadur Shah).

Kathmandu: Mary Rajbhandari, 2020 (1963), pp. 34-44

the Bhardars should depose the infant King Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah or exile him to Gorkha. Rana Bahadur Shah was not free from this anxiety even when he was in Benaras. He wrote several letters to his brother, Sher Bahadur Shah, asking the latter to beware lest the Bhardars should do any harm to the King.

His lack of trust in the Bhardars naturally compelled Rana Bahadur Shah to interfere in politics even after his abdication. But he had not made such interference until around mid-1856 Vikrama. At that time, he was in Deopatan along with his Queen. But then Queen Kantivati had an attack of small-pox. Rana Bahadur Shah made several efforts to cure her of this disease. He conducted religious functions at many temples. He gave away ritual gifts and organized religious performances, on the advice of Brahmans and astrologers. According to Francis Hamilton, he spent approximately Rs 100,000 in doing so. But the Queen did not get well, and finally died on Kartik Sudi 4, 1856 Vikrama. Swami Rana Bahadur Shah's frustration then reached the climax. He started destroying most of the temples and images of the capital. He thrust bamboo poles into Guhyeshwari. He had the image of Taleju cremated by the Chief Priest at the Kaibir crematorium. He is also said to have broken the image of Harati Mai.

It was not unnatural that Swami Rana Bahadur Shah's act of destruction of images out of anger over the death of Queen Kantivati should have been viewed as unjust and even as a sign of madness by the religious-minded society of that time. His audacity in becoming an iconoclast simply because the religious functions conducted and ritual gifts made by him had not yielded the desired fruit apparently shows that either he had gone mad or he had derived inspiration from some force to do so. This might have been the sole reason for his action in breaking images, assuming that the claim made by some historians that all this was purely the result of his lunacy is true. But in the light of the systematic political measures initiated by him and the letters written by him in this connection, it is difficult to describe him as a lunatic. Hence it is natural to suspect that he must have been inspired by some force to behave in this manner. The essay published by a Nepali scholar recently in this regard throws some light on the reason behind the destruction of images by Swami Rana Bahadur Shah. The Josmani school of thought, propounded by Santa Shashidhar, was popular among some mendicants of Nepal at that time. This school was opposed to idol-worship. Santa Shashidhar was a contemporary of Rana Bahadur Shah. It was on his advice that Rana Bahadur Shah had changed his name to Swami Nirvananand after his abdication. X Gnyanadil, a member of the Josmani sect, has written a book entitled Udaya Lahari, in which he has opposed idol-worship. Rana Bahadur Shah's close association with the proponent of the Josmani school of thought, who had advised him to become a Sanyasi, must have inspired and encouraged him to destroy images.

X Janak Lal Sharma, Nepal Chintan (The Thought of Nepal). Unpublished.

After destroying images, Rana Bahadur Shah poured his wrath on children who had not yet suffered from small-pox. He ordered the externment from Kathmandu Valley of all such children. This order created panic all over Kathmandu Valley. Swami Rana Bahadur Shah's action in ordering the externment of innocent children from the capital in a fit of anger was certainly reprehensible and inappropriate to his status. However, it is not improbable that he had had to resort to such a terrible step because of compelling reasons. The untimely death of Queen Kantivati from small-pox had probably given rise to fears in his mind lest the minor King, Girvan Buddha Bikram Shah, too should die of the same scourge, as had been predicted by some soothsayers at the time of his birth. Their prediction that Queen Kantivati would die soon had come out true. Swami Rana Bahadur Shah must have taken this step as the only means whereby he could insure the safety of Girvan Yuddha. Even then, it must be admitted that the externment of a large number of children merely on account of his anxiety for the safety of his son constitutes a stigma on his great personality. It was natural that he should have become unpopular among the inhabitants of Kathmandu on account of this action. It was a short-sighted action on his part to have offended the people at a time when he needed their cooperation for the success of his own future political moves.

Later, Swami Rana Bahadur Shah, accompanied by Queen Rajeshwari Devi, went to Patan, where he stayed for some months. As a result of the destruction of images and the externment of children on the order issued by Swami Rana Bahadur Shah as a reaction to the death of Kantivati, diarchy began in the Kingdom. Such acts on his part naturally created the impression that a section of the administration was under his control and thus evoked opposition from the de jure government. After Rana Bahadur Shah shifted to Patan, his fury and resentment assumed a fully political form. He started openly opposing the Bhardars and calling on the people to remain organized against them.

From Patan Rana Bahadur Shah began to make solid preparations against the Bhardars. He started organizing the local people in his favor. Most of the people of Patan, and some of those of Kathmandu, sided with him. Rana Bahadur Shah appointed Pandit Amritananda Padhya, a resident of Patan, as priest of the local Taleju temple. Amritananda Padhya's family had been removed from this position after the establishment of Prithvi Narayan Shah's rule in Lalitpur. Rana Bahadur Shah thus won over the majority of the people of Patan by restoring their traditional privileges to them. In addition, he issued orders to the inhabitants of Lubhu, Bahachok, Thankot and other villages to come to Patan along with equipment. The order was as follows:-

To The Jagirdars, Dhakres and soldiers of ...

Contd...

Assemble at Patan town on the 19th day of the month of Baisakh. Soldiers shall bring with them five weapons, including shields, swords and muskets, while other people belonging to the 4 castes and 36 sub-castes, including Brahmans, other subjects, Jogis and Sanyasis, shall bring spades and axes. In case you do not do so, you shall be held guilty.

Thursday, Baisakh Sudi 1, 1857.

This made the character of the diarchy clear.

Since such a situation had developed in the capital, the Bhardars took King Girban Yuddha Bikram to Nuwakot in West No. 1, from where they started making preparations to resist Swami Rana Bahadur. Rana Bahadur and Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah thus began to rule simultaneously from Patan and Nuwakot respectively. Rana Bahadur Shah began to issue orders openly to the army to take good care of the King, lest the evil-minded Bhardars should cause any harm to him. An order issued in this connection by Swami Rana Bahadur Shah to the personnel of the Shrinath Company is as follows:-

Order From Sri Swamiji

To the Jamadars and all other soldiers of the Purano-Shrinath (Company), blessings.

The 20th day of Baisakh had been considered an auspicious day even when I was there. Kirtiman has now written to me two or three times that astrologers have made a recommendation to this effect. It appears that (the Bhardars) are trying to bring (the king) on an inauspicious day. It is not proper to have him leave before an auspicious occasion arrives. If you let this be done, you shall be considered to have proved faithless and betrayed (the king). We had written this yesterday, and are writing today also. (The Bhardars) may send you somewhere for some purpose and try to cause harm to (the king). Do not go anywhere even if you are sent. Remain in attendance at the palace. The Bhardars are sinful. They may send you to some distant place on various pretexts and cause harm to (the king). Do not let them do so. Even if they have let (the king) depart on a less auspicious day, leaving the auspicious day of the 20th (day of the month of Baisakh), take (the king) back. If you do so, you shall have done good to (the king). I too shall feel pleased. Subedar has not been appointed over you so that you may look after (the king) properly, and not that you may wander about here and there on the orders of the Bhardars. Take (the king) back even if you have let him depart. If you are about to let him commence the journey, stop him."

Saturday, Baisakh Badi 11, 1857.

(To Be Continued)

The Patar Commun

The Patar community of prostitutes inhabited Doti, Dailekh and other regions in north-western Nepal up to Kumaun.

According to William Crooke:¹

Kanchan. (Said to be derived from Skt. kanchana, gold, but this is very doubtful). A general term for various kinds of singers, dancers and prostitutes. Nesfield² classes under the name the Brijbasi, Gandharap, Tawaif, Nayak and Negpatar. The last, also known as Patur or Paturiya (Skt. patra, and actor), is a prostitute and dancing girl: Hindus generally say they are Muhammadans and vice versa. They are a distinct class, of course ranking very low, but still having their own customs, which are rigidly observed.³ The women who dance are not allowed to bear children at all: the caste is maintained therefore by marriages with women of other low castes, with whom the men marry and who are strictly chaste. The children, if girls, are brought up as dancing girls and prostitutes: and if males, are taught to play the fiddle (sarangi), the cymbals (majira) and the tambourine (tabla). The males in this caste are in an altogether secondary position to the women and are generally spoken of as their "accompaniment" (sangat). Their technical terms are -- nach is dancing and singing together: mujra, singing in a sitting position without dancing: gat, dancing without singing: bhao, the pantomimic gestures performed by the women with their hands: sangat, the ballet and distinctively for the men of the caste: nayaka, the woman in charge of the girls.⁴ There are various sub-divisions -- Kanghiwali (those who wear hair combs), Ghungruwali (who wear bells on their ankles), Kanchani and Ramjani (Skt. rama jani, a charming woman) whose name English sailors turn into "Rummy Johnny." When the Kumaun force in 15th century continued for a long time on service they took up with women known as Khatakwali and eventually gave rise to a separate caste and to such a degradation of the military caste in Hindu eyes that the hill Rajput is now considered a mere Khasiya, though he may have been descended from settlers from the plains of pure lineage, The present Kumaun caste of Nayak or Khatakwal is descended from them. The offspring if a male is Nayak (Skt. nayaka, a leader) and if a female Pata. In 1554 A.D. Sher Shah undertook the siege of Kalinjar to secure a Pata girl kept by Kirat Singh. They call themselves the Bharadvaj gotra and even wear the sacred thread, though only with three strings like the common Khasiya. They marry their sons to Rajputs on a heavy dowry, but prostitute the girls. They are attached to the Sakta ceremonial and are, strange to say, said to be careful in ceremonial observances.⁵ Akbar seems to have identified the Kanchans with the Kanjars "whose men play with the timbrel (pakhawaj), the viol (rabab), the cymbols (tal), and the women sing and dance."⁶

1. William Crooke, An Ethnographical Hand-Book For The N.-W. Provinces And Oudh; Allahabad: North-Western Provinces And Oudh Government Press, 1897, P. 102.

2. Brief View, p. 7.

3. Williams, Oudh Census Report, 108 sq.

4. Williams idem.

5. Atkinson, Himalayan Gazetteer, II, 529,

6. Gladwin, Ain-i-Akbari, II, 491.

III, 448.

Patars from Kumaun and other areas in the hill regions used to be employed at the royal palace in Kathmandu: According to an order issued on Ashadh Badi 11, 1866:-⁷

"To Shivi Patar,

We hereby appoint you as Dwari of Patars from Kumaun and other areas in the hill regions at our palace on a salary of Rs 10 per month. Remain in attendance at the palace faithfully. Appropriate a fee of half an anna on every rupee in cash or goods received as reward by Patars from the palace or any Bhardar, in addition to old clothes during the Dashain and Fagu festivals."

Lands were granted by the State to Patars for their maintenance on a tax-free basis. According to an order issued by the government of Nepal on Jestha Badi 11, 1861 to the head of Patariyas of Dipayal, Boktal and other areas:-⁸

"We hereby confirm the lands being customarily utilized by you. With due loyalty, utilize these lands as your own according to traditional customs."

The following order was issued to some Patars of Kumaun on Ashadh Badi 6, 1867:-⁹

"To Patars Ganguli, Mangala, Chitra and Krishni. The actual income from lands occupied by you at Rangad in Kumaun districts amounts to Rs 200. We hereby grant these lands to you as Manachamal with full exemption from all taxes and levies other than Chumawan, Godhuwan, Gadmimubarak and other Raja-Anka levies. Remain in attendance with due loyalty and utilize the lands as Manachamal."

On the same day, another order was issued to Chautariya Bam Shah, Chief Administrator of Kumaun, and his deputy, Raji Hewant Kanwar, informing them of this grant and directing them to insure that the Patar were able to take possession of these lands. The order also directed the officials to assign other lands in exchange to any military or other Jagirdar who might have been assigned lands now granted to the Patars.¹⁰

7. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, p. 89.

8. Regmi Research Collection, Vol. 9, p. 322.

9. Ibid, Vol. 39, p. 232.

10. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 39, p. 274.

Contd...

On Marga 17, 1980, the government of Nepal issued an order in the name of the Hill Region Birta Administration Office (Pahad Bandobast Birta Phant). A summary of the order is as follows:-¹¹

"The Patars of Doti have represented that they have been living as Patars according to arrangements made by the former Kings of Nepal. Manachamal lands have been assigned for their maintenance. They are not permitted to marry and set up a household. After the reign of the King of Gorkha was established, the existing arrangements were confirmed subject to the condition that they should remain in attendance at the district headquarters as well as on occasions of royal tours and hunting expeditions.

"15 or 16 years ago, their cash allowances were withdrawn, but their Manachamal lands were reconfirmed.

"It was considered good that instead of living under this disgraceful name, Patars should live according to their caste customs and practices. Bhunti, Chandramanu and Hira, Patars who are respondents in a suit demanding the conversion of their Manachamal lands into Raikar, were therefore asked whether they would prefer to live as Patars with Manachamal land assignments as before, or to have these arrangements abolished and utilize their Manachamal lands as Raikar. They replied that they would prefer the second alternative.

"The traditional system of the Patars of Doti is therefore hereby abolished, and their Manachamal lands converted into Raikar and registered in favor of the appropriate Patar occupants. These Patars shall be under no obligation to live like Patars in the future. They may live according to their caste customs. They need not remain in attendance at the district headquarters or on occasions of royal tours and hunting expeditions."

The following order was issued in the same connection on Poush 20, 1984:-¹²

"After the Patar system was abolished and the Manachamal lands and allowances of Patars withdrawn, young Patars have set up households. But very old Patars have not been able to do so. The result is that they are not being able to maintain their livelihood.

"Accordingly, cash allowances shall be paid to the following Patars throughout their life-time at the rate of Rs 3 per month."

(List of 8 Patars follows).

11. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 28, pp. 448-450.

12. Ibid, p. 446.

Gorkhali Rule In Garhwal.

E.K. Pauw gives the following account of the Gorkhali revenue system in Garhwal:-^x

"Under the Gurkha Government a complete revision of the land revenue system took place. The cess on agriculture was considerably augmented, and most of the extra demands ceased. Maukar, tandkar, mijhari, ghikar, salamya or salami, and sanya phagun, or tax on houses, on looms, on doms, on pasturage, razrana, and offerings on festivals, were alone retained; and the only ministerial fees which remained in force, were those to the konungos, the kamin and the padhan. The cess on agriculture was moderate, being imposed on the rakba at a determined rate, which was equalized in different districts according to the scale of measurement in force. All other assets and means of the landholders were attained by the extra cesses above mentioned, so that the gross demand became an income-tax on all classes connected with the land. By the injudicious mode of management introduced under the Gurkha Government (that of military assignments) the resources of the country were rapidly deteriorating, agricultural produce diminished, prices were arbitrarily depressed, and a year of excessive drought super-vening the disposable capital of the agricultural classes was dissipated." The settlement had been made by a commission specially deputed from Kathmandu, and "was formed on actual inspection of the resources of each village, but as the estimated profits of the trade carried on by the residents was taken into consideration, the assessment must be viewed rather as a tax founded on the number of inhabitants, than on the extent of cultivation. On the completion of the survey a detailed account of each pargana showing the numbers, names, size and extent of the villages was submitted for the approbation of the Court of Nepal. From thence a copy under the seal of State was issued to the kamins ... as a standard of the revenue demandable from their respective pattis, corresponding instructions being issued to the officers holding assignments." The form of these accounts, with the amount assessed on Garhwal, was as follows:-

^xE.K. Pauw, C.S., Report On The Tenth Settlement Of The Garhwal District, Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, p. 54.

Contd...

Name of Division: Garhwal

Land revenue	Rs 82,406
Salami (or <u>nazrana</u>)	Rs 1,147
Ghikar (or tax on cattle)	Rs x
Mijhari (or tax on doms)	Rs 454
Tandkar (or tax on looms)	Rs 1,283
Sanya <u>phagun</u> (offerings on festivals)	Rs 1,495
Adhanni <u>daftari</u> (or <u>kandgo</u> allowances)	Rs 1,495
Sayar of customs	Rs 10,900
Tambakhan, <u>taksal</u> or mints and mint duties	Rs 2,401
Khuersal (or <u>kul mahals</u>)	Rs 170
Katbans (or timbers and bamboos)	Rs 600
Sayar, exclusive of customs	Rs 200
Asmani <u>firmani</u> (or estimated fines and forfeitures)	Rs 2,000
Total revenue in Gurkha rupees	Rs 104,551

But, "The absence of a controlling power on the spot rendered the arrangement almost nugatory," and the military officers set at naught these assessments at their pleasure, exacting from the people as much as they were able; the jama imposed soon exceeded what the country could yield, the deficiency annually increasing from the attempt to enforce the full demand." In the last year of the Gurkha rule, the receipts fell considerably short of one-half the demand, and the two are thus given by Mr. Traill:-

		<u>Demand</u> Rs	<u>Receipts</u> Rs
Barahsyun	...	12,018	4,577
Chaundkot	...	6,025	3,069

Contd...

Dewalgarh	...	1,957	1,334
Nagpur	...	11,104	3,033
Ganga Salan	...	11,634	5,384
Painkhanda	...	4,700	1,750
Chandpur	...	20,826	7,763
Badhan	...	9,902	3,612
Talla Salan	...	5,960	3,147
Malla Salan	...	7,132	4,037
		91,258	37,706
	Total		

Documents,

1. Detention Of Brother Of Garhwal Raja

(a) To Kapardar Bhotu Pands,

Pritam Shahi, brother of the Raja of Gadh, has been brought here under detention. As long as he is kept in Bhadgaun, supply rice and pulses to him as follows every day from Kartik Badi 8, 1862. Remission shall be granted when your accounts are scrutinized:

<u>Marsi</u> rice	...	1 pathi
<u>Hakuwa</u> rice	...	3 pathis
Pulses (<u>mas</u> , <u>kerau</u>)	...	4 manas

Kartik Badi 7, 1862,
Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 616.

(b) To Birya, Ijaradar of Bhadgaun,

Pritam Shahi, brother of the Raja of Gadh, has been brought under detention from Gadh along with 15 other persons and servants. Maintain an outpost there and keep him under detention. Do not let anybody visit him. A royal order has been issued in the name of the Kapardar for the

Contd...

supply of rations to him. The Kapardar will supply rations accordingly. Pay 6 annas every day from the revenue due from Bhadgaun under contract for the purchase of salt, oil and ghee. We shall grant remission accordingly. Also supply four loads of fuelwood and 4 bundles of leaves every day. Do not let them escape.

Kartik Badi 7, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 615.

2. Appointment of Chandrabir Kanwar As Subba

To Chandrabir Kanwar,

When you received reports that the Bhardars who had been deputed there previously were not maintaining good terms with each other, we appointed Surbir Khatri, Ranabir Khatri and Dhankar Khatri to replace Ranadhir. Ranabir Khatri is already with the troops on the front, and we have sent an order to Surbir Khatri also. He will join the troops soon. We hereby appoint you to replace Hastadal. Balya Kanwar has been appointed to replace you as Hudda over seven Pagaris. He will join you. Kaji Ambar Singh Thapa is old, mature, loyal and faithful. Act according to his advice in all matters, big or small. Go to Srinagar soon. Make administrative arrangements in the territories placed under your charge and take action as necessary soon according to the advice of the Kaji and Bhardars. We shall write about other matters in due time.

Ashadh Badi 2, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 55.

3. Military Arrangements

(a) To Kaji Jaspal Thapa, Sardar Bhotu, Subba Toran Dhvaj Shahi and Subba Prahlad Gurung,

Kaji Nain Singh Thapa and you had departed at the same time. But while Nain Singh Thapa has already reached Ridi with 7 pieces of cannon and ammunition and sent us a report from there, you are still loitering on the way. Such delay is not proper at a time of action. Meet Kaji Nain Singh Thapa in Pyuthan without a single day's delay along with your men. From Pyuthan, proceed together along with cannon and ammunition and join Kaji Ambar Singh Thapa by the 10th or 12th day of the month of Marga. You have been deputed from here with due honors. If you cannot reach your destination at the time of action, we shall understand that you are imbeciles and send you women's clothes accordingly. We shall also appoint others to replace you. Understand this and proceed quickly. Send a report from wherever you meet Kaji Nain Singh Thapa.

Aswin Sudi 13, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 565-566.

Contd...

(b) To The Amalidars of Dullu and Dailekh,

... pieces of cannon have been despatched for Garh along with Kaji Nain Singh Thapa. Maintain Hulak posts at frequent intervals through Jhara porters in your respective areas in the region between the Bheri and Karnali rivers. As soon as the cannon and ammunition despatched from here reach your area, transport them by Hulak without a moment's delay. In case any delay is caused in the transportation of cannon and ammunition through the area under the jurisdiction of any Amalidar, orders have been issued to punish him severely. Understand this and make necessary preparations in advance.

Aswin Sudi 1, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 504-505.

(Similar orders were sent also to the Amalidars of areas between Achham and the Mahakali river, and between the Mahakali river and Garhwal).

(c) To Kaji Nain Singh Thapa and Sardar Indra Singh Thapa,

Blessings.

All is well here, and we desire the same there. The news here is good.

The four soldiers who had deserted the army there have been arrested. Their noses have been cut. Others too may desert the army, send their names to us. Capture them there if possible and cut their noses.

Cannon were despatched from here on the 11th day of the month of Aswin and may reach there in due time. Do not leave the cannon that you had taken along with you. Depute troops 1 or 2 days before you to round up Jhara porters for Hulak services. Order these troops to set up Hulak posts at different places with Jhara porters. If Hulak arrangements are made in advance, the transportation of cannon and ammunition will not be hampered.

Aswin Sudi 11, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 506-507.

Contd...

- (d) To people of all the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes throughout Jumla who are capable of bearing arms,

We had previously sent an order directing you to leave for Garhwal. All persons from that area belonging to the four castes and thereby-six sub-castes who are capable of bearing arms shall join Bhardars in Garhwal on Jhara basis within the month of Kartik. Anybody who does not leave (for Garhwal as ordered) shall be awarded severe punishment in a manner befitting his caste status,

Aswin Sudi 12, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 558-559.

(Similar orders were issued for Tanahu, Dharkot and other areas also).

4. Religious Affairs In Garhwal

- (a) In 1861, the government of Nepal endowed lands yielding a revenue of Rs 1,200 to operate a Sadavarta for providing boarding and lodging facilities to pilgrims visiting the Badrinath temple. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 1007).
- (b) On Ashadh Badi 11, 1866, local administrators in Garhwal were told: "We have granted you no authority to dismiss priests at the Kedarnath temple. Let those who are appointed by us take over charge of the temple. Do not do anything at your discretion. Let nobody oppress the people while collecting levies or impressing forced labor in areas endowed as Guthi for the Kedarnath temple. Do not do so yourself. If you have conclusive evidence that the Chief Priest (Rawal) of the temple has made any reduction in the regular or ceremonial religious functions at the temple report the matter to us and act as directed. Anybody who dismisses the Chief Priest except on orders from us will be severely punished." (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 1018-1019).
- (c) On Ashadh Badi 11, 1866, the government of Nepal issued an order to Rawal Nilakantha of the Kedarnath temple, a summary of which is as follows: "Lands in the Barahsyun, Kandarsyun and Painkhanda areas of Garhwal have been endowed on a tax-free basis for conducting religious performances at the Kedarnath temple and feeding visitors, pilgrims and destitute persons for six months from Baisakh Sudi 1 to Kartik Sudi 15 every year. Any amount that is left shall be kept in the temple treasury and utilized to provide rations to pilgrims participating in the Kumbha festival. We hereby issue a copper inscription to this effect. Promote land reclamation and settlement in the

Contd...

areas thus endowed, collect revenues every year at the prescribed rates and operate the Sadavarta in the prescribed manner. With effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1866, we place this Guthi and Sadavarta under your charge. Submit accounts every year to the Bhardars deputed to Srinagar and obtain clearance. Wish victory to us, and utilize as your emoluments the amount mentioned in the copper inscriptions." (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 1019-1020).

- (d) On Ashadh Badi 11, 1866, the government of Nepal confirmed land endowments for the Rudranath and Gopeshwar temples in Garhwal as follows:-

"The Kings of Garhwal had endowed lands in the following areas of Nagpur division (Gorkha) for propitiating Rudranath and Gopeshwar. We hereby confirm these endowments as Guthi with effect from the year 1861. Revenue from these lands shall be collected, and religious functions at these temples conducted, by persons deputed by us."

(Particulars of Lands follow)

(Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p.1020).

- (e) On Falgun Sudi 5, 1866, Paramananda Panda was confirmed as Chitaidar for the operation of a Sadavarta endowment at the Kedarnath temple. He was directed "to distribute rations under the Sadavarta without any greed, utilize the emoluments due to you as Chitaidar and wish us victory." (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 994).

(S.B.M.)

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Manadeva¹

By
Dinesh Raj Pant.

No authoritative information is available on the history of Nepal before the Lichchhavi period. Even during the Lichchhavi period, materials are available only since the time of King Manadeva. So far, 14 inscriptions issued by King Manadeva or during his reign have been discovered. These inscriptions furnish us with some information about the history of Nepal during the reign of King Manadeva.

Some historians have raised a controversy with regard to the dynasty to which King Manadeva belonged. The Pashupati inscription of King Jayadeva II refers to Manadeva as a Lichchhavi King. But in the Changu Narayan inscription, in which Manadeva has given an account of his geneology and his victorious exploits, he does not describe himself as belonging to the Lichchhavi dynasty. Only in later inscriptions is he described as a leading figure in the Lichchhavi dynasty. As such, it is doubtful whether Manadeva really belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty.

D.R. Regmi writes:-²

"The three rulers, of the earlier inscriptions Manadeva, Vasantadeva and Ganadeva do not call themselves in the address Lichchhavi Kulaketu as do the others following them. We trace their Lichchhavi lineage from the inscription of Jayadeva II (No. 15 of B.G.L.). How is it that these rulers do not mention anything about their Lichchhavi origin, while their successors took pride in addressing themselves as descendants of the Lichchhavi family? Was it a late realisation come to the Lichchhavi rulers after so many generations of rule? Or the rulers of the later period had only arrogated to themselves the illustrious lineage of the Lichchhavi family just to enhance their reputation and status in the eyes of the world?"

-
1. Dinesh Raj Pant, Manadeva Kun Vamshaka Hun ? (To Which Dynasty Does Manadeva Belong ?), Purnima, Year 1, No. 1, Baisakh 2021 (April 1964).
 2. D.R. Regmi, Ancient Nepal, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960, p. 200.

This controversy has been settled once for all by the Suryaghat (Pashupati) inscription of Vijayavati, daughter of Manadeva. This inscription clearly refers to Manadeva as "the full moon in the firmament of the Lichchhavi dynasty" (Lichchhavi Kulambarapurnachandrah). This proves that Manadeva actually belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty.

The full text of the inscription has been published in Abhilekh-Sangraha, Part I, published in the Samshodhan Mandal.

Miscellaneous Documents On Jumla, 1834-1846 A.D.1. Collection of Jagat Revenue

From King Rajendra,

Thani Sampati Padhya Niupani and Jadhū Josi Simkhada.

During the revenue settlement of 1887 (Vikrama), a sum of Rs 1551 had been assessed on Mugu, Karan and Dolphu in Jumla district.

Kalu Padhya offered Rs 10 more for a contract for the collection of Jagat revenue in Lumas and thus obtained a royal order in his name, after having the order issued in favor of Pratap Shahi and Tularam Josi cancelled.

Bhagawat Shahi then made the following offer: "Kalu Padhya has deprived us of this area, which we had been enjoying from former times and which had been confirmed in our names through a royal order during the 1887 revenue settlement. We therefore offer Rs 250 more for Mugu, Karan and Dolphu, which Kalu Padhya and others have been enjoying. Let a royal order be issued in our names."

Banamali Dhauḷa Simkhada then made the following offer: "Let (the contract) for the collection of Jagat revenue in Gam be confirmed in favor of Gamki, and Mugu, Karan and Dolphu in favor of Simkhada Niupani who has been enjoying them. We offer a maximum of Rs 100 more from (the proceeds of levies) in Chhopa."

We therefore issue this Thekbandi (contract) for a total amount of Rs 1651, inclusive of Rs 1551 according to the Thek arrangements made in 1887 Vikrama and Rs 100 offered in addition from the proceeds of levies collected in Chhopa.

Abide by the customs and regulations confirmed in the course of the 1887 revenue settlement, collect revenues and transmit the proceeds in installments to the Army. Submit accounts at the end of the year and obtain clearance.

Dhauḷa Josi shall collect the Duwaro and Sorya (levies) as assessed in the course of the revenue settlement and hand over the proceeds to the Jimmawal.

Contd...

Utilize the area loyally and faithfully, knowing this to be a Thak-Thiti arrangement.

Jestha Badi 7, 1891.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 488-500.

2. Copper Mining In Jumla

(a) From King Rajendra,

To Lama Shahi.

Search for new and old copper mines throughout the area of Tripurakot in Jumla district. In case it is necessary to make arrangements for labor which mine-workers (agri) are not able to make themselves, impress Jhara labor from the required number of ryots with the help of local Jimmawals and village Mukhiyas. Operate copper mines in that area under your authority. In case peons are required for the mining operations, procure them from the Amali of Jumla and operate the mines.

Expenses incurred in manufacturing pickaxes, hammers and other tools required for mining and granting turbans (pagari) to Mukhiyas shall be incurred by you. Appropriate the fees paid by the Mukhiyas of mine-workers on their appointment. The workers' share of the production of mines shall be granted to him, while the owner's share shall ~~ther~~ be collected and transmitted to the Amali in Jumla against receipts.

You are hereby granted emoluments (Khangri) amounting to Rs 60 from the income of the court at Chhinasim. Obtain these emoluments through the Amali. Operate (your authority) faithfully, knowing it to be Amanat, and operate new and old copper mines.

Marga Badi 14, 1891.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 545-546.

(b) From King Rajendra,

To the Jimmawals, Village Mukhiyas and ryots throughout Tripurakot in Jumla district.

Lama Shahi has been sent to that area with authority to search for and operate old and new copper mines there. Go to him and make arrangements to impress Jhara labor for the operation of mines from the necessary number of ryots in case such labor is required in mines

and mine-workers make a request to that effect. Make arrangements for the supply of provisions to mine-workers from each part of that area. Repair damaged forts, ferry posts, roads and irrigation channels. We hereby exempt you from the obligation to provide Jhara labor to meet the requirements of the Army, or to supply provisions to the Army, except for (the transportation) of salt required by it.

In case anybody violates these regulations, and obstructs the supply of labor and provisions required for (the operation of) mines, or does not repair damaged forts, ferry posts, roads and irrigation channels he shall be awarded severe punishment. Know this, and work promptly.

Marga Badi 14, 1891.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 544-545.

3. Collection of Levies In Jumla

From King Rajendra,

To the inhabitants of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes all over Jumla.

Reports have been received through the Amalis of different areas that the ryots have been greatly impoverished as a result of the practice of collecting money from every household, saying: "We are going to Nepal. We shall have some work accomplished there. You too raise money from every household and give it to us."

In the future, accept whatever is given willingly by the ryots. Nobody shall compel them to give money on the pretext of some work, saying: "We are going to Nepal. Collect some money for us." Ryots on their part shall not give any money in this manner. Anybody who comes here for his personal work shall bear expenses from his own pocket. We hereby promulgate a regulation to this effect. Anybody who contravenes this regulation and causes hardships to the ryots shall be under obligation to refund the collection. He shall also be awarded severe punishment according to his caste status.

Shrawan Badi 4, 1891.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 505-506.

Contd...

Judicial and Revenue Matters

From King Rajendra,

To the Amali deputed to Jumla every year, and to Thanis Jadhu Josi, Deumani Simkhada, Radhya Devkota, Bisheswar Acharja, Sasi Acharja, Sampati Padhya, Jayakhar Josi, Bhawani Prasad Josi and Bishrupati Padhya Nyatapanya.

All cases which the Jimmawals and Thekdars of the fifteen divisions (dara) of Jumla are not able to dispose of themselves, other than those excluded in the royal order relating to the Thek-Thiti, shall be referred to the Kachahari (Court) of the Amali for disposal. Income accruing therefrom shall be adjusted to the contractual (Thek) payment of Asmani due from the appropriate division.

An order to this effect had been issued previously also. In future also, fines imposed by Thanis, Tharis and other functionaries, (duties on) falcons, horses and printing of cloth, Jagat duties and all other revenue shall be adjusted against the amount due from the division whose Jimmawal or clerk collected it. Prepare annual statements every year, including (of revenues collected in) Chhinasim.

Chaitra Eadi 4, 1891,
Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 601-602.

Religious Functions At Chhinasim

From King Rajendra,

To the Amali deputed to Jumla every year.

A sum of Rs ... from the proceeds of fines collected in cases disposed of by the Dafdarkhana of the Army is hereby sanctioned as ritual gift (dakshina) to Jayamani Upadhya Dhital in consideration of his having recited the Vishnusahasranama hymn during the Chaturmas (four-month period beginning mid-July) at the temple inside the palace at Chhinasim with an ever-burning lamp (akhandabatti). Make disbursements accordingly every year, for which remission shall be granted.

Chaitra Badi 4, 1891,
Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 599-600.

Contd...

Revenue Divisions In Jumla

From King Rajendra,

To the Thanis, Tharis, Mukhiyas, Jimmawals, Thakuris, Hitans and other ryots of all the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes in the fifteen divisions (dara) of Jumla and Humla.

You have submitted the following representation to us:-

"From former times, we had been conducting trade with Bhote (Tibet) and Madhohi (plains) and made payment of the contractual (Thak) revenue stipulated for all the fifteen divisions of Jumla and Humla through the Amali stationed in Jumla.

"Now these divisions have been split. (Persons belonging to) Bajhang have been appointed Jimmawal of five divisions. Prices for areas other than Humla have been fixed at $8\frac{1}{2}$ pathis of rice and 3 pathis of salt per rupee. We have thus been put to hardship in all matters. It has become difficult to us to pay the amount stipulated during the revenue settlement of 1887 (Vikrama).

"We therefore make the following demands: The (fifteen) divisions of Jumla should not be split. All divisions, including the five assigned to (persons belonging to) Bajhang should be joined together. The revenue assessed on each household should be deposited with the Amali through the person whose name has been registered (in the settlement records as revenue collection functionary). Prices for areas other than Humla should be fixed at 8 pathis of rice and $2\frac{1}{2}$ pathis of salt per rupee. (Persons belonging to) Bajhang should be removed from the position of Jimmawal.

"In case these demands are fulfilled, we undertake to make payments as stipulated in the royal order relating to the revenue settlement without making any reduction therein, as well as to make payment of the Asmani levies mentioned in the settlement in Pakka rupees instead of in Kachcha rupees."

Accordingly, with effect from the year 1892 (Vikrama), the divisions which have been merged into other areas, including those for which Ramdhan Singh, Uddho Singh and Katak Bahadur Singh of Bajhang have been appointed as Jimmawal, shall be joined together, Thak and Jagat revenue assessed on each household according to the revenue settlement of 1887 (Vikrama) shall be collected from assesses in different areas (garkha) in installments according to the Lal Dhadha records, and deposited through the Amali stationed in Jumla.

Asmani revenue, assessed in Kachcha rupees, shall be paid in Pakka rupees as stipulated by you from your respective areas (garkha). Conduct transactions at the rates of 8 pathis of rice and 2½ pathis of salt per rupee.

In case any person acts in contravention of this order, he shall be held guilty.

Chaitra Badi 4, 1891,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 597-599.

Revenue Collection Functionaries And Religious Functions

From King Rajendra,

To Sardar Hastabir Shahi.

You have asked us for permission (to replace) Jimmawals, Bahidars and Mukhiyas enrolled in the course of the revenue settlements of 1887 and 1894 (Vikrama) who have greatly oppressed the ryots or bungled in revenue collection, or who have died. You have also asked for permission to make necessary arrangements in view of irregularities at the Durga temple. In addition, you have pointed out that the emoluments of Thanis, Tharis, Jimmawals, Bahidars, Mukhiyas and other functionaries are not uniform."

While making such replacements, give preference to the sons and brothers (of the functionaries who are being replaced) who will not oppress the ryots or bungle in revenue collections, if there are any. If there are none such, appoint such persons as Jimmawals, Mukhiyas and Bahidars as you consider suitable at your discretion.

So far as the Guthi functions and religious ceremonies at the Durga temple are concerned, make arrangements to insure that (the total expenses) on daily and ceremonial functions do not exceed those at other temples.

So far as lack of uniformity in the emoluments of Thanis, Tharis, Jimmawals, Mukhiyas and other functionaries are concerned, make necessary adjustments without increasing the total amount of emoluments paid in the past. Prepare a draft of the order and submit it to us. We shall affix our seal thereon accordingly.

Magh Badi 9, 1898,
Regmi Research Collections; Vol. 1, pp. 821-822.

B. Land Reclamation And Revenue Remission

From King Rajendra,

To the Amali, Thanis, and Tharis of Jumla.

The Thanis, Tharis, Asya Thakuris and ryots of Jumla have represented to us that some of the homesteads as well as Khet and Pakho lands registered in the tax assessment records in the course of the revenue settlement operations of 1887 (Vikrama) have been washed away by floods and landslides.

Ascertain the extent of such damage in different divisions (dara), and identify the house-holds which have increased their income by reclaiming waste lands subsequent to the revenue settlement operations of 1887 and submit a report to us.

Impress Jhara labor all over the division of Khatyad in order to convert waste lands in Bursu into paddy-fields, by constructing an irrigation channel from the Nuwakoti-Khola (river).

Wherever waste lands can be irrigated through the channel, make arrangements for their conversion into paddy-fields.

Chaitra Badi 4, 1891,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 600-601.

Forced Labor In Jumla

From King Rajendra,

To the Bhardars deputed to Jumla every year.

Bhardars, military personnel, revenue functionaries, government employees and other people who visit any district, Parganna or village in that region shall accept whatever provisions, vegetables, fuelwood and fruits the ryots give willingly. Do not take these forcibly.

While you purchase provisions, the ryots shall sell whatever is available, without concealing anything, at locally current prices. The purchaser on his part shall pay a price which is appropriate according to the season.

Let nobody cut trees standing on either side of roads, as well as those around road-side shelters, inns, temples and sources of water.

Contd...

Do not provide Hulak porterage services to any person belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes, be he the Guru or a Purohit, Chautariya, Kaji, Sardar, Subedar or Jamadar, except under a royal order and the signature of the General-Commander-In-Chief. For government requirements, as well as for the transportation of arms and ammunition for military purposes or of sick people, (provide such services even in the absence of such order and signature. Nobody shall carry loads except in accordance with these arrangements.

Do not offer or accept rice and other provisions (without payment).

Repair tracks and ferries (targhat) in the areas under your jurisdiction and keep them in good condition.

In case any person belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes does not comply with these regulations and contravenes them, arrest him and sentence him to punishment in cases in which you have authority. Refer other cases to us and act as ordered.

Chaitra Badi 8, 1892,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 818-819.

Land Reclamation In Jumla

From King Rajendra,

To Sardar Daryab Singh Basnyat, who sits at the Jumla office.

Find out which lands can be converted into paddy-fields in the areas under your jurisdiction and submit a report to us regarding the total area that can be reclaimed along with the expenditure and number of Jhara laborers required therefor. Reclaim paddy-fields as ordered by us.

Falgun Badi 12, 1895,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 814-815.

Prices In Jumla

From King Rajendra,

To the Amali deputed to Jumla every year, as well as to the Tharis, Tharis, Jimmawals, Mukhiyas and other ryots of Jumla.

You have represented to us that Jumla is a snowy region, and that the prices of foodgrains and salt are very high.

Contd...

In future, from 1896 (Vikrama), while making payments to the Army against Sirto and increments (Ijaf) therein, make conversions at the following rates:-

Rice	...	7 pathis per rupee
Salt	...	2½ pathis ,,
Wheat	...	12 pathis ,,

Jestha 1 (Badi 9) 1896,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, p. 820.

Abolition of Jimmawals

From King Rajendra,

To the Amali deputed to Jumla every year, as well as to Thanis, Tharis and the Mukhiyas and ryots of 15 divisions (dara).

The people (of Jumla) have represented to us through Sardar Dariyab Singh Basnyat that they have been put to considerable hardship because Jimmawals enjoy authority in each division, while revenue is collected by the Army.

From 1897 (Vikrama), we hereby direct that Jimmawals shall be abolished and revenue collections placed under the authority of the Amali. Deposit revenue every year through the Amali, without reducing the contractual amount fixed in 1894 (Vikrama).

In case actual revenue exceeds the contractual amount, the excess shall be kept in reserve and adjusted during the following year. In case actual revenue is less than the contractual amount, the shortfall shall be met by all divisions.

Any person who acts in contravention of these arrangements shall be sentenced to punishment according to his caste status.

Poush Sudi 2, 1896,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, p. 813.

Disposal of Panchakhat Cases

From King Rajendra,

To Sardar Daryab Singh Basnyat.

It appears that all Jimmawals, Mukhiyas and Thekdars throughout Jumla adjudicate in Panchakhat cases in different divisions (dara) and remit the income accruing therefrom.

Contd...

In future, Panchakhat cases shall not be disposed of at the level of the division. We hereby direct that these cases shall be disposed of at the Chaugau Kachahari (court) through the Amali and Amil deputed there on a regular basis.

Bhadra Badi 7, 1896,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, p. 814.

Collection of Bahi-Phukauna Fee

From King Rajendra,

To the Jimmawals and Thekdars of different divisions (dara) in Jumla and Humla.

From former times, a fee of Rs 4 used to be collected from each division through the Amali on behalf of those who maintained records and accounts. This fee was called Bahi-Phukauna.

The royal order providing for a revenue collection contract (Thok) had decreed that this fee should not be collected after the revenue settlement operations (Janch) of 1894 (Vikrama). Accordingly, it had been abolished.

New persons employed (to maintain accounts and records) have complained to us that they are not getting their fees.

We therefore hereby order that the Bahi-Phukauna fee shall be appropriated as usual. Maintain accurate accounts faithfully and appropriate this fee.

Chaitra Badi 7, 1896,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, p. 810.

Emoluments of Chandannath Battalion

From King Rajendra,

To the 302 personnel of the Chandannath Company as listed below.

We hereby assign Khet lands and Khuwa revenues to you as follows. Remain in constant attendance during war and other emergencies, royal tours, hunting expeditions, and parades, or when employed as guards or sentries, or whenever ordered or recalled. Prove true to your salt and utilize the following Khet lands and Khuwa revenues as your Jagir:-

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Total number</u>	<u>Khet lands for each (In Muris)</u>	<u>Total Khet Assignment</u>	<u>Khuwa Revenue</u> Rs
Captain	1	3,000	30	2,000
Subedar	1	1,100	11	400
Jamadar	6	600	36	330
Major	1	400	4	25
Adjutant	1	400	4	25
Kote	1	400	4	25
Bahidar	1	300	300	-
Hawalдар of Artillery (Golandaj) unit	1	360	360	-
Front Ensign	1	280	280	-
Rear Ensign	1	260	260	-
Hawalдар	12	280	3,360	-
Amalдар	12	260	3,120	-
Tahabildar	1	200	200	-
Artillery (Golandaj) personnel	7	240	1,680	-
Privates	176	200	3,520	-
Jamadar of porters (Pipa)	1	200	200	-
Jamadar of Khalasis	1	200	200	-
Porters (Pipa)	32	160	5,120	-

Contd...

Khalasis	25	160	4,000	-
Coppersmiths (Tamot)	2	240	480	-
Basdaram	1	240	240	-
Jhaj	1	180	180	-
Buglers (Bheri-bigul)	2	200	400	-
Flutists (Bansuri-angal)	3	160	480	-
Blacksmiths (Lohar)	4	200	800	-
Forgers (Kha- lati-Lohar)	2	160	320	-
Carpenters (Sikarmi)	2	160	320	-
Cobblers (Sarki)	3	200	600	-
Guthi for colors of battalion	-	-	60	-
Total -	302	-	67,060	Rs 2,805

Total amount required for assignments of Khet lands and Khuwa revenues:-

67,060 muris of land,
at the rate of Rs 25
per 100 muris

... Rs 16,765

Khuwa assignments

... Rs 2,805

Total ... Rs 19,570

Amount assigned on a yearly basis from the contractual (Thek) revenue from Birto, Amari and other sources in Jumla

... Rs 19,570

Chaitra Sudi 10, 1902,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 803-805.

Gold-Mining In Jumla

From King Rajendra,

To the Pans of Dumna village in the Khatyad division (dara) of Jumla district.

We hereby depute you for gold-washing (Sun-Dhuwayi) operations in the Karnali and elsewhere where gold deposits are available, and grant you exemption from forced and unpaid labor obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begar) elsewhere. Engage yourselves faithfully in gold-washing operations as ordered and supervised by Dhanla Shahi.

Marga Sudi 3, 1903,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 788-799.

4. Revenue Collection In Jumla

From King Rajendra,

To the Bhardars deputed to Jumla every year.

From former times, Bhardars deputed to Jumla have been collecting revenues as assessed in different parts of the district according to Thek-Thiti arrangements. They have been transmitting the proceeds to Jagirdars and obtaining clearance accordingly.

In the future also, we hereby place revenue collection throughout Jumla under the authority of Bhardars deputed there. Collect revenues assessed in the course of the 1903 (Vikrama) revenue settlement through Jimmawals of each revenue division on the basis of Thek-Thiti royal orders. Make disbursements to the army or other beneficiaries according to royal orders. Transmit the balance to the Sadar Dafdarkhana office and obtain clearance.

Marga Badi 10, 1903,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, p. 800.

Law and Order In Humla

From King Rajendra,

To the Bhardars deputed to Jumla every year.

The ryots of Humla have approached us and represented that the section of the Chandannath battalion stationed in Humla moves to Chhinasm after the onset of winter, and that Asya and Hitan indulge in lawless activities in Humla during its absence. Accordingly, in the future, one section of the Chandannath battalion shall be garrisoned in Simkot, Humla, all the twelve months in the year. In the year when (the section) is transferred, the Jamadar shall hand over charge of whatever arms, ammunition and other military supplies there are in stock against receipts issued in duplicate, and come here with (one copy of) such receipts after replacements reach there. Arrangements for the procurement of supplies needed by this section shall be made in Humla as well as in divisions (dara) under it.

Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903,

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, p. 799.

Judicial Authority And Forced Labor

From King Rajendra,

To the Thanis, Tharis, Thakuris, Jimmawals, Mukhiyas, Asya, Hitan and others of the 18 divisions (dara) of Jumla.

You have made the following representation to us: "In villages which have been assigned as Chhap or Manachamal, (the owners) appoint Dwares in addition to Jimmawals and Mukhiyas, have the Dhungo and Dubo ceremonies observed and appropriate the proceeds of fines. They are not entitled to appropriate revenues in excess of those mentioned in the tax assessment records (Lal Dhadda) of the division. When the government needs labor services in the division, it is only ryots from villages other than those assigned as Chhap or Manachamal who have to work. This has given rise to much irregularity. Let a uniform rule be therefore enforced."

Accordingly, in the future, do not appoint Dwares in addition to Jimmawals and Mukhiyas registered in the Lal Dhadda records, and do not permit (such Dwares) to conduct the Dhungo and Dubo ceremonies. When the government needs labor services in the division, these shall be provided also by persons inhabiting lands assigned as Chhap or Manachamal.

"In case any offense is committed in Chhap and Manachamal lands other than the Chhap of Naranarayan Shah in Tripurakot and of Shankar Padhya in Sinja-Dara, the Jimmawal registered in the Lal Dhadha records shall perform Dhungo and Dubo ceremonies in the presence of the Mukhiya of the village, and the income accruing therefrom shall be credited to the Thek (revenue collection contract) of the appropriate villager.

We hereby promulgate a regulation to this effect. Any person who acts in contravention of this regulation shall be punished according to his caste status and deprived of his Chhap or Manachamal lands.

Bhadra Sudi 9, 1903,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 801-802.

Triarchy In Nepal, 1799-1800 A.D.^x
(Continued from previous issue)

The situation of the capital became serious after Rana Bahadur Shah issued orders against the Bhardars, thus interfering in the administration. It became more serious when he succeeded in winning over a section of the army and the inhabitants of Patan to his side. It was felt that a state of emergency prevailed in the country. To cope with this crisis, the Bhardars started functioning from Nuwakot in the name of King Girvanyuddha Bikram, who was then only 3 years and 7 months old. Their first act was to mobilize troops. Since Rana Bahadur Shah (alias Swami Nirvananand) had not only secured the support of the people of Patan, but also won over the army to his side, the Bhardars issued an order directing all the troops stationed in the capital to proceed to Nuwakot. The order referred to the rebellion and the pledge of allegiance to King Girban. The royal order issued in this regard is as follows:-

From King Girban,

To the Huddas and other personnel of the Sabuj Company.

Do not be influenced by the unfounded statements of rumor-mongers. Do not indulge in activities aimed at harming me without discussing the matter among yourselves. If you want to uphold your pledge made by you under your signature in the copper inscription, work unitedly and try to promote unity. In case you disregard this command and instead involve yourselves in any attempt to intensify the conflict, you shall be deemed to have committed a breach of your pledge and shown disloyalty. Your posts will be confirmed. Prove true to our salt. What are you trying to do? If you intend to prove true to our salt, let the entire company come here at once.

Monday, Baisakh Badi 13, 1857 (Vikrama)

^x Chittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah (King Rana Bahadur Shah), Kathmandu: Mary Rajbhandari, 2020 (1963), pp. 44-45.

Contd...

Orders to this effect were issued in the name of the Srijung Company, the Srinath Company, the Gorakh Company, the Kalidatta Company and other companies also. These orders show that the troops had been influenced to some extent but had not fully gone over to Rana Bahadur Shah. It was probably for this reason that they were ordered to go to Nuwakot. However, the orders issued to the Taradal Company, the Ranasher Company, the Ranabhim Company and the Devidatta Company indicate that they had already joined Rana Bahadur Shah. In fact, they had become ready to fight against Damodar Pande and other Bhardars in support of Swami Rana Bahadur Shah. Orders issued in the names of these four companies therefore merely asked them to reconsider their stand. They were not ordered to come to Nuwakot. This order was as follows:

From King Girban,

To Jamadars and other personnel belonging to (Taradal, Ranasher, Ranabhim and Devidatta) Companies. —

When Balabhadra Sahi submitted a distorted report to our father, and told his one-sided version to you, you did not even represent the matter to us for clarifications. On the contrary, you have set up positions. Against whom are these positions directed? You have done so under the influence of a one-sided version. Nonetheless, if you henceforth renounce those who try to incite you through such statements and try to promote reconciliation you shall have fulfilled your pledge of loyalty and proved true to our salt. You shall then be regarded as having proved true to your salt. But in case you do not do so and do anything to intensify the conflict, you may be regarded as traitors who have renounced the path of duty. Remember your salt.

Thursday, Baisakh Badi 14, 1857 (Vikrama), Nuwakot.

In order to cope with the crisis which had arisen in the capital, the Bhardars accompanying King Girban recalled the soldiers stationed not only in Kathmandu but also those deployed elsewhere to Nuwakot. Troops belonging to the Ranabhim, Taradal and other companies were not wholly on the side of the Bhardars, but were wavering. In these circumstances, it was not practical to rely on such troops for the fight against Rana Bahadur Shah. This might have been the main factor behind the recall of these troops to Nuwakot. The troops guarding posts outside of the capital were also ordered by the Bhardars to come to Nuwakot. The order, which was carefully worded, did not specifically mention the fact that they had been recalled on account of the activities of Swami Rana Bahadur Shah. It merely informed them that they were being recalled urgently. However, they were ordered to avoid Kathmandu and pass through the hills while proceeding to Nuwakot. Such an order might have been sent to the troops probably because it was felt that any reference to the situation

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prevailing in Kathmandu, might create feelings of doubt in their minds, or prompt them to join Rana Bahadur Shah,

The order is as follows:

From King Girban,

To the Jamadars and other personnel of the Bhairav Company and Subedar Krishnananda, Jamadars and all other personnel of the Batukdal Company.

In view of some urgent work here, the Bhairav Company, including sentries and Umras, shall remain on alert while guarding forts and posts there. You are ordered to come to us at once along with your equipment, through Chitlang and Kubyari. If you make delay in arriving here, you shall be considered to be disloyal.

Baisakh Badi 10, 1857.

Similar orders were issued to troops stationed in the eastern areas as well.

The despatch of orders to all troops from different parts of the country to come to Nuwakot urgently proves that the situation had become critical in the capital. The Bhardars, anticipating the serious repercussions of this situation in areas outside of Kathmandu, took precautionary measures. Orders were issued to the effect that any partisan of Rana Bahadur Shah found carrying any message or document should be intercepted and sent to Nuwakot. Orders were also issued to insure the full security of forts and district headquarters. Local commanders were directed to insure that soldiers coming from different districts were not instigated by people from Kathmandu (that is, the partisans of Rana Bahadur Shah), to join them, but were sent to Nuwakot. The order issued to Sardar Chamu Bhandar in this connection is as follows:-

From King Girban,

To Sardar Chamu Bhandari and Subedar Kashinath.

A few persons are creating misunderstanding and thereby fostering conflict unnecessarily. It will not be advisable to create conflict in this manner. You are therefore directed to proceed to Pouwa-Gadhi in Giudhuli after entrusting the responsibility of looking after land reclamation operations to other persons. Collect information about different areas, and keep forts and posts strong and perform the following functions in consultation with the persons indicated below. In case you abandon your post in Sirhuli unless summoned, you shall be deemed disloyal.

Contd...

1. Traders and businessmen shall be permitted to come after verifying their identity in accordance with the previous order.
2. You shall work in consultation with the Umras who look after Sindhuli Gadhi.
3. In case any Wakil comes from abroad, or any message or presents are received, send them to us along with escorts to us at Nuwakot.
4. Messages and couriers sent from Kathmandu and Patan shall be captured and sent to us.
5. Regular and Jhara troops have been summoned from the east. Take care lest they should be lured (by persons) from Nepal. They shall not be allowed to move towards Nepal, but shall be sent to us along with escorts.
6. You shall remain faithful to your pledge and prove true to you salt and carry out the following duties with vigilance:-
7. Keep 200 muskets supplied from Majhi-Kirat at Sindhuli Gadhi.
8. Station 100 muskets at Paiwa Gadhi. Muskets from Pallo-Kirat shall be despatched to Nuwakot, without touching Nepal.
9. Do what is in the interests of the country. Do not do any work which will leave a stigma on your name.

Baisakh Sudi 1, 1857.

This order shows that the Bhardars had made full preparations for a fight against Rana Bahadur Shah. It indicates that they had even requisitioned troops from the far eastern areas. It also proves that the Bhardars were careful not to let the confusing situation in Kathmandu have any impact on other areas. Similar orders had been issued to areas other than Kathmandu as well.

The Bhardars also issued a proclamation on behalf of King Girban addressed to the civilian population of Kathmandu Valley in order to placate them. Separate proclamations were issued in the names of the inhabitants of Kathmandu, Patan, Bhadgaon, Lubhu, Thankot and other surrounding areas, so that they might not join the conflict. The Bhardars appear to have displayed foresight in drafting these proclamations. The proclamation issued in the name of the inhabitants of Patan, the majority of whom were on the side of Swami Rana Bahadur Shah, was quite different from the one issued to the people of Bhaktapur, who were not supporting him. The contents of the proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of

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Kathmandu were similarly different from those of others. Seeing that the majority of the inhabitants of Kathmandu and Patan were already on the side of Swami Rana Bahadur Shah, and that he, with their help, had even set up positions at Pulchok in Patan and at Paknajol in Kathmandu, the Bhardars issued a very politely-worded proclamation to them. In that proclamation, they express respect for Rana Bahadur Shah and make an appeal to the people of these areas to remain peaceful. On the other hand, the proclamation issued in the name of the inhabitants of Bhaktapur attempts to defame Rana Bahadur Shah to the fullest possible extent and plainly asks them to extend help in the preparations for the war against him, even though he was the father of the King. The proclamations issued to the peoples of Bhaktapur, Patan and Kathmandu are as follows:-

From King Girban,

To the Amalidars, Brahmans, soldiers, merchants and other subjects, including Newars, of the town of Patan.

Some traitors, belying their pledge of loyalty, are engaged in efforts to drive a wedge between my (father) and me and foment a war between us for serving their selfish interests. We have heard that you are all making preparations to fight against us at the instigation of these elements. You are our subjects in the same manner as those living here. What affects them will affect me, not others, (Swami Rana Bahadur Shah) is my father, and I am his son. On whose orders are you getting ready to fight and against whom? Understand your duties and remain loyal to us. Prove true to our salt and act according to my command. (In case you do so), we shall remit half of the Pota tax payable by you. Henceforth, no injustice shall be done to anybody and we shall confirm the customs and usages of all. Anyone not complying with this command shall be liable to death and confiscation of property.

Baisakh Badi 12, 1857,
Nuwakot.

The proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Kathmandu was as follows:-

From King Girban,

To all Bhardars and Panchas of Nepal Valley.

Certain traitors have created misunderstanding in some matters. But we are confident that you, being good and tried men, will throw these instigators overboard and work together in our interests. This

Contd...

is the time when you should, proving true to your salt and your oath of allegiance, should work without any evil intent and promote reconciliation. This is the day when you should display your wisdom and remember your salt and your oath of allegiance.

Baisakh Badi 14, 1857.

Nowhere in these proclamations has any attempt been made to defame Swami Rana Bahadur Shah. Nor is there a challenge to him to fight. The proclamation issued to the people of Patan promises justice and a 50% remission in the Pota tax. The people of Kathmandu have been described as wise in an attempt to win them over. The proclamation addressed to the people of Bhaktapur, on the other hand, refers to the possibility of war against Rana Bahadur Shah. It is as follows:-

From King Girban,

To all Panchayats, merchants and other subjects of Bhadgaun town.

(Father Rana Bahadur Shah) placed me on the throne and, after issuing a copper inscription entrusting me with the reins of administration renounced the world. But later he began to indulge in arbitrary actions. He destroyed many temples and idols, so that all creatures, including Brahmans and cows began to suffer. When being told that it did not behove a Swami to cause suffering to any person and destroy (images), he started preparations to fight against me. He must not be allowed to behave unjustly and improperly, notwithstanding the fact that he is my father. We shall depute 5 of our Bhardars to that area, and you shall work as directed by them. We shall confirm all your traditional customs. Remain faithful.

Baisakh Badi 9, 1957.

The issuance of different proclamations to the inhabitants of different areas reflects the wisdom of the Bhardars on the side of King Girbanyuddha Bikram Shah.

Proclamations similarly issued in the name of the inhabitants of Lubhu, Dahachok, Pharping and other villages in Kathmandu Valley do not contain any reference to the situation prevailing in Kathmandu at that time. These merely asked the inhabitants of these areas to be present in Nuwakot, in the same manner as troops stationed outside of Kathmandu Valley. The proclamation issued in the name of the inhabitants of Lubhu is as follows:-

Contd...

From King Girban,

To Ambar Singh Rana and the Amalidars, Dwares, Jagirdars, common people (Dhakre) and all others belonging to the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes living in Lubhu.

Those of you who are soldiers shall come here along with your weapons. Birta owning Brahmans shall come with one muri of grains for every 20 muris of land held by them. Common subjects (Praja) shall come here with charcoal; Sarkis with hides and skins and carpenters with their tools as early as possible. In case you fail to come to Nuwakot, and, instead, go elsewhere, or if you make delay in coming here, you shall undergo punishment on your person and property. Soldiers belonging to companies, even if they have arrived there on some business, shall be sent here forthwith. Once this matter is settled, we shall issue orders regarding your customs and usages.

Baisakh Sudi 11, 1857.

The preparations thus made by the Bhardars to assemble troops and people in Nuwakot show clearly that a civil war was imminent, and that the situation of Kathmandu was really grave. Rana Bahadur Shah too had already mobilized the inhabitants of Kathmandu and Patan as well as some troops for war against the Bhardars. He too had called on the inhabitants of Lubhu, Thankot and other areas to come to Patan and even opened positions at Pulchok and Paknajol in connection with these preparations.

All this testifies to the prevalence of a sort of diarchy in the capital. Although the order issued by Rana Bahadur Shah indicates that he had resolved to fight against the Bhardars alone, and does not make any complaint against King Girban, his action in mobilizing the people in this manner constitutes an act of defiance of the constitutional government.

Apart from Rana Bahadur Shah and King Girban, the Senior Queen, Rajeshwari Devi too was issuing proclamations at this time of crisis in the capital. She too was calling on the troops to support her in her struggle against the Bhardars. The proclamation issued by the Queen in the name of troops belonging to the Gurubux Company is as follows:-

From The Senior Queen,

Blessings to the Jamadars, Hawaldars, Ambaldars, Kotyas, Majors and other soldiers belonging to the Gurubux Company.

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If you wish well of (King Girban) and of (Swamiju) and us, come to us as soon as you receive this order. If the Subedars of your company say that they will obey the Bhardars only, disobey their orders (and send them to us).

Baisakh Badi 13, 1857,
Patan.

Even though Queen Rajeshwari Devi's order was meant for the good of King Girban, it went against the constitutional government of that time as it plainly asked the troops to disobey the Bhardars and their commanders (Subedars).

Queen Rajeshwari Devi's order shows that her writ too, ran in the capital in addition to those of Swami Rana Bahadur Shah and Girbanyuddha Bikram Shah. In a way, a sort of triarchy was prevailing in the country.

This grave situation in the capital, however, did not last many days. Had any confrontation actually taken place between the two sides, the condition of the country would have been quite different. War was averted only when Swami Rana Bahadur Shah finally retreated from his position. As he heard of the advance of troops from Nuwakot, Rana Bahadur Shah changed his resolve to fight against the Bhardars, and on Jestha Badi 1, 1857 (May 1800), left for Benares, accompanied by Queen Rajeshwari Devi, Sardar Bhimsen Thapa and Dalabhanjan Pande.

Some historians^x have committed mistakes as regards which Queen had actually accompanied Swami Rana Bahadur Shah to Benares. They have believed the statement of Hunter that Tripursundari was the Senior Queen of Rana Bahadur Shah and that it was she who had followed him to Benares. In actual fact, Rajeshwari Devi was the Senior Queen of Rana Bahadur Shah and it was she who had accompanied him to Benares.

^x 1. Hunter - Life of Hodgson, p. 17.

2. Landon - Nepal, Vol. 1, p. 72.

3. Kashi Prasad Srivastav - Nepal Kikahani, p. 38.

4. K.C. Chaudhari - Anglo-Nepalase Relations, p. 126.

5. Tucker - Gorkha, p. 65.

6. Itihash Prakash - Part I, p. 64.

(To Be Continued).

Triarchy In Nepal, 1799-1800 A.D.

(Continued from previous 1800)

Documents1. Order To Amalidar of Ajirgadh^x

From Chautara Balabhadra Shah, Chautara Bidur Shah, Chautara Jan Shah, Kaji Pratiman Rana, Kaji Ranakesar Pande, Kaji Jahar Singh, Sardar Kalu Pande, Sardar Amar Singh Thapa and Sardar Bhairav Singh.

To the Amalidar of Ajirgadh.^{xx}

Soldiers belonging to your area, whether still in service (Jagire) or retired (Dhakre) shall come to Patan town on the eighteenth day of Baisakh along with shields, swords, clubs, muskets, spears, arrows and other weapons. Brahmans, Jogis, Sanyasis and all other subjects belonging to the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes shall do so with spades and axes. In case you do not come, you shall be held guilty.

Baisakh Sudi 1, 1857.

2. Supply of Rice In Nuwakot

From King Girban,

To the Birta owners and Bitalab-owning Brahmans in Thapagaun.

Bring one muri of rice for every twenty muris of land (owned by you), traveling day and night, to Nuwakot. If you do not comply with this order, you shall be considered to have committed an offence and thus become disloyal. Equip your porters, tenants, and all persons of military castes with the five weapons and send them to us at Nuwakot. Do not let them go if they are called from anywhere else.

Jestha Badi 1, 1857, 1A/51,

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1A, p. 51.

^xDhanabajra Bajracharya and Gnyanamani Nepal, Aitihāsik Patra Sangraha (A Collection of Historical Letters), Kathmandu: Nepal Samskritik Parishad, 2014 (1957), p. 100.

^{xx}The village of Ajirgadh is situated one mile to the north of Gorkha town.

3. Order To Villages In Kathmandu Valley

From King Girban,

To the Brahmans, soldiers, Pradhans and all other people of Sankhu, Changu, Gokarna, Bhaimal and Tokha.

The traitor informer has created a conflict on the basis of one or two baseless matters. But do not feel concerned. Go on with your affairs as usual. So far as your coming here is concerned, you may come here at the time of action. For the present, remain at home and do not go over to Patan. So far as your customs, usages and affairs are concerned, we have sent Tikaram Upadhyaya, Bishnu Hari Upadhyaya and other Tharis. Listen to what they say and act accordingly,

Jestha Badi 3, 1857.

4. Order To Inhabitants of Kathmandu

From King Girban,

To the inhabitants of Kathmandu.

Previously also, we had written to you with assurances regarding your present difficulties. We have sent Bhardars from here for the protection of the subjects. Remember your oath of allegiance and join the Bhardars without the slightest apprehension.

Jestha Badi 11, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 5.

5. Order To Ranbir Khatri And Others

From King Girban,

To Ranbir Khatri, Dhukal Khatri and Musya Baniya.

Greetings. If you desire to prove true to the salt of this House, remember your salt and your oath of allegiance and join the Bhardars who have come here along with the company (of troops under your command). If you do not come at this time, you may have to repent later.

Jestha Badi 10, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1A, p. 161.

Contd...

6. Order To Indraman Khatri

From King Girban,

To Indraman Khatri.

It appears that you have gone over to my father's side. You have done very well. Reports have now been received that you have fallen ill on the way. If you are really ill, come to us without feeling any apprehension. If, after getting well, you want to go again, we shall grant you permission to leave.

Jestha Badi 11, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 4.

7. Appeal To Dittha Laxmi Narayan

From King Girban,

To Dittha Laxmi Narayan.

You are an honest and faithful servant. Remind the people of their loyalty and their oath of allegiance. Come here to join the Bhardars along with the inhabitants of the entire town.

Jestha Badi 11, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 5.

8. Similar Appeal To Ganj Singh Basnyat

From King Girban,

To Ganj Singh Basnyat.

You are a Basnyat of this House. Remember your oath of allegiance and your salt and join the Bhardars who have come here along with the company (of troops under your command). If you do not come at this moment, you may have to repent in future.

Jestha Badi 11, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 5.

Contd...

9. Order To Raja Prithvi Pal Sen Of Palpa

From King Girban,

To Raja Prithvi Pal Sen (of Palpa).

Yesterday, my father had issued a copper inscription (containing the text of a treaty with Palpa). I too confirm the signature on this copper inscription. With due loyalty, come here to join the Army. Do whatever becomes necessary with the advice of the Bhardars. In case you do not come at this moment, we shall think that you have proved false to your duty. You have been informed in advance. Come here soon faithfully.

Jestha Badi 11, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 3.

10. Order To Naya Srinath And Other Companies

From King Girban,

To the Subedar, Jamadar, Major, Adjutant, soldiers and other personnel of the Naya Srinath Company.

We had summoned you previously also. But you have now come so far. For what reason? If you want to prove true to your salt and to your oath of allegiance, join the Bhardars as soon as you receive this order. If you come (to us), we shall duly reward faithful servants who prove true to their salt and to their duty. A delay of two or four days would not matter at other times. At this moment, however, come soon without the slightest delay.

Jestha Badi 11, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 4.

(This order was sent also to the Devidatta, Srimehar, Bhairav, Batukdal, Sabuj, Khas and Taradal companies on the same date).

11. Assurance To Inhabitants of Western Hills

From King Girban,

To all people of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes, including Brahman, Jogi, Sanyasi, Bhat, Rajput, Khas, Magar, Gurung, Lama, Dura, Bahik, Newar, Majhi, Kumal, Darai, Danuwar, Rohani, Nisyal, Bhujyal, Kalashesh and Gorashesh, living in the area between the Chepe and Marsyangdi rivers in the west and the Bheri river in the east.

Contd...

Whatever cash and other valuables you lost when that territory was formerly conquered are lost to you. So far as your Bandhu and Birta lands, which were unjustly converted into Raikar, are concerned, we shall restore the same to you as soon as we reach Kachmandu and arrange our household affairs.

Jestha Badi 3, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1A, p. 53.

12. Order To Officials of Palpa

From King Girban,

To the Chautariyas, Kajis, and Sardars of Palpa.

Since we had urgent work here, we had asked you to come here urgently. The work which had been started here has been accomplished. You five Chautariyas, Kajis and Sardars should now return from the place where you have reached and attend to your household affairs. You may think that since you have already come half of the way, you should go back after offering your Salaams (to us). (But) the time for work has come and you may be infested with malaria on the way. You therefore need not come here. Go back. Remain careful about affairs in that area. Collect information about developments in Lucknow and send reports to us.

Jestha Badi 11, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 6.

13. Order To Jhara Porters In Western Hills

From King Girban,

To all members of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes living in the area between the Trishuli Ganga river in the west and the Bheri river in the east, who are under obligation to provide unpaid (Jhara) labor.

The work here is completed. There is no need for you to come here. Go back and attend to your own affairs at home. Perhaps you feel that we have not arrived here. Do not have any doubt in this matter. We have granted leave to all those who have come to the palace. With due loyalty, attend to your own affairs now.

Jestha Badi 10, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 1A, p. 161.

Shaivism In Nepal¹

By

Jagdish C. Regmi

It is difficult to say when Shaivism was introduced in Nepal. According to the Nepal Mahatmya,² Shaivism in Nepal dates back to the Satya-Yuga, and that Mrigasthali, situated near the temple of Pashupatinath in Kathmandu, was the abode of God Mahadeva when he assumed the form of a deer (mriga).

The Kiratis, who ruled over Nepal around 1000 B.C., regarded Shiva as their family god.³ This proves that Shaivism had already become popular in Nepal at that time. According to Dr Yadubamshi,⁴ during the period before the hymns of the Yajurveda had been composed but later than the Rig and Atharvavedic periods, a non-Aryan god was fused with God Rudra. This non-Aryan god, he adds, was worshipped by some tribes in the Himalayan valleys, including the Kiratis. We may thus conclude that Shaivism had become popular among the Kiratis a very long time ago. A linga of Kirateshwar Mahadeva stands near the Pashupatinath temple, which is obviously connected with the Kiratis. The Himavatkhanda and other Puranic works describe Shiva in his Kirati incarnation.⁵ The Mahabharata describes the encounter of Arjuna with Shiva in this incarnation.⁶

At the same time, there is evidence to show that Shaivism actually dates back to the pre-Kirati period in Nepal. The Aitareya-Brahmana⁷ and other Brahmanas⁸ describe the north or the north-east as the abode of Rudra. This obviously refers to Nepal. The Shatarudriyastotra, contained in the Yajurveda, gives Rudra names beginning with the words Vana (forest) and Giri (mountain), thus emphasizing his connection with forest and mountainous areas.⁹ Later, we find Rudra associated with Vanechar (forest-dwelling) tribes, who, in the opinion of Dr Yadubamshi, resided in the Himalayan valleys.

1. From: Nepal Ko Dharmik Itihas (Religious History of Nepal), Unpublished MS.
2. Nepal Mahatmya, Chapter 1, 6-56.
3. Prem Bahadur Limbu, Nepal Ko Samkshipta Itihas (Concise History of Nepal).
4. Dr Yadubamshi, Shaivismata (The Shaiva Sect), p. 15.
5. Himavatkhanda, Chapter 70, Verse 67.
6. Mahabharata, Vanaparva, Chapter 39.
7. Aitareya Brahmana, 5-29.
8. Kaushitoki Brahmana, 2-2; Taithriya Brahmana, 1-6-10; Shatapatha Brahmana, 5-4-2-10.
9. Dr Yadubamshi, *op. cit.* p. 16.

Contd..

By the fifth century A.D. we find Shaivism in a more popular and developed form in Nepal. As many as six inscriptions of King Manadeva deal with Shaivism. Manadeva was himself a Vaishnava, but his two queens, Kshemasundari and Gunavati,¹⁰ and his daughter, Vijayavati, were followers of Shaivism.¹¹ One of Manadeva's inscriptions refers to Shiva as "Rajyavardhanadeva", or "the god who contributes to the expansion of the Kingdom."¹² This probably implies that Shaivism was the state religion at that time. It is also significant that all the six inscriptions mentioned above have been inscribed on Shivalingas.

Not much information is available on Shaivism in Nepal from Manadeva to Amshuvarma. But it appears safe to conclude that Shaivism remained popular among the people of Nepal. Thus the Bhasmeshwar inscription of 455 Samvat describes how a government official named Dhruvasangha Vartha endowed lands for the Bhadreshwar, Natheshwar, Shubheshwar, Sthiteshwar and Ravishwar temples.¹³ Similarly, Abhiri, who belonged to the Gupta family, installed the Anuparameshwara Shivalinga in the name of her husband.¹⁴

At that time, the temple of Natheshwar, situated near the Pashupati-nath temple, was well-known. According to an inscription inscribed on a Shivalinga at Aryaghat in 469 Shaka Samvat, one Manamati had endowed lands in the Shalagambi area for the Natheshwar temple.¹⁵ It appears that the temple of Natheshwar mentioned in the inscriptions of Dhruvasangha and Manamati was the same.

There is evidence that Shaivism flourished in Nepal during the rule of Amshuvarma. He had become a well-known Shaiva even while he was a Samanta of Shivadeva. In his Khopasi inscription, therefore, Shivadeva described Amshuvarma as "Bhagavatpudapanakajapranamanushthanatatparyo-pattayatihitashreyasah."¹⁶ After he became an independent ruler, Amshuvarma assumed the title of "Bhagavatpashupatibhattarakapadanugrihitah."

10. Itihas Samshodhan Praman Pramaya, pp. 246 and 264.

11. Abhilekh Sangraha, 1, p. 23.

12. Ibid, 5, p. 6.

13. Ibid, p. 26.

14. R. Gnoli, Nepalese Inscriptions In Gupta Characters, p. 23.

15. Ibid, p. 32.

16. Ibid, p. 41.

He thus showed himself to be an ardent follower of Shaivism. It appears that Amshuvarma had recognized Pashupati as the national god of Nepal. He also named the palace constructed by him as Kailasakata after Kailasa, abode of God Shiva.

Amshuvarma, moreover, started the practice of inscribing the effigy of a bull in different forms at the top of inscriptions. During his rule, his sister, Bhogadevi installed an image of Shurabhogeshwar Mahadev in Deopatan in the names of her husband, Shurasena, and herself. His niece, Bhagyadevi, installed an image of Laditamaheshwar. Their ancestors had similarly installed an image of Dakshineshwar Mahadev in the same area. Amshuvarma made arrangements for the proper management of all these temples.¹⁷ The inscription installed by Amshuvarma at Sundhara in Patan indicates that many Shiva temples were renovated during his rule.¹⁸ This inscription describes how Amshuvarma renovated a temple at the village of Matin (Matindevakula).

The Handigaun inscription of Amshuvarma, installed in 32 (Amshuvarma) Samvat, contains a list of the famous Shiva temples of that time. These are as follows:-

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Pashupati | 2. Rameshwar |
| 3. Maneshwar | 4. Kailaseshwar |
| 5. Bagvatiparadev | 6. Parvateshwaradev |
| 7. Dharamaneshwar. | |

Not all these temples can be located at present, however, although there is no doubt about the identity of the temple of Pashupati.

Jishnugupta and later rulers too adopted the title of "Bhagavat-pashupatibhattarakapadamgrihitah."¹⁹ Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta, during their joint rule, made some arrangements for the management of the Natheshwar temple, as shown by the Adishwar inscription of Fasku in Kathmandu.²⁰

17. Ibid, p. 56.

18. Ibid, p. 53.

19. Ibid, pp. 50-51.

20. Ibid, p. 70.

They too inscribed effigies of the bull in their inscriptions. Jayadeva, son of Shivadeva II, composed a hymn²¹ to Pashupati along with Buddhakirti and had it inscribed on stone to commemorate the offering of a silver lotus to the god.

Not many inscriptions relating to Shaivism are found during the period from Jayadeva to Jayasthitimalla. However, the inscription on the Changunarayan Shivalinga²² shows that the popularity of Shaivism had continued. A broken inscription found at the temple of Kumbheshwar in Patan²³ shows that the temple was very popular at that time. The images of Shiva found at this temple appear to be very old. The Sitapaila inscription of 194 (Amshuvarma) Samvat refers to "Bhagavan Pashupati Chandreshwar."²⁴

Many Lichchhavi copper coins found in Nepal contain the word "Pashupati" as well as an effigy of the bull. This testifies to the national character of Shaivism in Nepal at that time.

The first inscription referring to Shaivism in Nepal during the medieval period is dated 107 Nepal Samvat. It was inscribed during the reign of Gunakamadeva at Dhayabun in Patan.²⁵ It refers to the construction of a Shiva temple at "Manigvalaka." Similarly, a copper inscription of 963 Samvat has been found at the temple of Indreshwar in Panauti.²⁶

King Indradeva (circa 254 Nepal Samvat) was a devoted follower of Shaivism, as also King Anandadeva, Manadeva (III ?) and Jayabhimadeva. But no inscriptions of this period are available. However, available inscriptions prove that Jayasthitimalla, Jyotirmalla and Yakshamalla too were dedicated followers of Shaivism. Jayasthitimalla had adopted the title of "Shrimatpashupatanghripankajarajah Pigaisphita (?)"²⁷ This shows that he was a follower of the Pashupata sect. During his rule, one Jayabhima had renovated the temple of Kumbheshwar.²⁸ Jyotirmalla performed a Lakshahoma ceremony at the Pashupati temple and offered a gold Kalasha.²⁹ King Yakshamalla too was a follower of Shaivism. He had assumed the title of "Shri Shri Shri Pashupati Charanaravindasevaparayana."

21. R. Gnoli, op. cit. p. 131.

22. Ibid, p. 130.

23. Ibid, p. 137.

24. Abhilekh Sangraha, 9, p. 24.

25. Ibid. The date is 407 according to D.R. Regmi (Medieval Nepal, Vol. III, p. 1).

26. Puratattwa Patra Sangraha, 2, p. 16.

27. Sanskrit Sandesh, Year I, No. 8, pp. 46-48.

28. D.R. Regmi, op. cit. pp. 33-35.

29. Ibid, p. 47.

Land Tax Assessment Rates In Chitaun

1. From King Girban,

To the ryots of Chitaun, Belon and Sajwat who have gone across the hills.

We hereby approve the concessional tax assessment rates fixed during the time of Meghu Khawas. As soon as you see this royal order, come back to your lands and promote settlement.

Marga Sudi 4, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 19.

2. From King Girban,

To the ryots of Chitaun, Belon and Sajwat Pargannas.

Concessional land tax assessment rates are hereby approved as follows:-

Chitaun	...	Rs 9 per plow (Har)
Belon and Sajwat	...	Rs 8 ,,

With due loyalty, promote settlement in the area, ... (Words missing; document partially damaged by insects). Make payments every year to the Ambali and obtain clearance. (One line has faded at the end; the date is obviously Marga Sudi 4, 1857).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 19.

3. From King Girban,

To the ryots of Chitaun, Belon and Sajwat where concessional land tax assessment rates have been approved.

For those ryots who have gone across the hills, the rates shall be as follows with effect from 1857 Vikrama:-

First year	...	Rs 1 per plow (Har)
Second year	...	Rs 3 ,,

With due loyalty, come back and settle on your lands. Reclaim (waste) lands. Make payments to the Amali at the prescribed rates and obtain clearance.

After the third year, make payments at rates prevalent elsewhere in that area.

Any person who ignores the rates thus prescribed shall be awarded severe punishment.

Marga Sudi 4, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, pp. 19-20.

4. From King Girban,

To Dharan Rai and Ramu Rai.

We hereby grant you waste lands situated in the Sidhipur, Soju, Ghogharpa and Pipra moujas in the region bounded by the Mahiwa rivers in the east, hills in the south, the Harda and Lohotar rivers in the west and Sunachuri in the north in the tappa of Chitaun on Amanat basis.

Collect taxes on each plow (Har) at the following rates and transmit the proceeds to the palace through Ranjit Pande every year. Obey the orders of the palace, not those of the Amali:-

<u>Year</u> (Vikrama)		<u>Rate Per Plow (Har)</u>
1858	...	4 annas
1859	...	6 annas
1860	...	10 annas
1861	...	12 annas
1862	...	Rs 1

Magh Sudi 5, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 37.

Assignment of Purohiti And Chhaurahi Levies

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Purohit Shakti Ballabh Pandit.

It appears that the Purohiti and Chhaurahi levies collected in the districts of Morang, Saptari and Mahottari had been assigned previously. We now confirm the assignment in the district of Morang according to the previous order. With effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1851 we assign (these levies) also in Saptari and Mahottari districts, which had previously been assigned to Harinanda Padhya.

With due loyalty, enjoy the proceeds of the Purohiti and Chhaurahi levies and bless us.

Chaitra Sudi 15, 1851,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 2.

(Purohiti - A levy collected from priests.

Chhaurahi - A levy collected on sacred thread investiture ceremonies).

Permission To Wear Sacred Thread

From King Rana Bahdur Shah,

To Rana Mohan Pande.

We hereby grant you freedom (from slavery) and permit you to wear the sacred thread. With due loyalty, wear the sacred thread.

Aswin Badi 14, 1857,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 9.

Notes On The Civil Administration System Of The Ranas^x

By

Bada Kazi Manik Lal

In accordance with the authority granted by His Majesty from time to time, the Rana Prime Ministers framed laws and administrative regulations (Sawal, Sanad) for the administration of the country. The Legal Code (Muluki Ain), the Administrative Code (Muluki Sawal) and other laws and regulations were framed accordingly.

Lal Mohars

Documents bearing the Lal Mohar (Red Seal) of His Majesty were also called Lal Mohar. The procedure of affixing the Lal Mohar on documents was prescribed in Section No. 2 of the Law on Official Documents (Kagaj Janch Ko) in the Legal Code.

Lal Mohars were of the following categories:-

1. Panja Patra, i.e. the palm impression of His Majesty, affixed on letters of appointment issued to Rana Prime Ministers. Such letters were countersigned by the Mukhtiyar on the reverse side.
2. Seal bearing the full name and titles of His Majesty in Nagari characters. This seal was affixed at the top of the Legal Code. The Prime Minister, the Mukhtiyar, Commanding Generals, the Bada Guraju, Gurupurohits and the Talukwalas and Hakims (Chief Officers) of the Council, Bhardari and Ain Tarjuma (Law Drafting) Offices affixed their seals or signatures at the bottom with the word "Raji" (Agreed).

This seal was also affixed on Kharita documents, i.e. letters sent in the name of His Majesty to foreign governments. There was no need for any counter-signature on such documents, because they were issued on the basis of reports which had already been approved.

Kharita letters sent to India were written on thick polished paper with black ink and put in an envelope inscribed with the Lal Mohar seal and also bearing an impression in wax of the Royal Seal. (This wax seal was called Lakhauta). The letter was then put inside a covering made of perforated Babarlet cloth and enclosed in a bag made of brocade.

^x" Rana Haruko Nizamati Prashasan Pranali." Unpublished MS. 23, pp.

In letters sent to the Chinese Government, this seal was affixed on the letter itself. In the case of letters sent to representatives of the Chinese Government in Lhasa, as well as to the Dalai Lama, the Raja Lama and the Tashi Lama of Tibet, the seal was affixed on the envelope.

3. Prior to 1913 A.D., a seal bearing the words "Sri Durga Bhavani" and a sword (Khadga) (but not containing the 12 signs of the Zodiac) was affixed on all Lal Mohar documents except those on laws and Kharitas. In that year, a new seal bearing the 12 signs of the Zodiac on the borders was designed. This seal was affixed on all Lal Mohar documents. Since 1917 A.D., the old seal (not bearing the 12 signs of the Zodiac) was affixed on orders relating to capital punishment, life imprisonment, etc. (Sections 10 and 31 of the Kagaj Janch Ko and Section 1 of the Jyan Linda Murda Damal Garda Ko (Law Relating To Capital Punishment, Shaving of The Head and Life Imprisonment) and Farak (Clearance) orders issued through the Kumarichok (Audit) Office (which were countersigned by the Hakim, Taharir and Mukhiya of the appropriate section).

Prior to 1887 A.D., blank forms bearing the old Lal Mohar seal were used to execute real estate transactions. These forms were sold through contractors.

The new Lal Mohar (containing the 12 signs of the Zodiac), which was introduced in 1917) was affixed on documents relating to Birta grants, permission to construct brick houses in Kathmandu Valley (with the counter-signatures of the Prime Minister, the Mukhtiyar, Commanding Generals, Gurupurohits, Chautariyas, Khajanchi, 1 Kazi and 1 Commanding Colonel), letters of appointment of Subbas and Rais in Pallokirat and conferment of drums and colors to them, award of medals and decorations, and Kharita letters sent to the Kazis of Tibet.

Prime Minister's Seals

The Prime Minister had 4 different seals:-

- (a) Khadganishana, with a sword or trident or arrow on top and the abbreviated signature of the Prime Minister below. A rubber stamp with the Prime Minister's signature was kept by him personally.
- (b) Big Seal made of silver, with the Prime Minister's name, decorations and titles in Nepali, English, Persian and Tibetan. This was kept in the personal office of the Mukhtiyar.

Contd...

- (c) Nekichhap - a signet ring containing the Prime Minister's name, was kept by the Chief Queen.
- (d) Marphat Ko Chhap, with the full name, decorations and titles of the Prime Minister with the word "Marphat" kept in the personal office of the Mukhtiyar. This seal was made of silver.

Some documents were personally signed by the Prime Minister in Nepali and English. These were considered more authentic than documents on which his seals were affixed.

During the regime of Bir Shamsheer and Dev Shamsheer, the Prime Minister approved memos under his signature. The Khadganishana seal of the Prime Minister was introduced by Chandra Shamsheer in 1917. Orders on which the Khadganishana seal was to be affixed were issued in the presence of a representative of the Khadganishana Office.

When the Prime Minister was away from Kathmandu Valley, special powers were conferred on the Mukhtiyar. In matters exceeding even these special powers, memos were submitted to the Prime Minister, and the Big Seal of the Prime Minister was affixed thereon, with the counter-signature of the Mukhtiyar.

In some cases, letters sent abroad through the Foreign Ministry were also signed personally in English by the Prime Minister.

The Khadganishana (signature) of the Prime Minister was affixed on documents concerning the following matters:-

- (a) Enactment, amendment and repeal of laws.
- (b) Approval of Memos (Memo Sadar).
- (c) Delegation of powers to the Mukhtiyar.
- (d) Birta grants in favor of the Prime Minister.
- (e) Permission for gambling.

During the regime of Prime Minister Juddha Shamsheer, however, such permission was granted through an Ek Chhape document (i.e. an order bearing the small seal or signature of the Mukhtiyar) quoting the Prime Minister's order.

- (f) Appointments, transfers and promotions. Since the time of Juddha Shamsheer, however, the Khadganishana seal was affixed on documents relating to these matters.

The Khadganishana seal was affixed on documents relating to all matters requiring the Prime Minister's sanction other than those mentioned above. Such documents were countersigned by the Mukhtiyar and other authorities.

Enactment, Amendment And Repeal Of Laws

When new laws had to be formulated, or existing laws amended or clarified or repealed, the appropriate officers and traders and merchants were called for a meeting at the Mukhtiyar's office (Mukhtiyari Dalan) on the day fixed by the Muluki Ain section of the Muluki Ada. The decision of the meeting was noted down in a book and persons present at the meeting had to put their signatures therein. The laws which were to be amended or repealed were noted down in the first column, the reasons for the amendment or repeal in the second column, and the proposed amendment in the third column. The report was then submitted to the Prime Minister through the Mukhtiyar. The Prime Minister noted his decision at the top of the report. The Khadganishana seal was then affixed at the top of the third column along with the signature of the Mukhtiyar. The small seal of the Mukhtiyar was affixed at those places where the three columns met one another.

The Neki Chhap of the Prime Minister used to be affixed at the top and bottom of all laws. After 1919 A.D., it was affixed only on copies of laws supplied to government offices.

Administrative Regulations (Sawals)

1. The appropriate offices submitted suggestions for the promulgation of administrative regulations (Sawals). These suggestions were considered by the Muluki Adda and then submitted for the approval of the Prime Minister through the Mukhtiyar. The Muluki Adda subsequently issued Dui-Chhape orders for promulgating such regulations.
2. Amendments in administrative regulations were made in the same manner as in laws. They were sanctioned under the Khadganishana seal of the Prime Minister as well as the Mukhtiyar's seal.

Dui-Chhape Orders

1. Reports were submitted by the appropriate offices to the office of the Mukhtiyar for the issuance of Dui-Chhape orders bearing the big or small seals of the Prime Minister and the Mukhtiyar. They also bore the seals of other appropriate authorities (Marfat) when necessary.

Contd...

2. Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher introduced the rule that the Prime Minister's titles should not be indicated in Dui-Chhape orders issued to local offices (i.e. offices in the capital).
3. Only the big seal of the Prime Minister was affixed on correspondence with foreign countries and memos.
4. Rukka orders sent to the districts from the Foreign Department in accordance with memos approved by the Mukhtiyar bore only the big seal of the Prime Minister.

Ek-Chhape Orders

1. On Ek-Chhape orders, only the seal of the Mukhtiyar was affixed.
2. The small seal of the Mukhtiyar or his signature was affixed on orders issued by him in exercise of his powers.
3. Documents containing the verbal orders of the Prime Minister or directives issued by the Mukhtiyar bore the seal of the Mukhtiyar only.

Cultivation of Winter Crops In Hill Areas^x

The Government of Nepal promulgated the following notification in the hill areas on Ashadh 29, 1988 (approximately July 13, 1921):-

"In the future, separate taxes on winter crops shall not be collected in the hill areas except on lands where these have been collected customarily. Cultivate winter crops wherever possible and appropriate the produce.

"Notifications to this effect had been promulgated previously also. But it has been represented to us that winter crops are not being cultivated in the hill areas because of the practice of letting cattle loose in the fields after the monsoon crops are harvested. This notification is therefore promulgated so as to insure that winter crops are cultivated and the people are benefited.

"In the future, do not let cows, buffaloes, yaks, sheep, goats, pigs, asses etc. loose unless they are attended by herdsmen. Cattle shall be attended all the year round by herdsmen and grazed only on lands where crops have not been sown.

"In case this is not done, and cattle are let loose on crops, and the owner of the crops complains to the local Talukdar, the latter shall hold a meeting with respectable persons and recover the amount of damage for the benefit of the owner. Similar action shall be taken in case complaints are submitted to the Bada Hakim at his office, or while he is on tour. Orders to this effect have been sent to all district headquarters offices. They shall take action accordingly, No fee need be paid by the concerned parties on cases in which a compromise is effected in such manner.

"Efforts to effect a compromise on such cases shall be made even when the owner of the crops approaches the courts for justice. No fees shall be paid also in such circumstances. In case no compromise can be effected, punishment shall be awarded according to law."

^xGorkhapatra, Ashadh 29, 1988.

The Chaudhari

1. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Amalidars of the region west of the Marsyangdi-Gandi and east of the Kali river.

There are reports that you have imposed a ban on goods traffic by Newars on the ground that they cannot be allowed to own lands and homesteads unless they obey the authority of the Amali.

Revenue from all the 36 taxes is collected from Newars through the Chaudhari and transmitted to the palace. We hereby confirm the lands and homesteads of Newars, as well as their traffic in goods, in that region. Do not create any obstacle. Otherwise, you shall be held guilty.

Baisakh Badi 12, 1848,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, p. 41.

2. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Shiva Chaudhari.

We hereby appoint you to discharge the functions of a Chaudhari relating to daily and other expenses for the royal palace with effect from Tuesday, Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850 (Vikrama). Collect revenue and incur expenditure as follows. Submit accounts of income and expenditure on the expiry of every year and obtain clearance.

Amount required for purchasing
goats every day ... Rs 902

Amount payable to Chaudhari from
Khapas-Bhansar duties in install-
ments as follows:-

Shrawan Sudi 15 - Rs 67

Kartik Sudi 15 - Rs 67

Baisakh Sudi 15 - Rs 67

Total - Rs 201

Contd...

Amount payable by Chaudharis of areas across the Marsyangdi river as well as of the area east of the Gandi river and west of the Kanaka river, except Kathmandu Valley, in installments as follows:

Shrawan Badi	10	-	Rs 233 and 10 annas
Kartik Sudi	15	-	Rs 233 and 10 annas
Baisakh Sudi	15	-	Rs 233 and 12 annas
			Total Rs 701

Total income ... Rs 902

This amount of Rs 902 shall be utilized (to purchase) one goat at Rs $2\frac{1}{2}$ every day. The goats shall be handed over to Pantha.

Take delivery of $52\frac{1}{2}$ dharnis of ghee from the Ijaradar of Tauthali on the Bhai-Tika day at the rate of 2 manas per day for 7 months.

Take delivery of 210 dharnis of oil from the Ijaradar of Chitaun and Belon on the Bhai-Tika day at the rate of 8 manas per day for 7 months.

The amount collected in lieu of goats and gelding-goats as Walak from all over the country shall be added to the amount allotted for purchase of goats and gelding-goats. (Unclear)

At Nuwakot, take one sheep for every 30 procured from Tibet and use it for the Dashain functions there.

Collect levies in the form of ducks from persons who rear them and use them in the customary manner.

You shall be granted emoluments amounting to Rs 200 every year, including of the emoluments of your employees. Obtain these emoluments every year and remain in constant attendance. Do not make a request for funds from the Tosha-Khana before submitting accounts of income and expenditure.

Procure ghee and oil for the daily requirements
(of the royal palace) for a period of 5
months from the Chaudhari of Gorkha.

Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, pp. 2-4.

3. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Ijaradar of Kapas-Bhansar (i.e. revenue from transit, market and other duties on cotton).

The Chaudhari used to appropriate the following duties at Barmandi and Dharke:-

3 annas per load of Ruwa (ginned cotton ?)

3 annas per load of Kapas (unginned cotton ?)

Since it was not considered advisable to retain 2 Amalis (i.e. revenue collection functionaries in the present context), these duties have been amalgamated into the Khapas-Bhansar with effect from Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850. Revenue (Mahsul) amounting to Rs 201 accruing therefrom is endowed as Guthi to meet daily expenses. Transmit this amount to the Chaudhari every year in installments as follows:-

Shrawan Badi 10 - Rs 67

Kartik Sudi 15 - Rs 67

Baisakh Sudi 15 - Rs 67

Duties which the Chaudhari used to collect at (Barmandi and) Dharke shall now be collected at Thankot and Bhimdhunga.

Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 256-257.

Contd...

4. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Ijaradar of Chaudhari revenues in areas across the Marsyangdi river.

We hereby amalgamate the post of Chaudhari in the area east of the Gandi river and west of the Kanaka river, except Kathmandu Valley, as well as the Sudini levy (on mid-wives ?) in Kathmandu with the Chaudhari for areas across the Marsyangdi river. Revenue (Mahsul) amounting to Rs 701 accruing therefrom is endowed as Guthi for the supply of goats. With effect from Tuesday, Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850, transmit the following amounts to the Chaudhari for meeting daily expenses:-

Shrawan Badi 10 - Rs 233 and 10 annas

Kartik Sudi 15 - Rs 233 and 10 annas

Baisakh Sudi 15 - Rs 233 and 12 annas

Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850,
Rogmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 257-258,

5. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Ijaradar of Tauthali.

We hereby establish a Ghiu-Guth with an amount of Rs $26\frac{1}{4}$, being the cost of $52\frac{1}{2}$ dharnis of ghee required for 7 months at 2 manas per day at the rate of 8 annas per dharni, from the Ijara revenues of Taudhari, to be supplied through the Chaudhari. Deliver the ghee after weighing it to the Chaudhari on the Bhai-Tika day every year. The amount shall be debited while auditing the accounts of the Ijara (revenue collection contract) for that area.

Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850,
Rogmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, p. 5.

6. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Ijaradar of Chitaun and Belon,

We hereby establish a Tel-Guth with an amount of Rs $52\frac{1}{2}$, being the cost of 210 dharnis of oil required for 7 months at 8 annas per day at the rate of 4 dharnis of oil per rupee, to be supplied through the Chaudhari, in addition to the oil being customarily supplied from that

Contd...

area. Deliver the oil after weighing it to the Chaudhari on the Bhai-Tika day every year. The amount shall be debited while auditing the accounts of the Ijara for that area.

Ashadh Sudi 15, 1850,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, pp. 5-6.

7. From King Girban,

To Shrikrishna Newar, Chaudhari of Gorkha.

We hereby appoint you to the position heretofore occupied by Paramananda. Wherever Newars are living on Talab, Bitalab, Ijara, Kut, Guth or other lands in the region situated between the Gandaki river in the east and the Chepe-Marsyangdi in the west, other than the Borlang Bitalab (lands), collect judicial fines, escheats, etc and appropriate one-sixth of the proceeds.

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Newars do not have Birta lands in the hill regions. But they do not reside on Raikar lands alone. They occupy also Birta, Guth and Chhap lands, lands granted to Tharghars and the Khuwa lands of Bhardars. (Such lands) are to be occupied on payment of the prescribed dues. In case any person defaults or creates obstructions in payment, he shall be held guilty.

Also collect Dalal duties at Baluwa-Besi, Hasil and other levies, in addition to 1 anna per load of cotton. Whosoever may have been collecting Dalal duties in the past, these shall now be collected by the Chaudhari.

Goats and gelding goats are brought there from the western regions. Purchase them to meet governmental requirements at appropriate prices.

Also supply 180 dharnis of ghee and oil required for daily consumption, in addition to Rs 90 as stipulated, every year. Discharge necessary functions at Gorkha. Utilize 80 muris of lands in Beni-Khola as your Jagir and remain in readiness to meet the needs of the palace.

(List of households defaulting in the payment of revenue follows).

Ashadh Badi 9, 1860,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 386-388.

Contd...

8. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Umras and Dwaras of Taku.

It has been reported to us that you do not permit the Chaudhari of Gorkha to exercise jurisdiction over the Newar inhabitants of Taku. Newars have remained under the jurisdiction of Chaudharis from former times. Do not create any obstruction there. We have assigned taxes and levies on Newars to the Chaudhari. Let the Chaudhari collect the taxes and levies assigned to him.

Falgun Badi 3, 1850,

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 171.

9. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Laxmi Singh Khawas.

We hereby appoint you as Chaudhari in the position previously occupied by Dhana Newar for the region situated east of the Gandi river and west of the Dudhkosi river, except Kathmandu Valley, areas situated west of Dhulikhel and Panauti and east of Mudkhu and Bhimdhunga, and Chitlang, Tistung, Palung, Sanagaun and Kagatigaun.

Appropriate the customary levies and supply 1 dharni of ghee and oil every day for 7 months to the government. Procure goats from Guth lands and supply one goat everyday to the government. Look after ducks and supply as many of them as are required by the palace.

Transmit the proceeds of judicial fines and escheats collected from Newars living in the hill areas to the government and appropriate one sixth thereof.

Do not oppress the subjects but keep them happy. If you oppress the subjects, you shall be punished by the government.

Exercise judicial authority in the same manner as Devi Shankhar. If you are not able to impose your jurisdiction, the government will help you to do so.

Appropriate levies on loads of cotton at Sanghu, Dharke and Sankhu in the same manner as Devi Shankhar. Offer 1 anna every day to the (temple of) ...

Contd...

Utilize 120 muris of lands as your Jagir. Appropriate levies imposed on mid-wives (Sudini), etc in Patan town. Collect levies on the water-mill at Sangla at the customary rates. Collect Walak levies every year in the same manner as Devi Shankhar. Collect Chaudhari, levies also from areas under the jurisdiction of Gotiya relatives. Do not collect extra levies.

Pay Salami amounting to Rs 960 for three years from Jestha Sudi 9, 1843 to Jestha Sudi 9, 1846 to the government. The government shall pay the monthly salary of 4 employees at Rs 6 (each ?).

Number of Goats To Be Supplied From Different Villages

Golpu-Chhapar	...	10	Sipal	...	2
Talakhu	...	8	Namlang	...	2
Syahulya-Gograuti	...	6	Baskharka	...	4
Chautara-Khani	...	18	Mandan	...	6
Sipatar	...	6	Thansing	...	16
Bhatutar	...	10	Barmandi	...	4
Palchok	...	6	Khinchyat	...	14
Total ...					112

Ashadh Badi 1, 1843,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, pp. 120-122.

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The Assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah^x

On Sunday, Jestha Badi 1, 1857 (Vikrama), Swami Rana Bahadur Shah (Swami Nirvananda) left for Banaras along with Queen Rajeshwari Devi, Sardar Bhimsen Thapa, Dalabhanjan Pande and others. The situation in the capital then became tranquil, and the administration began to function as usual. Queen Subarnaprabha began to run the administration in the capacity of Regent (Nayab) of King Girban. Ranodyot Shah was Chief Chautariya, while Sher Bahadur Shah and Bidur Shahi were Chautariyas. Kirtiman Basnet, Damodar Pande, Tribhuvan Khawas and Narsing Gurung began to function as members of the Council of Kajis as before. Sarbajit Pande remained in charge of Tibetan and Chinese affairs.

One day the Chief Kaji, Kirtiman Basnet, was assassinated in the royal palace. The actual assassin was never traced, but a few persons were sentenced to rigorous punishment. When the news of this assassination reached Banaras, Rana Bahadur charged Damodar Pande with having committed the crime. He sent letters to this effect to Bakhatwar Singh Basnet, a brother of Kaji Kirtiman Basnet, and his mother, Chitra Devi.

Rana Bahadur Shah also charged that Gajaraj Mishra, an assistant of Damodar Pande who was at that time in Patna for negotiations with the East India Company, had celebrated the assassination of Kirtiman Basnet. However, no evidence is available to substantiate these charges. At the same time, they may well be true in view of the political situation of that time. The bravery of Damodar Pande and the fact that he had himself tried to arrest Rana Bahadur Shah proves that he was an ambitious person. But he was not appointed as Chief Kaji after the abdication of Rana Bahadur Shah. This may have made it difficult for him to organize opposition to Rana Bahadur Shah, thus necessitating the assassination of Kaji Kirtiman Basnet. After this assassination, Bakhatwar Singh was appointed as a member of the Council of Kajis and the administration once more began to function smoothly.

Although Rana Bahadur Shah had left for Banaras, the Bhardars could not feel assured that he would not create any trouble. They therefore began to remain vigilant lest he should create any danger for them in the future. They wrote to friendly governments that he had gone to Banaras with political motives, instead of mentioning that he had done so with religious motives.

^xChittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah (King Rana Bahadur Shah), Kathmandu: Mary Rajbhandari, 2020 (1963), pp. 57-84.

Contd...

This proves that the Bhardars felt suspicious of his departure for Banaras. The Council of Kajis had sent a report to the Chinese Emperor through the Chinese Amba in Lhasa about the departure of Rana Bahadur Shah to Banaras. In this report, they claimed that Rana Bahadur Shah had gone to Banaras with the objective of restoring his authority in Nepal with the assistance of the East India Company. The report added, "One or two evil persons have made false representation to the old Maharaja and taken him to the land of foreigners in an attempt to get their support." In reply, the Chinese Amba advised the Kajis not to let Rana Bahadur Shah remain abroad, but to persuade him somehow to return to the capital.

Kaji Damodar Pande and others thus tried to show before the Chinese Amba that Rana Bahadur Shah and the persons who had accompanied him to Banaras were supporters of the British. However, Rana Bahadur Shah, as well as his staunch supporter, Bhimsen Thapa, and other persons proved themselves to be anti-British to the last. Even during their stay in Banaras, they did not do anything in support of the British. This charge of Damodar Pande and his colleagues thus lacks evidence. Rather, Damodar Pande had established relations with the East India Company Government in order to protect himself from the danger posed by Rana Bahadur Shah. When he came back to Nepal, Rana Bahadur Shah and his followers did not bring the English with them. On the other hand, Lord Wellesley was compelled to abrogate the Nepal-East India Company treaty as a result of their return. As such, it may be said that Rana Bahadur Shah had come back to Nepal in order to drive out the English who had been invited by Damodar Pande and his colleagues.

Even in Banaras, Rana Bahadur Shah did not renounce politics. In fact, his abdication was only a political tactic. He was always vigilant lest the Bhardars should remove the infant King Girban from the throne. His attention was therefore always centered on political developments in Nepal. He was convinced that he would not be able to make his political objectives successful by staying in Banaras. He therefore considered measures to return to Nepal. He met British officials in Banaras to find out whether the East India Company Government would render him any assistance in this regard. The British authorities promised to help him to return to Nepal, but on one condition. They demanded that the British should be allowed to open 4 commercial establishments in Nepal, in consideration of which they would provide him with assistance. Rana Bahadur Shah held consultations with his well-wisher, Bhimsen Thapa. Bhimsen Thapa expressed the view that the British were a highly dangerous nation and that if they were allowed to open 4 commercial establishments they would ultimately cover the entire country. He thus advised Rana Bahadur Shah not to agree to this British condition. Rana Bahadur Shah therefore began to consider other ways of returning to Nepal.

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In Nepal, Damodar Pande and other Bhardars realized that their position would remain insecure as long as Rana Bahadur Shah and his party remained free in Banaras. They thought that their objectives would be successful if they could have Rana Bahadur Shah and his followers kept in detention in Banaras somehow or other. But this was quite impossible without the approval and assistance of the East India Company Government. The Bhardars therefore became willing to establish relations with the East India Company Government. Raj Guru Gajaraj Mishra was sent to Patna to initiate negotiations in this regard. Kaji Damodar Pande and his colleagues thus followed in the footsteps of Bahadur Shah and renounced their anti-British policy in an effort to entrench themselves in power and protect themselves from the danger posed by Rana Bahadur Shah.

At that time, Lord Wellesley was Governor-General of the East India Company Government. He was one of the architects of the British empire in India. He devised the system of protectorates to annex the native states of India. Lord Wellesley did not like to miss this opportunity of entering into Nepal. By that time, the treaty signed between Nepal and East India Company in 1818 Vikrama (1792 A.D.), when Chautariya Bahadur Shah was Regent in Nepal and Lord Cornwallis Governor-General in India, had become virtually defunct. As such, the doors had been closed for the British entry into Nepal. Moreover, Rana Bahadur Shah had rejected the condition put forward before him. It was therefore natural that a Governor-General such as Lord Wellesley should not miss the opportunity of entering into Nepal which this proposal of the Nepali Bhardars had created. Accordingly, a treaty was signed between the Government of Nepal and the East India Company Government on October 30, 1801 (Kartik Badi 9, 1858 Vikrama). This was the second treaty signed between them. Captain Knox was then sent to Kathmandu as British Resident in Nepal.

The treaty signed by Damodar Pande and his colleagues on behalf of the Government of Nepal with the East India Company Government was one of general friendship. It contained provisions relating to strengthening friendship between two the countries. Even then, there was a political motive behind the conclusion of this treaty. It was in fact signed by Damodar Pande and his colleagues as a means whereby they could protect themselves from the threat created by Rana Bahadur Shah and his followers in Banaras. This is proved by Article IX of the treaty, which refers to Rana Bahadur Shah. There would have been no such references had the treaty been concluded only with the objective of promoting mutual friendship, and had there been no political motive behind it. The article is as follows:-

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The Maha Rajah of Nepaul agrees, that a pergunnah, with all the lands attached to it, excepting privileged lands and those appropriated to religious purposes, and to jaghires, &c., which are specified separately in the account of collections, shall be given up to Samee Jee for his expences, as a present. The conditions with respect to Samee Jee are, that if he should remain at Bonares, or at any other place within the Company's provinces, and should spontaneously farm his jaghire to the officers of Nepaul, in that event the amount of collections shall be punctually paid to him, agreeably to certain kists which may be hereafter settled; that he may appropriate the same to his necessary expences, and that he may continue in religious abstraction, according to his agreement, which he had engraved on brass, at the time of his abdication of the Roy, and of his resigning it in my favour. Again, in the event of his establishing his residence in his jaghire, and of his realizing the collections through his own officers, it is proper that he should not keep such a one and other disaffected persons in his service, and besides one hundred men and maid servants, &c., he must not entertain any persons as soldiers, with a view to the collection of the revenue of the pergunnah; and to the protection of his person he may take two hundred soldiers of the forces of the Nepaul Government, the allowances of whom shall be paid by the Rajah of Nepaul. He must be cautious, also, of commencing altercation, either by speech or writing; neither must he give protection to the rebellious and fugitives of the Nepaul country, nor must he commit plunder and devastation upon the subjects of Nepaul. In the event of such delinquency being proved, to the satisfaction of the two Governments, the aid and protection of the Company shall be withdrawn from him; and in that event, also, it shall be at the option of the Rajah of Nepaul, whether or not he will confiscate his jaghire.

The Maha Rajah also agrees, on his part, that if Samee Jee should take up his residence within the Company's provinces, and should farm out his land to the officers of Nepaul, and that the kists should not be paid according to agreement, or that he should fix his residence on his jaghire, and any of the inhabitants of Nepaul should give him or the ryots of his pergunnah any molestation, a requisition shall be made by the Governor-General of the Company, on this subject, to the Rajah. The Governor-General is security for the Rajah's performance of this condition, and the Maha Rajah will immediately acquit himself of the requisition of the Governor-General, agreeably to what is above written. If any profits should arise in the collection of the said pergunnah, in consequence of the activity of the officers, or any defalcation occurs from their inattention, in either case, the Rajah of Nepaul will be totally unconcerned.

The treaty also provided that the Government of Nepal would make a sum of Rs 72,000 in cash available to Rana Bahadur Shah every year from the revenues of Bijayapur, in addition to elephants worth Rs 10,000. At the

same time, it provided that he should not be allowed to maintain troops. After the treaty was signed, Rana Bahadur Shah was kept in detention in Banaras by the East India Company Government in accordance with the desires of the Bhardars of Nepal.

It was not difficult for Rana Bahadur Shah, who had an able advisor in Bhimsen Thapa, to realize the motive of the majority of the leading Bhardars and Chautariyas of Nepal in concluding a treaty with the East India Company Government and having him detained in Banaras. He therefore started considering measures to put an end to these friendly relations and free himself from detention. He knew full well that he would have to remain in detention in Banaras throughout his life if he was not able to do so. Moreover, he would be unable to complete his objective of returning to Nepal and making his anti-British policy successful. Bhimsen Thapa, his close associate in Banaras, had fully realized the real meaning of the system of protectorates adopted by the East India Company Government. This has been admitted even by English writers. While in Banaras, he had seen native states being gobbled up by the British Government one by one.

Rana Bahadur Shah therefore wrote a letter to his brother, Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah, in an attempt to win him over. He asked Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah to look properly after King Girban. The letters Rana Bahadur Shah wrote to Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah also gave expression to brotherly affection, although it was Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah himself who finally assassinated him. Rana Bahadur Shah also asked Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah to make efforts to free him from detention. He wrote, "Do whatever is possible so that the reign of (King Girban) may be stable, the people who have come to Nepal from other countries may not be able to continue staying there and I may become free from detention and be able to come back to Nepal."

Rana Bahadur Shah also wrote, "The treaty is only a pretext to create a split between you and me and make Krishna Shah King. This is the reason why Gajaraj Mishra and Damodar Pande have joined hands." He thus warned Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah that the Bhardars were hatching a conspiracy to banish King Girban to Gorkha. Rana Bahadur Shah wrote similar letters to Chautariya Bidur Shahi also.

In addition, Rana Bahadur Shah wrote letters to Bakhatwar Singh Banset, a brother of the murdered Kaji Kirtiman Basnet. Bakhatwar Singh was at that time a member of the Council of Kajis. In these letters, Rana Bahadur Shah asked Bakhatwar Singh not only to make arrangements to free him from detention but also to beware of Gajaraj Mishra, who had had the main hand in concluding the treaty with the British. He wrote, "Gajaraj Mishra may try to win you over, or intimidate you, in our name as well as in that of our eldest queen. However, I have not sent him to Nepal. In fact, he has gone

there in contravention of my order. Let nobody believe there that he has come there with my consent." Bhimsen Thapa and others too had written letters to Bakhatwar Singh Basnet referring to the detention of Rana Bahadur Shah and expressing opposition to the English, who had entered into Nepal. They had probably realized that British Residents always interfered in the administration of native states, encouraged factionalism and ultimately converted such states into British colonies.

But these letters bore no fruit. Rana Bahadur Shah therefore decided to send the senior queen, Rajeshwari Devi, to Nepal in an attempt to have the Nepal-British treaty abrogated. This was definitely a diplomatic attempt on his part, because it was not impossible that the consequences would be adverse if he himself ventured all of sudden. This can be easily imagined by the efforts made by the Bhardars to check Queen Rajeshwari Devi as well as Rana Bahadur Shah himself later.

As planned by Rana Bahadur Shah, Queen Rajeshwari Devi came to Nepal and succeeded in creating difficulties in the implementation of the treaty. The Bhardars as well as the Regent, Queen Subarna Prabha, sent men to arrest Queen Rajeshwari Devi on the way. But these efforts proved fruitless before Queen Rajeshwari Devi's personality. Queen Rajeshwari Devi was finally able to become Regent herself. Several persons were arrested in this connection, including Bam Shah. Several others were killed.

Queen Rajeshwari Devi's first action after reaching Nepal was to try to send back the British Resident, Knox. In March 1803, Knox was finally compelled to leave Nepal bag and baggage. This created difficulties in the implementation of the treaty. Since the Government of Nepal had not shown proper respect for the treaty, and had compelled the British Resident to go back, the East India Company Government relaxed the detention of Rana Bahadur Shah in Banaras. Rana Bahadur Shah then left for Nepal along with his entourage. On January 4, 1804, the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, made a formal announcement abrogating the treaty. The objective of Queen Rajeshwari Devi's arrival in Nepal became successful. The downfall of Kaji Damodar Pand became imminent. Even then, Queen Rajeshwari Devi retained him in the position of Kaji. This was in fact a political blunder on the part of the queen, as a result of which she had to undergo punishment in the form of exile after Rana Bahadur Shah came back to Nepal.

Many historians have committed the mistake of attributing Queen Rajeshwari Devi's arrival in Nepal to domestic and not to political reasons. In their opinion, Queen Rajeshwari Devi had come back to Nepal because she was unable to tolerate the evil deeds of Rana Bahadur Shah in Banaras. But the political situation which developed in the country after the arrival of Queen Rajeshwari Devi and contemporary documents and Vanshavali clearly indicate that she had come to Nepal because of political

reasons and that this was a planned move. There may be no exaggeration in saying that these historians have expressed this view either because they did not understand the contemporary situation or because they distorted the truth in an attempt to defame Rana Bahadur Shah.

Since Damodar Pande and his colleagues had concluded a treaty with the East India Company Government in this manner and arranged for his detention in Banaras, Rana Bahadur Shah was convinced that correspondence alone would not lead to his freedom. Accordingly, he sent Queen Rajeshwari Devi to Nepal on the advice of Bhimsen Thapa. This is proved by contemporary documents. According to the Vanshavalis also, it was Rana Bahadur Shah himself who had sent the queen to Nepal. After returning to Nepal, Queen Rajeshwari Devi wrote a letter to Rana Bahadur Shah with regard to the repayment of his loans in Banaras. This too proves that she had returned to Nepal with the approval of Rana Bahadur Shah. Francis Hamilton and other English historians who had accompanied Resident Knox to Nepal have written that the return of Queen Rajeshwari Devi to Nepal had created a dislocation in the Nepal-East India Company treaty. This constitutes additional evidence to prove that there were political motives behind her return to Nepal.

The letter written by Queen Rajeshwari Devi to Swami Rana Bahadur Shah, which we have referred to above, also disproves the statements made by some historians with regard to the loans obtained by Rana Bahadur Shah from the East India Company Government while in Banaras. After reaching Banaras, Rana Bahadur Shah had obtained some money from the officials of the East India Company Government to provide for his expenses. However, he had realized, along with Bhimsen Thapa and others, that it was dangerous to obtain loans from the British. They therefore decided to repay the loans obtained from the British, and refused to accept fresh loans. Thereafter, Rana Bahadur Shah made arrangements to obtain loans from the firm of a local merchant named Dwarika Das to provide for his expenses. On Falgun Sudi 5, 1860 Vikrama, he signed a bond in favor of Dwarika Das for a loan of Rs 60,001 at an interest of 2% every month. The loan was to be repaid before Baisakh Sudi 15, 1861 Vikrama.

Subsequently, Rana Bahadur Shah informed Queen Rajeshwari Devi in Nepal that he had refused to accept loans from the East India Company Government and had made arrangements to obtain funds from the firm of Dwarika Das. He sent orders that funds should be remitted to him through the firm of Dwarika Das. In reply, Queen Rajeshwari Devi wrote, "Because of circumstances, it was necessary to obtain money from foreigners to provide for expenses there for some time. But this was not advisable. It is now necessary to make arrangements so that the expenses to be incurred there will be met. There should be no fresh borrowing from the British. Accordingly, Hastadal has been appointed as Subba to remit revenues from Bijayapur in order to meet expenses incurred in Banaras. Revenues from Saptari and Mahottari have been appropriated for the repayment of loans due to the creditor. We have

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remitted funds to repay the loans obtained from the British even by borrowing here." This proves that Rana Bahadur Shah and his entourage had borrowed some money in the beginning from the British, but that he had later made arrangements to repay this loan because it was not advisable to live on funds provided by the British. It is also clear that he had made arrangements with local traders to provide for his expenses. Accordingly, the claim made by historians that the entire expenses of Rana Bahadur Shah had been made by the East India Company, or that the British Government had granted large sums of money to provide for his expenses, or that the Government of India had financed his expenses, stands totally disproved. After coming back to Nepal, Rana Bahadur Shah had made arrangements to pay off arrears of loans incurred during his stay in Banaras. Traditionally, a levy known as Godhuwa was collected from government employees during the marriage of royal princes. In 1862 Vikrama, this levy was due to be imposed on the occasion of the marriage of a royal princess. However, it was remitted, and a prescribed sum of money was collected from all Kajis, Bhardars and other officials to repay the loans incurred by Rana Bahadur Shah in Banaras.

The British Resident, Knox, had to leave Nepal bag and baggage as a result of the return of Queen Rajeshwari Devi to Nepal. The British Government too relaxed restrictions on Rana Bahadur Shah thereafter. Rana Bahadur Shah then returned to Nepal along with the Bhardars who had accompanied him to Banaras. These included Sardar Bhimsen Thapa, Pandit Ranganath Paudyal, Kaji Dalbhanjan Pande and Pran Shah. They left Banaras secretly, without giving any information to the British. Travelling day and night, they reached Sishagadhi in 6 days from Banaras. On the way, Rana Bahadur Shah wrote a letter to Sher Bahadur Shah advising him to beware lest the Bhardars should feel perturbed over his departure for Nepal and should take any step against King Girban or take him to Gorkha.

Rana Bahadur Shah and his entourage returned to Kathmandu towards the end of 1860 Vikrama. In an attempt to stop him, Kaji Damor Pande reached Thankot accompanied by personnel of the Kalibux, Purano Shrinath and other companies. They had taken with them fetters made of silver to be put on Rana Bahadur Shah. Rana Bahadur Shah saw them from the Chandragiri hill. He abused Bhimsen Thapa on the ground that the latter had brought him to Nepal to have him assassinated. But Bhimsen Thapa replied, "Why do you look there? Look at the temples of Pashupati and Gubeshwari and proceed forward." After reaching the valley, the troops which Damodar Pande had brought along to arrest Rana Bahadur Shah instead welcomed him. Damodar Pande took to his heels, but was overtaken by the troops and beheaded near the Bhadrakali temple. His sons left the country.

Queen Rajeshwari Devi then became the victim of Rana Bahadur Shah's wrath. He banished her to Helmu. According to historians, Rana Bahadur Shah treated her in this manner probably because she had retained Damodar Pande as Kaji. According to other historians, Queen Rajeshwari had gone to Helmu because she was unable to bear the arbitrary actions which Rana Bahadur Shah started indulging in after taking over the reins of administration again. However, contemporary documents and Vanshavalis do not contain any evidence to prove that Queen Rajeshwari Devi had gone to Helmu voluntarily. We must therefore accept the view that she had been banished there. We may agree with the view that she was so banished because she had retained Damodar Pande in the post of Kaji, because it was definitely a political mistake on her part from the viewpoint of Rana Bahadur Shah not to have dismissed him. However, this was not the sole reason for her banishment. Rana Bahadur Shah probably thought that it was not possible for Damodar Pande to come to Thankot along with armed troops and silver fetters to arrest him without the order and approval of the Regent Queen. In fact, after coming back to Nepal and becoming Regent, Queen Rajeshwari Devi had sided with Damodar Pande in the conspiracy not to bring Rana Bahadur Shah back to Nepal. She had tried to keep Rana Bahadur Shah in Banaras, and only to send money to finance his expenses there. She had written letters to Rana Bahadur Shah in this regard. It was not unnatural for Rana Bahadur Shah to feel angry over this action of Queen Rajeshwari Devi. This is the reason why Queen Rajeshwari Devi became the second victim of Rana Bahadur Shah's wrath after Damodar Pande when he came back to Nepal. Rana Bahadur Shah did not award severe punishment to any other Kaji or Chautariya. As such, he would probably not have banished Queen Rajeshwari Devi on the sole charge that she had not dismissed Damodar Pande. The exiled queen remained in Helmu until the assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah, when she became a Sati.

After coming back to Nepal from Banaras, Rana Bahadur Shah once more assumed the reins of administration. But he did not do so by occupying the throne, as some historians have maintained. It is possible that historians have committed this mistake because they followed blindly in the footsteps of Francis Hamilton. Nor is it true that Rana Bahadur Shah became Regent and appointed Bhimsen Thapa as Mukhtiyar in the vacancy caused by the assassination of Damodar Pande, as Dr. Oldfield has maintained. But if Rana Bahadur Shah had become Regent himself and appointed Bhimsen Thapa as Prime Minister, the order issued in this connection should have been signed by the King and not by the Regent. Perceval Landon, who enjoyed special official facilities during his visit to Nepal when Chandra Shamsheer was Prime Minister, is unclear with regard to the administration of Rana Bahadur Shah.

The truth is that Rana Bahadur Shah came back to Nepal with the assistance of Sardar Bhimsen Thapa and other advisors. He then took over the reins of administration in the capacity of Mukhtiyar. This is proved by

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the royal order issued by King Girban appointing Rana Bahadur Shah as Mukhtiyar. The order is as follows:-

From King Girban,

To (Rana Bahadur Shah).

I hereby appoint my father to function as Mukhtiyar to discharge functions relating to war and peace, internal administration, justice, appointments and dismissals, etc until I come of age. The army and all people belonging to the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes shall obey his orders. Anybody who does not do so shall be punished by him.

Wednesday, Falgun Sudi 8, 1862.

The order was countersigned by Bhimsen Thapa, Pran Shah, Sher Bahadur Shah, Ranajit Pande, Ranganath Pandit, Ranadhvaj Thapa and Narsingh.

This order proves that Rana Bahadur Shah was a Mukhtiyar, not a Regent. It may be argued that "Mukhtiyar" is the Nepali equivalent of "Regent". But the copper inscription according to which Rana Bahadur Shah had abdicated in favor of King Girban in 1855 Vikrama had used the term "Nayabi." A King was regarded as a representative of God. One of the royal seals thus used the expression "Nathasya Nayabam" (Nayab of God). As such, we must admit that "Nayab" was the Nepali equivalent of the term "Regent". Orders issued subsequently in the names of Bhimsen Thapa, Ranajung Pande and others also use the term "Mukhtiyar." How then can we believe that this term meant "Regent" only when applied to Rana Bahadur Shah? Are we to commit the same mistake as Horace Wilson did and describe Bhimsen Thapa as a Regent? Bhimsen Thapa was appointed as Kaji after Rana Bahadur Shah returned to Nepal. This too proves that Rana Bahadur Shah was Mukhtiyar.

From this time until his assassination in 1863 Vikrama Rana Bahadur Shah conducted the affairs of the administration in the capacity of Mukhtiyar. He confiscated the Birta lands of Brahmans and Guthi lands and assigned the revenue accruing therefrom to the army. This again made him unpopular among Brahmans. The powerful Bhardars again started organizing a conspiracy to take advantage of this situation. Bhimsen Thapa's influence increased after Rana Bahadur Shah became Mukhtiyar. The influence of other Kajis and Bhardars therefore declined. This gave additional impetus to the conspiracy. On Saturday, Baisakh Sudi 7, 1863, Rana Bahadur Shah was holding court at the residence of Kaji Tribhuvan. He was then assassinated by Sher Bahadur Shah, his step-brother, whom he had always loved and trusted. But Sher Bahadur Shah was killed on the spot by Kaji Balanarsingh. The conspiracy therefore did not succeed.

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Much confusion prevails among historians with regard to the assassination of Swami Maharaj Rana Bahadur Shah. English historians, who were the first to write on it, have used the incident only to prove their charges of incapacity against Rana Bahadur Shah and his supporters. Their version is as follows: "Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah was suspected of being a conspirator. Rana Bahadur Shah therefore ordered him to go to the front. But Sher Bahadur Shah refused to do so. Angered at this, Rana Bahadur Shah summoned him to the palace. Sher Bahadur Shah told him, "We are sons of the same father. I will go to the front if you too do so." Rana Bahadur Shah thereupon ordered his arrest. Sher Bahadur Shah immediately struck at Rana Bahadur Shah with his sword, but was immediately killed by Balanarsingh Kunwar. Bhimsen Thapa did not miss this golden opportunity to destroy his powerful opponents. Chautariya Bidur Shahi, Kaji Narasingh, Kaji Tribhuwan and others were therefore killed."^x

The incidents referred to here are no doubt factual, but an impression is sought to be created that they were all due to Sher Bahadur Shah alone, and that Bhimsen Thapa's personal interests led him to kill other Bhardars. This version also seeks to question the justification of Rana Bahadur Shah sending Sher Bahadur Shah to the front. Moreover, Sher Bahadur Shah is shown to have assassinated Rana Bahadur Shah on the spur of the moment and that he did so at the royal palace.

Balanarsingh had sent an eye-witness account of these incidents to King Rajendra. This letter makes it clear that Rana Bahadur Shah was assassinated not at the royal palace but at the residence of Kaji Tribhuwan. It was not true that Rana Bahadur Shah had summoned Sher Bahadur Shah in a fit of anger to appear before him. The incidents in fact occurred when the old charges against Sher Bahadur and Kaji Tribhuwan -- that they had helped to conclude a treaty with the British -- were being discussed. The letter shows that full preparations had been made in this conspiracy, because Sher Bahadur Shah's brother-in-law and other men who had disguised themselves by smearing ashes on their face were waiting with bows, arrows and Khukuris on the ground floor and courtyard of the house of Kaji Tribhuwan at the time of the assassination. Had this conspiracy succeeded, the history of the contemporary native states of India shows how Nepal would have fared.

On that fateful day, a court had been summoned at the residence of Kaji Tribhuwan. Those present on that occasion included Rana Bahadur Shah, Kaji Bhimsen Thapa, Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah, Chautariya Pran Shah,

^xBala Chandra Sharma, Nepal Ko Aitihasik Ruprekha (Historical Outline of Nepal), p. 248; Francis Taker, Gorkha, pp. 69-70.

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Pandit Ranganath, Kaji Ranajit Pande, Kaji Ranadhwaj Thapa, Kaji Narasingh, Kaji Dalabhanjan Pande, Kaji Balanarasingh and other Bhardars, officers and bodyguards. When Kaji Tribhuwan was taken to the Bishnumati river to be beheaded on the old charges, he had sent a letter through Kumbhedan Jayanta demanding that inquiries should be instituted as to whether he or others were actually guilty. The court had been summoned to consider this petition. At the beginning, Sher Bahadur Shah went out twice to have a drink of water. He then told Rana Bahadur Shah: "I had also told you at Thankot that I was guilty, and you had pardoned me." Rana Bahadur Shah replied, "I have pardoned your crime against me personally. But your crimes against the State can be pardoned only at the official level. How can I grant you pardon in my personal capacity?"

This perhaps convinced Sher Bahadur Shah that he would be punished for his crime. He then went out for tea. Rana Bahadur Shah then told Pandit Ranganath that Sher Bahadur Shah's mouth had become dry. But Sher Bahadur Shah came back and resumed his place soon. A jackal then howled in the garden, and Rana Bahadur Shah called for silence. Taking advantage of the silence, Sher Bahadur Shah attacked him with a sword and struck at him thrice. When he was struck for the first time, Rana Bahadur Shah called Balanarasingh. The latter then attacked Sher Bahadur Shah and a tussle began between them. Balanarasingh then pierced Sher Bahadur Shah's throat with his knife and thus killed him. Rana Bahadur was already dead. Balanarasingh then came out and killed Sher Bahadur Shah's brother-in-law, who was in the court-yard. The personnel of the Kalibax Company then killed the unidentified persons who were in the ground floor. The conspiracy was thus foiled.

Bhimsen Thapa was not present at the time of the assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah. While the court was still proceeding, he had gone to Ranodyot Shah's house for supper. It was a mistake on the part of Rana Bahadur Shah to have summoned the court at the residence of Kaji Tribhuwan, because he had been a supporter of Damodar Pande from the very beginning. Bhimsen Thapa had raised this question. He had advised Rana Bahadur Shah that the accused persons should be kept at the court-yard. But perhaps because he had become a Swami, Rana Bahadur Shah did not suspect any conspiracy. Rather, he sent Bhimsen Thapa away for supper. Bhimsen Thapa demurred, pointing out that his residence was far away and supper was not yet ready. But Rana Bahadur Shah asked him to have supper at the residence of Ranodyot Shah.^x This was the reply given to the goodwill and simplicity of Bhimsen Thapa.

^x Itihas Prakash, Part I, p. 42..

After the assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah, Bhimsen Thapa was appointed as Mukhtiyar of Nepal. He killed the conspirators responsible for the assassination of Rana Bahadur Shah. They included Bidur Shahi, Kaji Narasingh, Kaji Tribhuvan and Prithwi Pal Sen.

The period during which Rana Bahadur Shah functioned as Mukhtiyar occupies an important place in the history of Nepal. He was the first man not only in the Shah dynasty but among all kings who functioned as Mukhtiyar on behalf of his son with the objective of safeguarding the interests of the nation and protecting it from a foreign imperialist power. Before and after him, ministers were styled "Maharaj," (Mahasamanta Amshuvarma and Jung Bahadur). But he is the only King to become a minister. He initiated a new chapter in the history of Nepal by creating the post of Mukhtiyar or Prime Minister.

The short period of Rana Bahadur Shah's Mukhtiyarship is marked by two important measures. The first was the severance of relations with the East India Company. After he took up the reins of administration, Governor-General Lord Wellesley formally announced the abrogation of the treaty. The question of resuming these relations never came up as long as Rana Bahadur Shah functioned as Mukhtiyar.

The other measure was the confiscation of Birta and Guthi lands.

Nepal's friendly relations with British India were broken off when Rana Bahadur Shah returned to Nepal and took over the reins of administration. Indeed, an unfriendly atmosphere emerged in their relations. It was not a joke to tease the growing British power which aimed at colonizing the entire world. It was no less dangerous at that time to let the British continue staying in the country. Rana Bahadur Shah and Bhimsen Thapa had realized that once the British were allowed to enter, the story of the Arab and his camel would be repeated. Their stay in Banaras had provided them with an opportunity to study how the Indian native states had been made a victim of the British protectorate policy. They had seen the Nizam and the rulers of the Carnatic and other areas succumb to this policy one by one. As such, it was not unnatural that relations with the British should have broken off after their return to Nepal. But this also created a danger for Nepal. The reason was that hostility between Nepal and the British became so strong that the latter had no alternative but to fight in order to interfere in Nepal. It was therefore essential for Nepal to make preparations to resist a sudden attack from the East India Company.

After Rana Bahadur Shah became Mukhtiyar, he began to consider measures to organize the army in order to meet this threat. But the revenue of the state was not adequate to reorganize the army. It was therefore necessary to explore new sources of revenue. Rana Bahadur Shah accordingly decided

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to confiscate Birta lands. At that time, the major portion of the cultivated area had been granted as Birta to Brahmans or as Guthi. Rana Bahadur Shah decided to confiscate these Birta lands. Kajis and Sardars too owned Birta lands at that time, but the confiscation of their lands would not have contributed to the expansion of the army. Instead, an adverse reaction might have been created. Rana Bahadur Shah therefore left their Birta lands untouched and decided to confiscate only those belonging to Brahmans as well as Guthi lands which had not been acquired through bravery. When Birta owning Brahmans and Guthi owners did not relinquish their lands voluntarily, Rana Bahadur confiscated such lands and assigned the revenues accruing therefrom to the Army.

Some historians have expressed the view that this measure was the product of the unbalanced mind of Rana Bahadur Shah and meant as revenge against Brahmans. They have, moreover, given a wrong date to it. According to Bala Chandra Sharma, Rana Bahadur Shah confiscated Birta and Guthi lands in 1799-1800 A.D. before leaving for Banaras because he was angry with Brahmans over the death of Queen Kantivati. Dr. Oldfield has expressed the view that the measure was undertaken by Bhimsen Thapa to finance the Nepal-British war of 1814-16.

The truth is that Rana Bahadur Shah confiscated Birta and Guthi lands in 1862 Vikrama (1805-1806 A.D.). This is the reason why the measure is known as "Basatthi-Haran" (The 1862 Confiscation) in Nepal. Rana Bahadur Shah took this step not out of revenge for the death of Queen Kantivati but because he wanted to reorganize the army. A royal order issued in 1903 Vikrama will make this clear. This order is as follows:-

From King Rajendra,

To the Brahmans, priests and Guthiyars of our country.

The Prime Minister and Commander-In-Chief, Jung Bahadur, and others have represented to us that tranquility has never prevailed in the palace since the Birta lands of Brahmans and Guthi lands were confiscated in 1862 (Vikrama), and that it would be good for the government if these lands were restored.

The Birta and Guthi lands confiscated in 1862 have been assigned to the army. If these lands are now taken away from the army and restored (to their original owners), the army will cease to exist. In that event, the enemy will become strong and the rites and religion of the Hindus may not be safe.

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In order that the confiscated Birta and Guthi lands may be restored (to their original owners) and that the army too may be maintained for safeguarding the rites and religion of the Hindus, we hereby direct that your Birta and Guthi lands confiscated in 1862, other than those confiscated for any offense or in the course of surveys shall be compensated in the form of waste lands in the Tarai, other than those lands whose reclamation has been prohibited by royal order or will affect the interests (of other landowners) adversely and pasture lands. We shall grant funds according to capacity for the reclamation of (waste) lands granted in this manner. In this manner, we hereby compensate the Birta and Guthi lands confiscated in 1862 with effect from the harvest of the year 1904 Vikrama.

Submit true particulars of your Birta and Guthi lands, both Khet and Pakho, which had been confiscated in 1862, other than lands confiscated for any offense or in the course of surveys, to the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office and have investigations conducted. Obtain waste lands in the Tarai in exchange, other than lands whose reclamation has been prohibited by royal order or will affect the interests (of other landowners) adversely and pasture lands, and with the funds granted to you according to the area of the lands so granted, reclaim them. Procure ryots from the Moglan (i.e. India), not from Nepal. With full assurance, pray for our victory and utilize the land as your Birta or Guthi.

Sunday, Marga Badi 12, 1903 (Vikrama).

This proves that Rana Bahadur Shah had confiscated Birta lands in 1862 Vikrama for the reorganization of the army and that he had assigned the confiscated lands to the army. This was Nepal's reaction to the growing imperialist and colonialist policy of the British in India.

During his Mukhtiyarship, Rana Bahadur Shah also expanded the kingdom. Palpa was conquered under the command of Kaji Amarsingh Thapa, father of Bhimsen Thapa.

Two Letters From Amar Singh Thapa, 1811-1812

1. From Amar Singh Thapa,

To Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhvaj Thapa.

Blessings. I am well here and wish the same of you. I have received your letter and noted its contents. The news here is good.

Your letter of Falgun Sudi 11 reached here on (Chaitra) Sudi 15. You have written that the Mahila Guraju has information that the Amin (Survey Officer) has left and that he too is leaving soon. The Amin will definitely come. The request for necessary arrangements stands. You will do whatever is good for the government. Even if (the Amin) does not come, the area where a dispute has been shown is under our control. This is good. It seems that it is not situated very far away from Nuwakot. It is good that you have written to Kaji Dalabhanjan Pande and others to shift to Nuwakot." I have noted these details.

You have written that the Amin will definitely come and that we should do whatever is good for the government. A letter sent by Bhava Singh, containing information that the Amin, Major Pirapat (?) has reached Banaras, was forwarded from here two days ago. You must have received it. Bhava Singh has written many things, but some of these may be true, while others may be false? The report (that the British Major) has reached Banaras may be true. (Let us see) whether he writes to us after staying a few days in Gorakhpur or comes directly to the border. Couriers have been sent to Mahadev Padhya. Whatever news he sends I will transmit to (His Majesty) as well as to you.

If the Amin comes here and talks about the records, we shall do whatever needs to be done here and send a report to (His Majesty) as well as to you.

While I was writing this letter, 2 peons (Chaprasis) arrived here on the fifth day of the month of Chaitra with a communication (Khalita) from the Governor-General (Bada Saheb) in Calcutta. They said that they were traveling through this route because they had been ordered to meet the Palpa General. They met me on the fifth day of the month (of Chaitra). On the sixth day, I sent (the peons), escorted by one private of the Sher Paltan and two privates of the Shardul Jung, instructing them to take the communication quickly and safely without making any delay on the way. They may arrive there 10 or 12 days from today. There are reports that the roads are closed because of the desan (?). I have issued a passport from here, but there may be delay if they are held up. If they are held up even when they hold a passport issued by me, it may be good if you send messages or messengers from there as appropriate to the checkpost.

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When (these peons) reach there, read out the communication (Khalita) before (His Majesty), note its contents, send a clear and courteous reply and send them back early. It may be good if you send a copy of the communication here.

Wednesday,

Chaitra Badi 1, 1869 (Vikrama),

Srinagar, Palpa.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, pp. 205-207.

2. From Amar Singh Thapa,

To Bhimsen Thapa and Ranadhwaj Thapa.

Blessings. I am well here and wish the same of you. I have received your letter and noted its contents. The news here is good.

Your letter of Aswin Badi 7 reached here on Aswin Badi 7. You have written: "The royal seal has been affixed on the order relating (to the reclamation) of waste (Kalabanjar) lands which Hastadal Shahi had sent, and sent herewith a reply to his letter. Instruct Bhavani Datta Thapa to hold on to the territory occupied by him by producing records, and not to relinquish even a single inch of territory. It appears that Ram Singh Sunar himself sends letters and petitions in the name of the entire ryots. Many anonymous letters too are received from him. Issue orders to summon everybody and have the matter discussed."

You have also written: "Leave all doubt as regards the appointment of a Kumbhedan and the amalgamation of old companies. Amalgamate suitable companies, including the one commanded by Jayanta Shahi."

I have noted these instructions. You have affixed the royal seal on the order relating (to the reclamation) of waste (Kalabanjar) lands which Hastadal Shah had sent, and despatched it along with a reply to his letter. Accordingly, I shall write to both brothers, Hastadal Shah and Chautara Bam Shah, with the following instructions. "A royal order has been received in your names directing you to proceed to Nalapani, select a suitable site for the construction of a fort, and come back after issuing necessary orders. The royal order is enclosed herewith. You will understand other particulars from it. You are wise and mature persons. The time is already ripe. Now proceed quickly to Nalapani, select a suitable site for the construction of a fort, issue instructions to mechanics regarding the type of fort that should be constructed and come back after they commence construction." I then despatched the royal order and letter addressed to them, as soon as these reached me.

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I sent a letter to Bhavani Datta Thapa too, instructing him to hold on to the territory occupied by him by producing records, and not to relinquish a single inch of territory.

Ram Singh Sunar has absconded and has not been traced so far. I have issued orders that the matter should be discussed in the presence of Bicharis and ryots as well as Ram Singh Sunar himself, and the judgment as decided upon forwarded to (His Majesty).

So far as the appointment of a Kumbhedan is concerned, Sardars, Subedars and all others say that one needs to be appointed, since there are now 606 musket-bearing soldiers. I have already reported the views of Jayanta Shahi and Birabhanjan Bohra. (His Majesty) ordered that a Kumbhedan should not be appointed. This is good and I am pleased over this decision. I shall personally inspect the drill every Sunday and Thursday. Soldiers too will be recruited after proper inspection and scrutiny.

So far as the question of amalgamating companies is concerned I have already reported to (His Majesty) as well as to you that it was decided to amalgamate Jayanta Shahi's company. When the astrologer was consulted, he said, "The Pitri-Paksha is going on at present. The third day of Navaratra will be auspicious." After the Pitri-Paksha expires, then, on the third day of the Navaratra, I shall amalgamate the company commanded by Jayanti Shahi with the Paltan.

Subedar Dharmaraj Khatri has reported from Pyuthan that he has despatched 101 musket-bearing troops. Guns too will reach here in a day or two. The number has now reached 606.

Two days ago, I had sent the draft of an order relating to the Khanai emoluments of the old personnel of the Sabuj as well as of the personnel added in 1868 (Vikrama). It will be good if the matters that are included or omitted therein are represented to (His Majesty) and the royal seal affixed on it early.

It does not appear suitable that some should be wearing Kurthis (shirts) while others are not. I have sent letters to traders instructing them to bring banat cloth if available in Gorakhpur. If green (Sabuj) banat is available there, and if you send 3 bales (basta) for Kurthis, and half a bale for Hasil (?), this would be sufficient for the newly-recruited Jamadars and 200 musket-bearing soldiers. Old green-colored (Sabuj) Kurthis of the Sabuj (Paltan) had been given to the company

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commended by Jayanta Shahi. They will do for the time being. If it is not available, what can one do ? We shall supply them (with Kurthis) after we reach Butaul. It may be good if (Kurthis) are made ready early and supplied for (Sali ?) as well as for the Jamadars, Huddas, 300 soldiers and musicians (Bheri, Bansuri) who have been added this time.

Judge Dibbleton of Gorakhpur is dead and there are reports that Merton will be appointed as judge, according to Mahadev Padhya. He has also written about Birkesar. I have sent this letter through the mail (Bijnis).

Monday, Aswin Badi 7, 1868 (Vikrama),
Srinagar, Palpa.
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, pp.207-210.

Ijara Grant For Land Reclamation In Bara, 1799

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Kulachand Sahu.

We hereby grant you an Ijara (i.e. contract) for 5 moujas of virgin lands in Tappa Rautahat in Bara district, within the prescribed boundaries. These moujas are Bedauliya, Brikhna and Gharhorwa-Maidakhil in Tarf Panchrauta and Kudwa and Chhapkahiya in Basantapur Parganna. The Ijara shall be valid for a period of 7 years, from the harvesting season for Pach-birahi crops in 1856 (Vikrama) to that of Rabi crops in 1862 (Vikrama). The total amount of revenue payable during this 7-year period shall be 331 rupees and 2 annas, inclusive of Mal-Jahat, Sayer-Jahat, Kal, Hububat and Bahama-Jehati, and exclusive of Amilan levies.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Rate of Increment</u> <u>In The Rupee</u>	<u>Total Increment</u>	<u>Total Revenue</u>
(Vikrama)	Rs/Annas	Rs/Annas	Rs/Annas	Rs/Annas
1856	25	-	-	25
1857	25	/4	6/4	31/4
1858	31/4	/8	15/10	46/14
1859	46/14	/12	35/2½	81/12½
1860	81/12½	1/	81/12½	163/9
1861	163/9	/8	81/12½	245/5½
1862	245/5½	/6	91/15½	337/5

With full assurance, promote reclamation and settlement of these moujas. Make payment of the stipulated land revenue and obtain clearance every year. Appropriate whatever revenue accrues in excess of the stipulated amount.

You shall not be deprived of these 5 moujas for a period of 7 years. You shall be exempt from the Bheti and Salami levies as well as the obligation to supply provisions (Sidha) and provide unpaid labor (Beth, Begar).

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See that the water of rivers is not blocked in the northern (Sira) zone, thereby adversely affecting cultivated moujas in the southern (Bhatha) zone. Do not promote settlement by rendering cultivated Raikar lands waste. Attract settlers from Birta, Jagir and Nankar lands, as well as from India (Moglan), not from Raikar lands.

Marga Sudi 9, 1856,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 1-2.

Ban On Killing Of Rhinoceros, 1798

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Brahmananda Upadhyaya, Subba (of Saptari).

There is a great need of rhinoceros (here). Rhinoceros are being killed in large numbers in the Tarai. You are therefore directed to prohibit everybody, whether belonging to the Moglan (i.e. India) or to our country, from killing rhinoceros. Capture baby rhinoceros and send them here.

Marga Badi 13, 1855,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 694.

Miscellaneous Disbursements From Revenues Of Tarai
Districts

- (1) On Marga Sudi 11, 1856, Dasharath Khatri and Ranamardan Khawas, Subbas of Morang, were directed to remit Rs 3,000 for the purchase of materials required for the wedding of Chautariya Sher Bahadur Shah in Magh 1857. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 4).
- (2) On the same day, Dinanath Padhya, Subba of Saptari-Mahottari, was directed to remit Rs 2,000 for the same purpose. (24/4).
- (3) On Marga Sudi 10, 1856, Gaj Singh, Subba of Parsa-Rautahat, had been directed to remit Rs 1,000 for the same purpose. (24/4).
- (4) On the same day, Subba Gaj Singh was directed to remit Rs 200 through Ambar Singh Rana to procure betel leaves for the royal palace and Rs 236 as the salaries of 5 betel-makers including Hari Barai. Each betel-maker received a salary of Rs 26 per month. (24/5).
- (5) On Marga Sudi 15, 1856, Subba Gaj Singh was directed to pay Rs 400 as a farewell gift to Parashuram Pandit, obviously a visiting Indian priest. (24/10).
- (6) On Poush Eadi 9, 1856, Subba Gaj Singh was directed to pay Rs 1,919 to Guru Brajanath Pandit as ritual gift and cost of materials used while performing religious ceremonies (Japa, Patha, Puja, Purashcharan, on behalf of "our father, the senior Queen-Mother and the Queen-Mother." (24/11-12).

Regulations Of King Mahendra Malla (1560-1574 A.D.) Of
Kathmandu^x

Subjects 1

The (inhabitants) of all the 26 tols, including the ryots, Thakalis and Manes of our neighboring Fukatol and Chhabahal, and Gocha Gubhaju, Manya Jha, Kirtikanta, Surjekhu Dangol, Kaucha Deubhaju, Upacha and Brahmanarsimha of the 14 tols, held a meeting to discuss measures whereby famine and hailstorms could be averted in Nepal.

Kali Brahmacharya Tantrik then performed mystic rites (Purashcharana), whereupon (Goddess) Taleju granted these regulations to Maharaja Mahendra Malla in a dream at mid-night during the bright half of the moon:-

There shall be no gambling among the subjects.

Always do good to the subjects.

Speak the truth.

Disputes in tols and villages shall be settled by local Kachaharis (courts of justice).

The Kachahari in any tol or village shall be composed of a Thakali and a Mane, who shall be mature persons. (Such a Kachahari) shall dispense justice.

Dhiki, grindstones, handlooms and spinning-wheels shall never be kept idle.

^x"Kasthamandapka Raja Mahendramalla Ko Sthiti." (Regulations of King Mahendra Malla of Kathmandu). In Yogi Naraharinath and Baburam Acharya (eds), Rashtrapita Shri 5 Bada Maharaja Prithvi Narayan Sah Devko Divya Upadesh. (Divine Counsel of His Majesty King Prithvi Narayan Shah Dev, Father of the Nation). Kathmandu: Prithvi Jayanti Samaroha Samiti, 2010 (1953) (second revised edition), pp. 30-31. The text is from a fragmentary manuscript in the possession of Shyam Krishna Thapa of Baneshwar, Kathmandu.

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Misfortune will result if Patasi, and other (Gharbuna, Khadi, Kora) homespun cloth is not woven according to a uniform pattern.

For lamps, torches and wicks, go to the forests and use devadaru (wood).

If cloth is woven continuously, it can be made soft and white like paper. In that event, you can sell it to kings in the hills (Gamal) and plains (Madhesh) and become rich.

In case you visit the territories of other kings, learn new skills, such as those (relating to the manufacture of) pots and utensils, and thus steal work, the honor of your country and the prestige of the subject will increase.

For doing any work, send spies to different kingdoms and learn new skills. If, while doing so, they are known and caught, they shall not betray the secrets of their country to anybody. Let them die if they are killed. Learn and bring pure skills, without violating the path (dharma) shown or followed by your customs and traditions, old people and family.

Another regulation:

I shall proclaim by beat of drums: Nobody throughout the kingdom shall remain unfed after-noon. When I sat down to have my meal only after obtaining information that you had taken your rice, I suffered from indigestion, so that my stomach was filled with wind and my mouth emitted sour water. Accordingly, everybody throughout the kingdom shall take his rice within 9 or 10 ghadis after daybreak in the morning, and within 8 to 10 ghadis (after dusk) in the evening. One moment (Nimesh) after the expiry of 10 ghadis, ring a bell. In case anybody violates this order, he shall be punished. If any subject remains hungry, penalty for the sin accruing on that day shall be borne by the Thakali and Mane of that tol.

Prices In Kathmandu, 1914 A.D.

(Prices current on Baisakh 29, 1971 (May 11, 1914 A.D.) in Kathmandu. Reproduced from the Gorkhapatra by the Chamber Patrika, published by the Nepal Chamber of Commerce, Bhadra 4, 2027 (August 20, 1970).

		<u>Per Rs 1</u>
Gold	- Rs 31.00 per tola	<u>Tauli</u> paddy - 3 pathis, 7 manas
Silver	- Rs 0.88 ,,	<u>Tauli</u> rice - 1 pathi, 7 manas
Musk	- Rs 31.00 ,,	<u>Masino</u> rice - 1 pathi, 5 manas
Copper	- Rs 6.00 per dharni	<u>Marsi</u> rice - 1 pathi, 5½ manas
Bronze	- Rs 7.00 ,,	<u>Rahar</u> pulse - 1 pathi
Brass	- Rs 4.00 ,,	<u>Mas</u> ,, - 1 pathi, ½ mana
Iron	- Rs 1.25 ,,	Maize - 3½ pathis
Ghee	- Rs 3.12	Wheat - 3 pathis
Mustard oil	- Rs 0.31 per mana	
	<u>Maida</u> wheat flour - Rs 0.40 per dharni	
	Kerosene oil -Rs 11.50 per tin.	

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,
Kathmandu: June 1, 1971.

Regmi Research Series

Year 3, No. 6,

Edited By:

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,
Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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Regulations Regarding Survey of Pota Lands, 1805

From King Girban,

To Hindu Subedar.

In 1843 (Vikrama), lands on which the Pota tax had been assessed had been surveyed all over Kathmandu Valley by Kaji Jiva Shah and Sardar Parath Bhandari. On the basis of the reports of this survey, (Pota holdings) had been confirmed in Kathmandu and Sankhu, while the excess area was confiscated.

In Bhadgaun and Patan, if Kaji (Jiva Shah) and Sardar (Parath Bhandari) had compiled a separate record of Pota lands, confirm the specified area of such Pota holdings as have been listed therein in favor of the subjects, in addition to half of the excess area, if any. Records shall be compiled of the remaining half of such excess area and produced before us.

In case Kaji (Jiva Shah) and Sardar (Parath Bhandari) had not surveyed (Pota holdings in Bhadgaun and Patan), or if you do not locate records of the surveyed lands, measure such holdings accurately.

Confirm in favor of the subjects such lands as have been included in the Pota survey records. If any excess area is detected, confiscate (words illegible); prepare records thereof and submit them to us. We hereby grant authority for these operations (words illegible). Act in accordance with these regulations. In case anybody submits a complaint against you before us (words illegible), we shall not hear only one side. We shall hear both sides and punish the offender according to the nature of his offense.

Complete this work soon. In case you make delay, you shall be held guilty. Understand this, and complete the work (words illegible).

Regulations

1. Scrutinize the Pota records and make a copy of them. Find out whether or not the Pota tax is being collected from every assessee according to these records. Also ascertain whether or not the collections are deposited in the treasury. If these are being deposited, this is good. If the collections are misappropriated before they reach the treasury, find out who is responsible for such misappropriation. Obtain a confession from him and punish him with a fine double the amount thus misappropriated.

Contd...

2. If the owner of the field does not present himself at the time of the survey, and hides himself in an attempt to cause obstruction, so that he does not give accurate particulars of his holding, confiscate it and appropriate the crop on behalf of the government. If (any owner submits false particulars), and this is exposed later, report the matter to us and award punishment as commanded.
3. If Potadar Jaisis¹ do not produce the required records and documents, hide themselves and thus obstruct the work, report the matter to us and award punishment as commanded. Appoint surveyors (dongol) and Mahanes² in necessary numbers. If surveyors do not measure lands accurately, report the matter to us and award physical punishment³ as commanded.
4. If Ukas⁴ lands are discovered, arrears of Pota tax due from the subjects, if any, shall be collected for the period between such detection and the date of remission. If such arrears are due from collectors (Tahasidar), these shall be collected accordingly. No action shall be taken if the collections have been transmitted to the palace.
5. (Expenses incurred) on clerks, peons, paper, ink, office, cloth for packing documents (basta) and salaries and rent assignments (bali-kharcha) required for the survey operations shall be met from revenue collected in the course thereof. Remission will be granted for reasonable expenditure when the accounts are audited. But no remission will be granted for unreasonable expenditure. Understand this and incur expenses accordingly.
6. Salami levy had been imposed when the new Pota tax had been remitted. Submit a report containing particulars of the rates at which this levy was collected.

Jestha Sudi 3, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 1-4.

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1. i.e. Jaisis who had been appointed as officials for the collection of the Pota tax.
 2. i.e. a local functionary who assisted in tax collection and land administration.
 3. The term used is "Sasana Garnu."
 4. Ukas means unclaimed lands.

Judicial Regulations, 1806¹

From King Girban,

To Subba Madho Sahi, Shrinath Pantha, Jagannath Ghimirya, Ramasundar Thapa, Gajadhar Pantha, Krisnanand Lohani, Krishnanand Padhya, Ramachandra Thapaliya, Ramachandra Shivakoti, Shrivilas Padhya, Karnabir Adhikari, Harinarayan Dotyal, Radhaballabh Padhya and Shrikrishna Pantha.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations prescribing the functions which you shall perform in the region west of the Kanaka and Tista rivers and east of the Mahakali river, duly insuring justice, not showing favor to any one or appropriating bribes or advance payments, and proving true to our salt. Conduct investigations according to these regulations. In case any person, high or low, belonging to the above-mentioned region makes any complaint or submits any report against you before us, we shall not hear only one side. We shall hear both sides, and award deserving punishment to whomsoever is proved guilty. Conduct investigations with full assurance.

Regulations

1. In case anybody has taken a bribe from any person after Falgun 1860 (Vikrama),² a confession shall be obtained from him and a fine of an amount three times the bribe shall be imposed. In case (anybody) had taken a bribe before 1860 and thereby caused loss to the king, investigations shall be conducted, a confession obtained and a fine of an amount three times the bribe shall be imposed on the person who has taken the bribe.
2. In case anybody has evicted the owner and occupied a house even when the latter has committed no offense, and no order has been issued (to take such action), documentary evidence shall be scrutinized, and the house shall be restored to the owner. Inquiries shall be conducted into (expenses incurred by) the tenant in repairing the house as well as the rent, and the balance of the rent shall be handed over to the owner. Salami fee shall then be collected from such owner and transmitted to the palace.

1. Dinesh Raj Pant, "Swami Maharaj Rana Bahadur Shah Ko Vi. Sam. 1862 Ko Bandobast" (Administrative Arrangements Made By Swami Maharaj Rana Bahadur Shah in 1862 Vikrama (1806 A.D.). Purnima, 24, Magh-Chaitra, 2027 (January-March 1971), 238-267 pp. Footnotes added by Mahesh C. Regni.

2. Ex-King Rana Bahadur Shah had returned to Nepal after his self-imposed exile in Banaras, India on this date.

Contd...

3. Conduct investigations to find out which Bhardar or Amali³ has remitted Sirta⁴ or other taxes and levies due to the government without authority, or reduced them after taking a bribe or because of nepotism and favoritism, or suppressed (information relating to such revenue), or misappropriated (the proceeds) himself. Prepare a report and submit it to us.
4. Any person who enslaves the children of the subjects in the absence of any offence or without our order shall be punished. Those who have been enslaved shall be freed.⁵
5. After the time-limit (of tax exemption) on lands reclaimed by any person has expired, the lands shall be assigned to the company.⁶ In case any person stipulates that he will reclaim lands and receives a royal order accordingly but lets government lands remain waste, conduct inquiries and collect rents every year at the rate of Rs 25 per 100 muris of lands in case these have been left waste in the absence of any obstruction from any quarter.
6. Conduct inquiries to ascertain how much income accrues from Sira⁷ lands, cattle farms, etc. which are operated directly (Amanat) by the palace and how much is actually transmitted to the palace. Collect whatever is held up and transmit it to the palace. A fine of an amount three times the amount thus held up shall be imposed on the guilty person.

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3. The term Amali means the chief administrative officer at the district, village or other level.
 4. i.e. the tribute paid by a vassal principality to Kathmandu; the term is sometimes used also to denote homestead taxes of a particular category (cf. Yogi Naraharinath, Itihas Prakash (Light on History), Vol. 2, Book 2, pp 279-281).
 5. For other orders relating to restrictions on enslavement during the nineteenth century, see Regmi Research Series, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1969, pp. 44-45.
 6. i.e. a company in the Army.
 7. Sira means lands appropriated to meet the requirements of the royal household. For additional information, see Mahesh C. Regmi, Land Tenure and Taxation In Nepal, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1963-68, Vol. II, pp. 23-24.

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7. In case there is evidence that Amalis, Ijaradars⁸ and other persons from whom revenue is due have obtained clearance from the government without making disbursements to prescribed persons and without producing receipts, the amount due shall be calculated and disbursed as prescribed. If the person to whom disbursement had been prescribed has relinquished his claim, the amount shall be collected and transmitted to the palace. The Ijaradar, and the Bhardar who has granted clearance without our order, shall be punished with a fine double this amount.
8. Conduct investigations to ascertain who has misappropriated Panchakhat⁹ revenue without any order from us. (Collect such revenue) and transmit it to the palace.
9. Conduct investigations to ascertain how much has been collected by persons responsible for the collection of the new Pota tax,¹⁰ the Salami levy, the Puchhahi tax on buffaloes, fines levied on Jaisis,¹¹ fees on copper inscriptions¹² and the scrutiny of Guthi endowments, fines levied for adulteration of milk with water, the Gadimubarak levy,¹³ fines imposed for charging a discount on exchange of currency,

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8. Ijaradar means a person to whom a contract for the collection of revenue has been granted.
 9. Panchakhat, during the nineteenth century, meant proceeds of fines imposed on persons guilty of bribery, smuggling, murder (including infanticide), physical injury resulting in the shedding of blood and cow slaughter. (cf. Appointment of Chautariya Dalamardan Shah As Ijaradar In Bara And Parsa, Ashadh Sudi 6, 1843 (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 46). Such revenues were generally reserved for the royal palace. (cf. Order Regarding Panchakhat And Other Revenues In Lamjung And Elsewhere, Ashadh Badi 10, 1848 (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 45).
 10. The Pota tax on certain categories of Birta lands in Kathmandu Valley had first been levied by King Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1772 A.D. (cf. Order Regarding Payment Of Pota Taxes In Patan, Poush Sudi 15, 1829, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 626).
 11. Cf. "The Jaisi Caste", Regmi Research Series, Year 2, No. 12, December 1, 1970, pp. 277-285.
 12. Beneficiaries of Birta grants for which copper inscriptions were issued were required to pay fees. Cf. Order Regarding Rates Of Fees For Copper Plate Inscriptions, Chaitra Sudi 12, 1863, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 157.
 13. i.e. a levy collected when a new king was crowned. See Mahesh C. Regmi, op. cit. p. 29.

Walak levies¹⁴ and Mahanta Mandali fees,¹⁵ how much they have misappropriated and how many ryots they have evicted. Obtain confessions from them, discover (and recover) misappropriated and concealed amounts, and transmit the proceeds to the palace. Those responsible for such misappropriation or concealment shall be fined with an amount three times the sum thus misappropriated or concealed.

10. Adais¹⁶ and officials of the Hitichok¹⁷ who are responsible for the management of Sira lands may have used separate and counterfeit mana and pathi measures for receipts and disbursements and thus made a profit. Realize such amounts and transmit them to the palace. Warn them that they should not use unstamped mana and pathi measures, weights and balances in the future.
11. Obtain a confession from those who have misappropriated goods procurd (by the palace) and gifts and punish them. The goods which they admit to have misappropriated shall be submitted to the palace.

14. Walak levies were collected twice a year in the form of ghee, oil, goats or boar from local functionaries and the common people at different rates or the commuted value of such payments. These levies were of three categories: Sauna Fagu Walak, Harsha Bismatko Walak and Kaj Kalyan Ko Walak. Cf. Order Regarding Panchakhat And Other Revenues In Lamjung And Elsewhere, Ashadh Badi 10, 1848, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 45; Order Regarding Collection Of Walak Levy In Thecho And Elsewhere, Falgun Badi 13, 1863, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 136; Order Regarding Imposition of Walak Levies In Different Areas, Ashadh Badi 9, 1860, Regmi Research Collections, Ashadh Badi 9, 1860, Vol. 5, pp. 389-91.
15. i.e. Revenue from Judicial fines, escheats, etc. from members of monastic orders. Cf. Assignment of Mahanta Mandali Revenues To Mahanta Jayakrishna In Newly-Conquered Hill Areas, Ashadh Sudi 1, 1843. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 171.
16. i.e. functionaries who were in charge of Sira lands. Cf. Assignment of Lands At Sira In Western Hill Region, Baisakh Badi 8, 1843, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 71.
17. i.e. an office at the royal palace which was responsible for the performance of religious and other functions.

Contd....

12. In case there is evidence that priests have obtained ritual gifts in cash from the palace for disbursement to other Brahmans but have not actually made such disbursements, obtain a confession from them, recover the appropriate amounts and disburse them as ritual gifts to persons to whom these are due. Persons who have misappropriated or concealed such amounts shall be fined.
13. Obtain a confession from those who have misappropriated materials meant for use in religious ceremonies at temples, as well as ornaments of gods and goddesses and temple funds, recover what has been misappropriated, report the matter to us, and transmit it to the temple. Persons responsible for such misappropriation shall be punished.
14. In case there is evidence that anybody has misappropriated the cash or other property of the Malla Kings, or retained it in his custody without spending it, a confession shall be obtained from him and the property shall be recovered and submitted to the palace. Such person shall also be punished.
15. A confession shall be obtained from any person who has kept the daughter of a Kasai, a Kushle, a Dhobi or a Kulu as his wife and (let others) use water touched by him. He shall then be punished.
16. A confession shall be obtained from any person who demolishes rest-houses, roadside shelters, temples and bridges without any order from us and uses (the materials) for his own purpose. He shall then be punished.
17. Scrutinize the accounts of income and expenditure of the Mines Office (Khani Mahal). Obtain a confession from any person who has concealed, suppressed information on or misappropriated (revenue accruing from mines). (The misappropriated amount shall be recovered) and transmitted to the palace. The guilty person shall be punished.
18. In case any person belonging to any of the four castes and thereby-six sub-castes in our kingdom violates the customs of his caste, and keeps a relative as his wife, obtain a confession from him and punish him according to the nature of his guilt.
19. Conduct accurate investigations to ascertain what taxes and levies being paid by ryots throughout our kingdom to the former kings have been kept unpaid and what additional taxes and levies have been imposed by which Amali after our conquest, submit a report to us and take action as commanded.

Contd...

20. Obtain a confession from those who have been taking narcotics (bhang, chares) and indulging in gambling since 1860 (Vikrama) and punish those who had not been punished before. Issue a proclamation to the effect that in case any person takes (narcotics) or gambles in the future, he shall be sentenced to physical punishment according to caste status.
21. In case any Ijaradar or other revenue collector has imposed a fine of more than Rs 100 and appropriated the proceeds himself, obtain a confession from him, recover the amount and transmit it to the palace.
22. In the regions situated between the Kanaka river in the east and Garhwal in the west, in case any person has slaughtered cows and bulls¹⁸ other than yaks, makes payment of fines which he had not paid before, but slaughters cows and bulls again, obtain a confession from him and produce him before us. Punish Amalis and villagers who receive information regarding the slaughter of cows and bulls but try to suppress it. Issue a proclamation to the effect that cows and bulls shall not be slaughtered in the future, and that anybody who does so shall undergo punishment on life and property. In the future, the Amali shall sentence to capital punishment those who slaughter cows and bulls.
23. In case escheat property of Magars has been lying concealed anywhere, recover it if it has not been included in Ijara grants and Jagir assignments.
24. Have surveyors (dongols) measure all Khet lands in the regions between the Kanaka river in the east and Garhwal in the west, including Palpa, Gulmi, Argha and Khanchi, which had been surveyed and assigned to the Army in 1862 (Vikrama). A report regarding the area that is found to be in excess of the prescribed allotment (Raibandi) shall be submitted to us and action taken as commanded.
25. Have surveyors survey Khet lands left after making assignments to the Army. Submit a report to us and take action as commanded.

18. The term used in the text is Go-Vadha. For further particulars regarding the ban on cow-slaughter, see Regmi Research Series, Year I, No. 1, November 1, 1959, pp. 15-19.

26. Birta, Guthi and other Khet lands, regarding which no documentary evidence of ownership is available, and for which confirmation has been obtained (by the owners) in collusion with the inspectors, representing an outsider as the owner of an adjoining land holding and making him take oath, shall all be confiscated. Such lands shall be measured with the help of surveyors (dongols) and assigned to the troops. The (official) who confirms lands in this manner and the persons who obtain confirmation and take oath shall all be punished.¹⁹

27. Confiscate lands which have been confirmed by (officials) deputed to inspect them on payment of bribes or left (without any action being taken) through nepotism and favoritism. Such lands shall be measured with the help of surveyors and assigned to the army. (The official) who has confirmed lands through bribery or favoritism shall be punished.

28. Scrutinize Khuwa²⁰ and Chhap²¹ land grants and submit a report to us.

29. In case (the beneficiary of any land grant) has encroached upon (adjoining land-holdings) beyond the four boundaries mentioned in the royal grant, the boundaries shall be examined, and the area which has been encroached upon shall be confiscated. It shall be measured with the help of surveyors and assigned to the troops. In case (any person) has utilized additional land beyond the boundaries (of his holding), he shall be punished.

19. Birta and Guthi lands lacking documentary evidence of title had been confiscated during 1862-63 Vikrama. Cf. Land Survey Regulations, Separate regulations for different regions in the hill districts, including Kathmandu Valley, were promulgated on different dates between Baisakh and Poush, 1862. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 162-192; Vol. 19, pp. 257-421; Vol. 20, pp. 216-359). Regulations for the scrutiny of particulars collected in the course of these surveys were promulgated on Baisakh Badi 2, 1862, with addenda on Baisakh Sudi 3, 1862. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 501 and 514). Similar regulations were promulgated for the eastern Tarai districts on Poush Badi 30, 1862 and Shrawan Badi 30, 1863. (Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 695 and 858).

20. Khuwa meant Pakho land assignments which yielded a cash income to Jagirdars.

21. i.e. land grants made generally on a life-time and exempt basis.

Contd...

30. Khet lands being utilized by individuals on the ground that these have been mortgaged by former Kings shall be measured with the help of surveyors and the particulars scrutinized. A report indicating the excess area that has been utilized, the actual area mortgaged and the sum invested shall be submitted to us and action taken as commanded.
31. In case (officials) deputed to inspect Khet lands are proven to have retained such lands on the pretext of Sera, these shall be measured with the help of surveyors and assigned to the troops.
32. Submit accurate reports regarding the amount of Salami appropriated from the owners by (officials) deputed to inspect Khet lands in consideration of the confirmation thereof and act as commanded.
33. In case complaints are received that any (debtor) has defaulted in the payment of amounts actually due to creditors who are in possession of bonds, or that (creditors) have oppressed ryots and exacted interest at more than ten per cent, these shall be heard and disposed of. The amount exacted (as interest) in excess of ten per cent shall be deducted from the principal amount. One-fourth thereof shall be transmitted to us.²²
34. Compile particulars of Khet lands confiscated since 1861 and 1862 separately for each thum,²³ town and village. Ascertain who has appropriated rents on such lands during these two years, to which company the lands have been assigned, entitling the assignee to appropriate rents during the current year and who other than companies have appropriated (the rents) and submit a report to us. In case anybody has appropriated (rents) without an order from us, a fine of an amount double (the value of such rents) shall be imposed on him.

22: Rana Bahadur Shah thus anticipated the credit provisions of the 1964 land reform program by 158 years. According to Section 45 (a) of the 1964 Lands Act: "In case the creditor has exacted interest at more than ten per cent in cash or in kind, such amount of interest as exceeds this percentage shall be deemed to have been deducted from the principal." Nepal Gazette, Vol. 14, No. 18, (Extraordinary), Marga 1, 2021 (November 16, 1964).

23. i.e. sub-division of a district.

35. In case Brahmans and Chhetris have taken liquor, remove them from their caste and confiscate their property. Members of Tagadhari²⁴ communities other than these two shall be sentenced to severe punishment (for this offense) and removed from their caste.
36. In case any person has utilized Khet lands assigned as Jagir during the time of the Malla Kings, paying Pota tax thereon after our conquest and claiming that these are Birta, he shall be punished. The lands shall be confiscated and assigned to the company.
37. In case complaints are submitted to the administrative court (Sresta Adalat) to the effect that Amalis anywhere in the kingdom have committed injustice, hear them, obtain confessions and dispose them of. The fines and Jitauri fees levied (from the losing and winning side respectively) shall be transmitted to us.
38. (In case anybody) has remitted compulsory and unpaid labor (Jhara) due to the king and exacted money, the amount shall be ascertained and transmitted to us.
39. In case anybody has falsely represented as Suna Birta²⁵ after our conquest lands belonging to the government granted by the Malla Kings as Jagir or Manachamal,²⁶ and utilized such lands after paying the Pota tax thereon, a complaint shall be instituted against him, a confession obtained, and the lands resumed. Fines too shall be imposed. Such action shall be taken with our prior approval.

24. The term Tagadhari denotes sacred thread-wearing communities. Members of these communities were prohibited from taking liquor, chicken, beef, buffalo-meat and other foodstuffs. Cf. "Madapan Achhuti." (On Untouchability And Taking of Liquor)." In His Majesty's Government, Shri 5 Surendra Vikram Shah Devka Shasankalma Baneko Muluki Ain, (Legal Code Enacted During The Reign of King Surendra Vikram Shah Dev): Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 2022 (1965), (Reprint), Section 4, p.369

25. i.e. Lands sold as Birta by the State to private individuals in Kathmandu Valley during the Malla period. For additional particulars, see Mahosh C. Regmi, op. cit. pp. 19-20, 39-40.

26. Land grants similar to Chhap, Ibid, pp. 30-31.

Contd...

40. (In case any person) has removed goods from the palace without any order from us, inquiries shall be conducted, a confession obtained and (the goods) transmitted to us.

Sunday, Baisakh Badi 3, 1863,
(Chaitra 26, 1862 Vikrama,
April 8, 1806 A.D.).

The document bears the following counter-signatures on the reverse:-

Bhimsen Thapa

Sher Bahadur Shah

Bahadur Bhandari

Pran Shah

Balanarasing Kunwar

Ranadhvaj Thapa

Ranajit Pande

Narasing.

Kirat Influence On Lichchhavi History¹

By

Dhanabajra Bajracharya.

The Lichchhavi period was a golden age in Nepal from many points of view. This is proved by its systematic administration, well-organized public life, high level of learning and attractive art. But in order to understand the Lichchhavi period properly, we must pay attention to the preceding period also. The reason is that the Lichchhavi had not become so advanced all of a sudden. Its progress was the result of gradual evolution. But we do not have authentic material for the pre-Lichchhavi period, or even for the early Lichchhavi period. We can only arrive at some tentative conclusions in this regard.

The Gopalarajavamshavali and other Vamshavalis, as well as the Swayambhu-Puran² and the Himavat-Khanda³ tell us that Nepal Valley was originally a lake and that human settlement started here after the water was drained out. The valley was covered with forests in the beginning. Later, Copalas or cattle-farmers inhabited it, followed gradually by other settlers.

The Gopalarajavamshavali was compiled during the first half of the 15th century according to the Vikrama era during the reign of Sthiti Malla. It contains brief particulars of important historical events from the beginning till the reign of Sthiti Malla. Until 2 or 3 centuries before Sthiti Malla, the particulars are quite authentic. But this cannot be said of particulars belonging to the earlier period. Even then, the Gopalarajavamshavali depicts the ancient mythological tradition. Proper research would yield much valuable material from this source. Moreover, the Gopalarajavamshavali was the source of later Vamshavalis. These later Vamshavalis, however, although describing many things about several Lichchhavi Kings, have even forgotten that they belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty. Even during the time when the Gopalarajavamshavali was compiled,

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1. Dhanabajra Bajracharya, "Lichchhavikal Ko Itihasma Kiratakalako Prabhav." (Influence of Kirat Period on the History of The Lichchhavi Period). Purnima, 17 Baisakh-Ashadh 2025 (April-June 1968), pp. 1-8.
 2. According to the Swayambhu-Purana: "During the time of Vipashchi, the Nepala-Mandala was covered with water. It was known as Kali-Rhada (Lake). It was 7 Kosh long and equally broad." From the Swayambhu-Purana published by the Asiatic Society, pp. 38-39.
 3. According to the Himavat-Khanda: "At the time when I shall be known in the form of light (Jyoti), this region will be called Naga-Hrada. The course of the Bagmati river will be blocked. After it is opened, the Nepala-Mandala shall be covered with forests." From the Himavat-Khanda edited by Yogi Naraharinath, pp. 180-181.

Contd.

many events of the Lichchhavi period had come down in the form of legends. Not all of them are accurate, but it appears that the compiler of the Gopalarajavamshavali possessed much knowledge about the Lichchhavi period. As such, we cannot say that the account of the pre-Lichchhavi period as given in the Gopalarajavamshavali is wholly incorrect. It is necessary therefore to pay attention to what the compiler of the Gopalarajavamshavali has said.

The Gopalarajavamshavali begins as follows:-

"At the beginning of the Kali age, there were Gopalas (i.e. there was a settlement of cattle farmers) in the land situated on the lap of the mountains and covered with forests. ... There were 8 Gopala Kings. The Gopala Kings were then defeated by Mahishapala Kings (i.e. buffalo farmers). There were 3 Mahishapala Kings. Kiratas then defeated the Mahishapala Kings and began to rule. ... There were 32 Kirata Kings. These Kiratas (now) inhabit the regions between the Tamakoshi and Arun-koshi rivers. ... Then, because of the influence of the solar dynasty, the Lichchhavi dynasty vanquished the Kirata Kings and began to rule in Nepal."

The compiler of the Gopalarajavamshavali has thus recorded the popular belief that human settlement commenced in Nepal Valley after the beginning of the Kali age, that is, nearly 5,000 years ago. The Gopalarajavamshavali also describes how Gopala Kings and then Mahishapala Kings ruled here, and how the Kiratas were displaced after a long rule by the Lichchhavis. It lists the names of the Gopala, Mahishapala and Kirata Kings in chronological order and also gives the duration of the reign of each. In view of the lack of evidence, it is not possible to determine these chronologies are authentic. But this account at least constitutes evidence that Kiratas ruled here before the Lichchhavis. This is indicated also by the names of government offices (Adhikarana), taxes and the forced labor system (Vishti) as well as settlements, streams and rivers, ponds and irrigation channels and hills and mountains in and around Nepal valley. It is therefore necessary to discuss the matter.

Many Adhikaranas appear to have been established during the Lichchhavi period to conduct the affairs of administration. There were mainly 4 of them, according to contemporary inscriptions. The Jaisidwal inscription thus states:⁴

4. This inscription, which is broken at places, has been published by Bhagavan Lal (No. 3) as well as by Gnoli (No. 13). It has been published also in the Sanskrit-Sandesh (Year I, No. 9).

Contd...

"Bhattaraka-Maharaja Shri Vasantadeva sends greetings to ... officers of ... all the four Adhikaranas from Managriha and directs ... Lingwala ... Kuthera ... "

Similarly, the Chaukitar inscription states:⁵

/privilege that the
Kuthera Adhikarana and
the

"Bhattaraka-Maharaja Shri Ganadeva sends greetings to ... all householders from Managriha and orders: Former kings had favored you with the Shuli Adhikarana shall not enter (into your settlement) ... we hereby direct that the Lingwala Adhikarana and the Mapchok Adhikarana shall not enter (into your settlement) in matters connected with the five principal crimes (Panchaparadha). This stone inscription is installed accordingly."

Inscriptions with similar contents have been found in Balambu and Kisipidi also. These inscriptions show that Kuthera, Shuli (or Sholli),⁶ Lingwala and Mapchok were the principal offices (Adhikarana). None of these four names is of Sanskrit origin. All inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period are in the Sanskrit language. In fact, Sanskrit was then the national language. In these circumstances, it is worth noting why these four terms are of non-Sanskrit origin. The Lichchhavi rulers, who were able to have everything written in Sanskrit, could have treated the names of these four Adhikaranas also in the same language. Subsequently, we find the names of some offices such as Pacchimadhikarana and Purvadhikarana given in Sanskrit. Similarly, the inner royal court was described as Antarasana or Paramasana, both of which are Sanskrit words.

The names of a number of taxes too are in non-Sanskrit local languages. The following extract from the Thankot inscription⁷ will make this clear:-

"Bhattaraka Bhimarjunadeva and his representative, Shri Jishnuguptadeva, have ordered: Exemption had been granted from payment of Chailakara (a tax on cloth) known as Chokhpara in the hill situated to the north of the village for (the maintenance) of the tank constructed by Managupta Gomi, our eldest great-grand-father. ... We, pleased for certain reasons, have granted another special favor to the householders living in your village. Half of the tax payable on a holding which can be plowed with one ox-team (Go-Hola) for bull-fights (Go-Yuddha) in Dakshinakoligrama (village) has been remitted. Those who paid 1 Karshapana as Sinkara tax shall now pay only 8 panas; those who paid 8 panas shall now pay only 4 panas."

5. Purnima, 10, pp. 1-4.

6. See the inscription as published by Gnoli.

7. Purnima, 8, pp. 1-3.

Contd...

The terms Chokhpara and Sim, used here to denote taxes, are not of Sanskrit origin. They belong to popular dialects then current. It is probable that the term Sim means wood as in the Newari, Tamang, Limbu and other languages at present.⁸ Cho even at present means a hill. The Newari language at present uses the words Gun (a wooded hill), Bu (a rice-field), Kicha (Kisi or elephant) and Tilamaka (irrigation channel) with the same meanings these had during the Lichchhavi period.

The practice of exacting unpaid labor on a compulsory basis from the subjects for meeting governmental requirements is known as Vishti (Jhara). The terms used in inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period to denote Vishti labor of different categories are not always of Sanskrit origin. According to the Bhringareshwar inscription of Sunaguthi:-⁹

"Bhattaraka-Maharaja Shri Bhimarjunadeva and his associate, Shri Vishnugupta, have, with due respect for future kings of Nepal, shown them the way. ... The Panchalikas of Bhringaragrama (village) ... contributed Kashasthi Vishti (labor) with great pleasure ... for transporting stone suitable for ... a marvellous image of (Vishnu) ... privilege that ... shall not enter ... "

Similarly, the Balambu inscription states:¹⁰

"Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja Shri Shivadeva ... hereby orders: This village, which has been granted the privileges of a Kotta (fort), is assigned for supervision and possession by the inhabitants of the Shitati Dranga, along with its outskirts (Tala). No Chatabhata (official) may enter into (this village), and the Jhalandu Vishti has been remitted.

The term Kashasthi and Jhalandu used in these inscriptions clearly do not belong to the Sanskrit language.

An inscription installed by Bhimarjunadeva and Jishnugupta in Kewalpur refers to the remission of obligations such as Dangkhattardha. This term does not belong to the Sanskrit language.

8. Cf. Vaidya Panna Prasad Joshi, Samkshipta Nepalabhashashabdakosha (concise Newari Dictionary), p. 255; Iman Singh Chemjong, Limbu-Nepali-Angreji Shabdakosha (Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary), p. 296; Purnima, 2, p. 47.

9. Purnima, 16, pp. 358-359.

10. Gnoli, No. 76.

11. Published by Yogi Naraharinath and Gnoli.

Vastu meant a category of in-kind taxes. The terms used to denote Vastu taxes also do not appear to have been of Sanskrit origin. According to the Sanga inscription of Amshuvarma;¹²

"Shri Mahasamanta Amshuvarma sends greetings to headmen and other householders in Shanga (i.e. Sanga) village and orders: Realizing your hardships, we remit in Hahmu vastu, 12 jars of oil and the five Hahmu vastus with effect from today. Understand this, and do not make payments in the form of these vastus and oil in the future to anybody. Functions to be performed by the oil-mill (Tailyashala) ... have been removed from the jurisdiction of ... office (Adhikarana).

Hahmu possibly means sesame. The modern Newari term for this commodity is Hamo.

The Handigaun inscription of Amshuvarma¹³ contains a reference to the payment of 3 Puranas and 1 pana (coins) to runners called Gechchhijaka. Obviously, this term is not of Sanskrit origin. An inscription found at Narayanchaur, Naksal,¹⁴ mentions officials (Dauvarika) known as Rogamachau and Sindriva.

In this context, it is also necessary to discuss the names of settlements, streams and rivers and hills and mountains in and around Nepal Valley. A close study of Lichchhavi inscriptions would reveal that more than 80 per cent of such names belong to popular languages other than Sanskrit. We shall refer to these names only briefly, as the citation of excerpts from these inscriptions will take up much space.

The Changu inscription of Manadeva¹⁵ contains the terms Khakampring and Domman. Two inscriptions installed by Ratnasangha¹⁶ during the reign of Manadeva refer to such place-names as Dulang-Grama, Khopring-Grama, Duprang-Grama, Hmaspring-Grama, Yupa-Grama, Viliviksha, Bemna, Khainashpu, Prangpring, Maishing, Votavorusho, Sitati, Jolpring and Prayittikha.

12. Purnima, 7, pp. 9-10.

13. Levi (No. 13); Gnoli (No. 35).

14. Purnima, 16, p. 361.

15. The text of this inscription as given in Gnoli (No. 2) omits several names. The text as given above has been obtained from the inscription itself. The script used in this inscription and its form indicates that it is a part of Manadeva's famous pillar inscription. See Purnima, 8, p.7.

16. The text of the inscription of 399 Samvat has been published in Gnoli (No.6). It has been published also in Itihas-Samshodhanko Pramanprameyo (p.264). The text of the other inscription is given in Gnoli (No. 10). A copy of this inscription, preserved at the Bir Library, is more legible. This shows that the inscription was installed by Ratnasangha.

The Thankot inscription of Vasantadeva¹⁷ mentions Brangbra, Shulmu, Tepul and Thencho.

The Chaukitar inscription of Ganadeva¹⁸ mentions Tegwala-Grama.

The Golmadhi-Tol (Bhaktapur) inscription of Shivadeva and Amshuvarma¹⁹ mentions Makhomprimko; the Tulachhe-Tol (Bhaktapur) inscription²⁰ mentions Khripung-Grama; the Budanilakantha inscription²¹ mentions Anglavakaspita; the Satungal inscription of Narasimha mentions Khadung-Grama; the Khopasi inscription¹³ mentions Kurppasi; the Changu inscription²⁴ mentions Gung-dimaka-Grama, as well as to Promjhambu, Prongniprang, Promprobang, etc. Other inscriptions too contain place-names of non-Sanskrit origin.

Let us now discuss the names of streams and rivers, ponds, tanks, irrigation channels, bridges, etc. The Changu inscription of Shivadeva and Amshuvarma mentions the Burdumbradul river; the Tokha inscription²⁵ mentions the Jyatikhrin river; and the Lagan (Kathmandu) inscription²⁶ of Shivadeva II mentions Tenkhu. The Changu inscription referred to above also mentions the Udamallaka and Ripshinko bridges and the Vilhinkho stream. The Vajradhara inscription at the Pashupati temple²⁷ mentions the Pashin-pral stream, and the Balambu inscription²⁸ mentions the Lulju stream. Another inscription found in Balambu²⁹ mentions the Kamshukhana and Osthana tanks. The Vajradhara and Lagan inscriptions mention the Mekandidul and Chishimanda irrigation channels.

17. Purnima, 14, p. 126.

18. Gnoli (No. 19).

19. Bendall (No. 1); Gnoli (No. 24).

20. Levi (No. 9); Gnoli (No. 25).

21. Bhagawan Lal (No. 5); Gnoli (No. 27).

22. Gnoli (No. 28).

23. Levi (No. 12); Gnoli (No. 31).

24. Gnoli (No. 34).

25. Levi (No. 29).

26. Purnima, 14, p. 122.

27. Purnima, 14, pp. 119-121.

28. Gnoli (No. 27).

29. Gnoli (No. 25).

Similarly, the Thankot inscription mentions the Pahuncho and Lumbacho hills. The Pharping inscription³⁰ contains the names of Midicho, Khahricho, Bremgumcho and Mogumcho.

Such examples can be multiplied, but those we have mentioned above are sufficient. Even commonsense would tell us that such names as Dulanc, Duprang, Hmaspring, Prangpring, Maishing, Jolpring, Promjhambu, Prongni-prang and Promprobang belong to the Kirata language. It is of course difficult to make a definite assertion in this regard before ascertaining the meaning of these terms from the viewpoint of linguistics. But in view of the popular tradition that the Kiratas ruled here for a long period, and since more than 80 per cent of local place-names are found to belong to Kirata languages, there seems adequate basis to maintain that these places had already become known by these names during the Kirata period. Since these had already become current, the question of changing them did not arise. These names therefore continued to be used during the Lichchhavi period. Several of these names are still in use. These include Khopring-Khopa (Bhaktapur), Kurpasi - Khopasi, Shanga - (Sanga), Tegwala - Tygal, and Tenkhu - Teku.

As in the case of places, streams and rivers, the Lichchhavi rulers did not deem it appropriate to change the names of such offices as Kuthara, Shuli, Lingwala and Mapchok; as well as terms used for in-kind taxes (Vastu) and forced labor (Vishti) obligations which had been used during the Kirata period. Thus though they adopted Sanskrit as the national language and brought it into common usage, the Lichchhavi rulers appear to have continued to use these terms.

This proves that the foundation of the administrative system during the Lichchhavi period had been partly laid during the Kirata period. This proves to some extent the popular tradition that the Kiratas ruled (in Nepal Valley) before the Lichchhavis. This theory can be authoritatively proved if systematic research is undertaken through scientific excavation and other means.

30. Abhilekh-Sangraha, No. 9, pp. 19-20.

Allowances Of Military Personnel In Kumaun And Garhwal

1. From King Girban,

To Chautara Bam Shah and Hastadal Shahi.

We hereby sanction the disbursement of allowances totaling Rs 25,370, granted to military personnel in Kumaun before and after 1866 Vikrama. Make disbursements accordingly. The accounts shall be debited against receipts of disbursements.

(1) Barakh Company	...	Rs 1,304
Ramadal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Samarasur Company	...	Rs 1,304
Bajradal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Yuddhabhairav Company	...	Rs 1,304
Khalakajit Company	...	Rs 1,304
Arjunaban Company	...	Rs 1,304
Ranabhim Company	...	Rs 1,304
Tripuradal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Simhanath Company	...	Rs 1,304
Amaradal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Hanumendhwaj Company	...	Rs 1,304
Dalamardan Company	...	Rs 1,304
Sardar Avimardan and Nirbhaya Sing Thapa	...	Rs 600
Kaji Ranajit Kanwar	...	Rs 1,000

(2) Allowances in lieu of land assignments:-

Contd...

Naya Gorakh Company	...	Rs 2,102
Kaji Ambar Singh Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
Kaji Ranajor Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 4,102

(3) (Allowances) Payable To (Companies) Stationed In Kumaun

Jabar Jang Company (against a total of Rs 978)	...	Rs 434
Bhawanibux Company	...	Rs 978
Chautara Bam Shah (part payment)	...	Rs 1,304

Baisakh Sudi 10, 1868,
Rcgm Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 195-196.

2. From King Girban,

To Kaji Anar Singh Thapa.

We hereby sanction the disbursement of allowances totaling Rs 38,078 as follows to Bhardars and military personnel from Darshan-Bhet and other revenues collected in Besahar and other areas situated west of the Jamuna river. Make disbursements accordingly every year as long as (these Bhardars and military personnel) remain on the front:-

1. Allowances Required For Eight Companies At The Rate Of Rs 4 Each

Naya Sabuj Company	...	Rs 1,304
Aridaman Company	...	Rs 1,304
Ramaban Company	...	Rs 1,304
Maibux Company	...	Rs 1,304
Bhimadal Company	...	Rs 1,304
Kalijang Company	...	Rs 1,304

Contd...

Ranasardai Company	...	Rs 1,304
...	...	Rs 1,304
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 10,432

2. Allowances Required For Six Companies At The Rate Of Rs 3 Each

Ranabam Company	...	Rs 978
Jwaladal Company of Dullu	...	Rs 978
Ranajang Company	...	Rs 978
Ripumardan Company	...	Rs 978
Nainabux Company	...	Rs 978
Chandanath Company	...	Rs 978
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 5,868

3. Allowances Required For Eight Companies At The Rate Of Rs 2 Each

Nandabux Company	...	Rs 652
Ishwaribux Company	...	Rs 652
Devibux Company	...	Rs 652
Samarasarabh Company	...	Rs 652
Gauribux Company	...	Rs 652
Samarasar Company	...	Rs 652
Krishnadal Company	...	Rs 652
Shyamadal Company	...	Rs 652
Jwaladal Company	...	Rs 652
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 5,868

Contd...

4. Allowances Required For Three Captains Of Ten Companies In Garh (wal):

Rs 652 for ten companies, at the rate of Rs 2 each	...	Rs 6,520
Rs 500 for 3 captains	...	Rs 1,500
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 8,020

5. (Allowances) Payable In Sirmuri:

Kaji Amar Singh Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
Kaji Ranajor Thapa	...	Rs 1,000
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 2,000

Baisakh Suii 10, 1868,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 196-198.

Collection Of Walak Levies

From King Girban,

To Dware Jagajit.

We hereby grant you authority to collect Walak levies in the regions situated east of the Mahakali river and west of the Kanaka-Tista river, inclusive of the hill and mountainous regions in the north (Pahad Sesanta Bhotanta), on Amanat basis. Make collections at the rates prescribed below. Do not take anything in excess. Make arrangements to meet expenditure charged on Walak revenues morning and evening. Do not cause any obstruction. At the end of the year, submit accounts to the Dafdarkhana (office) and obtain clearance. Expenses incurred on the salaries of collectors (Tahasildar), clerks, peons, cashiers and storekeeper of Walak revenues, as well as on tours, paper and ink shall be debitted from Walak revenues. Remission shall be granted in the course of audit of accounts.

Schedule of Rates

<u>Particulars</u>		<u>Rate of Tax</u>
1. On each homestead belonging to a Birta owner:-	...	(a) 2 annas in lieu of 1 manna of ghee as <u>Sauna</u> . (b) 2 annas of ghee as Fagu.
2. Amalis and Umras of Thums	...	(a) 4 annas per 100 muris of paddy-lands (<u>Khet</u>) in lieu of gelding goats as <u>Saune Fagu</u> .
3. Jaradars	...	(b) Rs 3 or 1 boar or <u>Besra</u> (Rs 2 and 4 annas in lieu of gelding goat, boar or <u>Besra</u> on <u>Adhiya</u> lands.
4. Adjutants	...	Rs 2 do
5. Major	...	Rs 2 do
6. Kote	...	Rs 2 do

Contd...

7. Private individuals belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes ... (a) 1 anna in lieu of 1 mana of oil as Saune.
(b) 1 anna in lieu of 1 mana of ghee as Fagu.
8. Bitalab landholders who have been paying Saune Fagu shall continue doing so. Those who have not been paying it shall now make payment of Saune Fagu at the rate of 4 annas on each homestead.
9. The rate of Harsha-Bismat-Ko Walak (Walak levy payable on occasions of jubilation or mourning) shall be 2 annas each for Birta, Chhap, Talab, Bitalab and other beneficiaries of land grants under the royal seal, as well as for all private individuals belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes.
10. We hereby sanction Rs 1,800 for paying the salaries of clerks, peons, collectors, storekeepers and cashiers as well as for meeting traveling expenses while collecting Walak levies in the regions situated between the Mahakali river in the west and the Kanaka-Tista in the east.

Fulfill your duties proving true to your salt under this Jagir, which shall continue as long as there is work.

Jostha Sudi 8, 1866,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 48-51.

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Gorkha-Lamjung Treaty,1740 A.D.^x

"We hereby stipulate that the enemy of Lamjung shall be Gorkha's enemy, its friend Gorkha's friend, and vice versa. In case anybody attacks Lamjung with its 8,000 (households), (Gorkha) with its 12,000 (households) shall offer resistance. The words and deeds (of both Lamjung and Gorkha), with their 20,000 (households), shall be the same. Neither shall listen to the words of slave-girls and evil persons. Whatever each earns at any time shall be shared equally. Every grain of sesame shall be ground, and every grain of black gram broken, and so shared equally. (Transit duties ?) on the road leading to Arghau shall be shared equally. Timber and other supplies (due to) Kaski shall be delivered within two years. If Kaski does not accept (these arrangements) even then, it shall be overthrown. If while doing so Gorkha commits any violation (of this treaty) or betrayal, Lamjung shall appropriate 40,000. Action in the east shall be completed. Let Shri Durga and Shri Gorkhanath be witnesses (to this treaty). Pledge signed by Narabhupal Shah to the Raja of Lamjung on Thursday, Magh Badi 7 (Magh 11) 1796 Vikrama."

Notes

This pledge was signed by Narabhupal Shah, King of Gorkha, in favor of the Raja of Kaski in 1796 Vikrama. It gives some information about the contemporary political situation.

At that time Nepal was divided into the Baisi and the Chaubisi principalities in the west, the three kingdoms of Kathmandu Valley and Makwanpur Chaudandi and Vijayapur in the east. Among these kingdoms, the annexation of a few villages or forts belonging to another kingdom, or some financial benefit, was regarded as a major success of statecraft. In particular, attempts used to be made to exert pressure on adjoining kingdoms.

This was true also of such neighboring kingdoms as Gorkha, Lamjung and Kaski. Gorkha had been able not only to maintain its independence but also to expand. This was proving intolerable for Lamjung. As such, Lamjung used to attack Gorkha from time to time. But Gorkha was not strong enough to defeat Lamjung and expand towards the west. Accordingly, Gorkha wanted to expand towards the west. Attempts to this end had started during the reign of Prithvipati Shah and continued during the reign of Narabhupal Shah.

^xNayaraj Pant (et. al.), Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d., Part 3, pp. 929-932.

Contd...

The borders of Nuwakot, which formed a part of the Kingdom of Kathmandu, adjoined those of Gorkha. Gorkha's ambition of annexing Nuwakot was being obstructed by Lamjung. It was likely that Lamjung would attack Gorkha the moment the latter advanced towards the east. In that event, it would have been difficult for Gorkha to defend itself on two fronts. Accordingly, it was necessary to win over Lamjung before advancing towards the east.

Hostility was chronic between Kaski and Lamjung, which adjoined each other. Kaski then used to seek the help of Gorkha against Lamjung. Lamjung on its part wanted Gorkha to support it, as a Gorkha-Kaski alliance would make Kaski strong.

This letter indicates that Gorkha was able to win over Lamjung and advance towards the east. The figure 40,000 mentioned in it probably meant that this sum of money was to be paid by either party violating the pledge. A similar pledge had been offered by King Yoganarendra Malla of Lalitpur in 1758 Vikrama in favor of his allies, Bhaktapur, Gorkha, Makwanpur and Upadhya (Tanahu ?) against Kantipur.

Collection Of Salami Levy In Garhwal, 1809 A.D.

From King Girban,

To the Chaudharis, Negis, Rauts, Pradhans, traders and ryots, as well as to people of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes living in Pargannas Kalyanpur, Kilakhar, Sataur, Sendi, Basantapur and Sahajpur in the Tarai district of Doon in Garh(wal).

In 1861 (Virama), Salami (levy) was imposed all over our kingdom. Accordingly, this levy is imposed on you also (to be paid) from crops of the year 1865. Make payments at the following rates through the collector (Tahasildar) Subedar Upendra Kanwar. In case the Tahasildar makes collections at rates in excess of the following, the excess shall be refunded to the ryots. Ryots on their part shall not make payment in excess (of these rates):-

	<u>Rate of Levy</u>
On lands called <u>Tor</u> growing paddy, <u>Kodo</u> , <u>Sama</u> , <u>Kaguni</u> (millets), barley, wheat, <u>rahar</u> , <u>musuro</u> , <u>gahat</u> (lentils), gram, peas, sesame, rape, mustard, linseed, cotton and sugarcane	... 1 anna per rupee of revenue paid to the Amil.
Sair (customs) and Jagat (transit duties) revenue	... 1 anna per rupee.
While measuring Birta lands, an area of 60 square cubits comprises 1 bigha in that district. On 9 such bighas	... 8 annas.
On Jagir lands, on 9 bighas measured as mentioned above	... 10 annas.
Emoluments of Fouzdars and Peshkars	... 1 anna per rupee.
On the monthly salaries of military personnel	... 1 anna per rupee.
On the emoluments of Lekhwars	... 1 anna per rupee.
On the emoluments which Sayanas are permitted to deduct from revenue collections	... 1 anna per rupee.

On the value of contracts (Ijara) for the reclamation of virgin (Kalabancar lands)	...	1 anna per rupee.
On each homestead paying Khatiyari (occupational) levies	...	2 annas.
On the emoluments of Chaudharis	...	1 anna per rupee.
On the emoluments of village- level Lekhwars	...	1 anna per rupee.
On the homesteads of subjects who do not pay any tax:		
Abal grade	...	4 annas.
Doyam grade	...	3 annas.
Sim grade	...	2 annas.
Chahar grade	...	1 anna.
On commercial establishments:		
Abal grade	...	Rs 10
Doyam grade	...	Rs 2
Sim grade	...	Rs 1 and 8 annas.
Chahar grade	...	Rs 1

Baisakh Sudi 3, 1866,
Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 13-16.

Prices In Kathmandu, 1910-1929 A.D.1. Prices of Tauli Rice and Paddy1967 Vikrama (1910-11 A.D.)^x

Quantity per rupee.

<u>Date</u> (Vikrama Year)	<u>Tauli Paddy</u> pathi/mana	<u>Tauli Rice</u> pathi/mana
Baisakh 27, 1967	5/-	2/2 $\frac{2}{5}$
Jestha 10, 1967	4/4	2/2
Kartik 8, 1967	4/4	2/-
Falgun 2, 1967	4/4	2/2

1972 Vikrama (1915-16 A.D.)

Baisakh 14, 1972	3/6	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Aswin 25, 1972	3/4	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Marga 15, 1972	2/4	1/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Marga 28, 1972	3/4	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Magh 11, 1972	3/7	1/7
Magh 25, 1972	4/-	1/7
Falgun 3, 1972	3/6	1/7

1973 Vikrama (1916-17 A.D.)

Jestha 3, 1973	3/4	1/5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bhadra 27, 1973	3/4	1/5
Kartik 8, 1973	3/4	1/6
Marga 20, 1973	3/4	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$

^xOnly changes on different dates in each year are indicated.

Poush 4, 1973	3/4	1/7
Magh 17, 1973	3/4	1/6
Falgun 26, 1973	3/3	1/4
Chaitra 7, 1973	3/4	1/6
Chaitra 14, 1973	3/3	1/5½
Chaitra 21, 1973	3/3½	1/5½
Chaitra 28, 1973	3/3	1/5

1975 Vikrama (1918-19 A.D.)

Baisakh 3, 1975	4/-	2/-
Baisakh 24, 1975	4/-	1/7
Marga 10, 1975	4/-	1/6½
Poush 2, 1975	3/6	1/6
Poush 16, 1975	3/5½	1/5½
Poush 23, 1975	3/5	1/5½
Falgun 2, 1975	3/3	1/5
Chaitra 25, 1975	3/3	1/4½

1977 Vikrama (1920-21 A.D.)

Baisakh 1, 1977	3/3	1/4
Jestha 12, 1977	3/4	1/4
Marga 15, 1977	2/4	1/1½
Poush 27, 1977	2/3½	1/1
Magh 26, 1977	2/3½	1/2½

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2. Prices Of Miscellaneous Foodstuffs

<u>Particulars</u>	Quantity per rupee		
	<u>Baisakh 7, 1983</u>	<u>Chaitra 22, 1983</u>	<u>Chaitra 14 1985</u>
	pathi/mana	pathi/mana	pathi/mana
<u>Marsi paddy</u>	3/1	3/4	3/6
<u>Tauli paddy</u>	3/3	3/6	4/1
<u>Masino rice</u>	1/2	1/2	1/4
<u>Masino rice</u>	1/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$
<u>Tauli rice</u>	1/5	1/7	1/7 $\frac{3}{4}$
<u>Hakuwa rice</u>	1/6	2/-	2/1
Wheat	2/4	3/-	3/4
Maize	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3/2	3/1
Gram	1/1	1/1	-/7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Black gram (whole)	-/7 $\frac{3}{4}$	1/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	1/2 $\frac{1}{2}$
<u>Rahar pulse</u>	-/5 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/4 $\frac{1}{4}$
<u>Moong pulse</u>	-/5 $\frac{1}{4}$	-/7 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/7 $\frac{3}{4}$
do (husked)	-/3 $\frac{1}{4}$	-/4 $\frac{1}{4}$	-/4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Tibetan salt	-/6 $\frac{1}{4}$	-/6 $\frac{1}{20}$	-/6 $\frac{1}{4}$
<u>Tikanbaji crushed rice</u>	1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/-	2/1
	<u>Prices per dharni</u>		
<u>Maida flour</u>	Rs 0.46	Rs 0.36	Rs 0.30
Maize flour	Rs 0.29	Rs 0.24	Rs 0.24
Potato	Rs 0.16	Rs 0.18	Not Available

(Source: Issues of the Gorkhapatra of Appropriate dates).

Nepal And The Wazir Ali Affair¹

By

Mahesh Raj Pant.

The Wazir Ali affair occupies a place of importance in the history of relations between Nepal and the British East India Company. But the subject has not so far been treated adequately. This article is based on all available sources from both Nepal and the East India Company.

Asafuddaula, Nawab of Oudh, died on Aswin 9, 1854 Vikrama. He was succeeded by his son, Wazir Ali, on the throne of Oudh. At first the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, granted recognition to the new Nawab. But soon he realized that Sadat Ali, Wazir Ali's uncle, would serve his interests better. He therefore decided to replace Wazir Ali by Sadat Ali. He inspired the rumor that Wazir Ali was not Asafuddaula's son. On Magh 11, 1854 Vikrama, Sir John Shore deposed Wazir Ali and placed Sadat Ali on the throne of Oudh. Wazir Ali was then taken to Banaras and placed under the supervision of the East India Company Government.²

Dissatisfied with his condition, Wazir Ali attempted to regain his throne with the help of King Zaman Shah of Kabul. On learning this, the East India Company Government transferred him to Calcutta to insure stricter supervision.³

Governor-General Lord Wellesley asked his agent in Banaras, George Frederick Cherry, to inform Wazir Ali that he was being transferred to Calcutta. Cherry acted accordingly. Wazir Ali did not make an outward show of anger on learning this, but on Magh 4, 1855 Vikrama, he, along with some of his followers, killed Cherry and four other Englishmen and seriously injured an English trader. Wazir Ali and his followers left Banaras the same evening.⁴

The Magistrate of Banaras wrote to the authorities in Calcutta that Wazir Ali had killed four Englishmen, including Cherry, and fled from Banaras. In this letter, he also referred to rumors that Wazir Ali was in Azamgarh.⁵

Governor-General Wellesley was in Madras at that time. As soon as he received this report, he sent a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, Alfred Clark, on Magh 10.

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The East India Company Government then directed General Erskine, who was at that time in Azamgarh, to arrest Wazir Ali. It also directed him to give a reward of Rs 20,000 in case anybody handed over Wazir Ali, dead or alive.⁶

Since there was close contact between Wazir Ali and Zaman Shah, the East India Company Government was afraid lest Wazir Ali should go to Zaman Shah. Accordingly, Secretary Barlow of the East India Company Government wrote to the English Resident in Lucknow, John Lumsden, on Magh 10 to request Sadat Ali to issue orders throughout his kingdom to arrest Wazir Ali. In that letter, Barlow also requested John Lumsden to ask Sadat Ali to proclaim that he too would give a reward in case Wazir Ali was captured.⁷

After receiving Alured Clark's letter, Wellesley sent a reply on Magh 21, 1855 Vikrama. In that letter, Wellesley ordered Alured Clark to keep Wazir Ali in detention at Fort William in Calcutta in the event of his capture. Wellesley also directed Alured Clark that in case any of the followers of Wazir Ali was arrested, he should be convicted through a court of law and executed at the place where they had killed Cherry, in full view of the public.⁸

Meanwhile, Wazir Ali, accompanied by 30 or 32 men on horse-back, arrived on the border of Palpa during the last week of Magh and began to recruit troops.⁹

At that time, Prithvi Pal Sen was King of Palpa. Palpa had become a feudatory of Nepal during the reign of his father, Mahadatta Sen. Prithvi Pal Sen was then in Kathmandu, because he had been invited by Rana Bahadur Shah to Crown Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah as King of Nepal.

The authorities of Palpa reported to Rana Bahadur Shah that Wazir Ali had arrived on the border of Palpa and started recruiting troops. Rana Bahadur Shah sent them instructions not to permit Wazir Ali to enter into their territory.¹⁰

Rana Bahadur Shah also wrote a letter to Alured Clark expressing sorrow over the assassination of Cherry by Wazir Ali. Rana Bahadur Shah also wrote in that letter: "I have received reports from the authorities of Palpa that Wazir Ali, accompanied by 25 men on horse-back, is now staying in the borders of Palpa, and that he is recruiting troops there with the objective of creating disturbances after again entering into the territory of the Nawab. I shall not permit Wazir Ali to enter into our territory or go anywhere from here. Nor shall I render him any assistance for war. I have already issued orders to the local authorities to the effect that such evil persons should not be permitted to enter into or stay in the territory of Nepal." In addition, Rana Bahadur Shah assured Alured Clark

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that in case the authorities in Palpa were not able to prevent Wazir Ali from entering into the hills, he would send officials to punish Wazir Ali and expel him from there.¹¹

Sadat Ali sent a letter to Palpa directing that if Wazir Ali was captured he should be sent to Lucknow, and that otherwise he should be beheaded.

Since the rulers of Palpa were in possession of territory in the Tarai subject to payment of revenue to the Nawab of Oudh,¹² the authorities of Palpa regarded him as their overlord. They therefore replied to Sadat Ali: "Both Wazir Ali and you are our masters. Accordingly, we are unable to hand over Wazir Ali or behead him."

Wazir Ali sent a letter to Rana Bahadur Shah requesting permission to stay in Nepal as well as assistance in fighting. He promised to hand over his entire property to Nepal in case he was granted permission to stay here. In his letter, Wazir Ali also requested permission to go to King Zaman Shah in Kabul by way of the hills, in case it was not possible to grant him permission to stay in Nepal. Rana Bahadur Shah replied that Wazir Ali would not be permitted to stay in Nepal or go anywhere through Nepali territory. In addition, Rana Bahadur Shah refused to grant him any assistance in fighting. He told Wazir Ali that his interest lay in concluding a treaty with the English.¹³

Both the East India Company Government and Sadat Ali wrote letters to Rana Bahadur Shah requesting him not to grant any assistance to Wazir Ali, but to capture him by any means possible, or else to kill him. They also promised to give Nepal Rs 40,000 or 50,000, as well as Kashipur and Rudrapur in the Tarai region of Kumaun, in case Rana Bahadur Shah acted according to their request. The East India Company Government also requested Rana Bahadur Shah to send agents all over Nepal to capture Wazir Ali in case he entered into Nepali territory, and to hand him over to the company and the General of the Nawab. The East India Company Government also complained in the letter that King Prithvi Pal Sen of Palpa and his Bhardars had disregarded their obligations towards the Nawab and were seeking to incite rebellion by assisting Wazir Ali to recruit troops. Finally, the East India Company Government requested Nepal to render every possible assistance to the troops of the company and the Nawab in capturing Wazir Ali.¹⁴

Subsequently, the Government of Nepal issued instructions all over the kingdom to the effect that Wazir Ali should not be allowed to escape through Nepali territory.¹⁵

As requested by the East India Company Government, the Government of Nepal sent troops to Palpa under the Command of Sardar Jasiwant Bhandari to capture Wazir Ali. On learning this, Wazir Ali went to the Laliban forest in Gorakhpur on the borders of Oudh and started recruiting troops.

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With the objective of capturing Wazir Ali, the Government of Nepal instructed the authorities of Palpa to entice him with attractive promises. The Government of Nepal itself sent a letter in the same tone to Wazir Ali.¹⁷

Although Wazir Ali had left for Gorakhpur, the Government of Nepal continued its efforts to capture him in response to the request of the East India Company Government and Sadat Ali. It conducted negotiations with the East India Company Government through its envoy in Calcutta, Dinanath Upadhyaya, demanding that Kashipur and Rudrapur should be handed over to Nepal because Wazir Ali had been chased away from the borders of Palpa. However, the East India Company Government did not take any step to hand over Kashipur and Rudrapur to Nepal. Accordingly, the Government of Nepal felt annoyed with the East India Company Government.¹⁸

A letter sent by Jasiwant Bhandari, containing the information that English troops were coming to Gorakhpur to capture Wazir Ali, reached Kathmandu during the first week of Baisakh, 1856 Vikrama. The Government of Nepal sent additional troops under the command of Kaji Narasingh Gurung in order to assist the English.¹⁹

At that time, the English were fighting against Tipu Sultan of Mysore. It would have been very difficult for the English to fight on two fronts in case Nepal had rendered any assistance to Wazir Ali. But things became very easy for the East India Company because Nepal assisted it rather than Wazir Ali.²⁰

Unable to continue staying in Laliban, Wazir Ali went elsewhere. The East India Company Government then wrote to the Government of Nepal requesting it not to give any money or provisions to Wazir Ali.²¹

After Wazir Ali left Laliban, he clashed with English troops at one or two places. He then went to the region west of the territories of the Nawab. Rumors reached Kathmandu that he had persuaded some Nagas, Zamindars and Chieftains to support him. The Government of Nepal then sent agents to ascertain the truth of these rumors.²²

Meanwhile, the Government of Nepal was continuing its efforts to obtain Kashipur and Rudrapur.²³

Reports then reached Kathmandu that Wazir Ali had gone to Rampur.²⁴

Even then, the Government of Nepal did not renounce its efforts to get Kashipur and Rudrapur.

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The East India Company Government had allured Nepal with the promise to give Rs 40,000 or Rs 50,000, as well as to hand over Kashipur and Rudrapur, because it was afraid lest Nepal should give asylum to Wazir Ali. Things had become very easy for the East India Company because Nepal did not grant asylum to Wazir Ali, but chased him away from the borders of Palpa. But the East India Company Government had no intention of fulfilling its promises to give Rs 40,000 or Rs 50,000, as well as Kashipur and Rudrapur, to Nepal. It was therefore trying to evade this commitment somehow or other. When the East India Company Government asked it to capture Wazir Ali anyhow, the Government of Nepal had written to Wazir Ali, giving him alluring assurances. On the basis of this letter the East India Company Government tried to prove that the Government of Nepal was colluding with Wazir Ali. But the Government of Nepal refuted this charge and sent a copy of the letter written to Wazir Ali to its envoy in Calcutta, Dinanath Upadhyaya. It instructed Dinanath Upadhyaya to produce the letter before the authorities of the East India Company Government and strongly refute the charge.²⁵

The Nepali envoy in Lucknow reported to Kathmandu that Nawab Sadat Ali of Oudh was very pleased with the work of the Government of Nepal with regard to Wazir Ali, but was very dissatisfied with the authorities of Palpa.²⁶

At that time King Prithvipal Son of Palpa was in virtual detention in Kathmandu.²⁷ The Government of Nepal therefore immediately made inquiries of him in this regard. Prithvi Pal Son replied: "Sadat Ali had sent a letter to Palpa with instructions that Wazir Ali should be captured and sent to Lucknow if possible, and that otherwise he should be beheaded. In reply, the authorities of Palpa wrote to Sadat Ali that both he and Wazir Ali were their masters. They foolishly wrote that they were unable to hand over Wazir Ali or behead him. They had sent a verbal report to me in this regard. I have not been able to see a copy of the reply they have sent to Sadat Ali."²⁸

The Government of Nepal then procured a copy of the reply sent by the authorities of Palpa to Sadat Ali.²⁹

Wazir Ali had come to the borders of Palpa during the last week of Magh, 1855 Vikrama. On Falgun 28, 1855 Vikrama, Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated in favor of his son, Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah. This provided the East India Company Government with a golden opportunity. It was under the impression that Rana Bahadur Shah had only pretended to abdicate in order to save himself from the charge that he had not rendered any help to Wazir Ali, with whom he had friendly relations. The Government of Nepal instructed Dinanath Upadhyaya to strongly refute this charge also.³⁰

After a copy of the reply sent to Sadat Ali by the authorities of Palpa reached Kathmandu, the Government of Nepal forwarded it to Dinanath Upadhyaya on Kartik 7, 1856 Vikrama.³¹

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Finally, Wazir Ali took refuge with the King of Jayanagar. In the winter of 1856 Vikrama, the ruler of Jayanagar handed over Wazir Ali to the East India Company Government, from whom he had obtained a large sum of money. Wazir Ali was then taken to Calcutta and kept in detention at fort William. He died in Vellore during the rainy season of 1874 Vikrama.³²

The Government of Nepal thus took the side of the English and refused to grant refuge to Wazir Ali when he came to the borders of Nepal after killing Englishmen. But Nepal obtained nothing in return from the English. Instead, the East India Company Government charged Rana Bahadur Shah of colluding with Wazir Ali.

Rana Bahadur Shah was at that time abdicating in favor of his son, Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah. He was 23 years old at that time, while Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah was only 18 months old. His abdication was not liked by the Bhardars of Nepal. A kind of civil war was thus going on at that time in Nepal. As such, Nepal could not take any advantage of the Wazir Ali affair.

Footnotes

1. Mahesh Raj Pant, "Nepal Sanga Wazir Ali Kandako Sambandha", (Nepal's Connection With The Wazir Ali Affair), Purnima, 24, Magh-Chaitra 2027 (January-March 1971), pp. 268-278.
2. James Mill, The History of British India, (Fifth edition, enlarged by Horace Hayman Wilson), Part VI, pp. 34-39; Baman Das Basu, Rise of The Christian Power In India, Part II, pp. 252-258 and 346-347; James Burgess, The Chronology of Modern India For Four Hundred Years From The Close of The Fifteenth Century A.D., 1494-189, pp. 272-273; Dhanabajra Bajracharya and Jnyan Mani Nepal (eds.), Aitihāsik Patra Sangraha, (A Collection of Historical Letters), Part I, p. 88.
3. Kalikinkar Datta, "Some Unpublished Documents Relating To The Conspiracy Of Wazir Ali." In Proceedings Of Meetings Of Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XIV, p. 76.
4. Ibid, pp. 76-77. The following letter, sent by the Criminal Magistrate of Banaras to the Magistrate of Patna on Magh 8, 1855 Vikrama, is given on pp. 78-79: "To obviate the effects of exaggerated reports, which may have arisen in consequence of what happened here on the 14th inst. I thought it necessary to inform you that since the flight of Vizier Ali on the evening of that day, no disturbances whatever have occurred."

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in my division, nor from the intelligence. I have procured, in any part of the Benares district that at present the city is in a state of perfect tranquillity, the inhabitants following their customary occupations with bazaars all open and attended as regularly as usual by the country people, and that I have no cause to apprehend the renewal of attempts to disturb the public peace either on behalf of Vizier Alli or of any other person.

"The following are the Europeans who fell victim to the assassination on the 14th instant:-

Captain Conway.)	
Mr. Robert Graham.)	Killed.
Mr. Richard Evans.)	

Mr. Hill (trader) dangerously wounded."

5. Letter sent by Secretary Barlow to the English Resident in Lucknow, John Lumsden, on Magh 10, 1855 Vikrama, published in Ibid, p. 79. "From the intelligence received from the Magistrate of Banaras there is reason to suppose that Vizier Alli has fled to Azamgarh."
6. Ibid. "The civil authorities and Major Erskine have been authorized to offer a reward of twenty thousand rupees for the apprehension of Vizier Alli alive or dead."
7. Ibid. "It is not impossible, however, that Vizier Alli may attempt to make his escape to Zumaun Sha. It will therefore be expedient that His Excellency the Vizier should lose no time in issuing such orders as may appear most effectual for intercepting Vizier Alli if it should be his object to repair to that prince."

"You will also recommend to the Vizier to offer a reward for the apprehension of Vizier Alli or any of his adherents who were concerned in the late horrid transaction at Banaras, and you will suggest to him the necessity of despatching orders with all expedition for the apprehension of Vizier Alli to every part of his territories, so as to prevent his escaping into the dominions of any foreign power."

8. Letter from Wellesley to Alured Clark dated Magh 24, 1855 Vikrama, published in: D.C. Ganguly (ed.), Select Documents Of The British Period Of Indian History In The Collection Of The Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, pp. 137-139. The letter is as follows:-

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Fort St. George,
February 3rd, 1799.

To Lt. Gen. Sir Alured Clark, K.B.,
Commander-In-Chief.

My Dear Sir,

I cannot describe the emotion of horror, indignation and grief with which I received your despatch of the 20th of January containing the dreadful recital of the late massacre at Banaras. You have omitted no step which you could have adopted to prevent the evil consequences of this atrocious outrage, or to bring the assassins to justice. Such measures as I can add to your exertions shall be taken as soon as the necessary papers can be drawn. One suggestion only I wish to make without delay. If Vizier Alli should be apprehended alive, I wish that he should be conveyed to the Presidency and detained a close prisoner in Fort William, until further orders from me. The question of bringing him to trial is of great delicacy, and I have not yet determined it in my own mind. Any of his adherents who may be taken should be tried, and if convicted executed in the most public and solemn manner on the spot, which was the scene of their crime. I shall be most anxious to learn the further details of this melancholy affair and particularly of the supposed causes of the outrage.

Your Most Faithful Servant,

Mornington.

9. Letter sent by King Rana Bahadur Shah to Dinanath Upadhyaya, Nepali Envoy in Calcutta, on Falgun 1, 1855 Vikrama. Aitihāsik Patra Sangraha, Part I, pp. 86-87. "You too must have heard reports that Uzir Ali has killed Cherry Sahib in Banaras and escaped.... A letter has been received from Palpa to the effect that Uzir Ali, accompanied by 30 or 32 men on horseback, is staying in the border areas and recruiting troops. The authorities have reported that it is his intention to stay in the hills and create disturbances in the territories of the Nawab."
10. Ibid. "We have sent a clear reply, directing that a person who has committed murder and quarrelled with our friends, the English, should not be permitted to enter into our dominions in the hills."
11. Ibid. " (Wazir Ali) is planning to come to Jorasan. If the authorities of Palpa are unable to check him, we shall, if necessary, send troops from here and prevent him from staying in the hill region of our dominions. The English do not fulfill their promises (nikutanehora ?), but

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we have to develop our friendship with them day by day. (Wazir Ali) shall not be allowed to stay in that territory and create disturbances in the territories of the English. . . . He cannot stay there long in view of these circumstances. We have sent instructions to all Amils in the western areas. We have sent a report containing all available information to the Governor-General."

On Shrawan 9, 1856, King Girban Yuddha Bikram Shah wrote to Dinanath Upadhyaya: "We had sent a letter to the effect that Uzir Ali has come to the borders of Palpa after committing murder, that a friend's assassin is also our assassin, that we shall not give him passage, or any place to stay in, or any help to fight, and that we shall not let him off if we can apprehend him." (Purnima, 9, pp. 58-59). Also: K.C. Chaudhuri, Anglo-Nepalese Relations From The Earliest Times Of The British Rule In India Till The Gurkha War, pp. 98-99.

12. Francis Hamilton, An Account Of The Kingdom of Nepal And The Territories Annexed To This Dominion By The House Of Gorkha, pp. 172-173. "Mukund Sen procured from the Nawab Vizier a grant of the extensive estate of Tilpur and of that part of Rajpur, which is on the west side of Gandaki, and had once as lately mentioned belonged to a branch of his family, but in the laster he never acquired proper authority, owing to the intrigues of the Kanugo, or register.

"This enterprising chief married the eldest daughter of his ally the Raja of Argha, and on this occasion presented his father-in-law with an estate situated on the plains and called Tuppah Bandar, although he continued to pay the revenue to the Nawab. This was part of the spoil taken from Balihang by his grandfather.

"Mahadatta, Raja of Palpa, was very much in favor with Asofud Doulah, the Nawab Vizier, who confirmed to him all his hereditary or acquired lands on the plains, at an easy rate, and going there frequently to hunt, seems to have amused himself with the Raja's children."

13. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya, Shrawan 9, 1856 Vikrama. "When Uzir Ali committed a murder and reached the borders of Palpa, he wrote a letter to the following effect: "Either let me stay here and help me, or let me go to the Shah in the west through the hill route. Save me." This was the time of coronation. But he raised the question of going to the Shah. We therefore told him, as it was not proper to permit an enemy to escape: "Try by whatever means possible to escape from the territories of the English and the Nawab and save yourself. But it is better to be reconciled with the friend, rather than to fight."

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B.D. Sanwal (Nepal And The East India Company, pp. 304-310) has given an account of King Girban's instructions to Chandrashekhar Upadhyaya. "Wazir Ali came into the Tarai of Butaul and Palpa, and offered his whole property to this Government, if it would grant him permission to remain there. He urged this request with great earnestness. There would have been no impropriety in granting an asylum to one who had sought it, but adverting to amicable relations between the two States, this Government did not accept Wazir Ali's proposal." (p. 309).

14. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Chaitra 19, 1855 Vikram Purnima, 9, p. 57. "Nawab Sadat Ali has written to Bam Shah in Kumaun: "Capture Wazir Ali. If he cannot be captured, send us the heads of three persons including Wazir Ali. We shall give you a reward of Rs 50,000 and the Tarai of Kumaun as Jagir."

On Shrawan 9, 1856, King Girban wrote to Dinanath Upadhyaya: "The English as well as the Nawab Uzir wrote to us: "Our assassin has come there. You are our friend. Our assassin is your assassin also. Do not help him, or give him any provisions. Make efforts to capture by any means possible. If it is not possible to capture him, kill him. In appreciation, we shall give you rewards and Jagirs from both sides ..."

According to instructions sent by the Government of Nepal to Chandrashekhar Upadhyaya: "In 1855, Wazir Ali having committed murder came to Butaul. This Government first wrote to him to desire that he would not raise a disturbance in the Nepali territories. Afterwards a reward of forty thousand rupees was offered by the British Government for his apprehension, besides a Jagir from the Nawab Vizir. A letter was written to the Nepal Government requiring his apprehension as an enemy to the company." (B.D. Sanwal, op. cit. p. 304).

15. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Jestha 8, 1856 Vikram Aitihāsik Patra Sangraha, Part I, pp. 90-91. "When we received requests from both governments, we sent instructions throughout our kingdom up to Kumaun to the effect that Uzir Ali should not be allowed to escape through our territories."
16. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Chaitra 19, 1855 Vikrama. "You must have noted from the previous letter that we sent officials to Palpa and that Uzir Ali went away from there. He is now staying at Lalib in Gorakhpur. He has already assembled 5,000 or 6,000 troops and is fighting the troops of the Nawab and the English who are pursuing him. He is also talking of peace through Munshi Reza. But he also intends to fight."

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The instructions sent by the government of Nepal to Chandrashekhar Upadhyaya on Falgun 14, 1861 Vikrama started: "This Government accordingly at some expense, despatched a Kaji Sirdar with a party for that purpose, and sent information of the same to the English. The Bharadars also took measures to apprehend him; some enemy, however, gave him information, and he in consequence escaped. The Bharadars searched for him, but he had fled on Horse back beyond the Nepal boundaries, and had gone through the company's territories to westward." (B.D. Sanwal, op. cit. p. 304).

Only a Sardar had been deputed at that time, however. Nor was it true that Wazir Ali had gone "through the company's territories to westward", because Oudh was annexed by the East India Company only on Marga 1, 1858 Vikrama.

17. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Chaitra 19, 1855 Vikrama. "We too are giving assurances and allurements through the authorities of Palpa. However, it is said that Uzir is collecting dacoits and does not intend to leave the forests."

King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Shrawan 9, 1856 Vikrama. "He cannot be captured if some attractive promises and allurements are not offered. If he is captured through such means, it is good. If he is captured through such means, it is good. If not, we shall kill him if he enters into our territories. We have offered attractive promises with the objective of capturing him in response to the request of the English."

18. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated the first week of Baisakh, 1856 Vikrama. Excerpts from this letter had been published by Mahesh Raj Pant in the Purnima, 9, p. 57. The following excerpt is being published for the first time: "When Uzir Ali came to the borders of Palpa and requested help and facilities to escape, we gave him neither, thinking that our friends' assassin was ours too. We have deputed a Sardar along with troops to ascertain whether he is staying in the territories of the English or the Nawab's Begum. Previously, we sent him away, without permitting him to stay here. A request was subsequently received from the English and the Nawab to capture him if possible. In the interests of friendship, we are making efforts to capture him. We do not know whether or not it will be possible to capture him. It appears that (the English) do not appreciate a good turn, even though we have tried our best. We have heard others praising that there are none others like the English to appreciate a good turn and fulfill their promises. But they do not appreciate our earnest efforts and solicitations. If they regard this trivial commitment of territory in the Tarai as a big burden, this means that they are not pleased with us. We fail to understand whether this is so because you have been unable to explain matters to them as directed and instructed by us, or because our objective will never be fulfilled."

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19. Ibid. "While we were writing this letter, we received a communication from Sardar Jasiwant Bhandari. He has written: "The troops of the English have come near the place where Uzir Ali was staying. They are separated by a distance of 3 Kos." We have sent Kaji Narasing to Palpa along with troops and ammunition, considering that at this moment we should fulfill our commitment to a friend. It will be good and commendable from all viewpoints if the Englishmen deputed for action there act in concert according to the advice of our Kaji, irrespective of whether there is to be peace or fighting with Uzir Ali.
20. The war with Tipu Sultan lasted from Falgun 14, 1855 to Baisakh 25, 1856 Vikrama. Sundar Lal, Bharat Men Angreje Raj (British Rule in India), pp. 340-347 (3rd ed.).
21. King Girban wrote to Dinanath Upadhyaya on Jestha 8, 1856 Vikrama: "The letter (Khalita) sent by the Governor-General (Bada Sahab) states: "Uzir Ali has rebelled (Judda Bhai) and gone there. Make arrangements to insure that he is not able to collect any money or provisions." Why has he written in this manner? Is it because somebody has reported to him that we are supplying him with money and provisions? Or has he done so only in the ordinary course, to insure that (Uzir Ali) does not get provision (The English) act as if they never leave off suspecting us, even though we make all possible efforts from our side without the slightest reservation."
22. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Jestha 8, 1856 Vikrama: "After Uzir Ali left Laliban, clashes occurred at one or two places. Reports were received that he was about to get the support of ... (word missing) Nagas, as well as some Zemindars and Chieftains (Rajwada) belonging to areas situated to the north of the Nawab's territories. We have sent couriers to ascertain the truth. There is no accurate information regarding where he has reached, which Zemindars are siding with him and how many troops he has ... Considering that a man considered as an assassin by the English and the Nawab is one for us too, we have sent Kaji to... (words missing) press the demand for expenses involved while dispatching troops. In case (Uzir Ali) is captured, we shall write to the Council."
23. Ibid. "If during this affair with Uzir Ali we raise our long-standing demand, the impression may be created that what we are after is only our own interests, and that all professions of friendship are feigned. Accordingly, we should not raise our demand at this time. What do the English want? Do they want to utilize friendship only for serving their own ends, major or minor, or do they intend to fulfill our demand? Do they ever talk about this among themselves? You never write about such matters. Why?"

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24. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Ashadh 4, 1856 Vikrama. Aitihāsik Patra Sangraha, Part I, pp. 93-94. "From our side we have sent troops and ammunition with the objective of strengthening friendship to the maximum possible extent. They will try their best to capture Uzir Ali. But we are receiving reports that seeing our troops, he has reached Rampur, traveling westward of the territories of the Nawab. Even now we are doing whatever is possible. Our men will not leave him if they can lay their hands on him."
25. Ibid. "The Nawab-Vizier has written that if we (capture Uzir Ali or kill him), he will grant us the Jagirs of Kashipur and Rudrapur and a sum of Rs 50,000 in cash. This offer might be fulfilled if it had been made by the English. It may be difficult for the Nawab's offer to be implemented. So far as the question is concerned that an approval could be obtained from the Council if the Nawab sends another letter granting territory in the Tarai as Jagir, we do not regard the English and the Nawab-Vizier as different. If either of them says anything, we regard this as a pledge binding on both. But so far as action is concerned, we have been always trusting the English."

King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Shrawan 9, 1856 Vikrama. "The English had asked us to capture (Wazir Ali) by every possible means. With the objective of capturing him, we sent him letters containing attractive promises. In order to insure that no doubt should arise in the minds of the English, we sent instructions to the (Kaji) Sardar to capture or kill (Uzir Ali). For the sake of a friend, we spent many thousand rupees and even despatched troops. We have directed them to hold discussions and conduct correspondence in a conciliatory manner. To forestall the possibility of any doubt arising in this matter subsequently, we had sent copies of a few letters to you. We had also directed you to inform (the English) in advance that correspondence was being conducted with Uzir Ali for this purpose these days, so that no doubt might arise in their minds even if any enemy might harm our cause by making distorted reports to the Council. It is not proper for the English to entertain doubts about something that has been done to fulfill their own interests. We had the opportunity to do something that might have harmed their cause. We had only adopted a conciliatory tone towards (Uzir Ali) with the intention of capturing him, as we considered it improper to speak one thing and do the opposite in our dealings with a friend. We had not ... (words missing). Why should we have sided with such a dishonest treacherous and senseless vagabond (as Uzir Ali) and impair relations with one who is just, honest and true to his words? If without caring for all this they raise the matter with you, you may have to give an answer. We have therefore sent you copies of all letters (Khalita) received from there,

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as well as correspondence conducted with Uzir Ali. Peruse these documents, and if this satisfies (the English) and creates no more doubts, hold talks in a firm manner so that the interests of the State (Dhunga) may be served and promoted and they too may be fully satisfied. If in your opinion (these documents) too are not likely to remove doubt, hold talks as you think fit with necessary adjustments so that they may be fully satisfied. Report the matter here and we shall take appropriate action to serve and promote (the interests of the State). How long are the Kaji, the Sardar and the troops to be maintained there? If they are to be recalled only after informing (the English), inform them accordingly. If no such information need be supplied, suggest in what manner (the troops) should be recalled."

On Jesta 8, 1856 Vikrama, King Girban wrote to Dinanath Upadhyaya, "A request was received from the English and the Nawab that Uzir Ali should be captured by any means possible. We accordingly sent letters to him containing alluring promises. (The English) may entertain doubts because of these letters. Explain (the situation) to them now."

On Kartik 7, 1856 Vikrama, King Girban wrote to Dinanath Upadhyaya: "You have asked whether the matter relating to correspondence with Uzir Ali should be raised with them or allowed to rest if they do not raise it. Instructions in this regard had been sent to you in the previous letter. Has not it reached you? Or do not you remember the contents? We had instructed you to take up the matter with them even if they do not raise it themselves. They have now raised the matter. Give a reply in the light of what they say, in such a manner that they are satisfied and the interests of the State are served and promoted." (Some excerpts from this letter, excluding the above, had been published in Savadhan Patra (A Note of Warning), No. 13, by the Itihas Samshodhan Mandal.

26. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Shrawan 9, 1856 Vikrama: "Our man in Jakhnau writes that (the English) are very pleased with us over the Wazir Ali affair, but very displeased with the authorities of Palpa, because the latter have given a clear reply of refusal even though they are fed by the government (i.e. the Nawab)."
27. Hamilton, op. cit. pp. 174-175: "When Ran Bahadur of Gorkha determined to place the sovereignty in the hands of Yuddha Bikram Sahi ... he invited Prithvi Pal to perform the ceremony of Tika. ... The real object, however, of invitation was in all probability to have power over Prithvi Pal, for he remained in a kind of confinement until January 1803."

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28. King Girban's letter to Dinanath Upadhyaya dated Shrawan 9, 1856 Vikrama: "We summoned the Raja of Palpa and asked him whether or not there had been correspondence with Uzir Ali, and if so, of what nature. He replied that he was in (Kathmandu) and therefore knew nothing. He added, "Before I departed for (for Kathmandu), I had left a few blank letter-forms (Lifaf). A letter was subsequently received to the following effect from the Nawab-Uzir in Lakhnau: "Our murderer has come to that area. He should be captured and sent here. If this is not possible, he should be beheaded." The Bhardars replied: "Both Uzir Ali and you are our masters equally. We have taken the salt of both of you. We cannot behead (Uzir Ali) or hand him over to you." They have thus sent a foolish letter, for fear lest they should not be considered true to their salt. They sent a verbal message regarding the contents of their reply. But I have not seen a copy of their letter."
29. Ibid. "We have sent for a copy of the letter. After we get it from Palpa, we shall send it there. If the matter is raised there, give a suitable reply accordingly."
30. On Kartik 7, King Girban wrote to Dinanath Upadhyaya: "We have received a letter from you with the following contents: "Russell Saheb and Kilikpatrick Sabeb of the Dafdarkhana asked, "How old is (Rana Bahadur Shah?) Why has he abdicated this ago and placed such an infant son on the throne?" After I gave a reply, they said, "This is not so. You have not spoken the truth. The real reason is (Rana Bahadur Shah's) friendship with Uzir Ali. Since (Uzir Ali) failed in his designs, (Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated) in order that he might say that he had already abdicated, and be able to put a screen over the doings of the King while talking to others. He will not relinquish official functions. He may resume (such functions) later."

"We have noted these contents. When they have spoken to you in this manner, they cannot have done so on their own initiative without having discussed the matter in the Council. They must have done so with the approval (of the Council). You have given a suitable reply. This is good. You have not committed any mistake on your part. There is no reason why we should make imaginary statements, tell lies or suppress the truth. We have written to you what actually happened. You have told them accordingly. If the matter is raised by the Council too, give reply in the same manner and satisfy them. Even though they have, in their own interests, interpreted the abdication of our father in that manner, this is not the truth. (Our father abdicated) in order to improve his life in the other world. There was no reason why he should have renounced such a Kingdom only to cover such a minor matter. Nor would letters have been sent to the Chinese Emperor and others. When they had to capture a

murderer, they wrote to us 2 or 3 times. We did all that they had requested us, as we considered them true to their word and a long-time friend. We even despatched a Kaji along with troops (to capture Uzir Ali). Some expenditure too was incurred on this enterprise. Have they made this interpretation (of Rana Bahadur Shah's abdication) in order to find out an excuse to extricate themselves from their obligation to us in this matter? We have not thought one thing and said another. We have spoken sincerely whatever we had to say and maintained friendship with them. If they entertain suspicion and say so in a matter which we did according to their request, the question of whether or not we acted according to their request like a friend would have become clear had Uzir Ali been captured. Even if he is not captured, it will become clear from other developments. When the dates of the report regarding Uzir Ali's arrival in the Butaul area and of the communication relating to the coronation is compared, it appears that the interval between the two dates was not long. So far as the question is concerned that it was not considered advisable to raise the issue because information regarding the coronation had not been received in advance, it appears that it was only a short time because the date of the coronation that Uzir Ali committed murder. But we had not received any information. There was an interval of only three or four days between the date when we received information that Uzir Ali had escaped from there and arrived near Butaul and the date of the coronation. But internal arrangements for the coronation had started 4 or 5 months previously. So far as the question of sending information about the coronation to foreign countries is concerned, since it was a matter which had not been believed by anybody, there was no reason why it should have been communicated in advance. Everybody in the (royal) household, high or low, were representing that this should not be done and that (Rana Bahadur Shah's) age was not suitable for (abdication). No communication was sent to anybody in the expectation that these entreaties might have effect. But at last this (i.e. abdication) came to pass, and (Rana Bahadur Shah), without listening to the entreaties of others, declared that he was abdicating in order to improve his life in the next world, so that there was no room for further entreaties. Only thereafter did we send information (regarding the abdication) there and elsewhere too. Do not have the slightest doubt that (Rana Bahadur Shah) had abdicated because of the Uzir Ali affair. Understand that arrangements (for the coronation) had started much earlier and speak accordingly."

Uzir Ali had killed Cherry on Magh 4, 1855 Vikrama, while Girban had been crowned as King on Falgun 28, 1856 Vikrama.

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31. On Kartik 7, 1856 Vikrama, King Girban wrote to Dinanath Upadhyaya:
"So far as the Uzir Ali affair is concerned, the King (of Palpa) was here (in Kathmandu) and his Bhardars hastily wrote a letter to this effect in order to prove their loyalty. We had written to you previously that we had procured a copy of the letter. It has now reached us. We are sending you a copy. Peruse it and speak in a suitable manner."
32. James Burgess, op. cit. p.275; Proceedings of Meetings of Indian Historical Records Commission, p. 78.

Administrative Arrangements In Salyan 1809 A.D.1. Appointment of Rudravir Shah As Subba

From King Girban,

To Rudravir Shah of Sipa (in Sindhupalchok), son of Birabahu Shah and grandson of Chandrarup Shah.

We hereby appoint you as Subba of territories in the Tarai and the hill region, including Salyan, annexed or occupied so far by the (Raja of) Salyan. Collect all revenues actually assessed in their territories, inclusive of Asmani and Farmani taxes and levies. Incur reasonable expenditure on Dashain, Fagu and other religious functions traditionally observed there during the year.

We hereby sanction a sum of Rs 2,000 to be spent on Wakils who come there from other areas, or who are deputed from there, as well as on courier, correspondence and other purposes. (Disbursements from this amount) shall be incurred with due consideration (to the status) of individuals and the region.

Appropriate a sum of Rs 4,001 as your emoluments (Khangi) in the capacity of a Subba.

Allot Khet and Khuwa lands there in consultation with Subedars and other officers and in such a manner that four companies of troops get the prescribed emoluments (Raibandi). Make arrangements to insure that (revenue collected on such lands) reaches Kangra.

Any amount left after meeting the emoluments (Khangi) of the companies and expenditure incurred on religious functions, Wakils and couriers, as well as your own emoluments, shall be transmitted to the palace. At the end of the year, submit accounts and obtain clearance. With due assurance, remain alert to carry out our orders, prove true to your salt and enjoy your Jagir with the emoluments of a Subba.

Baisakh Sudi 10, 1866,
Regni Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 18-19.

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Matwali Chhetris¹

By

Dor Bahadur Bisht.

Originally, I held the view that Chhetris comprised the second place after Brahmans, in the caste system as it is generally understood, irrespective of its mythological and historical background. Although it is not accepted that all communities except Muslims can be divided into "four Varnas". I was one of those who believed that Brahmans and Chhetris are distinct categories in the caste hierarchy. However, the results of recent research should help us to eschew such prejudices. Chhetris are divided into different sub-groups such as Thakuri, Khas and Khatri, just as Brahmans are divided into Purviya, Kumai and Jaishi. This is known to all. But it is only recently that people have come to know that Matwali Chhetris too form a sub-group of Chhetris.

The Muluki Ain (Legal Code) which was in force during the Rana regime described Matwalis as those who customarily consumed liquor. It placed Chhetris above Matwalis in the caste hierarchy. The very term Matwali Chhetri therefore sounded incongruous. But in the light of what I have personally seen and heard in the course of my tour of Jumla, Tibrikot and Mugu districts, which form parts of the Karnali zone; I deem it necessary to present the following facts.

In the course of my visit to Tibrikot district, I visited the Tibrikot District Panchayat Office. One of the District Panchayat members gave his name as "Saune Bisht". After telling him that my surname too was "Bisht" he casually remarked that "we are brothers". But he pointed out that he was a Matwali Chhetri. There were other Matwali Chhetris too on that occasion. They told me that Matwali Chhetris had several surnames such as Bohra, Kathayat, Thapa, Rokaya, Bisht, Budha, Budhathoki and Bhandari. The Matwali Chhetri population comprises 1,000 families in 24 villages in Tibrikot district. The breakdown is as follows:-

1. Dor Bahadur Bisht, "Matwali Chhetris" (Liquor-Drinking Chhetris), Pragnya (Nepali, Quarterly, published by the Royal Nepal Academy), Year I, No. 1, 2027 (April 1970), 85-90 pp.

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<u>Village</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>
1. Dhoresen	38	13. Chauda	60
2. Rini	61	14. Choom	45
3. Patmara	67	15. Huri	25
4. Bata	50	16. Mhari	16
5. Lhorpa	50	17. Uргу	30
6. Japan	16	18. Muduli	15
7. Lamri	22	19. Guthi	52
8. Tirkhu	36	20. Kundi	37
9. Lhomo	72	21. Mani	32
10. Nalphi	60	22. Pahadigaun	65
11. Pirya	100	23. Mandara	11
12. Garigaun	38	24. Dillikot	20

These families comprise nearly 50% of the total population of the district. Matwali Chhetris far outnumber sacred thread-wearing Chhetris. Matwali Chhetris are simply called Matwalis. They do not wear the sacred thread, and they consume liquor, beer and chicken, but not pork. Saune Bisht told me that several of his close relatives wear the sacred thread, but that he and many others do not do so because the district is too cold to permit the observance of the religious rituals which this act obligates. Moreover, they are prohibited from consuming liquor once they start wearing the sacred thread. They also stated that the Kalyal Kings of Jumla used to permit any one who pleased them or killed tigers or captured wild horses to wear the sacred thread.

All the people that I came across when I reached Patmara and Bumra on my way to Mugu Gam-Gadhi were Matwali Chhetris. I also met sacred thread-wearing Chhetris at Lumsa village, while I was going to Mugu village, which lies on the border. Here too most of the local Matwali Chhetris maintained that they were not interested to wear the sacred-thread because of the limitations of the climate as well as of commensal taboos. It was very difficult

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to find Brahman priests who could solemnize sacred thread investiture ceremonies. Some people who frankly said that they did not want to wear the sacred thread because their forefathers did not do so. One or two persons even remarked, "Why should we bother about this, when even people wearing the sacred-thread are now casting it off?"

The Matwalis' surnames correspond to those of other Chhetris. Matwalis resemble other Chhetris in physical features. They wear similar clothes, speak the same language and follow the same religion. There is therefore no doubt that Matwalis and Chhetris belong to the same caste. The question may then arise: "Why have Chhetris been divided into the sacred-thread wearing and Matwali sub-groups?" We shall discuss this question later in this article.

I noticed during my tour that different castes or communities worship different family deities. I thought that this fact would help me to determine the origin of the division of Chhetris into the above-mentioned two categories. Accordingly, I made inquiries of Matwalis about their family deities. I learned that Mashta and Durga Bhawani are the family deities of all people in this area. People customarily refer to Mashta as "Barhamashta" (representing twelve brothers) and Bhawani as Navadurga Bhawani.

Varaha and Mashta are among the family deities of many Brahman living in areas west of the Karnali and Bheri zones. It is therefore possible that the term Barhamashta (Barha-twelve) was subsequently identified by the Sanskrit words Varaha and Mashta. This view may not appear to be incorrect for those who believe that Mashta, the ancient deity of the Vedic period, had migrated to areas east of Nepal from the west and the original form of the Nepali language can be found in the western hill region of Nepal. Asked to identify who were the twelve brothers represented by Mashta, the Matwalis gave their names as Babiro, Hyangre, Sunargaun, Tharpa, Kalashilto, Dhandar, Kshtrapala, Kawa, Bijulidanda (Ukhadi), Budhu, Gura and Mahakal. This might create the impression that these twelve brothers (Mashta) were named after particular places. But according to many persons the truth was just the opposite. There are no doubt 12 villages of these names in Jumla district. But those were actually named after the twelve brothers represented by Mashta.

The deity known as Mashta did not seem to have definite physical features. Inside there were heaps of imperfect wooden images of ordinary type, having eyes, noses and mouths carved on them, together with some bells, tridents, small festoons made of cloth and a few altars situated haphazardly. These remind one of the stone image, or a simple stone not containing any image, covered with vermilion, flowers, etc, which one sees inside temples at several places including Kathmandu Valley and Jumla itself. However, these temples of Mashta and their altars leave a totally different impression. The rituals observed in these areas are clearly different from those followed elsewhere.

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It was difficult to identify the images not only of Mashta but also of those deities which are widely worshipped by Hindus. I saw a blacksmith on the main route leading to Tibrikot near the confluence of the Tila and Jauwa rivers who was engaged in polishing a metal image about 6 inches long, with a Crown as well as a Khadga (sword) in one hand and flowers in the other. The image was seated on a chair. Asked to identify the deity represented by the image, the blacksmith referred to Ganesh. He said he usually made such idols and sold them at the Khalanga market of Jumla for Rs 15.00 to Rs 20.00 each.

During my overnight halt at Patmara, I asked people about the names of deities. They mentioned the names of Mahadev, Maruddha (Maharudra?), Lama, Mashta, Bhawani, Kuladoo, Banapal and Mahabai. The most important deities as stated by the Thakuris of Pinagaun in Mugu district were Rum, Bihin, Lama, Mhabai, Khapar and Betal.

At Patmara, I casually heard the word Khasan for the first time. I was told that it was a common practice to call this area, which is inhabited by Khasas, as Khasan, just as the northern border area, inhabited by Bhotas, is called Bhot, the Magar-inhabited area of the Rapti zones as Magarat, and the Tharu-inhabited southern area as Tharuwan. Like Bhot, Magarat, and Tharuwan, Khasan did not have clear-cut boundaries. In actual practice, areas where these communities are in the majority are known by these names. But it is not possible to find people who can indicate the boundaries of Khasan and identify the descendants of the Khasa community. The reason is that Khasas have migrated many times and both the definition and the origin of the term Khasa, have been distorted.

At present, Khasa or Khasiya is used in different areas of the Karnali, Bheri, Seti and Mahakali zones in derogatory terms while referring to Chhetris and Matwali Chhetris. In the Nepali language, Khasa means "fall". Some have therefore speculated that people belonging to the Khasa community must have "fallen" from some place, that they must have been "fallen" from Brahmans. To prove this, some have even quoted the point made by some well-known historians that Parashuram had exterminated all Chhetris. This confused for a long time. One really wonders why and how the term Khasa finds mention only in history and mythology, and why it has now become difficult to find any person who would like to be identified as a Khasa. The very word Khasa has become despicable, although several important national personalities are descendants of the Khasas, and the Khasa dialect was the original form of the present national language of Nepal.

But the term Khasa does not have a derogatory connotation. The descendants of Khasas, who had spread from West Asia to western Nepal travelling

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along the Himalayan areas, and eventually succeeded in establishing a powerful empire, have not totally disappeared.²

The powerful Khasas who had established an empire of their own stretching through Dailekh and Kaskikot in western Nepal and the areas to the north and west of Mustang, and up to Purang and Guge in Tibet from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, were till then uncultured.

They were ignorant of the Hindu culture and believed only in Shamanism. This can be surmised from the present condition of the Karnali zone. We have never found any example in which culture and civilization have developed in the absence of political accomplishments and economic prosperity. The Khasas cannot be an exception to this rule. It does not appear that the Khasas had adopted the Hindu culture in its refined form before the eleventh century. They might have worshipped only Mashta, the vedic deity, for several centuries. During the medieval period, when their empire extended to Tibet, which adhered to Lamaism, the Khasas had adopted Buddhism at the dawn of their civilization. This is confirmed by the stone inscription of the Sinja King Prithvi Malla discovered by Yogi Narahari Nath.³

The Khasa kings had embraced both Lamaism and Hinduism. This is proved not only by stone inscriptions but also by the fact that one of the deities still worshipped by people in the Karnali zone is a Lama. Moreover, Priest (Dhamis) of the temples of Mashta recite some prayers in the Tibetan language. The gradual Sanskritization of the Khasa language must have started during this period. The Khasa Kings must have started calling themselves Thakur or Thakuri at the inspiration of their Brahman advisors and, possibly, some Rajput Chhetris.

After the Khasa kings and other members of the ruling family started calling themselves Thakuris, the other Khasas too began to wear sacred thread and call themselves a Chhetris. Those who continued to be known as Khasa began to be despised, and looked upon uncultured people. In these circumstances, it was natural that people should want to wear the sacred thread and succeed in doing so either by killing tigers, boar, or wild

2. Giuseppe Tucci, Preliminary Report On Two Scientific Expeditions In Nepal, pp. 43-130, Baburam Acharya - Nepal Ko Sanskritik Parampara" (Nepal's Cultural Tradition), Gorkhapatra, Bhadra 5, 2020 (September 1963).

3. Yogi Narahari Nath, Itihas Prakash, Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 58-59.

horses or participating in war; thereby pleasing the King or other influential persons. No wonder then the term Khasa should have been looked upon with contempt. This is probably why those Khasas who have not been able to wear sacred thread have started calling themselves Matwali Chhetris, regarding the word Khasa as humiliating. It may be noted that different people in Nepal had, in different stages of history, attempted to conceal the real name of the communities to which they belonged. It is therefore natural that the Khasas too should have sought to discard the name of their community. The Koches of Morang and Jhapa districts had started calling themselves Rajbanshis after embracing Brahmanism in the 18th century. Those Koches who were unable to enjoy the status of Chhetris embraced Islam,⁴ while at the same time calling themselves Rajbanshis. A more recent example is of the Thakalis living at Thak-Satsaya along the banks of the Kaligandaki river.⁵ Several new communities are actually in the process of emergence and several existing ones are on the point of being disappearing. There are many examples of such developments within the Newar community as well.⁶

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4. (1) Swayambhu Lal Shrestha, "Rajbanshi Tayagu Chhun Khana" in Jhiji.
 (2) Brian Hodgson: "On the Koch, Bodo And Dhimal Tribes", in Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects, Vol. 1, Section 1, Part 3.
5. (1) Dor Bahadur Bisht, "The Innovators of Upper Kali Gandaki", Ramjhar, Vol. 5, No. 3.
 (2) Christoph Von Fuhrer Haimendorf: "Caste Concepts And Status Distinction in Buddhist Communities of Western Nepal," in Caste And Kin In Nepal, India and Ceylon.
6. Colin Rossor: "Social Mobility In The Newar Caste System."

The Nirkhi Levy1. Ijara Grant To Chhote Singh Newar

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Chhote Singh Newar.

We hereby grant you authority to collect the Nirkhi levy on the sale and purchase of goods brought by traders throughout our territories, after appointing your agents at the check points mentioned below. Permit the sale and purchase of goods imported by traders from abroad, or exported by them, as well as on copper, iron, lead, wax, bikhma, chiraita, kutki, jatamashi, cardamon, cotton, tejpat, taj and paper at seasonal rates. At all places covered by your agents, collect the Nirkhi levy at 1% each from both the seller and the purchaser, thus making a total payment of Rs 2%. Transmit the proceeds to the Toshakhana.

Do not harass traders on the ground that they conduct commercial transactions at places where your agents have not extended their jurisdiction. Grant reasonable remissions in the event of natural calamities. At the end of the year, submit accounts and obtain clearance. Do not collect the Nirkhi levy on goods not mentioned here, including goods meant for the royal palace, goats and gelding goats, ghee, oil, pulses and foodgrains of all varieties. Once the Nirkhi levy is collected and seals affixed on the goods, permit traders to sell such goods wherever they like.

The Taksari and the Bhansari shall open consignments in the presence of agents of the Nirkhi collector.

In case any discrepancy is noticed in the imposition of the Nirkhi levy, we shall give the matter due consideration and issue another order to remove it. We shall also grant reasonable expenses in the light of the revenue collected from this levy, with due consideration to the work of staff required for such collection.

List Of Check-Points Where Agents Are
To Be Appointed

Kathmandu, Patan and Bhadgaun towns.

Kalyari, Bhainse, Dolalghat, Kalinjore, Jhinkhu-Dobhan, Kanpur, Charange, and Sindhuli in the east.

Mahesh Dobhan, Kallerighat, Budhasing, Devighat, and Pangu in the west.

Contd...

Syaphru, Timure, Listi, Mani and Chhelankhu in the north.

Shravan Badi 3, 1855,

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 654-656.

2. Extract From Regulations Promulgated In 1799 A.D. In The Name Of R. chandra Pudasaini and Doman Chaudhari For Collection Of Revenues Not Included In Ijaras In The Eastern Tarai Districts

Section 7. Collect the Nirkhi levy at the rate of 1% each from both the seller and the purchaser on transactions in goods conducted in the Tarai, except on goods being supplied to or procured from Kathmandu Valley.

Falgun Badi 5, 1855,

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 705.

3. Imposition Of Nirkhi Levy, 1800 A.D.

From Girban,

To the Amalidars, Dwares and Jethabudhas throughout our territories north of Tokha.

We hereby impose the Nirkhi levy on transactions conducted by traders and merchants throughout our territories, at the rate of 1% from the purchaser and 1% from the seller, thus making a total payment of 2%. We hereby grant a contract to Mahindra Singh for the collection of this levy with effect from the year 1855.

Let him collect this levy on goods sold by traders and merchants on commercial basis at the following rates in the areas under your jurisdiction. Also let him appoint his agents at different places. You shall be held to have committed an offense and awarded punishment in case anybody creates any obstruction.

Schedule of Rates

Particulars

Rate of Levy

Jewelry, textiles, pasmina fabrics,
general merchandise, dewang, kochin,
sigrif, mercury, falcons (bas, jurra),
elephants, horses

Rs 2.00 per Rs 100.00

Contd...

Goods brought by traders, tea, <u>dhumar</u> , dry foods of all categories, homespun cloth (chadi, chaga, paga), blankets, yellow orpiment (harital), borax, wax	...	8 annas per load
Male buffaloes	...	8 annas per pair
Iron, tobacco (surti, tamakhu), herbs and drugs, paper	...	4 annas per load
Raw cotton, salt	...	2 annas per load
Copper	...	Rs 1.00 per load
Charas (Narcotic), yaks tails	...	Rs 1½ per load
Musk	...	10 annas per sheer
Sheep, <u>chyangra</u> goats	...	1 animal on a flock of 50

Falgun Badi 30, 1865.

Similar orders were issued separately in the names of Amalidars, Dwares, Jethabuddhas and Birta owners also in areas east of Bhadgaun, west of the Bishnumati river and south of Patan town.

Rogmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 134-135.

4. Ijara Grant To Mahindra Singh Newar

From King Girban,

To Mahindra Singh Newar.

We hereby grant you a contract (Ijara) for the collection of the Nirkhi levy on the sale and purchase of goods brought by traders as mentioned below, by appointing your agents at different check-points.

The Nirkhi levy shall not be collected on foodgrains, ghee, oil, goats and gelding goats, goods meant for the royal palace and all goods produced in Nepal on which the Jagat duty is not collected. It shall be collected only on commercial goods imported from other countries or exported there by traders, as well as on goods produced in our territories on which the Jagat duty is collected.

Contd...

Transactions in respect to such goods shall be permitted at seasonal rates. In all places where you have appointed your agents, collect the Nirkhi levy at 1% each from both the seller and the purchaser, thus making a total payment of Rs 2%. Transmit the proceeds to the Toshakhana.

Do not harass traders on the ground that they conduct commercial transaction in places where your agents have not extended their jurisdiction. Grant reasonable remissions in the event of natural calamities. At the end of the year, submit accounts of the contract and obtain clearance.

Once the levy is collected and seals affixed on the goods, permit traders to sell them wherever they like.

The Taksari and the Bhansari shall open consignments in the presence of the agents of the Ijaradar.

In case any discrepancy is noticed in the imposition of this levy, we shall give the matter due consideration and issue another order to remove it.

Schedule of Rates

(Same as in No. 3).

Belgun Badi 30, 1856,
Rajni Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 132-134.

5. Reimposition Of Nirkhi Levy, 1805 A.D.

From King Girban,

To the Amalidars, Dwares, Jothabudhas and Birta owners of different areas throughout the hill region north of Tokha and south of Tibet.

The Nirkhi levy had been abolished at one time, but we now hereby revive it and impose it at the following rates per cent on goods sold on commercial basis by traders, merchants and podlars all over our kingdom. We also hereby grant a contract for the collection of this levy to Mahindra Singh for the period from Shrawan Sudi 13, 1862 to Shrawan Sudi 12, 1863. Let him collect this levy on goods sold on commercial basis by traders, merchants and podlars at the following rates in the areas under your jurisdiction.

Contd...

Schedule of Rates

<u>Particulars</u>	<u>Rate of Levy</u>
Jewelry, textiles, pasmina fabrics, Dewang, Kochin, Sigrif, mercury, falcons (Baj, Jurra), elephants, horses	... Rs 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Rs 100.00
Goods brought by traders, tea, Dhumar, dry fruits of all categories, homespun cloth (Khadi, Chaga, Pega), blankets, yellow orpiment (Harital), borax, wax, needles, thread	... 6 annas per load
Male buffaloes	... 6 annas per pair
Iron, tobacco (Surti, Tamakhu), herbs and drugs, paper	... 4 annas per load
Raw cotton, salt	... 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ annas per load
Copper	... 12 annas per load
<u>Charas</u> (narcotic), yaks tails	... Rs 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ per load
Musk	... 10 annas per seer
Sheep, <u>Chyangra</u> goats	... 1 animal on a flock of

Bhadra Badi 9, 1862.

Similar orders were issued separately for the hill regions between Bhadgaun and the Kanaka river in the east, with the exception of the Tarai north of Sikharmadi and Sindhuli, and between the Bishnumati and Bheri rivers in the west, with the exception of Palpa, Gulmi, Argha, Khanchi and the Tarai.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, pp. 227-228.

Contd...

6. Ijara Grant To Mahindra Singh Newar, 1805

From King Girban,

To Mahindra Singh Newar.

We hereby grant you a one-year contract (Ijara) of Rs 15,001 for the collection of the Nirkhi levy (dastur) from Shrawan Sudi 13, 1973 to Shrawan Sudi 12, 1974 in the regions situated within the following boundaries, with the exception of Palpa, Gulmi, Argha, Khanchi and Salyan:-

East of the Bheri river,

West of the Kana (Ka) river,

North of Sikharmadi, Sindhuli and Hitaura, and,

South of the Tibetan frontier.

Appoint your agents at different check-points and collect levies at the following rates on the sale of goods brought by merchants:-

(The Nirkhi levy) shall not be collected on foodgrains, ghee, oil, sesame, mustard, goats and gelding goats, goods meant for the royal palace and all goods produced in Nepal on which the Jagat duty is not collected. It shall be collected only on commercial goods imported from other countries, or exported there, by traders, as well as on goods produced in our territories on which the Jagat duty is collected.

On such goods, the Nirkhi levy shall be collected at the following ad valorem rates at the time of their sale at seasonal rates in areas covered by your agents. Do not harass traders on the ground that they sell these goods at places where your agents have not extended their jurisdiction. Once the levy is collected, and seals affixed on the goods do not collect it again on the same goods. Permit trader to sell goods wherever they like.

The Taksari and the Bhansari shall open consignments in the presence of the Ijaradar's agents.

Reasonable remissions shall be granted after ascertaining where you have not been actually able to extend your jurisdiction. Make payment of installments as these fall due. Submit accounts at the end of the year and obtain clearance. Pay interest at commercial rates if installments are not paid when due.

Contd...

Schedule of Rates

(Same as in No. 5).

Schedule of Installments

Total payment due for the one-year period
from Shrawan Sudi 13, 1862 to Shrawan 12,
1863 ... Rs 15,001

Advance payment ... Rs 2,001

Balance ... Rs 13,000

Installments:

Bhadra ... Rs 1,300

Aswin ... Rs 1,300

Kartik ... Rs 1,000

Marga ... Rs 1,200

Poush ... Rs 1,000

Magh ... Rs 1,000

Falgun ... Rs 1,300

Chaitra ... Rs 1,200

Baisakh ... Rs 1,000

Jestha ... Rs 1,000

Ashadh ... Rs 1,000

Shrawan ... Rs 1,000

Bhadra Badi 9, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, pp. 229-231.

Contd...

7. Ijara Grant To Hanumant Singh Newar, 1816 A.D.

From King Girban,

To Hanumant Singh Newar.

We hereby grant you a one-year contract (Ijara) for the collection of the Nirkhi levy from Shrawan Sudi 13, 1973 to Shrawan Sudi 12, 1974 in the regions situated within the following boundaries, with the exception of Palpa, Gulmi, Argha, Kharchi and Salyan:-

East of the Bheri river,

West of the Kanaka river,

North of Sikharmadi, Sindhuli and Hitaura, and,

South of the Tibetan frontier.

Irrespective of whether or not routes on all the four sides are used complete payment of the usual amount of Rs 17,001 and the present addition of Rs 500, thus making a total payment of Rs 17,501 for one year, to the Toshakhana in separate installments.

Appointment your agents at different check-points and collect levies at the following rates on the sale of goods brought by merchants.

The Nirkhi levy shall not be collected on foodgrains, ghee, oil, sesame, mustard, goats and gelding goats, goods meant for the royal palace and all goods produced in Nepal on which the Jagat duty is not collected. It shall be collected only on commercial goods imported from other countries, or exported there, by traders, as well as on goods produced in our territories on which the Jagat duty is collected.

On such goods, the Nirkhi levy shall be collected at the following ad valorem rates at the time of their sale at seasonal rates in areas covered by your agents. Do not harass traders on the ground that they sell these goods at places where your agents have not extended their jurisdiction. Once the levy is collected, and seals affixed on the goods, do not collect it again on the same goods. Permit traders to sell goods wherever they like.

The Taksari and the Bhansari shall open consignments in the presence of the Ijaradar's agents.

Contd...

Reasonable remissions shall be granted after ascertaining where (you) have not been actually able to extend your jurisdiction. Make payment of installments as these fall due. Submit accounts at the end of the year and obtain clearance.

Make collections in the customary manner, and as done by Kulanand Jha. Do not treat traders and merchants unjustly or harass them.

Schedule of Rates

(Same as in No. 5)

Schedule of Installments

Advance (Muhuda) Installment	...	Rs 3,001
Shrawan, Bhadra and Aswin	...	Rs 3,700
Kartik, Marga and Poush	...	Rs 3,700
Magh, Falgun and Chaitra	...	Rs 3,700
Baisakh, Jestha and Ashadh	...	Rs 3,400

Bhadra Badi 5, 1873,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, pp. 302-305.

Appointment of Mokaddam In Chitaun, 1827 A.D.

From King Rajendra,

To Harran Mahto.

From Baisakh Badi 1, 1884 (April 1827), We hereby appoint you as Mokaddam for reclaiming waste lands (Kalabanjar) in the area situated south of the Parganna of Gahirawa adjoining the Kachhar in Marjyadpur district. Bring ryots for settlement in this area from Jaulpur in the Moglan, as well as from Birta and Jagir lands. Enjoy tax exemption for 3 years. From the fourth year, pay revenue as follows every year to the Amil at the Potakhanna, exclusive of Raja-Anka levies, treasure-troves and fines collected from persons convicted of Panchakhat offenses. At the end of every year, submit accounts and obtain clearance.

Pota tax at Rs 1 per Hal of 2 bullocks	...	8 annas
Salami for Pagari of Mokaddam	...	2 rupees
For each household requiring a priest	...	8 annas
Tikabhet levy for Dashain festival	...	1 rupee
Farakhtana levy	...	1 rupee and 8 annas

Promote reclamation and settlement of this mouja faithfully and appropriate the levies and perquisites due to you as Mokaddam.

Jestha Badi 2, 1884

(May 1827),

Ragmi Research Collections, Vol 43, pp. 218-219.

The Nepal Era¹

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

The Nepal Era commenced on October 20, 879 A.D., or on the Kartik Sukla Pratipada day in the Vikrama Year 936. Before the introduction of this era, other systems were used in Nepal. Scholars are not unanimous in this regard and available information too is very meager.

Two eras were used in the ancient stone inscriptions of Nepal. One was the Amshuvarma era, which was used by the Kings of Nepal during the seventh and eighth centuries. According to many scholars, this era is the same as the Harsha era, which commenced in 606 A.D. A few scholars also hold the view that the Amshuvarma era was introduced by Amshuvarma in 595 A.D., when he was born or was crowned as King. There is a greater controversy with regard to the era used in the stone inscriptions of Manadeva and other Lichchhavi Kings. It has been variously interpreted as the Vikrama era, the Shaka era and the Gupta-Ballabhi era which commenced in 319-20 A.D.

Recently, a scholar has pointed out that a King of Nepal named Manadeva had introduced a new era in 576 A.D.² However, no inscription using this era has so far been discovered. Nepali scholars have expressed the view that this is none but Amshuvarma's era.

In the same way, we do not know much about the Nepal Era. In fact, we do not even know in what circumstances it was introduced. The Vamshavalis give a fanciful story of its origin, which is as follows:

At the time when the Nepal Era was introduced, Ananda Malla was King of Bhadgaun, while his elder brother, Jayadeva Malla, was King of Kathmandu and Patan. An astrologer of Bhadgaon informed King Ananda Malla that in case sand was taken out at Lakhu Tirtha on the confluence of the Bhatikhu and Vishnumati rivers at an auspicious moment, it would turn into gold. The King sent men to procure sand from the place indicated by the astrologer at the auspicious moment. A Shudra merchant of Kathmandu, named Sakhawal, saw porters taking the sand to the King's palace. He persuaded them to leave the sand at his house by paying them money. The porters then procured sand

1. Nepal Upatyakako Madhya kalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal), Kathmandu; Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter I, pp. 1-10.

2. K.P. Jayaswal, Chronology and History of Nepal, pp. 34-40.

Contd...

again from Lakhu Tirtha and took it to the royal palace. But since it had not been taken out at the auspicious moment indicated by the astrologer, it did not turn into gold. This made Ananda Malla furious, and he started reproaching the astrologer, who he thought had deceived him. The astrologer too became distressed when he saw his knowledge of astrology unsuccessful. He therefore decided to throw his books on astrology into the fire. Meanwhile, when examining the sand which the porters had taken to the royal palace, King Ananda Malla saw small nuggets of gold at the bottom of the baskets. He then immediately went to the astrologer, and saw him throwing his books into the fire. This caused great distress to the King and he prevented the astrologer from burning his books. He took the astrologer to his palace and showed him the gold nuggets. This proved that his knowledge of astrology was correct. On the advice of the astrologer, the King instituted inquiries to find out how the porters had brought the sand. It was then discovered that the sand which had been taken out at an auspicious moment had been appropriated by Sakhawal, the merchant, and that the sand which had been taken to the royal palace had been procured at a later moment

Sakhawal thus became owner of an immense quantity of gold. With the permission of King Jayadeva Malla of Kathmandu, he paid off the debts of the entire inhabitants of Kathmandu and introduced a new era known as the Nepal Era. Sakhawal then installed his stone status near the southern gates of the Pashupatinath temple. After this, he died.

In due course of time, the name Sakhawal was Sanskritized into Shankhadhara. The era introduced by him became known as the Nepal Era introduced by Shankhadhara.³

Ananda Malla was King in 275 Nepal Era, or 1144-46 A.D. There is therefore no need to point out that the Vamshavali version regarding the origin of the Nepal Era is not reliable. It has post-dated the origin of this era by 275 years.

According to Indian tradition, only a Chakravarti King has the authority to introduce a new era. It is commonly believed that Vikramaditya, who vanquished the Shakas, introduced the Vikrama era. In Nepal, it is traditionally believed that anybody who introduces a new era must pay off the entire debts of the people. It is clear that the story of Sakhawal and the transformation of sand into gold was concocted on the basis of this popular tradition.

3. The name Sakhawal is very doubtful. In the Hindi languages, Sakh means trust or confidence. The term of Sakhawal thus refers to a trusted or reliable merchant.

Contd...

It has not yet been ascertained which King was ruling in Nepal when the Nepal Era was introduced. According to some scholars, Raghava Deva was ruling at that time. But most Vamshavalis, with the exception of those found by Kirkpatrick and Bendall, do not mention Raghava Deva. According to Kirkpatrick, Raghava Deva introduced the Tambula (?) era. The Vamshavali found by Bendall only mentions the name of Raghava Deva without giving any detail. Had Raghava Deva introduced a new era, this Vamshavali would have mentioned the fact. The Bendall Vamshavali mentions Raghava Deva as well as 6 of his successors. They are said to have ruled for a total period of 135 years. This fits in with the authoritative date of the reign of the seventh King, Laxmikama Deva. On the basis of this evidence, Bendall has come to the conclusion that the Nepal Era was introduced by Raghava Deva. But this evidence appears to be weak.⁵

Let us now make a comparative study of the Nepal Era and the Vikrama era. In North India, the Vikrama era starts from the month of Chaitra, and its months end on the Purnima (full moon) day. In other words, they start from the new moon day. But according to scholars, the Vikrama era was calculated from the month of Kartik in ancient times. In Bombay, Gujarat, Kathiawar and elsewhere, the Vikrama era still commences from the month of Kartik, and its months end on the new moon day. In other words, its months start from the full moon day. The Nepal Era too commences from the month of Kartik, and its months end on the new moon day.

4. The Vamshavali found by Bendall is written on palm-leaf in the ancient Newari script. It was compiled during the reign of Sthiti Malla (Circa 1383-96 A.D.). A detailed description of this Vamshavali is contained in the historical article by Bendall which was published in 1905 along with a catalog of books in the Bir Library compiled by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Shastri. Yogi Naraharinath has published this Vamshavali under the name of Gopal Vamshavali in the Himabat Sanskriti, Year 1, No. 1.
5. According to the Gopal Vamshavali published by Yogi Naraharinath, the period of the reign of Raghava Deva and his successors is as follows:

Raghadeva	...	43 years and 6 months
Jayadeva	...	10 ,,
Bikramadeva	...	8 ,, and 9 ,,
Narendradeva	...	1 ,, and 6 ,,
Ganakamadeva	...	85 ,, and 6 ,,
Udayadeva	...	5 ,, and 2 ,,
Total	...	154 years and 5 months

According to Bendall, Laxmikamadeva succeeded Udayadeva. But it is difficult to say anything precisely in this regard.

Contd...

This has led some scholars to follow Kirkpatrick in expressing the view that the Nepal Era was connected with the invasion of King Nanyadeva of Karnatak.⁶ This invasion took place in the Nepal year 217, corresponding to 1019 A.D. However, the Vamshavali's state that it took place in the Nepal year 9 or the Saka year 811. The above-mentioned view of Kirkpatrick and others seems to be based on this mistake. The Vamshavali thus ante-date Nanyadeva's invasion by 202 years. Since the truth is that Nanyadeva invaded Nepal 202 years after the introduction of the Nepal Era, it is clear that he is in no way concerned with the Nepal Era.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the Nepal Era has a southern origin. We shall now discuss how this southern influence entered into Nepal. The Vamshavalis state that before the commencement of the Nepal Era, a King named Varadeva was ruling in Nepal, and that during his reign, a Brahman, who looked like an incarnation of Shankaracharya, visited Nepal to ascertain how the regulations enforced by Shankaracharya were being followed.⁷ It appears that this visit created considerable impression on Varadeva, because according to the Vamshavali, he named his son Shankaradeva after this Brahman.⁸ It seems possible, even though the Vamshavalis have not said so, that this Brahman came from southern India. In other words, southern influence was pronounced in Nepal at the time when the Nepal Era was introduced. It will not be surprising, therefore, if this had some influence on the Nepal Era. It is not possible to say anything in this regard at this stage.

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6. Mahamahopadhyaya Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, Bhartiya Prachin Lipimala (Ancient Indian Scripts); Kirkpatrick.
 7. The exact date of Shankaracharya has not been determined. According to some scholars, he was born in 788 A.D. and died in 820 A.D. It is popularly believed that Shankaracharya visited Nepal and appointed a Namboodri Brahman as Priest of the Pashupatinath temple. In the absence of adequate data, it is not possible to determine to what extent this tradition is correct. It is possible that after the death of Shankaracharya, one of his disciples visited Nepal and had some influence over the King.
 8. The Mahabodhi Bihar of Patan has a copy of the Pragnya Paramita written on palm-leaf. It contains the date 7, when "Parambhattacharak Maharajadhiraaj Parmeshwar Shri" Shankaradeva was reigning. It is possible that this number refers to the date according to the Nepal Era. This also indicates that it was Shankaradeva who introduced the Nepal Era. However, further research is necessary in this regard.

Contd...

The Nepal Era commenced on October 20, 879 A.D., or during the end of the eighth century of the Shaka era. The era which commenced in 576 A.D. as mentioned above appears to have been introduced during the latter half of the fifth century of the Shaka era. The discrepancy of 1 or 2 years which is noticed here may be due to mistakes in calculation. As such, both of these eras seem to have commenced during the end of a century of the Shaka era. In ancient time, there is evidence that the Shaka era was in use throughout the Himalayan region. This is the reason why the year mentioned in the inscriptions of Mana Deva and other Kings in Kathmandu Valley is regarded by several scholars as the Shaka year. The Nepal Era was introduced in Kathmandu Valley only subsequently. It started during the end of eighth century of the Shaka era, and it was given the form of the Vikrama era as current in the south. Later, after Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered Kathmandu Valley, he abolished the use of the Nepal Era for official purposes and introduced the Shaka era in the form in which it was used in the hill areas of northern India. During the Prime Ministership of Chandra Shamsheer, the use of the Shaka era for official purposes was abolished, and replaced by the Vikrama era as it was used in northern India.

It is possible that the Nepal Era was introduced by taking the year 801 of the Shaka era as year 1, ignoring the first 800 years. It is also possible that in due course of time this calculation assumed the form of a new era. But this statement lacks clear evidence. Even then, since such a practice was common in India, it is possible that it was adopted in Nepal also.⁹

Kielhorn¹⁰ has proved that the first day of the Nepal Era was October 20, 879 A.D., or the Shukla Pratipada day in the month of Kartik in the Vikrama year 936 commencing in the month of Chaitra. He has also proved that in case the figure 937 is added to the months from Kartik to Falgun in the Nepal Era, and the figure 938 to the months from Chaitra to Aswin, the modern Vikrama era results. Nepali astronomers have not made as deep study of the Shaka and Nepal eras as Kielhorn. Accordingly, some confusion appears to be existing in this regard in Nepal. This is proved by a book on astrology entitled Khanda Khadya Tika¹¹ written in the Newari script, which is available at the Bir Library in Nepal. According to this work, the Nepali Era can be converted into the Shaka era if the figure 802 is added to it. In other words, the author of this work ignored the fact that

9. Such a system of calculation was popularly followed in Kashmir.

10. Indian antiquary, Part 17, September 188.

11. Bir Library catalog, Part 1, p. 26.

the twelve months of the two eras are not uniform, because the Nepal Era starts in the month of Kartik. The Bir Library also contains a work called Navaratnam by Damodar Bhatta, which gives the Shaka date of Marga Vadi Ashtami, 1607, as corresponding to the Nepal year 806. According to the Khanda Khadya Tika, the equivalent date should have been 1608 Shaka, by adding 802 to the Nepal year 806. But since both the Vikrama and the Shaka eras commence in the month of Chaitra, only 801 should be added to the Nepal year 806 to get the equivalent Shaka date of 1607.

Many such mistakes have been committed while calculating equivalent dates for the two eras. For example, a work called Pitri Bhakti Tarangini¹² gives the Nepal year 784 as the equivalent of the Shaka year 1587, thus showing a difference of 803 years between the two.

In the opinion of some historians, the Nepal Era was introduced to commemorate the end of the domination of Nepal by the Tibetan King Srong Tsan Gampo, who died in 650 A.D. But the domination which Tibet established over Nepal during the early seventh century was nominal and short-lived. After the death of Srong Tsan Gampo, there commenced a long war between Tibet and China. This tied up the hands of Tibet, so that it had neither the capacity nor the time to see what was happening in distant Nepal. Moreover, as a result of the cultural relations which were established between Nepal and Tibet during this period, their relations had become very affectionate and mutually respectful and had no place for domination of any sort.

12. Ibid, p. 195.

Birta Confiscation Regulations, 1805 A.D.

From King Girban,

To Dittha Sandhya Vaidya.

You have requested for regulations to determine valid and invalid grants among records collected by Bhutya Thapa, Ramanand and Jasiwant Thapa. You did well. We hereby enact the following regulations. Act accordingly:

1. All lands which lack signatures (i.e. documentary evidence of title), and in respect to which people occupying adjoining lands state that they do not know the name of the King who granted the land, or of the person who obtained it, shall be confiscated.
2. Even if signatures are lacking, but people occupying adjoining lands take oath on the Harivamsha, the lands shall be confirmed.
3. In cases where documents are available, but boundaries are not mentioned, the area mentioned in the documents shall be confirmed, and the surplus shall be confiscated.
4. In case documents are available, and the boundaries too are mentioned, (the lands) shall be confirmed according to such boundaries.
5. In case people occupying adjoining lands take oath that documents existed previously, but were later destroyed by natural calamities, and that they had seen and perused such documents, (the lands) shall be confirmed.
6. All lands purchased from Newars shall be confiscated, whether or not documents are available.
7. Only reliable people who have lived in the adjoining area for a long time shall be made to take oath on the Harivamsha with due care, making them sign a statement that their life, as well as that of the members of their family (will be forfeited) if they succumb to favor of take bribes.
8. All lands ritually gifted as Birta, Bandha or Guthi by persons other than Kings whose authority has been confirmed shall be confiscated.
9. In case the King who had ritually gifted any land as Birta had not fixed the boundaries and the area, and Kings other than his descendants had fixed the boundaries, such Birta lands shall be confiscated.

Birtas granted by the Crown Prince and the Chief Queen shall be confirmed. In case paddy lands subject to Pota tax have been utilized without paying this tax, the amount due so far shall be calculated and collected.

Baisakh Badi 6, 1862,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 501.

Use Of Palanquin In Jumla, 1844 A.D.

From King Rajendra,

To the ryots of Tripurakot (Tibrikot) division (dara).

You have submitted the following petition to us through Anant Padhya, Ramsaran Padhya, Shyamdhar Padhya and Syamdhar Kathayet:

"Our relatives and Kinsmen petitioned to Subba Rudravir Shahi that they should be allowed to carry the bride in a Palanquin (doli) during weddings. Subba Rudravir Shahi accordingly issued an order granting them permission to do so. Accordingly, (our relatives and Kinsmen) carry the bride in a Palanquin during weddings. We too should be permitted to use the Palanquin similarly."

The petition has been referred to us. We hereby promulgate this order under the royal seal to the effect that in the future (members of) all castes other than Dum may carry the bride in a Palanquin during weddings.

Jestha Badi 10, 1901,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 34, pp. 629-630.

(S.B.M.)

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,
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The Dark Age In Nepali History¹

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

There is much controversy with regard to the history of Nepal during the first century of the Nepal Era. Vamshavalis contain divergent versions of the historical events of this period. Manuscripts written during this period do not contain the names of most of the kings.

Different Vamshavalis give different names of the kings who ruled after the commencement of the Nepal Era. This will be clear from the following chart:-

<u>Kirkpatrick's Vamshavali</u>	<u>Wright's Vamshavali</u>	<u>Gopal Vamshavali and Bendall</u>
Raghadeva	Vardhamanadeva	Raghavadeva
Shekharadeva	Yalideva	Raghavadeva
Sahadeva	Jayadeva	Jayadeva
Vikramadeva	Balarjunadeva	Vikramadeva
Narendradeva	Vikramadeva	Narendradeva
Gunakamadeva	Gunakamadeva	Gunakamadeva
Udayadeva	Bhojadeva	Udayadeva
Nirbhayadeva	Laxmikamadeva	Nirbhaya and Rudra
Bhojadeva Budro (Rudradeva ?)	Jayakamadeva	Bhoja, Rudra and Laxmikamadeva
Laxmikamadeva	...	Jaya (Vijaya)
Jayadeva

1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Kathmandu Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter II: "Andhakarapurnakal" (The Dark Age).

Contd...

Wright's Vamshavali² describes an important incident which occurred towards the end of this period. This was the founding of Kantipuri by Gunakamadeva. The town of Kantipuri, which is situated on the confluence of the Bagmati and Vishnumati rivers, and is shaped like a sword, was founded by Gunakamadeva, who made it his capital.

During the Kirati period, the capital was situated at a place called Gokarna on the banks of the Bagmati river north of Kathmandu. It was shifted to Godavari during the Lichchhavi period, according to the Vamshavalis. Thereafter, the capital was shifted to Baneshwar. From Baneshwar, it was again shifted to Devapatan. Amshuvarma, a king of the Thakuri dynasty who ruled in the 7th century, had constructed his famous palace at a place called Madhyalaku south of Devapatan. During the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th, Kantipur or Kathmandu was made the capital. This town, founded by Gunakamadeva, is developing every day as the center of the civilization, culture and glory of the Nepali nation.

These days towns are constructed only after making arrangements for public parks, schools and town halls. In former times, greater importance was attached to religious matters. It was therefore considered necessary to establish temples before founding a new town. Accordingly, the Vamshavalis describe the construction of the temples of several gods and goddesses simultaneously with the construction of Kathmandu. These included the temples of goddesses Chandeshwari, Vidyadhari and Bhadrakali. During those days, people wanted to live near temples.

Along with the construction of temples, it is also natural that festivals associated with them should have been introduced. According to the Vamshavalis, Gunakamadeva further developed such traditional festivals as the Hileyatra, the Krishnayatra and the Lakheyatra. He also introduced new festivals. He thus introduced the festival of Khasarpa-Lokeshwar (White Matsyendra) after the festival of the Matsyendranath of Patan. In addition, Gunakamadeva constructed a water spout called Sundhara and thus made arrangements for the supply of drinking water to the inhabitants of the new town. According to Wright, this spout was situated on the old road leading from the Vishnumati bridge to Thankot.³

In ancient times, as now, Nepal was an agricultural country. Agriculture constituted the main means of livelihood of the people and also sustained animal husbandry. Whatever trade Nepal conducted at that time was confined to India in the south. The few items which Nepal

2. Daniel Wright, History of Nepal, pp. 153-155.

3. Ibid, p. 154n.

needed were imported from India. Nepal then exported rugs, blankets and other goods to that country. This trade was carried on a very small scale because people at that time lived plainly and produced the few goods that they required.

The situation changed during the Lichchhavi period. The Lichchhavi rulers started constructing water spouts, buildings and temples. This naturally led to an increase in the size and prosperity of the artistic class in the Nepali society. Because of royal patronage, this class attained considerable skill in wood, stone and metal work. Moreover, during the seventh century, Nepal established relations with Tibet. Tibet too adopted Buddhism. The artisans of Nepal thus obtained a new and big scope for propagating their religion-based art. Similarly, the traders of Nepal obtained a large market and began to exchange goods between Nepal and Tibet. Soon Nepal became a prosperous commercial center. As a result of this prosperity, new towns started being constructed in Nepal. There is no doubt that the town of Kantipuri, founded by Gunakamadeva, was a result of this prosperity. According to Wright's *Vamshavali*,⁴ this town had 18,000 houses, and Laxmi, the Goddess of Wealth, said that she would reside in it as long as the daily volume of trade amounted to Rs 100,000.

On the evidence of the colophon of a manuscript called *Ashtasahasrika Prajnyaparamita*,⁵ written in 128 Nepal Era (1008 A.D.), we know that Nepal was at that time ruled jointly by Nirbhaya and Rudra. Seven years later, in 135 Nepal Era (1015 A.D.), another copy of the same work⁶ shows that the kingdom was being ruled jointly by Bhojadeva, Rudradeva and Laxmikamadeva. Wright's *Vamshavali* does not contain the name of Rudradeva. But if we consider that Budro, the name joined to that of Bhojadeva in Kirkpatrick's *Vamshavali*, is no other than Rudradeva, we will have to admit that it contains all these three names.

Bendall has cited a manuscript called *Saddharmapurandarika*,⁷ composed in 159 Nepal Era (1039 A.D.), as evidence of the fact that Laxmikamadeva was ruling alone at that time. But a work called *Bhagvatiyaswedaya Yathalavdha Tantraraja*,⁸ which was composed in 149 Nepal Era (1029 A.D.), proves that Laxmikamadeva had already attained this status in that year.

4. Loc. Cit.

5. Bendall, Additional Catalogue, No. 6.

6. Ibid, No. 1643.

7. Ibid, No. 1683.

8. Catalogue (?), Part 2, p. 5.

According to the Vamshavalis, Laxmikamadeva introduced the worship of Kumari in Patan and installed an image of that Goddess.

On the basis of evidence contained in the Vamshavalis, Jayakamadeva appears to have succeeded his father, Laxmikamadeva, on the throne. According to Kirkpatrick's Vamshavali, Jayakamadeva defeated a vassal chief named Bhaskaradeva of Patan. However, according to Wright's Vamshavali, Jayakamadeva was childless, and so the Thakuris of Nuwakot chose Bhaskaradeva from among themselves to succeed him.

A manuscript called Chatushasthi Nibandha⁹ indicates that Jayakamadeva ascended the throne in 165 Nepal Era (1045 A.D.). Another work, called Vishnudharma, written in 167 Nepal Era (1046 A.D.), refers to Bhaskaradeva as "Parama Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parmeshwara." This shows that Bhaskaradeva had already become king of Nepal in 1046 A.D.¹⁰

Chronology

1. Raghavadeva
2. Jayadeva
3. Vikramadeva
4. Narendradeva
5. Gunakamadeva
6. Udayadeva
7. Nirbhayadeva or Rudradeva, 128 Nepal Era (1008 A.D.)
8. Bhojadeva, Rudradeva and Laxmikamadeva, 135 Nepal Era (1015 A.D.)
9. Laxmikamadeva, 149-159 Nepal Era (1029-1039 A.D.)
10. Jayakamadeva, 165 Nepal Era (1046 A.D.)

9. Ibid, p. 7.

10. The Gopal Vamshavali gives different names for the successor of Udayadeva. It does not refer to the joint rule of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva, as well as of Bhojadeva, Rudradeva and Laxmikamadeva. It gives the name of Udayadeva's successor as Hansakamadeva, and that of his successor as Vijayadeva. It is possible that Vijayadeva and Jayakamadeva referred to the same person. Vijayadeva is said to have ruled half of the kingdom of Lalitpuri. This probably means that Bhaskaradeva had rebelled against him and deprived him of a part of his kingdom. (Gopal Vamshavali, p. 11).

Contd...

The Thakuri Dynasty

According to the Vamshavalis, Bhaskaradeva was a Thakuri of Nuwakot. We may therefore be justified in inferring that he belonged to the same dynasty as Amshuvarma. During the 7th century, Narendradeva, who belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty, seized the throne of Nepal with the assistance of Tibet. Thereafter, the Bains Thakuris, who belonged to the dynasty of Amshuvarma, naturally fled to different areas from Kathmandu Valley. It is possible that they settled down in Nuwakot. As soon as a favorable opportunity arose because Jayakamadeva was childless or because he was powerless, the Bains Thakuris raised their heads again.¹¹

On the basis of the evidence presented by a book called Chatushasti Nibandha,¹² written in 165 Nepal Era (1045 A.D.), it appears that Bhaskaradeva was a feudal chief of Patan. We have already seen how he rebelled and how the rebellion was suppressed by Jayakamadeva. Soon afterwards, Bhaskaradeva, rebelled again and seized the throne of Jayakamadeva. Bendall has cited a book called Vishnudharma, written in 167 Nepal Era (1046 A.D.) to substantiate this view. His title of "Parama Bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja" proves that Bhaskaradeva ruled over the whole of Kathmandu Valley.

The Vamshavalis mention that Bhaskaradeva constructed the well-known Hemavarna Vihara of Patan.

Bhaskaradeva was succeeded by his son, Baladeva or Balawantadeva. Bendall has cited a book called Nishwasakhya Mahatantram composed in 180 Nepal Era (1059-60 A.D.) during the reign of this king. But the evidence presented by the colophon of a manuscript called Brahmayamala, written in 172 Nepal Era (1052 A.D.) indicates that Baladeva had already become king in that year. According to the Gopal Vamshavali,¹³ Baladeva founded the town of Haripur (modern Handigaun?).

Baladeva or Balawantadeva was succeeded by Pradyumnakamadeva. Bendall has referred to two books written during his reign in 185 Nepal Era (1064-65 A.D.) and 186 Nepal Era (1065-66 A.D.). His name has not been given clearly in the Gopal Vamshavali.

Nagarjunadeva became king after Pradyumnakamadeva. But no manuscript written during his reign has been discovered.

11. The Gopal Vamshavali (p. 11) does not mention any conflict over the change of dynasty or for the throne.

12. Catalogue (?), Part 2, p. 7.

13. Gopal Vamshavali, p. 11.

Nagarjunadeva was succeeded by Shankaradeva. Bendall has cited a manuscript written during his reign in 189 Nepal Era (1068-69 A.D.). On the basis of two other manuscripts cited by Bendall, it appears that Shankaradeva was ruling even during the period from 191 to 198 Nepal Era (1070-1077 A.D.).

Shankaradeva recognized the Tana Devata of Kathmandu as his tutelary deity. He is therefore said to have issued orders that nobody should construct buildings taller than the temple of Tana Devata in Kathmandu. This probably marks the commencement of this tradition in Nepal. Later, the Malla kings accepted Goddess Taleju as their tutelary deity. They therefore issued orders to the effect that nobody should construct buildings taller than the temple of Taleju. This practice appears to have come to an end after Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered Kathmandu Valley. It is possible that this practice did not cause much inconvenience because generally tall buildings were not constructed in Kathmandu Valley.

The Bains Thakuri dynasty of Nuwakot, founded by Bhaskaradeva, came to an end after Shankaradeva, according to the Vamshavalis.

Chronology

Bhaskaradeva	167 Nepal Era (1047 A.D.)
Baladeva or Balawantadeva	172-180 Nepal Era (1052-60 A.D.)
Pradyumnakamadeva	185-186 Nepal Era (1064-66 A.D.)
Shankaradeva	189-198 Nepal Era (1068-77 A.D.)

Restoration of Ancient Royal Dynasty

The dynasty founded by Bhaskaradeva came to an end towards the end of the second century of the Nepal Era. A king named Vamadeva then ascended the throne. It is difficult to say to which dynasty he belonged. According to the Vamshavalis, Vamadeva belonged to a branch of the ancient royal family which had been ousted by Bhaskaradeva.

Bendall has referred to a manuscript written in 200 Nepal Era (1080-81 A.D.) during the reign of Vamadeva. He has also referred to a stone inscription of 203 Nepal Era (1083 A.D.)¹⁴ which says that Banadeva, son

¹⁴. Cecil Bendall, A Journey of Literary And Archaeological Research In Nepal And Northern India During the Winter of 1884-85, Cambridge: University Press, 1886, p.80.

of King Yashodeva, installed an image of the Sun-God. Bendall expressed the view that there is an error in the inscription and that Vamadeva and Banadeva are the same person. Since Vamadeva was himself a king, his father, Yashonath, may have been an ordinary landowner. But it is difficult to express a definite opinion with regard to the discrepancy in the name. It is surprising that an error should have been committed while inscribing the name of the king.

Vamadeva was succeeded by Harshadeva. Two manuscripts written in 210 Nepal Era (1090 A.D.) and 213 Nepal Era (1093 A.D.) during his reign have been found. According to a book called Tatwasadbhawa Tantraka,¹⁵ to which Bendall has not referred, it is clear that Harshadeva was ruling in the Nepal year 217 (1097 A.D.). According to Bendall, Harshadeva was succeeded by Shivadeva. He has referred to two books written during the reign of Shivadeva or Sadashivadeva, in 240 Nepal Era (1120 A.D.) and 243 Nepal Era (1123 A.D.).

According to Wright, Shivadeva or Sadashivadeva founded a town called Kirtipur. The image of Pashupatinath had been located by a cow belonging to Kirtipur. As such, Kirtipur was considered to be a place of great importance. According to the Vamshavalis, this was the reason why the new town was named Kirtipur. Later Buddhist inscriptions described this town as Padmakashthapuri. The Vamshavalis also state that Shivadeva or Sadashivadeva introduced Suki coins containing an effigy of a lion for the first time. His heir apparent (Yuvaraja), Mahendradeva, spent much money in constructing a tank called Mahendra Sara in 239 Nepal Era (1119 A.D.). The tank was also known as Madana Sara.¹⁶

Shivadeva or Sadashivadeva was succeeded by Indradeva. Wright's Vamshavali does not refer to this king, but Kirkpatrick's Vamshavali does. Bendall has referred to a manuscript written in 249 Nepal Era (1128-29 A.D.) during the reign of Indradeva.

Indradeva was succeeded by Manadeva. Bendall has referred to a manuscript written during the reign of Manadeva in 259 Nepal Era (1139 A.D.). Bendall has also discovered an inscription of 259 Era (1139 A.D.)¹⁷ referring to Manadeva as king. Manadeva ruled for only 10 years. He then abdicated in favor of his eldest son and started living as a recluse at the Chakra Vihara.

15. Catalogue (?), Part 2, p. 113.

16. Gopal Vamshavali, p. 11.

17. Bendall, A Journey Etc., p. 81.

Manadeva was succeeded by Narasimha or Narendradeva. Bendall has referred to a manuscript written in 254 Nepal Era (1134 A.D.) during his reign. This proves that Narasimhadeva or Narendradeva was ruling in the year 1134 A.D. An inscription and other books too containing the name of Manadeva and bearing the date of 1139 A.D. have been found. It may therefore be asked how Narendradeva or Narasimhadeva became king in 1134 A.D. The story that Manadeva abdicated after a reign of 10 years and started living at the Chakra Vihara gives an insight into his mental condition. It is therefore not surprising that he had handed over the reigns of the administration to Narendradeva even before he had started living at the Chakra Vihara. The above-mentioned book, which was written in 1134 A.D., refers to Narendradeva as "Rajendra" and "Rajarajasadrishya". This too proves that he had already become king at that time.

Narendradeva was succeeded by Anandadeva. He is probably the Nandadeva mentioned in the Vamshavali of Wright. Bendall has referred to a number of manuscripts written during his reign. These belong to different dates between 267 Nepal Era (1147 A.D.) and 286 Nepal Era (1166 A.D.). According to the Gopal Vamshavali,¹⁸ Anandadeva became king in the month of Magh 267 Nepal Era.

A study of the Gopal Vamshavali would indicate that during this period not only Kathmandu and Patan but also Bhadgaun had emerged as towns. The reason is that Anandadeva is described as a king with a capital consisting of three towns. The Gopal Vamshavali¹⁹ also states that Anandadeva confiscated the lands of his nobles and sold them. It is possible that he took such a severe step in order to suppress some conspiracy organized by the nobles.

Rudradeva succeeded Anandadeva around 1166 A.D. Bendall has not referred to any manuscript written during his reign. According to the colophon of a book called Pingalamatam²⁰ it appears that Rudradeva was ruling in 294 Nepal Era (1174 A.D.). Recently, inscriptions of Rudradeva's time, dated 288 Nepal Era (1166 A.D.), 291 Nepal Era (1174 A.D.) and 292 Nepal Era (1195 A.D.), have been discovered. According to Wright's Vamshavali, Rudradeva abdicated in favor of his son Amritadeva and became a recluse.

18. Gopal Vamshavali, p. 18.

19. Ibid, p. 11.

20. Catalogue (?), Part 2, p. 69.

Amritadeva thus became king after Rudradeva. Bendall has referred to a manuscript written in 296 Nepal Era (1176 A.D.) during his reign.²¹ According to Kirkpatrick's Vamshavali, a famine occurred in Kathmandu Valley during his reign. A manuscript written in 303 Nepal Era (1183 A.D.) indicates that a king called Ratnadeva was ruling at this time. But no other Vamshavali mentions this king. It is therefore difficult to express a definite opinion in this regard.

According to Kirkpatrick's Vamshavali, Amritadeva was succeeded by Someshwaradeva. But no manuscript written during his reign has been discovered.

Gunakamadeva II became king after Someshwaradeva. Bendall has referred to a manuscript written in 313 Nepal Era (1193 A.D.) during his reign.

Gunakamadeva was succeeded by Laxmikamadeva II. Bendall has referred to a manuscript entitled Nagananda written in 313 Nepal Era (1162 A.D.) during his reign.

Laxmikamadeva was succeeded by Vijayakamadeva II. Bendall has referred to two manuscripts written in 316 Nepal Era (1196 A.D.) and 317 Nepal Era (1197 A.D.) during his reign.

According to Wright's Vamshavali, Arimalladeva became king after Amritadeva. According to Kirkpatrick's Vamshavali, however, Someshwaradeva was succeeded by Vijayakamadeva. This discrepancy probably indicates that political conditions in Kathmandu Valley were chaotic during the period from 300 Nepal Era (1180 A.D.) to 332 Nepal Era (1202 A.D.), that is to say, until Arideva became king. After Arideva, kings started using the title of Malla. But there is no evidence that this marked the commencement of a new dynasty.

Chronology

Vamadeva	200-203 Nepal Era (1080-1083 A.D.)
Harshadeva	210-217 Nepal Era (1090-1097 A.D.)
Shivadeva or Sadashivadeva	239-243 Nepal Era (1119-1123 A.D.)

21. A copy of an inscription of Amritadeva's time, dated Baisakh 285 Nepal Era, has been published in the Itihas Prakash. It appears that this date is somewhat too early for Amritadeva. The date of 295 Nepal Era would have been more appropriate.

Contd...

Indradeva	249 Nepal Era (1128-29 A.D.)
Manadeva	259 Nepal Era (1139 A.D.)
Narasimhadeva or Narendradeva	254 Nepal Era (1134 A.D.)
Anandadeva	267-286 Nepal Era (1147-1166 A.D.)
Rudradeva	288-294 Nepal Era (1166-1174 A.D.)
Amritadeva	296 Nepal Era (1176 A.D.)
Someshwaradeva	x
Gunakamadeva II	313 Nepal Era (1192 A.D.)
Lezmikamadeva II	313-317 Nepal Era (1192-1197 A.D.)

Regulations For Jumla District, 1844 A.D.

From King Rajendra,

To Thanis, Thakuris, Tharis Thapalas and ryots throughout Jumla.

You have submitted the following petition to us: "Formerly, our ancestors, who live in snowy Himalayan (Bhotantar) region, approached the government and said, "Regulations regarding customs and usages had been promulgated by the government with due consideration to the fact that this is a Himalayan region with a snowy climate. But these days Amalis, military personnel and the common people are acting in contravention of these regulations. As such, our customs and usages have been transgressed in all respects. If the old regulations are not observed, it will be difficult for the Thanis, ryots and other inhabitants of this snowy Himalayan region to continue."

The petition has been represented to us. We hereby promulgate the following regulations confirming the old provisions and containing new ones required for the future.

In case any Amali, military personnel or other inhabitant of Jumla does not comply with these regulations and acts in contravention of them, he shall be awarded severe punishment according to his caste status.

Regulations

1. At the time when Jumla was annexed, our father (i.e. King Girban) had issued a royal order prescribing that the mares, sheep and wives of the ryots of Jumla shall not be taken away, and that nobody shall be prosecuted for offenses committed during the time of the (displaced) Kalyal Kings. We hereby reconfirm this order.
2. According to a previous royal order, orders for the arrest of ryots inhabiting the 15 divisions (dara) of Jumla shall not be sent from outside, since this is a Himalayan area with a snowy climate. In the future also, the Amali and Bhardars stationed in Jumla shall hear complaints made by ryots along with local Thanis, Tharis and other respectable people and dispose these of in a just manner. If partiality is shown in Jumla, so that justice is not done, make a representation to us.
3. In the Vikrama year 1887, a royal order was issued in the name of Brahmans, Asyas, Thakuris, Thapalas and all other people belonging to the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes prescribing that nobody

Contd...

shall take away lands mortgaged (Mat) prior to the revenue settlements of 1862 Vikrama, and that, in the case of lands mortgaged subsequent to 1862 Vikrama, the creditor shall take back his money and release the land. We hereby reconfirm these provisions.

3. The following offenses had not been included in the Thek-Thiti arrangements made for different divisions (dara) of Jumla: murder with a weapon, cow-slaughter, sodomy with a cow or sexual intercourse between Dums and Chokha castes. With effect from the Vikrama year 1901, if cases relating to such offenses are filed, the Amali and Bhardars stationed there shall refer them to us and act as commanded. If cases relating to the following offenses are filed, these shall be disposed of at a meeting attended by the Amali, Bhardars and local Thanis and Tharis if they can do so, or else referred to us and action then taken as commanded. Sexual intercourse with relatives within five generations among Brahmans, Sahi Thakuris and sacred threat-wearing Khas; rape or sexual intercourse with Upadhyaya Brahman (women), suppression of information relating thereto and involvement (of others) in commensal relations.
4. In case the ryots of Jumla file complaints with the headquarters (Dafdarkhana) of military units (Paltan) stationed there, the complainant shall not supply provisions to peons deputed (by the Dafdarkhana). No Hudda or soldier shall demand and accept provisions on the way from the complainant while returning (to headquarters) after apprehending the offender.
5. The Amali deputed to Jumla every year, as well as local Jimmawals, may appropriate Bidikarpan fees from ryots in all the 15 divisions (dara) of Jumla on disputes settled by them. They shall refund Karpan fees charged on disputes which are not disposed of.
6. The Amalis stationed in Jumla may collect from Jimmawals all over the district a fee of Rs 2, and not more, as Bahi-Phukaoni and Farak-Dastur, at the headquarters of the Chandannath Regiment.
7. In the 15 divisions (dara) of Jumla, the Pota tax on escheat property shall be paid by relatives who appropriate it. (The loss of revenue) from Serma, Saune Fagu and Asmani levies on holdings rendered vacant because the occupants (Kuriya) have died or run-away shall be met through the imposition of taxes at rates current in each division on holdings newly-created through subdivision.

Contd...

8. The Amali or military units stationed in Jumla shall not send officers (Pagari), Hudda or soldiers to any of the 15 divisions (dara) of Jumla district without our orders and oppress the ryots by exacting money, provisions and Walak from them on the pretext of scrutinizing accounts (of revenue collections). Nobody shall charge interest at 4 annas per rupee on loans advanced to the ryots on the ground that a stipulation had been made to pay interest at this rate. Obtain repayment of the loan with interest at 10% per year.
9. For purposes of tax collection in each of the 15 divisions of Jumla, expenses shall be provided only for 1 Jimmawal, 1 Bahidar, 1 peon and 1 attendant, thus making a total of 4 persons. Expenses shall not be provided to a large number of persons. In case these persons demand provisions, the ryots shall supply the same on payment of the price.
10. Ryots inhabiting the whole of Jumla shall pay the Salami levy imposed according to our orders. They shall not pay any Salami imposed by the Amali, Bhardars and local Thanis, Tharis and Jimmawals in collusion with one another on any pretext. In areas where taxes have been assessed on a contractual basis, so that no remission is allowed, Amalis shall not forcibly collect Salami levy from the ryots.
11. In the event of any military action in the borders, if it is necessary for troops to march to the district headquarters, the ryots of all divisions shall transport supplies without payment of wages in their respective areas as allotted. They shall not provide portorage services to anybody, except for the transportation of military supplies and sick persons.
12. The inhabitants of areas other than Jumla shall visit the areas where they had been going customarily for purposes of trade. They shall not conduct trade in areas allotted to the inhabitants of Jumla and Humla.
13. Local Jimmawals, Thanis, Tharis, Asyas, Hitans, Mukhiyas and respectable persons in any of the 15 divisions of Jumla shall not forcibly collect money from the ryots on the ground that they need expenses to visit the palace or the district headquarters. In case any person makes such collections forcibly, the Amali and Bhardars stationed there shall have the amount so collected from the ryots refunded to them. They shall also punish the person who makes such forcible collections.

Contd...

14. Commercial transactions in villages in all the 15 divisions of Jumla shall be conducted according to weights and measures traditionally used. Supplies of foodgrains shall be delivered to the offices of military units after measuring them with pyangs and pathis of copper affixed with seals and sent from here and levelling them off with a stamped dika.
15. Thanis, Thakuris, Tharis, Asyas, Hitans, Thapalas and others throughout Jumla shall not harass the ryots by demanding the return of movable property claimed to have been deposited on trust with them during the time of the Kalyal Kings and which had been looted in the course of rebellions and disturbances. In case property other than what has been looted is proved to have been appropriated by the person with whom it had been deposited on trust, the latter shall be obliged to restore the value thereof.
16. Thanis, Thakuris, Tharis, Jimmawals and Mukhiyas throughout Jumla shall transmit the proceeds of judicial fines and other payments collected in village and areas placed under their jurisdiction by royal order through the Jimmawals of the appropriate division without making any discrepancy therein. Jimmawals on their part shall include such amounts in the Asmani revenue prescribed for the division, and thus complete payment of the stipulated amount.
17. While visiting the headquarters (Dafdarkhana) of the Chandannath Regiment for submitting accounts at the end of the year. Jimmawals of different divisions throughout Jumla and Humla shall also hand over to the Amali a statement of amounts collected from each household of ryots in the division, in case the proceeds of judicial and other revenue collected from them in the division, as well as fees on horses, falcons, musk, wax and dyeing of cloth, fall short of the stipulated amount, and thus complete payment. The Amali and Bhardars stationed there on their part shall scrutinize the documents submitted by the Jimmawals, recover from them such amounts as appear to have been collected in excess of the stipulated revenue for each division, and refund the same to the appropriate ryots. Documents relating to revenue collection, including the receipts of the ryots, shall be submitted every year to the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office.
18. Money-lenders in the 15 divisions of Jumla shall charge interest at 5 pathis per muri of foodgrains supplied by them on loan. In case any person charges interest at a higher rate and thus leads to the displacement of any ryot, he shall be punished by the Jimmawal, and the excess amount so collected shall be realized from him and restored to the ryot.

Chaitra Sudd 7, 1900 Vikrama,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 34, pp. 609-619.

Appointment of Archers, 1791

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Mir Nazar Ali, archer.

A need has arisen for archers, and therefore we hereby appoint 10 soldiers who know how to shoot arrows on a total monthly salary of Rs 75½ as follows. Provide services as archers during war and enjoy your monthly emoluments like others in the army:-

<u>Particulars</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Monthly Salary</u>
Mir Nazar Ali, archer	1	Rs 25
Akin Ali	1	Rs 6½
Subhan Ali	1	Rs 6½
Sheikh Islam	1	Rs 6
Narbu	1	Rs 5
Bir Sing	1	Rs 5
Dharma Lama	1	Rs 5
Bersyani	1	Rs 5
Nanda Lama	1	Rs 5
Dalabir Lama	1	Rs 5
		<u>Rs 75½</u>

Aswin Badi 7, 1848

(September 1791)

Régmi Research Collections, Vol 5, p. 66.

Marriage Regulations In Patan, 1805 A.D.

From King Girban,

To the Amalidar of Patan.

In case thirty-six sub-castes of Newars in Patan take women belonging to castes lower than themselves as their wives and maintain commensal relations with them, or take women related within five or six generations as their wives, claiming that they are not related, (or that) they are related within seven or eight generations, and thus obtain clearance from the Amali on false grounds, award punishment according to the status of the offender.

In the future, in case any person relinquishes the customs and usages of his family, he shall be punished according to his caste status. Make a proclamation to this effect.

Kartik Badi 13, 1862 (Vikrama),
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, pp. 335-336.

Ban On Castration Of Bulls, 1799 A.D.

From King Girban,

To the Brahmans, Chhetris, Khasas, Magars, Jogis, Sanyasis, Bhats, Jagirdars, Dhakres, Bandhas (bondsmen), Birta-owners, Talab and Bitalab assignees, Telis, Dhobis, Paunipat (untouchables) and people of all the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes throughout Jumla.

So far you have been castrating bulls, but in the future plow (your lands) only with uncastrated bulls. If bullocks are required for agriculture or other purposes, use only those that had been castrated previously or procure them from abroad. If in the future any person castrates a bull in our Kingdom, his hands shall be cut off.

Shrawan Badi 4, 1856,
Itihas Prakash, Vol. 2, Book 2, p. 5.

A Letter From Amar Singh Thapa, 1811

From Amar Singh Thapa,

To Bhimsen Thapa and Randhwaj Thapa.

Blessings. All is well here and I wish the same there. The news here is good.

Two days ago, I had sent a petition to (His Majesty) and letter to you through Prätiman Rana regarding the company that is to be placed under the Sabuj Paltan as well as the grant of colors to the Paltan. You must have received it. It will be good if you send a reply soon.

Subedar Dharmaraj Khatri has sent a letter here regarding the procurement of copper and steel for making a palanquin as well as the exaction of compulsory and unpaid labor (Jhara) for the construction of a bridge. I have sent you the letter sent to me, as well as that sent to you, through the mail (Bijnis). You will duly receive them.

It will be good if you send an order in the name of Jabar for the supply of 40 or 45 dharnis of copper and some steel to the Pyuthan magazine. He has written about the construction of a bridge and a magazine. The bridge is to be constructed on the highway and the time too is near. It will be good if you send an order for impressing Jhara labor in villages other than those assigned for the transportation of mail (Kagate Hulaki), as well as for magazines and gunpowder factories, as well as a note regarding the auspicious moments at which different functions are to be performed at the palace from the Pratipada to the 10th day of the moon during the Dashain festival, which will occur soon now.

Sunday, Aswin Badi 2, 1868,

Srinagar, Palpa,

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, pp. 210-211.

Prices In Jumla, 1836 A.D.

1. Foodgrains procured from divisions (dara) other than Hamla, Tibrikot, Mugu and Karan.

(Rates per rupee)

Rice	...	8 pathis
Millet (<u>Kodo</u>)	...	12 ,,
Barley	...	16 ,,
Blackgram (Mas)	...	8 ,,
Peas, <u>Gahat</u> and <u>Gurans</u> lentils	...	9 ,,
Millet (China, <u>Kegunu</u>)	...	12 ,,
Ghee, oil	...	2 dharnis
Honey, gur	...	3 ,,
2. Salt procured through <u>Jagat</u> levy	...	3 pathis.
3. Prices of gelding goats as well as of male buffaloes during the <u>Dashain</u> festival shall be fixed in consultation with local <u>Thanis</u> and <u>Tharis</u>		
4. Goats	...	6 annas (minimum). Higher prices should be fixed according to size.
5. <u>Jamriti</u> cloth:		
Per piece of more than 14 cubits	...	Rs 3 (16-anna rupee)
,, less than 13 ,,	...	Rs 2½ ,,
6. <u>Thituwa</u> cloth, per piece	...	Rs 1 ,,

Contd...

7. <u>Jharyadorya</u> cloth, per piece	...	Rs 1 (16-anna rupee)
8. <u>Kharuwa</u> cloth, per 5 cubits	...	Rs 1 ,,
9. Cotton (Ruwa), per dharni	...	Rs 1 ,,
10. Copper procured from Mugu, Karan and Dolphu, per dharni	...	Rs 2½ (Mohar rupee)

Ashadh Badi 5, 1893,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, pp. 494-496

On Commensal Relations

1. Chitrakari-Gubahal

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

A dispute concerning commensal relations arose between Chitrakarīs and Gubahals and both of them approached the Itachapli (Court) with complaints. The matter was discussed in the presence of Panchas and Bicharis. It was decided that since Chitrakarīs and Gubahals had traditionally maintained commensal relations between themselves, they should continue to do so. Anybody who does not abide by traditional customs and usages shall be deemed to have committed an offense.

Shrawan Sadi 15, 1844,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 684-685.

2. Gubahal-Nau

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

A dispute concerning commensal relations arose between Gubahals and Naus and both of them approached the Itachapli (Court) with complaints. The case was heard there, and it appeared that Gubahals and Naus had traditionally maintained commensal relations between themselves. We hereby reconfirm in favor of the Naus the traditional customs and usages which have continued since the time of Devanand Bhaju, Manohar Bhaju, Bisambhar Bhaju, Chikati Bhaju and others. Both parties shall observe their traditional customs. In case either of them commits any violation, a fine of Rs 151

shall be imposed. In the future, all the seven castes shall observe their traditional customs and usages. Gubahals too shall deal with all the seven castes in the customary manner. Otherwise, both Gubahals and the seven castes shall pay a fine of Rs. 301 to the government. Abide by your respective customs and usages.

Shrawan Sudi 15, 1844,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 685-686.

3. The Seven Castes

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the seven castes including Gubahal.

A dispute arose among you concerning commensal relations and you approached the Itachapli (Court). The case came up for hearing before the Dittha of the Itachapli as well as Bicharis, the Dharmadhikar and Panches. It was decided that compliance with traditional customs and usages would insure justice. We hereby acknowledge receipt of Rs 1300 as Salami fee through Dittha Laxmi Narayan Upadhyaya and Dittha Arjun and reconfirm your traditional customs and usages. With full assurance, comply with your traditional customs and usages.

Bhadra Badi 4, 1844,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 686.

(S.B.M.)

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Nanyadeva

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali¹

Nanyadeva occupies an important place in the Vamshavalis of Nepal. Kings who ruled Nepal during the 17th century have described Nanyadeva as the founder of their dynasty or a prominent ancestor. King Jagajjyoti Malla of Bhaktapur, in a drama called Nuditakuvalayashwa written by him in 748 Nepal era (1628 A.D.), has traced his descent from Nanyadeva. Similarly, King Pratapa Malla of Kathmandu, in an inscription dated 769 Nepal era (February 22, 1649 A.D.),² has claimed that his dynasty commenced from King Nanyadeva, who belonged to the same solar dynasty as Ramachandra.

Nanyadeva belonged to the Karnata region in the south. This region includes Mysore and Hyderabad where the Kannad language is spoken. Bengali scholars have admitted that like Nanyadeva the Sena Kings of Bengal came mostly from the Karnata region. In their inscriptions, the Sena Kings, described themselves as Karnata Kshatriyas. They described their caste as Brahmakshatriyas. Our Vamshavalis too describe Nanyadeva as a Karnata Kshatriyas.

It is not yet clear how the Senas came to northern India. Similarly, it is difficult to say how Nanyadeva came here. According to available evidence, the Kings of the South attacked northern India many times during the middle of the 11th century. Someshwara, the Chalukya King of Kalyani, Bhaia I of Gujarat and Karna of Dahal jointly defeated King Bhoj I and led to the disintegration of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa. Before his father, Someshwara I, died, his son, Vikramaditya VI, invaded Gaur, Kamarup and other areas in northern India. The soldiers of the Chalukya Kings may have entered into northern India during these invasions. In the opinion of a historian of Bengal,³ they started the Sena dynasty in Bengal and the dynasty of Nanyadeva in Mithila.

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Kathmandu Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962 A.D.), Chapter 3, pp. 28-33.
 2. Bhagvanlal Indraji, Twenty-Three Inscriptions From Nepal; Together With Some Considerations on the Chronology of Nepal, Bombay, Education Society's Press, 1885, 53 p. (Translated from Gujarati by G. Buhler), No. 18.
 3. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), History of Bengal, Dacca: University of Dacca, 1943, Part I, pp. 205-206.

Contd...

According to the *Vamshavalis* of Nepal, after Nanyadeva of Karnataka conquered northern Bihar, he established his capital at Simraungarh. According to an inscription discovered at Simraungarh,⁴ this event took place in 1019 Shaka era (1097 A.D.). Additional evidence is available in favor of this date. In his drama, *Muditakuvalyashwa*, King Jagajjyoti Malla has given the date of Nanyadeva as 1019 Shaka era. There is other evidence also to prove that Nanyadeva established his capital in Simraungarh that year.

At present, Simraungarh is situated on the border between India and Nepal. According to the treaty signed between Nepal and the British at Sugauli in 1816 A.D., the boundary has been demarcated through Simraungarh. According to Tavernier, a French merchant who visited India during the time of Aurangzeb, the boundaries of the Mughal Empire were situated at a distance of 8 or 9 *Kosh* 150 years previously. His accounts show that at the time Simraungarh was a part of the Kingdom of Makwanpur. According to the accounts of Capuchin missionaries who visited Tibet through Nepal some time thereafter, Maisi was the last town in Hindusthan. The Kingdom of Makwanpur was situated near Maisi. These Capuchin missionaries have stated that the ruins of Simraungarh were situated inside the Kingdom of Makwanpur.

It is difficult to speculate about the condition of Simraungarh during the 11th century on the basis of evidence dating to the 17th and 18th centuries. Even then, it is possible that, as at present, Simraungarh was situated inside Nepal at the time when Nanyadeva conquered it and made it his capital.

According to contemporary inscriptions available in south India, the Kings of that region were highly impressed by Nanyadeva's conquest of Simraungarh. In his inscriptions of 1124 A.D. and 1127 A.D., Vikramaditya VI claimed to have conquered Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Gaur, Magadha and Nepal. Someshwara III (1128-38 A.D.), in one of his inscriptions, claimed that he had placed his feet on the heads of the Kings of Andhra, Dravina, Magadha and Nepal. His Minister, Vijjala (1145-67 A.D.) claimed to have conquered Banga, Kalinga, Magadha and Nepal. Soma, son of Vijjala, similarly claimed to have conquered Nepal and Kalinga. However, there is no evidence that these Kings conquered so many kingdoms in northern India. They may have made these claims only on the basis of ordinary raids or journeys. Alternatively, they may have regarded the conquest of Bengal and Simraungarh (Nepal) by the Senas and Nanyadeva as their own.

4. "Mithilatattwvimarsha". (An Account of Facts About Mithila), *Sahitya* (Monthly), October 1958.

However, the Vamshavalis of Nepal betray confusion regarding the time of Nanyadeva as a result of a wrong reading of the Simraungarh inscription mentioned above. According to these Vamshavalis, Nanyadeva attacked Simraungarh in the Nepal Year 9. It is possible that the Nepali Vamshavalis omitted one word (which was used to describe a figure) in this inscription. The Shaka Year 1019 was thus wrongly read as 871.⁵ One mistake gave rise to several. Since the Nepal year commences in the month of Kartik and since a similar system was in vogue in Karnataka, where Nanyadeva came from, it would be easy to ascribe some sort of connection between the founding of the Nepal era and the invasion of Nanyadeva. Subsequently, the Vamshavalis stated that the Nepal era was founded during the reign of Jayadeva and Ananda Malla, because of ignorance about the exact date of these Kings. For this reason, the Vamshavalis stated that the invasion of Nanyadeva occurred during the reign of Jayadeva and Ananda Malla.⁶ The Malla Kings of the 17th century described Nanyadeva as their ancestor. The authors of the Vamshavalis therefore gave the imaginary story of Nanyadeva having conquered and ruled over Bhadgaun. Similarly, the story that the Nairs of the south came to Nepal along with Nanyadeva was due to the similarity between the terms Nepal or Newar and Nair. The Vamshavalis contain many such fanciful accounts. The truth they contain is meager. It is limited to the fact that Nanyadeva, who belonged to Karnataka in the south, entered into Simraungarh in south Nepal. The rest is mere imagination.

Nanyadeva conquered Simraungarh in 216-17 Nepal era (1097 A.D.). Harshadeva was King of Nepal at that time. There is evidence that Harshadeva and his descendants remained independent and sovereign Kings for a long time thereafter. Nowhere do the Vamshavalis of Nepal state that they were defeated. Nanyadeva on his part appear to have established in Simraungarh and brought Mithila in the south under his rule. It is clear that his conquest of Simraungarh did not have any repercussion in the north. There is no truth in the claim that the Kings of Nepal acknowledged the suzerainty of Nanyadeva. The Malla Kings of divided Nepal may have traced their dynasty from Nanyadeva. However, Nanyadeva had no political relationship of any kind with Nepal. He was King in a Tarai region on the border of Nepal. It is natural that in those times, when transport facilities were not available, Nanyadeva should have left no impact on Nepal across the mountains.

5. The verse containing the date in the Simraungarh inscription as published in the Sahitya reads as follows: "Nandendu-Shunya-Shashi-Sammita-Shakavarsho". The words, translated into figures, refer to Nanda (9), Indu (1), Shunya (0) and Shashi (1), or 1019 Shaka. However, a Vamshavali in the possession of the author gives the following reading: "Induscha-Soma-Vasu-Sammita-Shakavarsho", or Indu (1), Soma (1) and Vasu (8), that is, 811 Shaka. It is clear that the word "Nanda" was omitted during transcription.

6. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, Bharatiya Prachin Lipi Mala. (Ancient Indian Scripts), pp. 180-181.

Notes On The History Of Morang District-I

The Kingdom of Vijayapur was conquered by King Prithvi Narayan Shah in July 1774. This kingdom was situated between the Koshi river in the west and the Tista river in the east. It possessed territories both in the hill regions (the modern districts of Dhankuta, Panchthar, Taplejung, Terhathum and Sankhuwa-Sabha) and the Tarai (the modern districts of Morang, Sunsari and Jhapa).

After it was annexed by King Prithvi Narayan Shah, the Kingdom of Vijayapur was split into two administrative units with headquarters in Chainpur and Morang, for the hill territories and the Tarai respectively.

The 1770 Famine

On the eve of the Gorkhali conquest of Morang, the area appears to have been devastated by famine. Nepali source materials are not available to indicate the extent of the devastation in Morang, but conditions across the border, in Purnea, are revealing. According to one source:¹

The famine of 1770 was an "appalling spectre on the threshold of British rule in Bengal."² There was no such widespread devastating famine in Bengal in the seventeenth century or in the first half of the eighteenth. ... The famine did not rage with equal fury in all districts. Ducarel, supervisor of Purnea, reported that two lakhs of people perished in that district. One thousand died in three days after his arrival. He wrote, "The famine continued for about twelve months in a degree of severity hardly to be paralleled in the history of any age or country." The soil of Purnea being very dry and wells being so few the district depended entirely on regular rainy seasons. The least failure of the rains subjected the labourer to the loss of his harvest. The famine therefore raged in Purnea with greater severity than in any other district in Bengal. We can form some idea of the fury of the famine in Purnea from the report received some time after the famine ended that only five were left of the 150 people who prepared Chunam in the Parganas bordering on Purnea.³ The supervisor

1. Narendran Krishna Sinha, The Economic History of Bengal From Plassey To The Permanent Settlement, Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 48-55.

2. Bengal at that time included Bihar and Orissa.

3. Proceedings of The Controlling Council, VI, 20 December, 1771, III, 8 July 1771; Select Committee Proceedings, 28 April, 1770.

wrote in April 1770, "In many of the Parganas one-half of those who were to pay the revenues and cultivate the lands will unavoidably perish with hunger whilst those remaining by being obliged to purchase their subsistence at least 500 per cent dearer than usual will be drained of that little stock which is the only resource for future revenue and cultivation." ... The famine swept away nearly half the people of Purnea.

The Administrative System

According to Francis Hamilton, "the Mogul system of finance had been completely introduced" in Morang district during the eighteenth century. Actually, it was the pre-Mughal or Pathan systems which had been limited by the Kings of Vijayapur in their Tarai territories.⁴ A general description of the system of revenue administration in the eastern Tarai districts, including Morang, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century is given in: "Revenue Functionaries In The Eastern Tarai Districts", Regmi Research Series, Vol. 2, No. 5, May 1, 1970, pp. 107-109. The following document contains additional information in this field for Morang district:-

Appointment Of Narapati Das

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Narapati Das.

We hereby appoint you in the offices of the Subba and the Bakshi in Vijayapur, in the regions situated east of the Koshi river up to Bhotgaun. You are already functioning as Peshkar in Morang and as Kanugoye in all Pargannas. We hereby reconfirm your appointment with effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1837 (Vikrama). With due assurance, draw a sum of Rs 101 as monthly emoluments as detailed below for 3 clerks (Nausinda) in the office of the Subba, 2 clerks in the office of the Bakshi, and 5 clerks in the office of the Peshkar, thus making a total of 10 clerks.

For the office of the Kanugoye in Morang district, appoint clerks (Nausinda) yourself and have the official work performed. Do what is necessary to insure economy for the government and welfare for the ryots. Submit accounts at the end of every year. Appropriate the perquisites of your office, in addition to the fees pertaining to the offices of the Peshkar and the Kanugoye, at the rates prevalent in Septari. Also appropriate the fees pertaining to the office of the Patuwari in Morang district.

4. cf. R.P. Tripathi, Some Aspects Of Muslim Administration, Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1964, Chapters VII-X.

Contd...

ParticularsClerks (Nausinda) In The Office Of The Subba

<u>Name</u>	<u>Monthly Emoluments</u>
1. Narapati Das	Rs 12
2. ...	Rs 9
3. ...	Rs 11

Clerks (Nausinda) In The Office Of The Bakshi

1. ...	Rs 11
2. ...	Rs 9

Clerks (Nausinda) In The Office Of The Peshkar Of Morang

1. ...	Rs 11
2. ...	Rs 11
3. ...	Rs 9
4. ...	Rs 9
5.	Rs 9

Total - 10 Nausindas Rs 101

Kartik Badi 1, 1837 Vikrama,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, pp. 482-483.

Notes

This document indicates that there were mainly two authorities in charge of the district administration: the Subba and the Bakshi. However, the functions performed by these authorities, and the extent of their jurisdiction, are not clear. In India, the "Bakshi" or "Bukhshee" was

Contd...

"a paymaster, an officer whose especial duty it was also to keep an account of all disbursements connected with military tenures, as those of Mansabdars and Jagirdars. Paymaster of the forces. Under the Mogul system, frequently one with the Commander-In-Chief." The same source defines "Bakshi" as "a superior magistrate. A superintendent of revenue officers."⁵

Narapati Das, who was already Peshkar, Kanugoye and Patuwari, has been appointed also as Nausinda in the office of the Subba, but his special status and responsibility is evident. Definitions of the terms Kanugoye and Patuwari have been given in the Regmi Research Series article mentioned above.

A Peshkar, in India, was "an agent, a deputy, a manager in general for a superior or proprietor, or one exercising in revenue and custom officers a delegated authority; in Bengal the native officer in a judge's or collector's office, next in rank to the Sarrishtadar; a subordinate officer, who is employed to keep the accounts, a subordinate revenue officer."⁶ In the eastern Tarai districts of Nepal, there is evidence that the Peshkar functioned as a judicial officer.⁷

Navis or Navisandah is a Persian term which denotes "a writer, a clerk, a secretary, a transcriber."⁸

5. H.H. Wilson, Glossary Of Judicial And Revenue Terms And Of Useful Words Occurring In Official Documents Relating To The Administration Of The Government Of British India From The Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Vriya, Morathi, Guzarathi, Telugu, Karnata, Tamil, Malagalam and Other Languages, London: W.H. Allens Co. Ltd, 1855, p. 49.

6. H.H. Wilson, op. cit. p. 415.

7. Appointment Of Bhatan Das As Peshkar In Saptari And Mahottari, Baisakh Badi 1, 1836. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 623; Appointment Of Khelapati Das As Peshkar In Saptari and Mahottari, Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, p. 505. Also: Vol. 36, n. 478 (Bara district: Bhadra Sudi 1, 1834).

8. H.H. Wilson, op. cit. p. 372.

Contd...

Disbursement Of Revenues From Morang District

1. A sum of Rs 6000 against revenues from Morang district, with its headquarters at Vijayapur, for the (Vikrama) year 1854 is hereby received through Garbhu and credited to the Toshakhana (Treasury) as follows. It shall be debited during audit of accounts.

Rs 5000 against installment due on Baisakh Badi 13, 1854.

Rs 1000 (advanced to) Sarvajit Pande on Jestha Badi 1, 1854 to meet royal palace and commercial expenses during his visit to Lhasa.

... 1854 Vikrama,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 378.

2. A sum of Rs 4986 and 14 annas against Ijara revenues from Morang district, with its headquarters at Vijayapur, for the (Vikrama year) 1853 is hereby received through Subba Dhaukal Singh and credited to the Toshakhana (Treasury) as follows:

Chaitra Badi, 1853	...	Rs 500
Chaitra Badi 4, 1853	...	Rs 250
Chaitra Sudi 2, 1853	...	Rs 80
Chaitra Sudi 3, 1853	...	Rs 300
Chaitra Sudi 11, 1853	...	Rs 250
Total	...	Rs 1,380

Gifts And Donations Made By His Majesty

To Gagalyani Bhandari	...	Rs 60
To Biseshwar Lohani	...	Rs 60
To Jotikar Jaisi	...	Rs 60
To Khagapati Labha	...	Rs 100
To Panda	...	Rs 10

Contd...

To Dhya	...	Rs 15
To Ramachandra	...	Rs 5
To Darhi Khatal	...	Rs 20
To Mangal Labha, record- keeper of fodder supplied for bulls	...	Rs 50
To Rajaram Kadyal	...	Rs 30
To son of Adai Sahadeo Padhya	...	Rs 100
Total		Rs 500

Gifts And Donations Made By Her Majesty

To Jamuna	...	Rs 20
To Krishna Simha	...	Rs 7
To Dhani Keti	...	Rs 7½
To Nainradha	...	Rs 5
Total		Rs 59½

Gift From Senior Nani Saheb to Narayan Singh Chitrakari	...	Rs 6½
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Gifts And Donations Made By Junior Nani Saheb

To Madmuketi	...	Rs 15
To Brahman offering Bel leaves	...	Rs 12
To Guhyeshwari Datta	...	Rs 16
To Naul Sing	...	Rs 15

Contd...

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To Brahman while gifting book	...	Rs 5
To Alaka Mai	...	Rs 3
To Jawani Ketī	...	Rs 4
To Meghya	...	Rs 10
To Sunaketi	...	Rs 10½
To Thagchheketi	...	Rs 7
To Laxmiketi	...	Rs 4
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 101½
Wages of Rupanarayan Chhipi employed to dye cloths by Toshakhana	...	Rs 78¼
Wages of four persons employed to powder medi- cines at Bhandarkhal, from Marga Sudi 1 to Falgun Sudi 15	...	Rs 42
Price of lac bangles paid to Pashupati Lahakhya	...	Rs 71½
To Mahindra Guru, in lieu of revenue from 3 <u>khets</u> among a total of 5 <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 75
Maternity expenses to Gujya Ketī	...	Rs 2
Feed of government falcons and <u>Pristharaj</u> (?) (birds?)	...	Rs 15
To Nurse Bidhwa, in lieu of revenues from 3 <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 75

Contd...

To Nurse Jogmaya, do	...	Rs 75
To Bhanu Padhya Brahmani, in lieu of revenues from 2 <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 50
Wedding expenses of grand- daughter of Melama Vaidya	...	Rs 40
To Balabhadra Pandit, in lieu of revenue from <u>khuwa</u> lands	...	Rs 50
To Jasya Khawas, in lieu of revenue from 1 <u>khet</u> assigned as Jagir	...	Rs 95
To Brinda Bhandari, do. 1 <u>khet</u> and 60 <u>muris</u>	...	Rs 40
Balance due to Nehal Bahu- rupi from reward granted during Falgun festival	...	Rs 24
For purchase of goats during Bhairavi festival through Laxman Chaudhari	...	Rs 212
To wet-nurse of Dhan Sabeb, in lieu of revenue from 3 <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 75
To nurse do. ? <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 50
Emoluments of artisans em- ployed for stone-work at Jagannath temple:		
To Harikrishna Khawas, in lieu of revenue from 2 <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 50
To Hridayanarayan, do.	...	Rs 50
To Lalu Rangrej as wages for dyeing cloth during Fagu festival	...	Rs 20

Contd...

Expenses for <u>Chudakarma</u> and <u>Annaprashan</u> ceremonies of four children of Rana Simha Shahi	...	Rs 150
Farewell expenses for clerk (Navisinda) of Bhawani Das and for Krishnaram Das	...	Rs 75
Wedding expenses for Kasaun- bagalya (?) Brahman	...	Rs 40
To Bholi Masalchi (spice-vendor)	...	Rs 25
Cost of five guns of Hiralal	...	Rs 60
Emoluments of Laxminarayan Nau (barber)	...	Rs 10
Emoluments of Narahari Vaidya (Physician), in lieu of revenue from 3 <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 75
Cost of 90 <u>tolas</u> of attar, 4 swords and one pair of cocks presented to His Majesty by Dhur Patari	Rs 277 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cost of medical treatment of the Junior Princess (Kanchha Nani Saheb), through Subedar Ram Singh	...	Rs 47
Ritual offering (Dakshina) made during religious cere- monies performed by the Senior Princess (Jetha Nani Saheb), through Purohit (Priest) Devidas	...	Rs 519 $\frac{1}{8}$
Emoluments of Kuhmi Gurung, in lieu of revenue from 3 <u>khets</u>	...	Rs 55

Contd...

Emoluments of Banshu Khawas in lieu of revenue from 1 khet to meet the short fall in <u>10</u> <u>khets</u> assigned in Chisapani	...	Rs 25
Final installment of salary due to Sangamlal Chitrakari (painter) belonging to the Madhesh (i.e. India)	...	Rs 239
For religious functions and dances at various places, through Dittha Laxmi Narayan:-		
Expenses incurred in 12-year functions at Sikhali-Dauta (temple)	...	Rs 94
Cost of cane required for chariot of Itkhwai Machhindra- nath	...	Rs 10
Ritual donation (Dan) made during Chandrayan (fast) by (the prince of) Salyan, nephew (of His Majesty)	...	Rs 5
do. by Sir Bahadur Sheh	...	Rs 13
Emoluments in lieu of revenue from 4 <u>khets</u> to Gainda Bhaju and Kisi Bhaju, attendants at the place where <u>Parthi-</u> <u>Puja</u> was performed	...	Rs 100
		<hr/>
Total	...	Rs 4,866 and 14 annas.

Jestha Sadi 13, 1854 Vikrama,
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, pp. 382-385.

The Indrajattra Festival^x

By

Baburam Acharya

Indrajatra is probably the oldest festival of Nepal. Surprisingly, there exists one remarkable similarity between the May Pole festival, which is observed on the first day of May every year in England as well as in other parts of Europe, and the Indrajattra festival. In both festivals, people erect a tall pole around which they dance and sing. However, in Europe the top of the pole is decorated with ribbons, while buntings are used in Nepal. This difference does not mean much, however. The striking similarity between the May Pole festival and Indrajattra festival indicates that the European race of the ancient age and the nomadic Indo-European race, the ancestors of the Aryans of India and Iran, used to observe an identical festival at one stage, but that it began to be celebrated in the course of time in varying forms under the influence of different climates and ideas when it moved to Europe and thence to India. People used to celebrate the festival even when they lived the life of nomads. Dancing and singing were the main features of that festival. Since the festival could be enjoyed only if it was celebrated in moon light, people in several countries, including Nepal, used to celebrate it accordingly. In common with an Indian practice, the Indrajattra festival commences in Nepal also from the twelfth day of the bright half of the month and terminated on the full moon day. In Europe, the practice of observing the lunar calendar has long been given up and all festivals are observed there on the basis of solar months. So no lunar night has to be selected for observing any festival in Europe. The first day of the month of May is prescribed as the date for the observance of the May Pole festival, because it is the oldest festival in Europe.

The Rigveda, the oldest scripture of the Hindu Aryans who had settled down in the Indus and Gangetic plains, and who were one of the three branches of the Aryan race, and the Avesta of the Iranian Aryans, must be consulted if we are to trace the origin of the Indrajattra festival. In both scriptures, Varuna, Indra Agni, and other gods are mentioned. This is so because the Hindu Aryans and the Iranian Aryans were two branches of the same family. However, these two branches were hostile to each other. While the Rigveda describes Indra as the greatest of all gods, the Avesta presents him as a demon. One-fourth of the Rigveda is devoted to the praise of Indra. Likewise, the Hindus regarded as god everybody presented as demon in the Avesta.

Contd...

The Hindu Aryans had just taken to cultivation in the Bindhu-Sutlej plains. Peasants needed rains, but frequent drought hampered their agricultural operations. They therefore conjectured the existence of a demon named Vritra, who was responsible for drought. The Hindu Aryans then thought that they needed a god who was powerful enough to kill that demon. They accordingly imagined of the existence of a god named Indra. The Rigveda depicts Indra as a god armed with a thunderbolt and fond of liquor called Somarasa. In that age, people did not think in terms of heaven, earth and hell. The Rigveda therefore mentioned the existence of three words, namely the earth (prithvi) space (Antariksha) and the abode of gods (Diva). According to legend, Diva was the abode of Indra, who was said to have vowed to kill Vritra for the benefit of the Aryans. People used to throw Somarasa into the fire in large quantities as an offering to Indra, as they believed that any food thrown into the fire in the name of any god would reach him.

According to the story related in the Vedas, Indra, accompanied by other gods including Vayu, and carrying a thunderbolt, would swiftly attack Vritra and extend assistance to the Aryans in their fight against the non-Aryans. Hence Indra was regarded not only as the god of rains but also as the god of war. Among the Hindu Aryans, Vaishyas were in the majority, and the number of Kshatriyas or warriors, was very small. Both needed the support of Indra. Vaishyas sowed seeds after the commencement of the rainy season. When the seeds started sprouting, it was natural that peasants should be filled with joy. They thus could not help expressing gratitude to Indra, the god of rains. It therefore became essential for them to start a festival. A few Brahmins, who performed religious rituals, took interest in this festival, but Kshatriyas took part in it because Indra was after all the god of war. Although the Vedas and the Brahmin scriptures do not contain any reference to this Indrajatra festival, the fact that the literature belonging to the Puranic age describes it as having attained a perfect stage constitutes evidence that the festival dates back to the Vedic age.

During the Puranic age that followed the Vedic period, the existence of heaven, earth and hell was imagined, and importance was given to Brahma, Bishnu and Maheshwara. Images of Bishnu and Maheshwara were made and worshipped. Less importance was given to Indra. He was depicted as an obedient servant of Brahma, Bishnu and Maheshwara. However, no mythologist had the courage to divest Indra of his position as the King of the gods (Devaraja). In fact, Kalidas, a popular poet of the Puranic age, has enlogized Indra. In his Raghuvansha, Kalidas has said that King Dasharath would bow down only before Indra when he was engaged in religious performances with the motive of attaining the position of a god.

Contd...

Indradhwaja was regarded as the symbol of Indra. Indra dwelt in a region higher than space (Antariksha). This explains why people considered it necessary to install a very tall pole while observing the Indrajatra festival. Sculpture had already progressed during the Puranic age. Golden idols of Indra and his wife (Indrani) were therefore made and placed on the foot of the pole for purposes of worship.

The Vishnudharmottar Purana not only describes the procedure of installing the Indradhwaja, but also contains an interesting story. The story runs as follows: When defeated by the demons (Asuras), the gods, led by Indra, approached Vishnu, who was then dwelling on the Ocean of Milk (Ksheera-Samudra) with a plea for succor, Vishnu then gave them a flag and said, "If you go to the battlefield with this flag, the Asuras are sure to get defeated." The gods acted accordingly and defeated the Asuras. Indra, pleased over this victory, worshipped the flag with much fanfare. He then offered the flag to King Vasu of Chedi and said, "Famine will never break out, the threat of the enemy will disappear and there will be many other benefits to the State if its King observes the festival of worshipping Indradhwaja." Vasu was able to attain prosperity and vanquish his enemy because he followed the instructions of Indra. This story indicates that this festival used to be observed enthusiastically all over India when it was ruled by Hindus.

With the advent of Islam, the Hindu Kings gradually lost their consciousness, with the result that the importance of this festival declined. Although Muslims failed to dominate Nepal during the medieval period, yet the country was split into numerous tiny states. This festival was observed in each of these small states, albeit on a small scale. In Kathmandu, it attained an advanced stage during the rule of King Pratap Malla (1698-1731 A.D. Vikram). He renamed the Indradhwaja festival as Indrajatra, and celebrated it on a big scale. This is proved by inscriptional evidence. In India, it was the practice to install the pole on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Bhadra and worship it for 7 or 8 days.

In 1809 (1742 A.D.), Jaya Prakash, the last Malla ruler of Kathmandu, observed the Kumari festival simultaneously with the Indrajatra festival. The practice of worshipping a virgin girl to be chosen from among the daughters of a Buddhist as the symbol of Goddess Kumari had been started during the reign of Pratap Malla. Jaya Prakash Malla introduced two Kumaras (virgin boys) to be worshipped as the symbols of God Bhairava. They were taken round the town on separate chariots at the time of the Indrajatra festival. Indrajatra thus became a more merry festival.

While the Indradhwaja festival, being observed by the Hindu Aryans for the past 5000 years has already vanished from India, it continues to be celebrated on a national level in our country. This is a matter of pride for us.

King Prithvi Narayan Shah's Letters To Pandit
Rajivalochan and Parashuram Thapa

1. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Pandit Rajivalochan,

Greetings. All is well here and we want the same there. News of your well-being will make us feel happy. We have received your letter and noted its contents. The news here is good.

You have written that military action be commenced during the coming Jivapaksha.² You have advised well. But since we are about to commence action in Changu and Sankhu, we will not be able to commence action effectively there. We shall not remain silent if action is started from there. We shall act according to circumstances. If action is started on two fronts, it may not be effective from this side.

You have written: "I have represented here before my lord that Kaski has nowhere to go besides Gorkha." You have thus made a correct representation before our brother. This is good. Where can Gorkha go besides Kaski. Even if Kaski does not commence action today, it will do so tomorrow, thereby benefitting Gorkha. Even if Gorkha does not commence action today, it will do so tomorrow, thereby benefitting Kaski. But (it is an objective of State policy) to serve the interests of both Gorkha and Kaski. Even if action is not commenced today, it may be commenced tomorrow. Circumstances may create difficulties, but it is our desire to reduce Lamjung and fulfill the ambition of our brother.

You have made a request to the effect that the family of the Kaji be given shelter. But had we done so, the family of the Kaji would have turned against him. We therefore could not do so. The Kaji has behaved improperly with us and escaped. We let his family depart because we did not want to create a rift between the Kaji and his family.

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1. Nayaraj Pant (et.al), Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d., Part 3, pp. 932-941.
 2. An auspicious moment calculated on the basis of the position of the imaginary planet Rahu vis-a-vis other planets.

Contd...

You are living at the feet of our brother. You too are there, and we shall send respectable persons from here. Persuade the Kaji to return here. What more to wise people ?

Saturday, Magh Badi 9,
Camp: Madi, Nuwakot.

Notes

This letter was sent by Prithvi Narayan Shah to Pandit Rajivalochan in Kaski. It does not mention the year: Most of the documents issued during the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah and earlier mention only the month, the date and the day of the week. It is therefore necessary to ascertain the year in which this letter was written on the basis of the events mentioned in it.

The letter refers to plans for the conquest of Sankhu and Changu. Prithvi Narayan Shah wrested Nuwakot of King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur in 1801 Vikrama. He then started making preparations for the conquest of Kathmandu Valley. There were mutual hostilities among Gorkha, Kathmandu and Patan because of their contiguous boundaries. Prithvi Narayan Shah's enmity towards Kathmandu and Patan intensified when he annexed part of their territories. Prithvi Narayan Shah wanted to maintain amicable relations with Bhaktapur as this would enable him to exert pressure on Kathmandu and Patan. This is the reason why he used to help Bhaktapur to fight against Kathmandu, and also gave to Bhaktapur a part of the conquered territories. Taking advantage of the internal conflicts of Jaya Prakash Malla, Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied Sankhu and Changu in 1803 Vikrama with the help of King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. But he could not retain possession of these villages for long. Soon the Gorkhalis were driven out of Sankhu and Changu.

King Siddhi Narayan Shah of Kaski was a contemporary of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

In the beginning, the Gorkhalis strengthened their friendship with Lamjung in order to fight against Kaski. But as soon as Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered Nuwakot, Lamjung became hostile. The result was that Prithvi Narayan Shah was forced to fight on the western front too from time to time and was unable to march with assurance towards the east. In this letter, Prithvi Narayan Shah has tried his best to win over Kaski, promising to help it in annexing the territories of Lamjung. Rajivalochan made a request to the effect that Gorkha should commence action jointly with Kaski against Lamjung during the coming Jivapaksha. Prithvi Narayan Shah, however, refused to do so on the ground of his projected attack on Sankhu and Changu. He also tried to persuade Kaski to keep on waiting, saying: "Even if Gorkha does not commence action today, it will do so tomorrow, thereby benefitting Kaski."

It has not been possible to identify the Kaji who is mentioned in the letter. It appears that the Kaji committed some crime and fled to Kaski, while his family remained in Gorkha. Rajivalochan requested that the Kaji's family be detained in Gorkha. But Prithvi Narayan Shah considered it inadvisable to do so, and suggested that the Kaji be persuaded to return to Gorkha.

The letter thus appears to have been written on Magh 6 (or Magh Badi 9) 1802 Vikrama.

1. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah To Parashuram Thapa,

Greetings. All is well here and we want the same there. News of your well-being will make us feel happy. The news here is good.

Yesterday, I sent an order through Vidyapati Ujha directing that the Jyami be flayed alive. I hereby solemnly pledge that I shall protect your life and property and provide you with means of livelihood. Come to us. I shall also restore your Birta lands. If I do not fulfill this pledge, may the evil eyes of Shri Gorakhnath fall on me. If I fulfill this pledge, may the gracious eyes of Shri Gorakhnath fall on me. If you do not come here when summoned, you will see what happens. What more to wise people.

Monday, Bhadra Badi 2,
Camp: Nuwakot.

Notes

This letter was sent by Prithvi Narayan Shah to Parashuram Thapa from Nuwakot.

Prithvi Narayan Shah ascended the throne of Gorkha in 1799 Vikrama. He was 20 years of age at that time. From the very year of his accession to the throne, he started making efforts to expand his Kingdom. Since Lamjung and other principalities in the west were quite strong, he considered it more advisable to move towards the east. He therefore decided to occupy Nuwakot.

At that time, Jayanta Rana, a general of King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu, was in command of Nuwakot. The Gorkhalis were defeated by the troops led by Jayanta Rana. Prithvi Narayan Shah repeated his attempt to occupy Nuwakot in 1801 Vikrama. He tried to win over Jayanta Rana to his side. Jayanta Rana was previously a military commander of Gorkha. However, Jayanta Rana replied that he would remain faithful to Jaya Prakash Malla. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore decided to occupy Nuwakot by force of arms. On Aswin 15, 1801 Vikrama, he suddenly attacked Nuwakot. The Gorkhalis came out victorious in this battle. Shankhamani Rana, a son of Jayanta Rana,

Contd...

fell fighting in the battle. Jayanta Rana was at that time staying at Balkot, east of Nuwakot. A few days later, Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied Balkot also. Jayanta Rana was captured and was later flayed alive.

Gyami is a Magar clan. The letter informs Parashuram Thapa that Jayanta Rana had been flayed alive.

Parashuram Thapa was a brother of Kashiram Thapa. He was previously a military commander of King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. After the Gorkhalis occupied Nuwakot, King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu made efforts to drive them out. He began to look for a capable military commander to undertake the task. He selected Kashiram Thapa for this purpose and sent him to reoccupy Nuwakot with a large force under his command. This report created alarm among the Gorkhalis. But the Gorkhali troops, whose courage had been bolstered by the firm assurances of Prithvi Narayan Shah, fought bravely and therefore emerged victorious. Kashiram Thapa escaped to his home in Palanchok. Jaya Prakash Malla therefore became furious with him. Later, Kashiram Thapa and his followers were assassinated at the instance of Jaya Prakash Malla while they were performing religious ceremonies at Deopatan.

When he heard that his brother, Kashiram Thapa, had been assassinated in this manner, Parashuram Thapa decided to take revenge upon Jaya Prakash Malla. He tried to invite the Gorkhalis and bring about the end of Jaya Prakash Malla. It was against this background that a plan was formulated jointly by Gorkha and Bhaktapur to wrest Sankhu and Changu from Kantipur.

The letter gives many assurances to Parashuram Thapa in an attempt to persuade him to come over to Gorkha. But no agreement could be effected, and Prithvi Narayan Shah later wrote in his Dibya Upadesh that he was betrayed by Parashuram Thapa.

Since this letter informs Parashuram Thapa that Jayanta Rana had been flayed alive, it must have been written after 1807 Vikrama. There is evidence that it was actually written on Bhadra 9 (Bhadra Badi 30), 1804 Vikrama.

(S.B.M.)

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Aniko: His Family And Place Of Birth¹

By

Baburam Acharya

Sylvain Levi's Le Nepal published a little over 50 years ago, contains a very brief introduction to Aniko, the gifted Nepali artist who had demonstrated his artistic skill at the court of Chinese Emperor Kublai Khan. It contains a French translation of references to this artist, contained in a Yuan account. The Gorkhapatra of Magh 12, 2013 (January 28, 1957) had published an article entitled "Balbau" (Arniko), which too was based on the Yuan account. However, it contained the translations of a greater portion of the Chinese account than was given by Sylvain Levi. But an even more detailed and clearer account about this artist is given in L. Petech's Medieval History of Nepal.

Sylvain Levi's translation mentions "Arniko", who belonged to the royal family of Pale-Pao, the Chinese equivalent of "Balbo", the Tibetan name for Nepal. I had wrongly thought "Pale-Pao" was Aniko's personal name. I therefore confused this term with the Sanskrit word "Balabahu" out of ignorance. A similar error has been committed in the article published in the Gorkhapatra.

It is also a mistake to name the artist as Arniko. This mistake is being committed since the 18th century. A scholar named Ishida found out the error. Moreover, the old edition of the Yuan account, as well as the stone inscription installed at the tomb of this artist, gives his name as Aniko, not Arniko. That is why Dr Petech has used the term "Aniko" in his book. The terms "Arniko", and "Araniko", are no longer used now. The biography of this famous artist inscribed on the tomb at Shang-sun village in Yu-An-Ping district situated to the west of Peking sheds greater light on him than the Yuan account. Since the works of this artist are already famous, an attempt is made in this article to discuss only the probable place of his birth and his family.

1. "Aniko, Unka Parivar Ra Janmasthan". Himavatsamskriti, Year I, No. 3, Falgun 2016 (February 1960), pp. 35.

Contd...

In their interpretation of the Yuan account, both Sylvain Levi and Dr. Petech have referred to the artist as belonging to a royal family. But Dr. Petech has doubted whether the Chinese word "Chou"; used in introducing the artist actually means a royal family. The royal family of Nepal at that time belonged to the Kshatriya caste, not to any Buddhist sect. Kshatriyas did not do any work in the fields of fine arts or sculpture. Only Buddhist Viharas used to function as centers of fine arts and sculpture, in addition to making medicines and imparting education. I am therefore of the opinion that this famous artist was a Buddhist who had taken to worldly life (Upasak). He must have received his education and training in fine arts in a Buddhist Vihara during his childhood and been married probably before he attained the age of 17 years. The practice of child marriage was in vogue among Buddhist Upasakas until about 10 years ago. Aniko thus probably came of a sculptor's family which worked for the royal family of that time. He might have been shown as being connected with a royal family of Nepal for this reason.

Aniko appears to have been the Chinese pronunciation of the artist's name. It is hard to write the Nepali pronunciation in Chinese characters. Dr. Petech has surmised that Aniko was the Chinese pronunciation of "Anigo", which was a distorted form of Anang, the name of one of the 64 Siddhas belonging to the Vajrayana sect. However, it seems difficult to believe that "Anigo" is a distorted form of "Anang". According to the Gopalavamshavali, the name of the grand-father of King Ananta Malla of Nepal, a contemporary of the artist, was Jagadaneka. The actual name of this person was Aneka, however. The word "Jagad" was added to his name simply as a mark of respect, since he belonged to the royal family. He is also called Anekha Malla elsewhere in the same Vamshavali. There is no doubt that "Anekha" was just another form of "Aneka". I believe that "Aneka" was also the name of our artist. The Chinese must have pronounced "Aneka" as "Aniko" in the same way as they used to call Nepal as "Nipolo". If this view is correct, then it would be appropriate to refer to the artist as Aneka.

The tomb inscription referred to above mentions the names of members of the artist's family. It gives the name of the Nepali wife of the artist as "Chai-yal-ta-Lakmi" (Chinese pronunciation of Jayatalaxmi). The artist had left this wife in Nepal and gone to Tibet, where he became a monk. From Tibet, he went to China, where several years later he reverted to worldly life and married a Mongol girl. He had married seven other women, from whom he had a total of 6 sons and 8 daughters. Although he had been estranged from his Nepali wife, his children could not forget their Nepali step-mother. Hence they had her name too inscribed on the tomb, and so immortalized her. The tomb gives the names of the father and grand-father of the artist as La-k-on and "Mi-Ti-Rha" respectively, Chinese pronunciation of the Sanskrit terms Laxman and Mitra respectively. The thousands of manuscripts written on birch bark during that period in Nepal are still found here and there. Since the authors of these works have all Sanskrit names, it is inconceivable that Aniko and other members of his family possessed non-Sanskrit names.

Contd...

According to the tomb inscription, Aniko died on March 11, 1306 at the age of 62 years. This indicates that he was born in 1245 A.D. Nepal was ruled at that time by King Abhaya Malla (1216-55 A.D.). Aniko was in Nepal during the reign of Jayadeva Malla (1255-58 A.D.), Abhaya Malla's successor. Aniko had migrated to Tibet in the beginning of the rule of King Bhimadeva (1258-62 A.D.), who succeeded Jayadeva Malla. In Tibet, he built a golden pillar (Subarna-Stupa) around 1261-62 A.D. He probably left Tibet for China after completing this work. During the reigns of Simhamalla (1271-74) and Anantamalla (1274-1310), Aniko was gaining fame in China. He died 12 years after the death of Kublai Khan.

Now let us discuss the probable birth-place of Aniko. During his time Lalitpur and Kathmandu were the only leading centers of fine arts in Nepal. However, Lalitpur was and remains more renowned than Kathmandu in this field. 100 Nepali artists had been invited from Tibet to visit that country. But Nepal was able to send a team of 80 artists only under the leadership of Aniko. Lalitpur had a larger number of artists than Kathmandu at that time. It is therefore very probable that the majority of the members of the team sent to Tibet belonged to Lalitpur. As such, it is more than likely that Aniko was born in Patan.

King Prithvi Narayan Shah's Letters To Shriharsha Acharya
And Nilakantha Joshi

1. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Shriharsha Acharya.

Greetings. All is well here and we want the same there. We hereby grant you here the same area as you had been actually utilizing there. Come here without any apprehension. What more to wise people ?

Marga Sudi 5; Thursday,
Nuwakot.

Notes

This letter was sent by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Shriharsha Acharya from Nuwakot. It has not been possible to identify Shriharsha Acharya. It is known, however, that Jayanarayan Acharya came to the Kingdom of Kantipur with his 6 sons. King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur granted them lands in Mudkhu. Shriharsha Acharya was the eldest son of Jayanarayan Acharya. According to the Acharyavamshavali (pp. 12 and 15), he had started a school in Mudkhu, which is situated at a little distance from Balaju. In 1842 Vikrama, Shriharsha Acharya copied a work called Vajasaneyasamhita, according to the Itihas Prakash (Vol. 1, Book 1, p. 96). It is possible that this Shriharsha Acharya is the person to whom this letter has been addressed.

The letter indicates that Shriharsha Acharya was not a subject of the Kingdom of Gorkha. King Prithvi Narayan Shah had offered similar allurement to other persons also in an attempt to win them over to his side.

Marga Sudi 5 occurred on a Thursday in the Vikrama years 1808, 1811 and 1815. The letter thus could have been written in any of these years.

^x Nayaraj Pant (et. al.), Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Teaching of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d., Part I, pp. 941-943 and 947-953.

Contd...

2. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Nilakantha Joshi.

Greetings. All is well here and we want the same there. The news of your well-being would make us very happy. The news here is good. We have received your letter and noted its contents.

You have written about a treaty. Narayan Pandit has gone to Kaski in order to bring about a split. He has gone there, but he will not be successful in doing so. Recently, people came to Mahadevpokhari from Kaski, held deliberations and left on Wednesday, the 12th day of the moon.

The Umra has misappropriated paddy belonging to Bhaju. But we shall realize it from Niuri. We shall send a royal order to the Umra of Bhanwarkot expressing our displeasure. We had sent an order to the tenant a few days ago also. Do not use force. There is no need for concern. Have courage.

A royal order was sent to the Kashmiri a few days ago also. We shall send another today. There is no need for concern that such orders will not be sent. Arrangements have been finalized with the authorities of Kuti also.

We had established 8 or 10 outposts (thana) here. On Sunday, we had made arrangements to establish two more in order to create obstructions. In the meantime, fighting started and we could not do so. Thereafter, we could not get an auspicious moment. The festival has started and we could have obstructed it. But the Mritapaksha has set in, as well as the Malamas. We must wait for 1 month or 6 weeks to see what our ritual father (Mitbaba) does. According, we shall withdraw our troops today. What more to wise people?

Jestha Badi 12, Wednesday,
Mahadevpokhari.

Notes

A copy of this document was obtained through Ganesh Raj Pande from the original in the possession of Mahesh Chandra Regmi. This letter was sent by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Nilakantha Joshi from Mahadevpokhari. It does not mention the year, but astronomical calculations prove that it was written in 1812 Vikrama.

Ever since the time of King Prithvipati Shah, the Gorkhalis had been trying to expand eastward. Gradually, they developed themselves into a fighting nation. But the Kingdom of Gorkha at that time was not in a position to achieve its objectives solely through military strength. It thus used to help one or other of the numerous Kingdoms of Nepal.

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In 1715 Vikrama, King Prithvipati Shah established ritual brotherhood with King Nripendra Malla of Kantipur. Prithvi Narayan Shah established similar relations with Biranarsimha, son of King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. The Vamshavalis frequently refer to Ranajit Malla as ritual father (Mitbah) of Prithvi Narayan Shah. It is thus clear that the reference in this letter is to Ranajit Malla. This is the first time that evidence regarding Prithvi Narayan Shah's ritual brotherhood with Biranarsimha has been proved through evidence other than a Vamshavali. For some years, this relationship was of great help to Prithvi Narayan Shah in creating a split between Bhaktapur on the one hand and Kantipur and Lalitpur on the other, and winning it over to Gorkha's side.

Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered Nuwakot in 1801 Vikrama. But he was not able to enter into Kathmandu Valley forthwith. In 1803 Vikrama, he occupied Sankhu and Changu with the assistance of Bhaktapur. But he could not retain his occupation of these territories for long. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore decided to occupy territories all around Kathmandu Valley gradually. He therefore directed his attention to the Mahadevpokhari-Naldum area, which was regarded as the "gateway of the east." Mahadevpokhari is situated at a distance of about 6 Kosh east of Kathmandu. Naldum lies to the north of Mahadevpokhari. These territories, although adjoining Bhaktapur, therefore, naturally coveted them. It did not prove difficult for Prithvi Narayan Shah to get Bhaktapur's consent to the conquest of these territories. Accordingly, he occupied Mahadevpokhari and Naldum in 1803 Vikrama with the assistance of Bhaktapur. Prithvi Narayan Shah then stationed some Gorkhali troops there and handed these territories over to King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. But he could not retain his occupation of these territories for long, for Kantipur recovered them soon. In 1811 Vikrama, the Gorkhals again occupied Mahadevpokhari and Naldum.

This letter was sent by Prithvi Narayan Shah from Mahadevpokhari. It is thus clear that in the month of Jestha, 1812 Vikrama, he was in Mahadevpokhari, trying to make adequate military arrangements in these areas.

Ever since Gorkha started expanding eastward, the Chaubisi principalities, including Kaski and Lamjung, were feeling jealous. They, therefore, tried from time to time to harm Gorkha's interests in collusion with the Kings of Kathmandu Valley. Prithvi Narayan Shah, accordingly, tried to thwart their designs through diplomacy. In this letter, he has informed Nilakantha Joshi that Kaski had joined Gorkha's enemies and that Narayan Pandit had been sent to Kaski to maneuver a split between them.

Not much is known about Nilakantha Joshi. Two other letters addressed to him by King Prithvi Narayan Shah are available, in which he has been granted exemption from taxation and his Birta lands have been confirmed.

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These letters show that Nilakantha Joshi was a prosperous landowner. This letter shows that he owned lands in Bhanwarkot, which is situated in Dhulikhel at a distance of about 8 Kosh from Kathmandu. It is possible that Nilakantha Joshi was a resident of this area. This view is confirmed by Mahesh Chandra Regmi's statement that Nilakantha Joshi, his ancestor in the seventh generation, was a subject of the Kingdom of Bhaktapur.

Since Bhanwarkot is situated near Mahadevpokhari, it appears that Prithvi Narayan Shah enlisted Nilakantha Joshi's assistance in performing necessary work there. In fact, Prithvi Narayan Shah everywhere enlisted the help of local persons.

After gradually occupying areas situated on routes leading to Tibet, including Nuwakot, Prithvi Narayan Shah made an attempt to start trade with that country. He minted his own coins with the objective of introducing them for circulation in the Kuti region. He established contacts with the Tibetan authorities for importing gold from Tibet. In 1811 Vikrama, the authorities at Kuti had signed an agreement with Prithvi Narayan Shah in this regard. This is why Prithvi Narayan Shah was able to claim in this letter that "arrangements have been finalized with the authorities of Kuti also."

Astronomical calculations show that this letter was written on Jetha Badi 11, 1812 Vikrama (Baisakh 28, 1812 Vikrama according to the solar calendar). Malamas means the extra lunar month devised to adjust the difference between the lunar and solar months periodically. Mritapaksha refers to a particular conjunction of Rahu with other planets.

Notes On The History Of Morang District-II

Appointment Of Ram Chandra Khawas As Munsiff¹

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Jamadar Ramachandra Khawas.

We hereby appoint you as Munsiff² with effect from the year 1837 Vikrama in the newly-acquired territory situated east of the Kanaka river up to Bhotgaun. Measure lands according to the Kattha³ prevalent in Morang, in the same manner as the Kattha of Kadokadim⁴, on the basis of 20 to 19. Prepare Jammabandi⁵ records of Mal,⁶ Sair,⁷ Waje⁸ and other revenues according to Pattas⁹ issued under royal order. Transmit the proceeds of collection to the government, and accept survey fees (Nap-Salami), fees for daily rations, etc. according to practices current in Morang.

1. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 587.

2. In the Tarai districts, the Munsiff, as this document shows, was responsible for land measurement and the preparation of land tax assessment records. In India, according to H.H. Wilson, (H.H. Wilson, Glossary of Judicial And Revenue Terms, p. 356). "... under the British government, ... a native civil judge of the first or lowest rank." He adds: "In some places the Munsiff was an officer on the part of the Zamindar, employed to superintend the measurement of the lands of the village in concert with the villagers."

3. A Kattha is 1/20th of a bigha. The expression obviously means "according to the prevailing unit of measurement."

4. Unclear.

5. i.e. Revenue assessment records. The term is of Arabic origin.

6. H.H. Wilson (p. 322) writes: "In India, (the term Mal) was used for the public revenue from any source whatever, but more especially for that derived from land, to which sense, as a fiscal term, it is now restricted or the revenue claimed by the government from the produce of cultivated lands." The term means land revenue in Nepal also.

7. i.e. duties on markets, and customs on goods. (H.H. Wilson, p.454).

8. i.e. regular and actual revenues. The term is a corrupt form of the Arabic "Wajib".

9. i.e. Land allotment certificates.

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Regulations For Munsiff In Morang¹⁰

Regulations requested by Ramachandra Khawas for Bhotgaun and other areas.

1. I shall prepare Jammabandi records in consultation with the Subba and the Fouzdar. I shall not do so without their concurrence.
2. I shall not permit any losses to be caused to the government. If the Subba and the Fouzdar give advice which increases the revenue of the government, this is well. If they do not give such advice, I shall prepare Jammabandi records, which may be approved.
3. The Subba and the Fouzdar may appoint or dismiss Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Sairdars, Mokaddams, Mehatariyas and Waje-Ijaradars. But the Salami fees paid by them, and the fines collected from them, must belong to me.
4. Revenues and fines accruing from Singarhat, Danda, Wage, Cunahagari and Farrowat must belong to me.
5. The government shall not listen to any complaint which any person may make while I scrutinize all sources of revenue in this territory.

Wednesday, Magh Badi 30, 1837 Vikrama.

Exodus Of Ryots From Morang¹¹

1. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Jimidars, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams, Jethraiyats and ryots of Harichand-gadhi, Athmauja, Katahari, Bariyadi, Kuhaliya, Gograha, Hannetigaun and Dhapahar in Morang district.

We have heard that you feel sad and intend to leave the country because of the oppression of the Amil. That is why we are writing to you. We hereby reconfirm the lands that have been allotted to you under Patta.

10. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 587-588.

11. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, pp. 484-485. (An order to the same effect was issued on the same date also for the Pargannas of Rajradh, Dhapa, Chakuchaki, Dahuwa-Gadhi, Dhajjan, Pansali and Nijantara). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 586.

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You will have to pay revenue on the basis of these allotments. The newly-appointed Subba, after reaching there, will make inquiries and arrange for payment of the arrears in installments. Make payments accordingly. Since this is the agricultural season, we have instructed the outgoing Subba to understand your hardships and not to collect revenue strictly. There will be no more oppression as before. With due assurance, persuade all ryots to cultivate their lands. These ryots who have fled, local residents and new settlers shall all be brought back and settled on their respective holdings.

Thursday, Jetha Sudi 5, 1854 Vikrama.

2. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,¹²

To the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams, Jethraiats and ryots cultivating reclaimed lands on the borders.

We have received reports that you have left your homesteads and fled because of the oppression perpetrated by the former Subba. According, we have placed that territory under the Amani¹³ system. The new Subba will not oppress you in such a manner. With due assurance, come back to your lands and cultivate them well. The new Subba will take all possible measures for your benefit. Immediately on seeing this royal order, back to your lands.

Thursday, Jetha Sudi 5, 1854 Vikrama.

12. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 485.

13. Amani or Amanat meant a system of revenue collection through district-level officials appointed by the government.

The Malla Kings Of Kathmandu¹

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

It appears that the rule of Vijayakamadeva came to an end some time during the last two or three years of the twelfth century, because Bendall has referred to a manuscript written during the time of his successor, Arideva, in 322 Nepal Era (1201 A.D.). It has been found that the Kings of Nepal had assumed the title of Malla after the reign of Arideva. The Vamshavalis do not use the word "Malla" to denote Arideva. Only his son has been called a Malla King. According to the Vamshavalis, Abhaya, Arideva's son, was born at a time when he was engaged in a wrestling bout. Hence the title of Malla, which literally means a wrestler in the Sanskrit language, was given to Abhaya, who then became famous by the name of Abhaya Malla.² However, this view has been disproved by a manuscript entitled Satwabadha Prashanam,³ which refers to "the victorious Kingdom of Arideva Malla. This manuscript was written in 322 Nepal Era (1201 A.D.). Hamilton⁴ has given a similar account in respect to the Malla Kings of Parbat. There is no doubt that these stories have been invented merely to show that these Kings were wrestlers in the true sense of the term.

A number of Vamshavalis mention the name of Arideva without referring to Gunakamadeva II, Laxmikamadeva III and Vijayakamadeva II; who had ruled after King Amritadeva. Moreover, no King who ruled Nepal before Arideva had adopted the title of Malla. One can therefore assume that the title of Malla began to be adopted from the time of Arideva.

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter 4: "Malla Upadhidhari Rajaharu". (Kings Bearing The Title Of Malla), 34-48 pp. A note on the Malla Kings of western Nepal is contained at the end of this Chapter. This will be translated in the next issue of the Nepali Research Series.
 2. Daniel Wright (ed.), History of Nepal With an Introductory Stetch of the Country and the People of Nepal, p. 162.
 3. Bir Library Catalog, Part 1, p. 83.
 4. Francis Hamilton, An Account Of The Kingdom Of Nepal, pp. 266-273.

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None can doubt that the Mallas belonged to an ancient community inhabiting India. Before 600 B.C., they had tiny principalities of their own in or near the Tarai of Nepal. These principalities were located at Kushinagar and Pawa. The Mallas were said to be part of the Vriji Federation, which also included Lichchhavi and Shakya principalities. Following the Nirvana of the Buddha, King Ajatashatru of Magadh conquered the Vriji Federation and annexed it into his Kingdom. With the destruction of the Vriji Federation, the Lichchhavis, the Mallas and the Shakyas probably migrated to the Himalayan region. It is well-known that the Lichchhavis had moved to the Nepal (Kathmandu) Valley and, in the course of time set up an independent Kingdom there. They ruled over this Kingdom for a long time. There is some evidence that the Mallas too had settled in different areas of Nepal.

It is possible that the Mallas also entered into the western hill region. Around the 13th century, they had a vast and prosperous Kingdom in the western Dullu area. While it is not known when the Mallas established this Kingdom, it is possible that it might have been existing there since ancient times. It would not be surprising if the Malla rule had started in the Karnali region exactly at the time when the Lichchhavi Kingdom was established in Nepal.

It appears that during the eleventh or twelfth century, Indian Kings adopted the title of Malla. In his commentary of Bharat's Natyashashtra, Nanyadeva has coined several titles for himself, one of which is "Nripamalla."

During the same period, the Chalukya Kings of the south too used the title of several other Kings of northern and southern India too did do.

If we regard the term Malla added to name of Arideva as a title, it would become apparent that it does not refer to the Malla community. Arideva belonged to the dynasty started by Vamadeva. There is no evidence that any of his predecessors used the title of Malla. Arideva had suddenly started assuming this title. It is probable that he adopted the title of Malla because he saw that it had become popular in India, and his descendants might then have retained it.

Bendall has referred to manuscript of the period of Ari Malla from 322 Nepal Era (1201 A.D.) to 336 Nepal Era (1216 A.D.). Kirkpatrick writes that a famine had broken out during the rule of Ari Malla. Ari Malla was succeeded by Abhaya Malla. Bendall has also referred to manuscripts written during the reign of Abhaya Malla from 344 Nepal Era (1223 A.D.) to 373 Nepal Era (1252 A.D.). A manuscript called Vishnudharma, written in Ashwin, 340 Nepal Era, during the reign of Abhaya Malla, and published in the book

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"Fine Arts and Literature",⁵ proves that Abhaya Malla had become King in or before 340 Nepal Era (1221 A.D.).

Kirkpatrick writes that a famine and an earthquake had occurred also during the rule of Abhaya Malla. According to him, King Abhaya Malla's rule was very inauspicious.

Abhaya Malla was succeeded by Jayadeva.⁶ Bendall has referred to two manuscripts written during his reign, from 375 Nepal Era (1255 A.D.) to 377 Nepal Era (1257 A.D.).

According to the Vamshavalis, his brother, Ananda Malla founded a new town called Bhaktapur (modern Bhadgaun) and established a new and independent Kingdom there. In addition to Bhaktapur, Ananda Malla founded 7 towns in the vicinity of well-known temples. These were Banepur (Banepa) near the Charandeshwar temple, Panawati (Panauti) near Prayaga Tirtha, Nala near the temple of Nala Bhagawati, Dhaukhel near the temple of Narayan, Khadpu near the Dhaneshwari temple, Chaukot near Chakor Rishi's hermitage, and Sanga near Nasika Pitha. At the beginning of the 15th century, Nepal Valley had split up into 3 independent Kingdoms. The establishment of the independent Kingdom of Bhaktapur by Ananda Malla during the reign of Jayadeva was a forerunner of this development. According to the Vamshavalis, it was during the time of Jayadeva and Ananda Malla that the Nepal Era was started by Sakwal, and Nanyadeva invaded Nepal.

However, the Vamshavalis describe Nanyadeva and his descendants as having ruled after Ananda Malla and Jayadeva. Available evidence shows that Bhimadeva had succeeded Jayadeva. A manuscript written during the rule of Bhimadeva in 381 Nepal Era, (1261 A.D.), entitled Arthakandam has been discovered.⁷ According to the Gopal Vamshavali as obtained by Bendall, Bhimadeva was succeeded by Simha. But no manuscript written during his reign has come to light.

5. Lalit Kala Ra Sahitya, p. 65.

6. A manuscript written in 342 Nepal Era (1221 A.D.) during the period of a certain King named Ranasura, who was a contemporary of Abhaya Malla, has been discovered. It does not mention "Malla" after Ranasura, but describes him as "Parama Bhattaraka Maharaja" in addition to other titles. Bendall thinks that he was King in a certain area of Nepal. This view appears to be correct.

7. Bir Library Catalog, Astronomy Section, p. 19.

Ananta Malla had become King of Nepal by the end of the fourth century of the Nepal Era. Bendall has cited manuscripts written during his reign from 399 Nepal Era (1279 A.D.) to 427 Nepal Era (1307 A.D.). Kirkpatrick writes that Khasas had started settling down in Nepal in 408 Nepal Era (1288 A.D.) during the reign of Ananta Malla, and also that several Maithili families of Mithila had immigrated into Nepal in 411 Nepal Era (1291 A.D.). Bendall has shed further light on this account of Kirkpatrick on the basis of the Gopal Vamshavali. In Paush 408 Nepal Era (1288 A.D.), Jitari Malla, a Khasa King,⁸ invaded Nepal. But he lost 800 of his men in this attack and ultimately fled from Nepal. But he returned to Nepal after only 2 months on the pretext of seeking friendship. However, he set many villages and other places on fire. He visited Swayambhu, Lokeshwar at the Bungmati and Pashu-patinath. In 409 Nepal Era (1289 A.D.), he returned to his country. In 411 Nepal Era (1291 A.D.), the people of Tirhut entered into Nepal.

It is difficult to determine the period of Ananta Malla's rule. A manuscript written in 438 Nepal Era (1318 A.D.) indicates that Anandadeva was King in that year. This Anandadeva has been named as Nandadeva in the Vamshavali cited by Kirkpatrick. He has been described as a son of Ananta Malla. According to the Gopal Vamshavali, Ripu Malla, a King from the western areas, invaded Nepal in Falgun 433 Nepal Era (1331 A.D.) and stayed for some time in Bungmati.

According to Kirkpatrick, Anantadeva was succeeded by his brother, Simha Malla, possibly because he was childless. No manuscript written during his reign or mentioning his name has been discovered. His reign appears to have been brief because, according to Bendall's Vamshavali, Rudra Malla and Ari Malla were ruling jointly in 440 Nepal Era (1320 A.D.). Kirkpatrick has described Rudra Malla as Ananta Malla's son, but Bendall, on the basis of the evidence contained in the Gopal Vamshavali, considers him to be Tunga Malla's son. The same source describes Ari Malla as belonging to the same family as Rudra Malla.

8. In the Gopal Vamshavali, the term Khasa has been used to denote the inhabitants of the western areas. This has naturally created the false impression that the ancient Khasas as referred to in the Puranas were inhabitants of the western Nepal. But, in my opinion, the mythological Khasas have no connection with this story. Some persons identify the Shakas with the Khasas. Even if the Shakas were Khasas, it would not be logical to regard them as distinct from the Aryans, since the ancient Shakas had fully embraced the Aryan religion and culture. The people called Khasas of the western area were also Indian Aryans, and their religion and culture were also Aryan.

According to the Gopal Vamshavali, Jayarudra Malladeva, son of Jayatunga Malladeva, only granted an allowance to Jayari Malladeva, a member of his family, and ruled over the three towns of Nepal up to Nuwakot. This shows that power was in the hands of Rudra Malla, and that Ari Malla was King only in name.

During the joint rule of Rudra Malla and Ari Malla, King Harisimhadeva of Mithila invaded Nepal in 1324 A.D.

The Gopal Vamshavali also mentions that Rudradeva sold many paddy fields in Bhadgaun. This shows that anarchy prevailed at that time in Bhadgaun. We have already mentioned that Anandadeva too sold the lands of Bhardars in Bhadgaun.

Soon after Harisimhadeva's invasion, Rudra Malla died in 446 Nepal (1326 A.D.). Four of his queen became Satis on his funeral pyre, according to the Vamshavali discovered by Bendall. The same source states that his infant son too died soon afterwards. Satinayakadevi, daughter of Rudra Malla, thus remained his sole heir. The joint rule came to an end as a result of the death of Rudra Malla. Thereafter, Ari Malla occupied the throne alone.

In 448 Nepal Era (1328 A.D.), King Aditya Malla of the western region visited Nepal, according to the Gopal Vamshavali.

Nepal had thus to bear the burnt of foreign invasions twice during this period. It was therefore natural that a struggle for the throne should have occurred. It is possible that this struggle was launched against Ari Malla in favor of Satinayakadevi, daughter of Rudra Malla. We do not know what steps Ari Malla took to suppress this internal conflict. However, there is evidence that he ultimately came out victorious, for he has been described as the sole King of Nepal in 457 Nepal Era (1337 A.D.)⁹ There is evidence that Ari Malla ruled also over Bhaktapur.

9. The Darbar Library in Nepal contains a manuscript entitled Mahi Raghava. (Bir Library Catalog, Part II, p. 25). Neither Bendall nor other scholars have referred to this manuscript, which provides conclusive evidence to prove that Jayari Malla ruled over "Nopala Mandala" in Shravan, 457 Nepal Era. The term Nepala Mandala obviously refers to the whole of Nepal Valley.

We have mentioned above that in 1257 A.D., Ananda Malla, brother of Jayadeva, established an independent Kingdom in Bhaktapur. According to the Vamshavalis, Nanyadeva, after conquering Nepal, made Bhadgaun his capital and that his successors ruled from there.¹⁰ We have already offered evidence that Nanyadeva never visited Nepal, but only ruled over Mithila from Simraungadh. We do not know what happened in Bhadgaun after Ananda Malla established an independent Kingdom there. But since Ari Malla has been described as King of "Nepala Mandala", it appears that he ruled all over Nepal Valley.

Bendall has given some particulars regarding the struggle for succession between Ari Malla and Satinayakadevi. After the death of her father, Rudra Malla, Satinayakadevi had been brought up by her grand-mother, Padu Malladevi. She was married to Harishchandradeva, a member of the royal family of Kashi.¹¹ It has not been possible to identify this Harishchandradeva. Harishchandradeva lived in Nepal for some time, but was poisoned after some years. Subsequently, his brother, Gopaladeva, and Jagat Simha, a Prince of Mithila, kept Nayakadevi in detention. They thus appear to have occupied Bhadgaun. The followers of Jagat Simha then killed Gopaladeva. Jagat Simha reigned for some days, but he too was imprisoned eventually. It is not known who imprisoned him. Rajalladevi was the daughter of Jagat Simha. Nayakadevi died 10 days after the birth of her daughter. Rajalladevi was therefore brought up by her grand-mother, Dewaladevi.

Bendall has written this account on the basis of the Vamshavali used by him. Kirkpatrick too has referred to these developments. According to these accounts, Rudra Malla, one of the sons of Ananta Malla, had a daughter called Satinayakadevi. Soon after she became queen, she was married to King Harishchandra of Benaras. They had a daughter named Rajalaxmi. Satinayakadevi later assumed the title of Dewaladeviraj.¹² After some time, she was dethroned by a relative, Jayadeva. A few months after this incident, Harisimhadeva invaded Nepal.

10. Daniel Wright, p. 167.

11. There is evidence that King Jayachandra Gahadwal of Kashi had a son named Harishchandra. But he lived in 1197 A.D., whereas the marriage took place after 1326 A.D. It is thus clear that Satinayakadevi had not been married to Harishchandra, son of Jayachandra.

12. These names are interesting from the linguistic viewpoint. In Sanskrit, "Alla" means mother. The names of both Padu Malla and Rajalladevi end with "Alla". The "Alla" contained in the name of Dewaladevi is a corrupt form of "Alla". The name of the Queen of Rana Malla, a son of Yaksha Malla, who established an independent Kingdom in Banepa, was Nathaladevi. The name of Satinayakadevi's mother was Rudramadevi. The last part of this name is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word "Amba".

Both these accounts are agreed that Satinayakadevi was a daughter of Rudra Malla, and that she was married to one Harishchandra, a member of the royal family of Benaras. Both of them also state that Satinayakadevi had a daughter. However, they give different names for this daughter. According to Bendall's Vamshavali, the name of this daughter was Rajalladevi. On the other hand, Kirkpatrick's Vamshavali describes her as Rajalaxmi. We may ignore the discrepancy in names, but even then we are faced with another problem. According to Kirkpatrick, Rajalaxmi was the daughter of Harishchandradeva, whereas Bendall's Vamshavali says that after Harishchandra was killed, Jagat Simha lived with Satinayakadevi and had a daughter named Rajalladevi by her. The question is, who was the father of Rajalladevi?

This account of Satinayakadevi is contained only in Bendall's Vamshavali. Rajalladevi subsequently married a very famous King of Nepal, Sthiti Malla. In fact, Sthiti Malla felt very proud of this marriage and in many of his inscriptions he described himself as the husband of Rajalladevi. Accordingly, we cannot believe that Satinayakadevi had been abducted by Jagat Simha. According to Bendall, Harishchandra, husband of Satinayakadevi, was killed in 455 Nepal Era (1236 A.D.). After some time, Gopaladeva, his brother, was killed by the followers of Jagat Simha, who then became King for some days, but was soon imprisoned. All these events took place during a period of less than two years. According to Bendall, Rajalladevi was born in 467 Nepal Era (1347 A.D.). She was thus born 10 years after the imprisonment of Jagat Simha. As such, it is very doubtful that she was Jagat Simha's daughter. I therefore feel that Kirkpatrick's account is more reliable.

We have already seen that in 457 Nepal Era (1337 A.D.). Ari Malla was the sole King of Nepal. He ruled for 10 more years. In Shraavan 467 Nepal Era (1347 A.D.), Rajadeva became King of Nepal. According to Bendall's Vamshavali, Rajadeva was an illegitimate son of Anandadeva. This Vamshavali also states that both royal families agreed to his accession to the throne. This apparently refers to the groups of Ari Malla and Rudra Malla.

Soon after Rajadeva became King, there was another invasion of Nepal, which is an extraordinary event in the history of Nepal. This invasion was launched by Shamshuddin Iliyas Shah.

In other respects, however, Rajadeva's rule was a happy one. The colophon of a manuscript entitled Vamakeshwarimatatanam, written in 474 Nepal Era (1354 A.D.), which Bendall has cited, described Rajadeva as King of "Nepala Bhumandala". This apparently shows that Rajadeva was able to please his subjects and suppress his opponents. According to Bendall, Rajadeva ruled until 476 Nepal Era (1355-56 A.D.). But evidence is available to prove that Rajadeva was King until much later. A manuscript entitled

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Rudrayamaleshastividya-prashansa¹³ which was written in 479 Nepal Era (1359 A.D.), describes Arjuna, son and successor of Rajadeva, as Yuvaraja. A manuscript entitled Ratnakarakarnika¹⁴ shows that Rajadeva was King in 481 Nepal Era (1361 A.D.). A manuscript entitled Chanakyaphlokas, written in 484 Nepal Era (1364 A.D.)¹⁵ describes Arjuna Malla, son of Rajadeva, as "Rajadhirajaparameshwar." This shows that Rajadeva died some time before 1364 A.D.

Soon after Arjuna Malla became King, in Ashwin 492 Nepal Era (1372 A.D.), Sthiti Malla was Mahasamanta in Kathmandu, according to an inscription installed in that year at Swayambhunath. This shows that in that year Arjuna Malla was King of Nepal, while Sthiti Malla was feudal chief of Kathmandu.¹⁶ Possibly, Sthiti Malla had been appointed Mahasamanta of Kathmandu some time before this year. The above-mentioned inscription shows that he was respected by the nobility. The inscription describes Sthiti Malla as Kshatra-retanakarendu (a moon over the ocean of the Kshatriyas).

According to a manuscript entitled Naradasamahita, written in 500 Nepal Era (1380 A.D.), Sthiti Malla was Mahasamanta in Bhadgaun.¹⁷ This manuscript describes Sthiti Malla, husband of Rajalladevi, as Mahasamanta of Bhadgaun. It is possible that Sthiti Malla, because of his popularity among the nobility, was appointed as Mahasamanta in Bhadgaun by Arjuna Malla, thus putting him out of the way.

There is evidence that subsequently the nobles revolted under the leadership of Sthiti Malla against Arjuna Malla. It is possible that the revolt started in Bhadgaun, where Sthiti Malla was Mahasamanta. Subsequently, the revolt spread to Patan and Kathmandu. Arjuna Malla was unable to suppress it. In 502 or 503 Nepal Era (1382 or 1383 A.D.), Sthiti Malla ousted Arjuna Malla and established his rule in Nepal. A contemporary manuscript states that King Arjuna lost his throne because of the vagaries of fate. The same manuscript, or possibly another, states that the King of the three towns was chasing Arjuna Malla. It is possible that Sthiti Malla did not face much difficulty in ousting Arjuna Malla because he was popular among the nobility from the very beginning.

13. Bir Library Catalog, (Part II, pp. 23-24).

14. Bir Library Catalog, (Part II, p. 68).

15. Bir Library Catalog, (Part II, p. 105).

16. Sanskrit Sandesh, (Nos. 10-12, p. 14).

17. Bir Library Catalog, (Part I, p. 43).

This revolt enabled the family of Jayasimharama Vardhana to occupy an important place in the history of Nepal for some years. Jayasimharama Vardhana was a Mahamahattaka of Arjuna Malla, according to the Chanakya-shloka cited above. The manuscript gives his name as Jayashivarama, but I feel that the correct name is Jayasimharama. It is possible that Jayasimharama Vardhana was Mahamahattaka also during the time of Raja Malla, Arjuna Malla's predecessor. The term Mahamahattaka has been defined as Prime Minister, but not everybody subscribes to this view. In any case, there is no doubt that this was a top-ranking position.

Some evidence is available about the origin of Jayasimharama Vardhana. According to an inscription dated 502 Nepal Era (1383 A.D.), which has been discovered at Itamabahal in Kathmandu,¹⁸ Rama Vardhana was Mahamantri, while his wife was called Godhanalaxmi. Jayasimharama Vardhana and Madanarama, their sons, were both Mahamantris. Madanarama's wife was named Jaitralaxmi. The inscription states that Madanarama had a son called Shaktisimharama.

An undated inscription has been discovered at the Pashupatinath temple, which too refers to Jayasimharama.¹⁹ This inscription was obviously installed some time after 1383 A.D., because it refers to Dharma Malla as King. It described Jayasimharama Vardhana as Mahamantredhiraja and his brother, Madanaratna Vardhana, as Mahamatya. Both these inscriptions highly praise these two brothers. It seems that Sthiti Malla was able to oust Arjuna Malla because he had been able to enlist the support of such reliable ministers.

Contd...

18. (Sanskrit Sandesh, Year 10, Nos. 10-12).

19. Ibid.

Chronology

	<u>Nepal Era</u>	<u>A.D.</u>
Arideva	322-326	1201-1216
Abhaya Malla	344-373	1223-1252
Jayadeva	375-377	1255-1257
Bhimadeva	380	1260
Shahadeva	x	x'
Ananta Malla	399-427	1279-1307
Anandadeva	438	1318
Rudra Malla	440	1320
Ari Malla	457-467	1338-1347
Rajadeva	467-481	1347-1362
Arjuna Malla	484-(circa) 503	1363-(circa) 1383.

On Wages And Forced Labor¹

1. In case tenants and occupiers² of Khet or Pakho lands under Birta, Suna, Guthi, Chhap or Raikar tenure have been providing porters and laborers on the basis of a written agreement, (the owners of such lands) shall not be deemed to have committed any offense. If (such owners) have forced (tenants and occupiers) to supply porters and laborers in the absence of an agreement, and if any person submits a complaint, (the landowner) shall be ordered to pay wages at the rate of 10 pice per day, and a fine of an equivalent amount shall be imposed on him. If the tenant does not supply (porters and laborers) as agreed upon, he shall be evicted.
2. Amalis and Rakamis³ shall not impress the (forced and unpaid) labor of the ryots. Amalis, Jagirdars and Rakamis, while visiting villages, towns or their Khuwa⁴ lands, shall not collect provisions forcibly (from the ryots); nor shall the people give them any. In case any ryot submits a complaint to the effect that the stipulated amount of wages was not paid, and that labor was exacted without payment through the use of force, and in case this complaint is proved to be true, the person who had agreed to pay wages shall be required to do so as agreed upon, and the person who had impressed labor without payment through the use of force shall be required to make payment at the rate of four annas per day, and a fine of an equivalent amount shall be imposed on them.
3. Jagirdars, Amanat officials, Ijaradars, Thekdars (contractors), Fouzdars, Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mukhiyas, Rakamis and other functionaries shall not impress forced and unpaid labor (Begari, Jhara, Bethi) for their own requirement, or for those of generals, colonels, Chautariyas, Kajis, Sardars, Bhardars, royal priests and preceptors, and other persons, high or low, who travel to the east or the west. However, forced and unpaid labor (Jhara) may be impressed for governmental requirements on a customary basis. In case forced and unpaid labor (Begari, Jhara, Bethi) is impressed in an improper manner from the ryots and subjects, and in case any person submits a complaint, (the person who utilizes such labor) shall be ordered to pay wages.

1. "Jhara Khetala Ko" (On Forced Labor And Laborers). In: Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Shasankalma Baneko Muluki Ain. (Legal Code Enacted During The Reign Of King Surendra). Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 1965, p. 83.

2. The terms used in the text are Mohi and Kuriya.

3. i.e. government contractors or revenue collection agents.

4. i.e. villages assigned as Jagir.

Contd...

at the rate of four annas per laborer daily, and a fine of an equivalent amount shall be imposed on him.

4. In case (any Jagirdar) has to utilize the portorage services of the inhabitants of his Khuwa lands to travel anywhere, he shall give them food every morning and evening, in addition to wages at the rate of 10 pice per day, for the period during which their services are thus utilized. In case (any person) submits a complaint to the effect that no wages were paid to him, (the person who utilizes such services) shall be ordered to pay wages at the rate mentioned above, and a fine of an equivalent amount shall be imposed on him.

Royal Order To Fakirs In Morang, 1797^x

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Fakirs throughout the territories of Vijayapur.

We have received reports that you intrude into the territories of the Firangis (i.e. into British India) in gangs in order to commit dacoity, claiming that you have been authorized to do so by the outgoing chief administrator of that region.

You are not permitted to stay in our territories and commit dacoity in the territories of the Firangis. In case a dispute arises with the Firangis as a result, you will be held guilty. Do not indulge in such activities.

Shravan Badi 5, 1854 Vikrama.

^xRegmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 548.

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,
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Law On Divorce¹

1. In case a woman belonging to the Newar caste approaches any court, police station or Amal with a request for divorce, even though her husband is providing for her maintenance, on the ground that he has married another woman, or has turned her out, or that he has gone to a distant place whether inside or outside the country, or on other grounds on which a divorce cannot be granted, she shall not be allowed to return the betel-nut and divorce (her husband). In case anybody grants a divorce on such grounds, he shall be fined with one-third of the marriage expenses prescribed for the caste to which the woman belongs. The person who has brought the woman for divorce (on such grounds) shall be fined with one-sixth of such expenses. The woman shall then be handed over to her husband. She shall not be allowed to leave him.
2. In case the wife of a person belonging to any Newar caste, who is wedded to him or who has been taken up as wife by him after observing the rites of marriage, make a request for divorce on the ground that he has gone on private business to Tibet, India (Madhesh) or other countries without making any provision for her maintenance, or that her husband married her but did not take her to his home and did not provide for her maintenance, so that she had to undergo hardship and live elsewhere for 3 years, or that he has emigrated to a foreign country, she shall be granted a divorce by the court, police station or Amal. However, divorce shall not be granted on the ground that the husband has gone to a distant place on the official business of the government.
3. In case the wife of a person belonging to the Newar caste makes a request for divorce on the ground that (her husband) has committed theft or any other crime which is punishable with imprisonment for life and has absconded deserting his home and family, she shall be granted a divorce by the court, police station or Amal.
4. In case the wife of a person belonging to the Newar caste, who is wedded to him or who has been taken up as wife by him after observing the rites of marriage, complains that (her husband) has taken up another woman as wife is not providing for her maintenance and has turned her out, or that he is living with a prostitute and pays no attention to his married wife, the court, police station or Amal shall grant her a divorce.

1. "Pachuke Garnya" (On Divorce). In: Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shah Devka Shasankalma Baneko Muluki Ain. (Legal Code Enacted During the Reign of King Surendra). Kathmandu: Ministry of Law and Justice, 1965. pp. 642-643.

Contd...

5. No divorce need be granted if a person belonging to the Newar caste becomes a mendicant (Fakir), or is degraded from his caste. The maternal relatives of his wife may offer her in marriage to another person. They shall not thereby be deemed to have committed an offense.
6. If after marriage the wife of a person belonging to the Newar caste discovers that he is a leper or a hunchback, or blind, crippled, lame, dumb or impotent, and accordingly makes a request for divorce, she shall be granted a divorce by the court, police station or Amal. The husband shall have no rights over her.
7. The wife of a person belonging to the Newar caste, who is wedded to him or who has been taken up as wife by him after observing the rites of marriage, shall not be permitted to return the betel-nut and leave him on the ground that he is seriously ill. Nor shall the husband be permitted to release her on the ground that her planets have had an evil influence on him. The return of the betel-nut during sickness shall be null and void. Anybody who grants a divorce at such a time shall be punished with a fine amounting to one-third of the marriage expenses prescribed for the appropriate caste. The person who has brought the woman for divorce (at such a time) shall be fined with one-sixth of such expenses. The wife shall then be handed over to her husband.
8. While granting a divorce according to law to women of the Newar caste, the court, police station or Amal shall charge a fee of one rupee, not more.
9. One-tenth of the value of the claim realized in cases of divorce granted to law, or in cases relating to adultery among members of the Newar caste, shall be collected as fee (from the winning party). (The losing party) is under no obligation to pay one-twentieth of this amount as fee; it shall not be so collected.

The Malla Kings Of Western Nepal¹

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

The valuable researches of Yogi Naraharinath have led to the discovery of much information relating to King Jitari Malla, who invaded Nepal, as well as his predecessors and successors. In Dullu, he discovered an inscription of King Prithvi Malla on two sides of a stone pillar, which contains an account of Prithvi Malla's predecessors. The inscription is dated 1279 Shaka (1357 A.D.). It contains the following names:-

1. Krachalla.
2. Ashokachalla.
3. Jitari Malla.
4. Akshaya Malla.
5. Ashoka Malla.
6. Ananda Malla.
7. Ripu Malla.
8. Sangrama Malla.
9. Jitari Malla.
10. Aditya Malla.

Among these Kings, the following had invaded Nepal Valley, according to the Gopal Vamshavali:-

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Appendix to Chapter IV: "Malla Upadhidhari Rajaharu". (Kings Bearing The Title of Malla). 48-53 pp.

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- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|------------------------|
| 1. Jayatari Malla | ... | 408 | Nepal Era (1288 A.D.). |
| 2. Ripu Malla | ... | 433 | ,, (1313 A.D.). |
| 3. Aditya Malla | ... | 448 | ,, (1328 A.D.). |

"Jayatari Malla" is obviously spelt incorrectly. The actual name is Jitari Malla. There were two Kings with this name among the predecessors of Prithvi Malla. It is clear that it was the first Jitari Malla who had invaded Nepal, because this invasion took place much before Ripu Malla's time, and there is only one Jitari Malla among Ripu Malla's predecessors. We may refer to him as Jitari Malla I.

The dates of Jitari Malla's grandfather, Krachalla, and his father, Ashokachalla, show that it was in fact Jitari Malla I who had invaded Nepal. A copper inscription in the possession of the Baleshwar temple in Kumaun states that "Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja Shriman Krachalladeva Narapati", in the sixteenth year of his reign, vanquished the Kings of Kirtipur or Kartikeyapur (Kumaun) and established his sway there. The inscription is dated Poush 1145 Shaka (1223 A.D.). It was written in "Shrisampannanagar" or Srinagar near Dullu. This inscription proves that Krachalla ascended the throne of Dullu in 1207 A.D.

Krachalla was succeeded by his son, Ashokachalla. One of his inscriptions has been found in Gaya. It is dated 1270 A.D.

According to the Gopal Vamshavali, Ripu Malla, a King of this dynasty, invaded Nepal in 1313 A.D. Yogi Naraharinath has published several inscriptions of Ripu Malla,² but only one of them is important for us. This is the inscription of Ripu Malla on the Ashoka Pillar of Lumbini. It mentions Ripu Malla, as well as his son, Sangrama Malla. It bears no date, however.

There is a similar inscription on another Ashoka Pillar located at Niglihawa near Lumbini. Purna Chandra Mukerji has published a photostat-copy of this inscription in his book: "A Report On A Tour Of Exploration Of The Antiquities In The Tarai Nepal." (Calcutta: 1901, p.30 and Plate XVI). He has transcribed the name mentioned in the inscription as "Tapu Malla", whereas another photostat copy of the inscription in the possession of the author reads "Rapu Malla". It is obviously that an error was made in inscribing the word "Ripu Malla".

2. Itihas Prakash, Vol. 1, Book 2, pp. 76-81.

This inscription is dated 1234 Samvat. Purna Chandra Mukerji has regarded this as a Vikrama year and thus converted it into 1280-1281 A.D. However, the Shaka era was in use in the Himalayan region from the very beginning. The date thus belongs to the Shaka calendar, and corresponds to 1312 A.D. According to the Gopal Vamshavali, Ripu Malla visited Nepal in Falgun 433 Nepal Era (1313 A.D.). This indicates that Ripu Malla, along with his son, Sangrama Malla, invaded Nepal through the Tarai. A manuscript entitled Abhisamayalankara, written during the reign of Ripu Malla in 1314 A.D., has also been discovered.³

According to the Gopal Vamshavali, Aditya Malla, a great-grand-son of Ripu Malla, invaded Nepal in Chaitra 448 Nepal Era (1328 A.D.).

It can easily be imagined that these predecessors of Prithvi Malla were very illustrious Kings in Senja. Krachalla's conquest of Kumaun proves that they had expanded westward. The conquest of Kumaun was easy and possible because they had extended their dominions to Doti, west of the Karnali river. This Kingdom comprised Dullu, Dailekh and Surkhet also. Inscriptions of Ripu Malla and Sangrama Malla have been discovered also around Lumbini in the south. This indicates that they had subjugated the whole of the western Tarai. Malbara, situated in Kailali-Kanchanpur district is a corrupt form of "Mallabara", so named possibly because it was the gateway to the Malla Kingdom. The researches of Prof. Tucci have proved that this Kingdom also comprised Jumla, and the Guge and Mansarovar regions of Tibet. Prof. Tucci discovered a Vamshavali of the Malla Kings in the Guge region, which he has already published. It mentions Ashokachalla, Jitari Malla, Ripu Malla and Aditya Malla. There is thus evidence that the Malla Kings of the Karnali region were very powerful and ruled over an extensive Kingdom.

The inscriptions published by Yogi Naraharinath show that the Malla Kings of the Karnali region had faith also in Buddhism. The Buddhist incantation: "Om Manipadme Hum" is contained at the top of Prithvi Malla's Dullu inscription. A gold inscription of Prithvi Malla, found in Jumla, which is dated 1278 Shaka (1356 A.D.) mentions "Buddha, Dharma, Sanghe" along with "Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwara." Krachalla, in his Baleshwar temple inscription, describes himself as a "Paramasangata".

Siddha Atisha Dipankar, an Indian Buddhist, expressed the desire to visit Tibet through Palpa in 1041 A.D. possibly in view of the faith in Buddhism of Prithvi Malla and his predecessors.

3. Luciano Petech, Medieval History Of Nepal, pp. 108-109.

The Lichchhavi King Manadeva, who ruled over Nepal a few centuries earlier, in his Changuarayan inscription, states that he sent his troops across the Gandaki in order to subdue the Malla Kings of the west.

A number of inscriptions of the seventh century found in Nepal refer to a tax called "Mallakara". It is possible that this tax was levied in order to raise funds for resisting the Malla invaders.

All this proves that the Kings of the west had cast greedy eyes on the fertile region of Nepal from ancient times. For a long time, the Malla Kings of Senja made many attempts in this regard. They first invaded Nepal in 1288 A.D. Several other invasions took place by 1328 A.D. However, they did not succeed. 440 years after their last invasion, another King, Prithvi Narayan Shah, succeeded in conquering Nepal.

The language used by Prithvi Malla and other Kings in their inscriptions is the thirteenth century form of modern Nepali. There is no doubt about this. The researches of Yogi Naraharinath have shed considerable light on the history not only of western Nepal but also of the Nepali language.

The Baleshwar Inscription Of King Krachalla

A transaction of the Baleshwar temple inscription of King Krachalla, to which Surya Bikram Gnyawali has referred above, has been published by Edwin T. Atkinson in Vol. II of The Himalayan Districts Of The North-Western Provinces Of India, Atkinson writes:*

/Krachalla of the Jijikula who is

On the reverse of the copper-plate grant to the Baleshwar temple made by the Katyuri Raja Desata Deva we have a confirmation of the deed of/ described as conqueror of the 'Vijayarajya', the destroyed of the demolished city of Kantipura and a devout Buddhist. The grant is dated from Dulu, in the year 1145 Saka, corresponding to 1223 A.D. Now the Nepal annals tells us that when the Vais Thakur Rajas began to reign there were Rajas in every tol or quarter of the town in Lalitpatan; "in Kantipur (Kathmandu) there were twelve Rajas who were called Jhinihmathakula". Further, it is said that these Thakuras "left numerous Bauddha temples with lands assigned for their maintenance". The facts, the name of the family who conquered Kantipura and the date all corroborate the inscription, of which the following is a translation made by a Calcutta Pandit:-

Translation of the inscription on the back of a copper-plate in the
Baleshwar temple in Sui.

Be this auspicious. The prosperous state of Bharauta.

The splendid Sira ruling in heaven, ever strengthened by her victorious lord, having embraced the goddess of victory resplendent with her precious pearls, dropping from the skulls of her elephantine foes, who were dragged to battle, and killed and felled by the spears of her warriors, vincible only by the lord of heaven, a protectress and benefactress of cows and Brahmans. Her son was the great hero and king, Krachalla, the most excellent, and chief of all who bear arms or are versed in the sciences, and who was ever inclined to (acts of) piety and charity. By his combat with elephants of newly sprouting tusks, with lance, sword, and ropes, Krachalla, the lord of earth, became equally marvellous with the Pandavas. He was a devout Saugata (Buddhist), and shone like the sun on the lotus of the Jini-kula.¹ He was fierce in the strength of his arms, of marked valour, and entitled the most venerable, the lord supreme, and great king of kings, the prosperous Krachalla Deva, lord of men, who, in the Vijaya

*Edwin T. Atkinson, The Himalayan Districts of The North-Western Provinces of India. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces And Oudh Government Press, 1884. Vol. II, pp. 516-519.

1. It may be read Jijarkula.

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Rajya (realm of victory), now in his possession, has crushed the whole circle of his enemies with his own arms, and having destroyed the kings of the demolished city of Kantipura, (Kartikeyapura) and established our right therein, inspected the lands bequeathed by its former kings, all of which, with their revenues, are all now made over to the highly deserving of homage Sri Baleshwara, the sole Rudra *** Bhatta Narayana, a Bengali Brahmana (bangaja) * * * * jugipebhyam by means of this grant. Here is a couplet of the king's sister:* "The clouds with abundance of rain fill the mountains and rivers, but fame, the necklace of the world, stretches over the three worlds." The (following) is another couplet of the great queen:- "The quality of charity and other virtues is excellent, but more so is she who is addicted to her duties and ever faithfully devoted to her lord, for time is known to have a devouring head." The great king in council with his principal courtiers., viz.:-

Sri Yahad Deva Mandalika,	Sri Vadya Chandra Mandalika,
Sri Sri Chandra Deva Mandalika,	Sri Jaya Sinha Mandalika,
Sri Hari Raja Rautta Raja,	Sri Jihala Deva Mandalika,
Sri Aniladitya Rautta Raja,	Sri Vallala Deva Mandalika,
Sri Vinaya Chandra Mandalika,	Sri Musa Deva Mandalika,

having determined with his friends and ministers and well considered the matter as in duty bound, has given the aforesaid grant to the logician, tantrika, counsellor, saintly, forbearing, prudent, renowned in compositions of prose, verse, and poetry in this age of Kali, the poet, connoisseur of the purport of works (books), skilled in the calculation of horoscopes and the like, the son of Nanda, conversant in augury, and renowned in the world. The limits and boundaries thereof being Svaharagadi on the east, as far as Kahudakota on the south; as far as Talakota on the west; and as far as Ladhaul on the north. This spot thus bounded on the four sides, and situated in the Sri Kona Desa (corner land), with the mines, valleys and jungles, together with all products thereof, are given over by me by means of this grant, and for its continuance coeval with that of the sun and moon.

(Verses.)

All the mighty (princes) who from time to time shall be born in my race, let them as well as other masters of land preserve this (for ever). The donor of lands gains (the favours) of Aditya, Varuna, Brahma and Vishnu, as also of Soma, Hutasana, and the god holding the trident in his

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hand. When the lands (possessed by) Dilipa, Nripa and Nahusha have been left behind, they shall never accompany any other monarch (on his demise). Lands have been bequeathed by various kings, beginning with Sagara. Whoever becomes master of land at any time, he reaps the produce thereof. He who receives lands as well as he who grants the same both become meritorious and both in heaven remain. Who so resumes lands, whether given by himself or another,

As a filthy worm for sixty thousand years doth pother;

Whoever steals a gold coin, resumes a villa, or an inch of ground,

Shall dwell in hell as long as offerings are drowned.

No gift is equal to the grant of land, no wealth equal to gift,

No virtues greater than truth, nor sin than falsehood's shift.

The king, one's life, strength and gods deserve most to be regarded by :

So long as the possessor of the place where the lotus loves to exist of the auspicious Krachalla-deva wanders on the earth, so long may the lotus-aboded of the chief of the Kirantis² (flourish)--(Srimat Krachalla-devasya yavat ambhyajinipati viharatu bhuvitavav kiratirasya nripakumudakara).

And long as the lord of stars spins on the head of the god holding the Pinaka bow, and his dreadful braids of hair are moistened by Ganga's stream.

What was the holder of the Gandiva bow--merely possessed of valour? What was the son of Dharma? What is the lord of wealth? What was Ramabhadra the mighty, and what was Kudarpa too before him? No, never were they such, neither in this manner nor in that, as the famed Krachalla, who is as a gem on the crowns of all the rulers of earth.

2. The text of this passage is doubtful and seems to read *मयमितीरति*
मयमितीरति There is one 'i' too much, but the reading to be preferred seems to be that given in the text. Kirttira perhaps could refer to himself as lord of Kirttipura.

In beauty he resembled the moon and Ratipati.

To the indigent he was the Kalpa-tree.

In valour he was in quality like the gem of Raghu,

In the assemblage of all the qualities he was Bhavanipati.

In bowmanship he was a Rama or Bhishma himself.

In justice he was as if born of Dharma.

Krachalla was a destroyer of his elephantine enemies in the Kaliyuga.

Let our allies, abiding in firm amity, meet with prosperity,

And let the rulers of earth govern her with justice throughout the year.

Let the four articles of polity remain steady with you as a new-married bride.

And let the god having the semi-bow as a gem on his crest confer good fortune on mankind. Dated 1145 of the year of the Saka king, the 2nd day of the waning moon of Pausha, Monday, asterism of Pushya. The moon in Cancer, and the sun in Sagittarius; and Saturn following him; Mars in Virgo; Jupiter and Mercury in Scorpio; Venus in Aquarius; the ascending node in Aries; and the descending node in south-east. Written in the prosperous city near Dulu. Welfare to all worlds !

This inscription throws valuable light on the period to which it relates. Krachalla was a member of the Jina family who belonged to the hill Rajput race and who conquered and held the town of Kantipura in Nepal. He was a devout Buddhist, as the name of his family would alone show, the word 'jina' being a generic term applied to a Buddha or chief saint of the Bauddha sect in the same manner as to a Jaina saint; still he was liberal enough, as Buddhists generally were, to confirm the grant to the temple of the local deity Baleshwar. The names of the Mandalikas or local chiefs contain those of two Rawat Rajas evidently of the same clan as the chief of Domkot, and the names Jihala and Jaya may be compared with the names of the Khasiya Rajas Jihala and Jaya. It is worthy of note that three of the Mandalikas have the tribal affix Chandra, the same as that borne by Som Chand's family. It would also appear that the Tantras, those marvellous combinations of the ritual of the worship of the female

Contd...

energies, necromancy and mysticism, were held in high repute. The donee is praised for his skill in these matters and his proficiency in literature in general. The identification, in the verse, of Krachalla with the chief of the Kirantis has a shade of doubt about it owing to the error in the copy which prevents its being made a subject of speculation. The identification, however, is neither impossible nor improbable. Dulu is a district in the west of Nepal and was in the last century the seat of an independent kingdom.

The Hel Tax

Hel was a tax levied on cows in Kathmandu Valley during the 18th and 19th centuries. The following order, assigning the proceeds of this levy as Jagir, was issued on Aswin Badi 14, 1857 (September 1800):-*

From King Girban,

To Ran Sim Mahar.

We hereby assign you (the proceeds of) the Hel levy (Rakam) on cows in the area situated east of Thankot, west of Sanga-Bhanjyang, north of Pharping and south of Tokha. Appropriate the levy and other fees in the customary manner, fulfill the obligations imposed on you and thus enjoy your fees and emoluments.

* Assignment Of Hel Revenue In Kathmandu Valley To Ram Sim Mahar, Aswin Badi 14, 1857 (September 1800). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 9.

Notes On The History Of Morang District-III

On Marga Sudi 6, 1851 (December 1794 A.D.), Dinanath Upadhyaya, who had been appointed as Nepali envoy to Calcutta, was replaced as Ijaradar of Morang by Subba Zorawar Khawas. Zorawar Khawas was an experienced administrator. In 1842 Vikrama (1785 A.D.), he was functioning as revenue contractor in Alampur (Dolakha district¹). In that year, he was transferred as Ijaradar in Bara, Parsa and Rautahat districts.² A few months later, on Ashadh Sudi 6, 1843 (July 1786 A.D.), however, he was replaced by Chautariya Dalamardan Shah,³ a brother of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, as Ijaradar in these districts. However, Zorawar Khawas was reinstated as Ijaradar in Bara, Parsa and Rautahat districts in 1848 Vikrama along with Bharat Khawas (1791 A.D.).⁴

Zorawar Khawas was functioning as Ijaradar in these districts when Colonel Kirkpatrick, an official of the East India Company, passed through them in 1793.⁵

The letter of appointment issued to Zorawar Khawas as Ijaradar of Morang is as follows:-⁶

From King Ran Bahadur Shah,

To Zorawar Khawas.

"You are hereby granted an Ijara for the collection of the following revenues in the district of Morang with its headquarters at Vijayapur, inclusive of Bhotgaun, Mijamatara and the regions east of the Koshi River and West of the Trisota River, replacing Dinanath Upadhyaya and Brijvilas Upadhyaya.

1. Termination of Revenue Collection Contract of Zorawar Khawas In Alampur, Foush Badi 13, 1842 (December 1785). Regmi Research Collections, Vol.25, p. 8..
2. Appointment of Zorawar Khawas As Ijaradar In Bara, Parsa And Rautahat, 1842 (1785), Vol. 25, p. 17.
3. Termination Of Ijara Of Zorawar Khawas In Bara, Parsa and Rautahat, Ashadh Sudi 6, 1843, Vol. 25, p. 145.
4. Regulations For Ijaradars Zorawar Khawas and Bharat Khawas In Bara, Parsa and Rautahat, Kartik Sudi 15, 1848 (November 1791), Vol.19, p.456.
5. Kirkpatrick, An Account Of The Kingdom Of Nepaul, pp. 41-42.
6. Appointment Of Zorawar Khawas As Ijaradar In Morang, Marga Sudi 6, 1851, Vol. 24, pp. 508-511.

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Land (Mal) and revenue from monopolies (Mahalat).

Market duties (Ganjagola).

Jalkar (Tax on fishing).

Bankar (Tax on forest produce).

Miscellaneous levies (Farrowat).

The following sources and revenues are excluded from this Ijara:-

Emoluments of Chaudharis, Kanugoyes and Mokaddams.

(Revenue on) Birta grants and Jagir assignments made until the year 1850 Vikrama.

Tax on visiting priests (Chandachiraki).

Fees (Salami) from heads of monasteries (Mahantyan).

Fines and fees collected from the winning party in cases referred to the royal palace.

Ivory.

Rhinoceros horn.

Escheat property of a value exceeding Rs 100.

Fines collected from persons guilty of the five principal crimes (Panchakhat).

Royal palace revenues (Raja-Anka).

"The Ijara shall remain valid from Baisakh Badi 1, 1851 (April 1794) to Chaitra Sudi 15, 1855 (April 1799). Inclusive of annual increments, make payment of a total amount of Rs 468,005 during this 5-year period."

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Total Payments In Rupees

<u>Year</u> (Vikrama)	<u>Previous</u> <u>Amount</u>	<u>Increment</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Balance</u>
1851	80,601	5,000	86,501	16,000	69,601
1852	85,601	5,000	90,601	16,000	74,601
1853	90,601	5,000	95,601	16,000	79,601
1854	95,601	2,000	97,601	16,000	81,601
1855	97,601	1,000	98,601	16,000	82,601
Total	-	-	468,905	80,000	388,005

Installments
(In Rs)

<u>Year</u> (Vikrama)	<u>Advance</u>	<u>Aswin-Kartik</u>	<u>Marga-Poush</u>	<u>Magh-Fatun</u>	<u>Chaitra-Baisakh</u>
1851	12,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	15,601
1852	13,000	15,000	15,000	16,000	15,601
1853	14,000	16,000	16,000	17,000	16,600
1854	15,000	16,500	16,500	17,000	16,601
1855	15,000	17,000	17,000	17,000	16,601

Particulars of expenses:-

Annual salaries of 2 military companies - Rs 15,000.

Expenses during Dashain and Fagu
festivals, repair of forts, etc. - Rs 1,000.

"With due assurance, collect land and other revenues in the territories under your jurisdiction, promote land reclamation, measure lands according to tax assessment rates fixed and other arrangements made in 1850 Vikrama

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(1793 A.D.), and transmit the collections in installments. Submit accounts at the end of every year and obtain clearance. Appropriate whatever amount you collect in excess of the stipulated figure. If you reduce allotments and increase tax assessment rates, you shall be punished. Comply with the prescribed arrangements and render the country populous."

The following regulations were then promulgated in the name of Subba Zorawar Khawas:-⁷

1. In case lands are granted as Birta or Jagir to any person after 1851 Vikrama (1794 A.D.); remission (in the stipulated amount) shall be granted on the basis of a statement signed by the Chaudhari, the Kanugoye and the beneficiary of the grant.
2. In case the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes and Mokaddams of the district (mofussil) do not act according to your instructions and are unable to make necessary supplies available, you may dismiss them. This shall be acceptable to us.
3. Submit a report in advance regarding the area that can be resettled in the borders, as well as the expenses which will be required for this purpose, and we shall send necessary orders. Incur expenditure in accordance with such orders.
4. Remission shall be granted for reasonable expenditure incurred in according to hospitality to visiting Englishmen and native Rajas.

7. Morang Administrative Regulations, Promulgated In The Name Of Subba Zorawar Khawas, Marga Sudi 6, 1851 (December 1794), Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 511-512.

Nepal, Sikkim And The East India Company, 1793

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Purnananda Upadhyaya.

Greetings. All is well here and we wish the same there. We have received your letter and noted its contents. The news here is good.

You have sent us letters informing us that the Limbu Kiratis intend to revolt on the advice of Chhetrajit of Gangtok and that a Lama has come there from Sikkim to build a Gumba. You have also written about plans to demobilize a company and defend the border areas. In addition, you have sent us 6 pieces of Tarandam cloth made in Dacca. We have received all the three letters sent by you.

A courier has also come with a communication (Khalita) from the Governor-General (Bada Saheb) and a letter from the Saheb of Rangpore. We have noted all the contents. Both letters contain the complaint that the revenue officers (Potadar) of Nijamatara has forcibly seized 62 bullocks, 6 cowherds and 6 iron utensils belonging to a Zamindar called Mahipal of the territory of Raja Darbadeo. We have established amicable relations of friendship with the English. It is not good to create disputes on minor matters. If it is true that the bullocks, cowherds and utensils were seized forcibly, release them as soon as you receive this order and inform the Saheb of Rangpore accordingly. If (these bullocks, etc.) have been seized in view of default in payment of arrears of revenue (Malguzari), we have sent replies accordingly to both letters, stating that the Zamindar will be permitted to take his bullocks back if he signs a bond to recover the arrears. (The replies add): "But if (the bullocks, etc.) have been seized (for nothing) forcibly, we have sent urgent orders and these will be released. They will not do so again. From your side also, issue urgent orders (for the recovery) of arrears due from Zamindars and ryots who have gone over there from our territory." Do not create disputes on minor matters on your part.

So far as the affair of the (military) companies is concerned, we had sent orders to the effect that two companies should be retained for the Tarai (Madhesh) and that the rest should be dismissed. We have not completed arrangements here to despatch two companies of paid (Jagire) troops. The company stationed at Karpok, Sikkim, must not be dismissed. Retain it there. Talks are underway with regard to the boundaries of Sikkim.

They have sent Kuchhappya, a disciple of Syamarpa, with a letter saying: "We have written to the villagers that the Mukhtiyar and Ambas stationed in Lhasa will not cross the Tista river and create trouble in Sikkim. Your

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company too should not create any trouble there." Jagya Gurung, whom you had sent along with an elephant, came here along with him. We shall send respectable persons to discuss the matter, along with gifts and presents. Accordingly, station the company of Karpok in Ilam. The Bhotes of Gangtok are not to be trusted. If they attack the company in Ilam itself, repulse them. If they do not attack the company, but come and entrench themselves in Sikkim, we should not attack them. Send a report to us describing how they came, and we shall send instructions. You shall then act accordingly. The Limbus too are not to be trusted. Collect information in that area also.

The Lama who has come there to build a Gumba should not be interrogated. Send two persons who know his language to ask him whether he has been sent by somebody to build the Gumba or has come of his own accord. They should put these questions in a natural way without exciting him. Report to us what he says.

So far as the question of the boundary is concerned, we had sent an order previously also.

Collect the following information and send a report to us:-

What were the boundaries between Sikkim and the Makwane (Kingdom) during the regime of the Hindupati (Kings) ?

What (tribute) did the Makwani (Kings) get from Sikkim ?

Did the Kings who ruled there at the time of our conquest take anything from Sikkim or not ? What were the boundaries of their Kingdom ?

After our conquest of Vijayapur, but before the conquest of Sikkim, what were our boundaries with Sikkim ?

We have sent the draft of a letter to be sent to Chhetrajit. Rewrite the letter in your own name and send it.

At an auspicious moment on Sunday, Shrawan 3, we sent Dinanath Upadhyaya to Calcutta. He will make efforts there to put an end to the depredations of the Indian ("Madhesh Tira Ko") rascals Gajyang and Mrigapati.

Be careful in collecting information about the north and the east. If there are reports that they are about to withdraw soon, report the matter to us and we shall depute a company of paid (Jagire) troops.

Ashadh Sudi 7, 1850,

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 251-256.

Gold Import From Tibet-I

1. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,¹

To Haridev Pandit and Jamadagni Upadhya.

Greetings. The news here is good. Gold worth Rs 1,000 has been kept with Sunu Sahebju and Maujanju. Get it from them and send it here soon.

Previously, the Bholes of Khasa and Bigu had quarrelled with Jagat collection officials and created disturbances. Later, when we besieged Naldum, all of them rose up and chased us for a long distance. They are thus traitors. They are our subjects. We shall suppress them. Such action may incite the Dhewas and traders of Kuti. This must be avoided. Disturbances may recur if (the activities of) such traders are tolerated.

Collect information there and send a reply soon.

If gold can be purchased there for money, we have accumulated some money here. Send a reply soon and we will send money. We can send you as much money as you want. What more to wise people ?

Wednesday, Bhadra Badi 12.

Notes

This letter was written by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Haridev Pandit and Jamadagni Upadhya. It is dated Wednesday, Bhadra Badi 12. Calculations show that the year was 1812 Vikrama. The contents of the letter too prove that it was written in that year.

After the conquest of Nuwakot, Prithvi Narayan Shah concentrated his attention for some years on Sankhu, Changu, Mahadevpokhari and Naldum. These territories formed part of the Kingdom of Kantipur. Kantipur had at that time been greatly weakened by internal conflict. As such, Jaya Prakash Malla had not been able to make proper arrangements for the security of these outlying territories. Prithvi Narayan Shah had won over Ranajit Malla, his ritual father, to his side by promising to provide benefits to Bhaktapur. Rajya Prakash was then King of Lalitpur. He had quarrelled with Jaya Prakash, his elder brother. Relations between Kantipur and Lalitpur were thus not amicable. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore obtained a favorable opportunity to strengthen himself politically and economically, as this letter shows.

1. Nayaraj Pant (et. al.), Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d., Part 3, pp. 953-956.

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The letter States that the Bhotas of the Khasa area were creating disturbances in the Naldum and neighboring areas. Haridev Pandit has been instructed in this letter to suppress them, but at the same time forestall trouble in Kuti.

Trade between Tibet and the three Kingdoms of Kathmandu Valley was at that time conducted mostly through Kuti and Kerung. After extending his control over areas situated on the route leading to Tibet, Prithvi Narayan desired to establish trade relations with that country. Like the Malla Kings, he tried to introduce his coins for circulation in Tibet. This letter shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah had sent Haridev Pandit and other officials to Kuti in this connection. But it does not appear that Prithvi Narayan Shah had been able to insure the circulation of his coins in Tibet on a large scale. That is why he has offered to remit money to Tibet for the purchase of gold.

2. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,²

To Hari Pandit.

Greetings. All is well here and we want the same there. This will make us feel very happy.

Report in detail on what has been finalized with the Tibetans. Finish the work soon. If the work is successful there, and you let us know how much money we should send, we shall send it. Before asking us for money, instruct your agent to inspect the gold personally and have it weighed. As soon as (you inform us) the quantity of the gold, we shall send you the necessary sum of money. What more to wise people.

Friday, Falgun Badi 7,
Nuwakot.

3. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,³

To Hari Pandit.

Greetings. All is well here and we want the same there. This will make us feel very happy. We have received your letter and noted the contents.

2. Ibid, pp. 966-967.

3. Ibid, pp. 967-968.

Cont'd...

You have sent a good report, but rather late. The work should be finished quickly. Do not make any further delay. Send us whatever information you can collect there.

You have reported: "I went to Kuti. The Tibetans were willing to supply gold at the rate of Rs 18, but not Rs 16. Refusing to accept the price of Rs 18, I left Kuti and came back to the Jagat collection office in Khasa. The Tibetan then asked me to stop and I stopped accordingly. I have told the Tibetans that I am ready to pay only Rs 16 without testing the gold by breaking or melting it. When I said that (the price of) Rs 18 was somewhat high, they said they would consult the Dhewa and have gone accordingly."

Finalize the transaction at Rs 16 even without testing the gold by crushing or melting it. What can happen (if this is done)? But do not take gold of inferior quality. Brass dust may have been mixed (with gold). Take delivery only after considering this possibility. If they do not accept the price of Rs 16, keep this in your mind for the time being, but offer one-fourth of a rupee in addition without testing the gold by crushing the gold or melting it. If they do not agree even to this price, offer Rs 17 without thus testing the gold. Do not offer more if only (a limited quantity of gold) is available. But if you can get 12,000 or 15,000 tolas of gold, offer even Rs 18 if the gold is crushed or melted and is found to correspond to the sample. But make this offer only if 12,000 or 15,000 of gold can be obtained. This is the highest offer. Do not reveal this in the beginning. But consult your friends and report to us without letting the gold go out of your sight (?). If the transaction is finalized there, purchase the gold and send it here. Inform us accurately how much money you need for what quantity of gold. Also report in detail on developments in Tibet.

So far as news here is concerned, we have despatched Subehka m (?) to the border.

Let the route remain closed. It should not be opened. Naraj Basnyat and Chandrabhan Pandit will acquaint you with the details. What they say will be true. We have heard that 40 or 50 muris of foodgrains have reached Tibet. Find out through which route the foodgrains were transported. What more to wise people?

Thursday, Falgun Sudi 6 (1813 Vikrama),
Nuwakot.
