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Palpa's Relations With Nepal And Oudh¹

By

Mahesh Raj Pant.

The Kingdom of Palpa also comprised territory in the Tarai. Palpa was therefore a wealthy Kingdom. For its Tarai territory, the Kings of Palpa used to make some payments to the Nawab of Oudh.²

Some of the Chaubise Kingdoms were strong. Palpa was one of them. In his capacity of Regent, Bahadur Shah planned to expand westward. However, Palpa was a major impediment in this task. Relations between Gorkha and Palpa were not cordial.³ Bahadur Shah therefore made efforts to develop friendly relations with Palpa. Accordingly, he married the daughter of King Mahadatta Sen of Palpa⁴ on Magh 10, 1842 Vikrama⁵, when he was 28 years of age.⁶

1. Mahesh Raj Pant, "Palpa Rajyako Nepal Adhirajya Ra Avadhsanga Sambandha." (Relations Of The Kingdom Of Palpa With The Kingdom Of Nepal And With Oudh). Purnima, Year 7, No. 1, Marga 2028 (November-December 1971), pp.1-8.
2. Naya Raj Pant, Devi Prasad Bhandari, Gautam Bajra Bajracharya and Dinesh Raj Pant, Shri 5 Prithvi Narayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), pp. 633-635; 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 (Translated in Regmi Research Series, Year 3, No. 7, July 1, 1971, pp. 158-174).
3. Dinesh Raj Pant, "Ashrit Rajya Upar Bahadur Shahle Liyeko Niti." (Bahadur Shah's Policy Towards Vassal States), Purnima, 6, Shrawan 2022 (July 1965), pp. 51-55.
4. Dilli Raman Regmi, Modern Nepal, pp. 109-110; Chittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah (King Rana Bahadur Shah), p. 7. (Translated in Regmi Research Series, Year 2, No. 12, December 1, 1970, pp. 286-297).
5. Bahadur Shah was born in Ashadh 1814 Vikrama. Naya Raj Pant, op. cit. p. 500.
6. "Mahadatta also entered into the strictest alliance with Bahadur Saha, younger son of Prithvi Narayan, and regent of Gorkha during the minority of Rana Bahadur. In order to cement the friendship, Mahadatta gave his daughter in marriage to the regent ..." Francis Buchanan Hamilton, An Account Of The Kingdom of Nepal And The Territories Annexed To This Dominion By The House Of Gorkha, p. 173.

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Bahadur Shah wanted to extend the frontiers of Nepal, which at that time was bounded by the Kali-Gandaki river. He sent an army to conquer territory in the west during a period of 6 months between Jyestha 10 and Marga 7, 1843 Vikrama.⁷ In this campaign of conquest, Nepal was assisted by King Mahadatta Sen of Palpa.⁸ Bahadur Shah therefore gave him the territories comprising the newly-conquered principalities of Gulmi, Argha and Khanchi.⁹

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7. Ramji Tiwari, "Vi. Sam. 1813 Ma Bhayeka Kehi Mukhya Ghatana." (Some Important Events of The Vikrama Year 1843). Purnima, 2, Shrawan 2021 (July 1964), pp. 61-68.
8. "These friends soon entered into a most iniquitous combination. The Gorkha family had hitherto entirely failed in all their attempts to extend their dominions to the west, and if Palpa had continued to assist the neighbouring Rajas, it is probable, that their resistance to Gorkha might have been continued with success, but the father and son-in-law agreed, that they should make a common cause, and divide the spoil. This scheme completely succeeded, and Damodar Pangre, a Khas by birth, but representative of one of the chief families in Gorkha, and a most gallant officer, was sent in command of the regent's forces." Hamilton, op. cit. p. 173.
9. Shakti Ballabh Arjyal, Jayaramakarnatak. (Edited and translated by Dhanabajra Bajracharya and Jnyan Mani Nepal), pp. 142 and 234, Also: "After the conquest, Damodar took for his master the lion's share, but allowed Mahadatta to retain as master Gulmi, Argha, and Kahi, three of the states that had been long in alliance with his family, and which he was bound to protect, not only by the duty of alliance, but of kindred, for the Raja of Argha was his uncle." Hamilton, op. cit. p. 173. See also: East India Company, Papers Respecting The Nepal War, London). L. Cok, 1824. On page 19, this book contains an English translation of a letter written by Kaji Amar Simha Thapa (Senior) to Governor-General Hastings of the East India Company. "The entire world knows that the Rajas of Palpa, Pyuthan, Argha, Khanchi and Gulmi were independent in their territories and that they were subjugated by the Gorkha government by the grace of God. Because he accepted a vassal status, the Raja of

Mahadatta Sen's relations with Nepal could not remain cordial¹⁰ after Bahadur Shah's death on Ashadh 14, 1854 Vikrama.¹¹

Mahadatta Sen was succeeded by his son, Prithvi Pal Sen.¹² After this, Rana Bahadur Shah occupied the hill areas of Gulmi which had been incorporated into Prithvi Pal Sen's Kingdom, and restored them to Siddhi Pratap, the heir to Gulmi's throne.¹³

Rana Bahadur Shah decided to renounce the world after abdicating in favor of the 18 months old Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah,¹⁴ who was born to him from Kantimati, his favorite queen. He then summoned King Prithvi Pal Sen of Palpa to apply the Rajyatilak on the forehead of Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah on the occasion of the latter's coronation.¹⁵ On Falgun 28, 1855 Vikrama, King Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah was crowned King of Nepal.¹⁶

10. Dinesh Raj Pant, "Daivajnyashiromani Laxmipati Pande." (The Astrologer Laxmipati Pande), Purnima, 10, Shrawan 2023 (July 1966), pp. 46-53.

11. "Mahadatta was very soon forced to eat the fruit of his villainy. Damodar advanced the conquests of his nation to the west, and, having subdued Kumaun, all resistance to his force on the hills was in vain, and Mahadatta was soon deprived of all the hope of protection, that he might have had from the power of his son-in-law the regent, the young Raja of Gorkha having put his uncle to death. The friendship of the Nawab Vazir, however, saved Mahadatta, nor was any encroachment made on Palpa, so long as he lived." Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

12. Mahesh Raj Pant, op. cit. pp. 273-274.

13. "Prithvi Pal succeeded his father, when very young, and was endowed with great personal vigour, nor was he, I believe, at all scrupulous about means; but he seems to have been rash and credulous, which rendered him totally unable to resist the wiles of the people of Gorkha, who were afraid to use open violence, on account of his connexion with the Nawab Vazir. They did not therefore molest his ancient dominions, nor any of the territory that he had acquired on the plains, all of which was tributary to the Nawab; but, immediately after his accession, Rana Bahadur, King of Gorkha and Nepal, compelled the Raja of Palpa to restore the mountains of Gulmi to Siddhi Pratap, the legal heir of that country, whose sister Rana Bahadur had married." Hamilton, op. cit. p. 174.

14. Dinesh Raj Pant, "Daivajnya Shiromani Laxmipati Pande." op. cit. pp. 49-50; "Bagmati Pillar Inscription", published in Dhanabajra Bajracharya, Triratnasaundaryagatha, pp. 293 and 296-297.

15. Mahesh Raj Pant, op. cit. p. 285.

Just at this time, the deposed Nawab Wazir Ali of Oudh was mobilizing his troops on the borders of Palpa after assassinating the English representative at Varanasi. The Bhardars of Palpa wanted to provide some assistance to him. However, they received strict orders from Kathmandu not to do so. As a result, Wazir Ali failed to get any support from Palpa. He had sent a request also to the government of Nepal seeking assistance. Instead of providing him with assistance in any form, the Nepal government took sides with the company government. It even despatched its troops to expel Wazir Ali from the borders of Palpa. Wazir Ali was eventually forced out of that area.¹⁷

Even after the end of the coronation ceremony, Prithvi Pal Sen stayed on in Kathmandu until 1856 Vikrama.¹⁸

Queen Kantimati died in 1856 Vikrama. Rana Bahadur Shah was so grief-stricken over her death that he became insane and went so far as to set fire to the houses of some of the physicians who had treated Queen Kantimati, and have their hands crushed through an oil crusher. He even ordered the beheading of some of these physicians. Rana Bahadur Shah insulted all those dieties who had been worshipped for the recovery of Kantimati.¹⁹

These acts on the part of Rana Bahadur Shah caused considerable excitement and concern among the Bhardars and people of Nepal. The Bhardars thought that it would be impossible to carry on the administration of the country if the Swami Maharaj (i.e. Rana Bahadur Shah) remained in their midst. Accordingly, they took King Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah to Nuwakot. They also shifted the capital to Nuwakot. This further infuriated Rana Bahadur Shah. His anger grew further when Balabhadra Shah informed him that the Bhardars were conspiring to arrest him. The Swami Maharaj then thought of attacking Nuwakot with the help of the Bhardars who were loyal to him. He declared that he had resumed his royal duties. He ordered forts to be built at Pulchok

17. Ibid, pp. 268-288.

18. Ibid, p. 285.

19. Triratnasaundaryagatha, op. cit. pp. 154-162, 189-190.

and Paknaji. He ordered troops deployed at different places to join his forces.²⁰ However, the Bhardars staying in Nuwakot made efforts to insure that the troops did not revolt and that the attack on Nuwakot did not take place. They also summoned troops scattered at different places. Having become aware of the adequate defensive preparations by the Bhardars, Rana Bahadur Shah felt convinced that they were in a stronger position than his side. He, therefore, left for Varanasi on Jestha 8, 1857 Vikrama.

Anticipating an attack on Nuwakot by Rana Bahadur Shah, the Bhardars staying in Nuwakot summoned the Chautariyas, Kajis and Sardars of Palpa. As they were on their way to Nuwakot, the threat of attack by Rana Bahadur Shah vanished as he left for Varanasi. The officials from Palpa were therefore directed to go back to Palpa. The Bhardars (of Nepal) were naturally worried over the possibility of King Prithvi Pal Sen of Palpa taking sides with Rana Bahadur Shah. They felt that their position might become difficult if Prithvi Pal Sen joined hands with Rana Bahadur Shah. They, therefore, sent a message to Prithvi Pal Sen on behalf of King Girvan Yuddha Vikram Shah on Jestha 9, 1857 Vikrama, telling him that the old treaty concluded with him had been confirmed and asking him to come to Nuwakot.²¹

20. Samshodhan Mandal, Savadhan-Patra (A Note of Warning). No. 13, pp.8-10; Dhanabajra Bajracharya and Jnyan Mani Nepal (eds.), Aitihāsik-Patra Sangraha (A Collection of Historical Letters), Part I, pp. 97-100; Triratnasaundaryagatha, op. cit. pp. 162-163, 286-290; Chittaranjan Nepali, Shri 5 Rana Bahadur Shah, pp. 43-55, (Translated in Regmi Research Series, Year 3 No. 3, March 1, 1971, pp. 68-75) and pp. 133-134; Mahesh C. Regmi (ed.), Regmi Research Series, Year 3, No. 4, April 1, 1971, pp. 76-80; Shankar Man Rajvamsi, "Vi. Sam. 1857 Ko Euta Aitihāsik Kagat." (An Historical Document Of The Vikrama Year 1857), Purnima, 19, Kartik-Poush 2025 (October-December 1968), pp.198-202, 205-207; Dinesh Raj Pant, Daivajnyashiromani Laxmipati Pande, op. cit. pp. 50-51.

21. From King Girvan 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 report to us. Jestha Badi 11, 1857." Regmi Research Series, Year 3, No. 4, April 1, 1971, p.80.

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Rana Bahadur Shah, who was then staying at Varanasi, thought that it would be easy for him to return to Nepal if he could win over Prithvi Pal Sen to his side. He therefore continued sending letters to Prithvi Pal Sen. However, Prithvi Pal Sen did not heed his suggestion and took sides with Damodar Pande. On the other hand, Prithvi Pal Sen's uncle,²² Chautara Surbir Sen, and Kaji Ranamardan Sen of Palpa, were inclined towards supporting Rana Bahadur Shah. They too sent a message to Rana Bahadur Shah. In reply to their message, Rana Bahadur Shah stated that he would make special arrangements for them in case they helped him by creating a rift between Prithvi Pal Sen and Damodar Pande. This letter was dated Marga 19, 1857 Vikrama. Ranga Nath Paudel too wrote a letter to them asking them to stand actively by Rana Bahadur Shah. This letter had been carried to Palpa by a Brahman named Padmapani Pandit.²³

(Contd)

Also: 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 Series, Year 3, No. 4, April 1, 1971, p. 79.

22. Shankar Man Rajvamshi (ed.), Sen Vamshavali, pp. 28-29.

23. Records of the Kausi Toshakhana Office: From Shri Shri Shri Mahanirvananda Swami (with titles) to Chautara Surbir Sen and Kaji Ranamardan Sen (with titles). Greetings. We wish both of you well. We have received your letter and noted the contents. Previously too, our mother had issued you a royal order granting you honors and favors. Today, you should extricate your King from the conspiracy of bad elements and help me to strengthen my position. In case I am able to do so, we shall bestow greater honors and favors on you. Rest assured in this respect. You will get more detailed information from the letter of Shri Shri Shri Pandit as well as personally from Padmapani Pandit. What more (to wise people?). Camp: Banaras. Monday, Marga Sudi 15 (corresponding to Marga 19, 1857) Vikrama."

The Muslim Invasion of Nepal¹

By

Baburam Acharya.

(In an introductory note, Naya Raj Pant writes: "Before giving me a copy of this article, Baburam Acharya made the following revelations: "I had first given this article for publication in the Sharada. However, the magazine refused to publish it without the permission of the Nepali Language Publications Board (Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti). The article was therefore forwarded to the Board, which stated that it could not give clearance without consulting Mrigendra Shamsher, its Director-General. Mrigendra Shamsher replied that he had no knowledge of history and so I should approach his uncle, General Kaiser Shamsher of the southern command. I then met General Kaiser Shamsher. He told me that he had no time to read the article. However, he asked me to leave the article with him so that he could read it later. Some months later, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal came to Nepal. He published the text of the stone inscription located at Swayambhu, which referred to the Muslim invasion of Nepal, in the Journal Of The Bihar And Orissa Research Society. Kaiser Shamsher later asked me why I had given the article to Kashi Prasad Jayaswal. I denied having done so. I also stated, "There were some persons who had watched me reproducing the stone inscription at Swayambhu. They included Tilak Shamsher Thapa and the Gubhaju of Ghantaghar. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal might have learnt of the Muslim invasion of Nepal from these people. Moreover, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, in his article, has made no reference to the Gopalraj Vamshavali, which I have used as one of my sources." At this, Kaiser Shamsher thundered, "What do you think of me. Don't you realize I can sack you?" I retorted, "So many people have migrated to Darjeeling only because you wield such powers." After his visit to Nepal, Rahul had published an article praising both Kaiser Shamsher and the Mahila Guruju (Hem Raj Pande). On the other hand, Jayaswal praised the Mahila Guruju alone. Kaiser Shamsher was away from Kathmandu during Jayaswal's visit. Kaiser Shamsher had taken offense at Jayaswal's failure to praise him along with the Mahila Guruju. He therefore poured his wrath on me. You

1. Baburam Acharya, "Nepalma Bhayeko Musalmani Akraman" (The Muslim Invasion of Nepal). Purnima, 27, Aswin 2029 (October 1972), pp. 154-161.

Contd...

may make a copy of this article if you so wish. If I lose it, a copy will remain with you." With these words, Baburam Acharya handed over this article to me as well as the text of the stone inscription at Swayambhu. I gave the text of the stone inscription to Bhola Nath, Dhana-bajra and Jnyanmani, who first published it in the Sanskrit Sandesh in 2010 Vikram (1953)."

Unless one reads this article, one will find it hard to believe that Muslims had ever invaded the capital of Nepal. This is natural, because none of the 8 or 10 books that have so far been written about the history of Nepal refers to this invasion. Muslims had, in fact, invaded Nepal early in the 15th century according to the Vikrama era. The invasion was a very fierce one. No historian has so far come to know of this invasion, because he has not closely scrutinized ancient documents. Prof. Cecil Bendall of University College of London, who has made commendable efforts to shed light on the political history of the Newar Kingdoms of Nepal, has written an essay entitled "Historical Introduction" on the basis of the catalog of the Nepal Durbar Library. In preparing this essay, he used four Vamshavalis of Nepal and took photo-copies of some of their folios. I am sure that all these Vamshavalis contain a reference to the Muslim invasion of Nepal. The invasion is also mentioned in the photo-copies obtained by him. Even then, he fails to discuss the invasion in his essay. This leads one to conclude, though reluctantly, that he was ignorant of the meaning of the sentences describing the invasion. Another document referring to the Muslim invasion of Nepal is the stone inscription dated Ashwin Sudi 15, 492 Nepal Era installed at Simbhu in memory of the building of a Chaitya by Rajaharsha. It is these two documents which shed light on the Muslim invasion of Nepal.

The meaning of the sentences contained in the fourth and fifth lines of the document No. 28 (Plate No. 8) cited by Bendall is as follows: "In the meantime, Sultan Shamsuddin came to Nepal from the east and broke the image of Pashupati into three pieces. The whole of Nepal was ravaged. Panic spread among the entire people. On Marga Sudi 9, 470 Nepal era, a terrible suffering overtook Bhaktapur." This event had taken place on September 19, 1349 A.D.

The meaning of the stone inscription located at Simbhu, which is in the Sanskrit language, is as follows: "King Rajadeva, who was the custodian of two religions (Buddhism and Pauranic), was famous in Nepal. There was a sacred Stupa with the residences of holy men (Muni), on the abode of the Siddhas, situated at the top of Simbhu. It was during his reign that on Thursday, Marga Sudi 10, 470 Nepal era, Sultan Shamsuddin arrived in Nepal with many troops from Bengal, and demolished and burnt everything. Some time later, that wise King died. Thus the stupa burnt by the Yavana (Muslims) remained in the same condition."

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As this stone inscription confirms that this invasion had been launched by the Muslims of Bengal, it is necessary to make a reference to the contemporary political history of Bengal. Bengal had passed from the hands of Laxman Sen, a Hindu King, into the control of the Muslim emperor of Delhi around 1261 Vikrama era. In 1394 Vikrama (737-38 Hijri), Governor Kadar Khan of Bengal was assassinated by Fakhruddin, his armor bearer. Fakhruddin had committed this act taking advantage of the loosening control of Emperor Muhammad Tughlak of Delhi, who ruled from 1382 to 1408. He then took over the control of the State and proclaimed himself emperor of Bengal. He minted coins in his name.² In 1397 Vikrama, Alauddin killed Fakhruddin and himself became the emperor. The following year, he was assassinated by Haji Elias, who then became Sultan and assumed the title of Shamsuddin. His rule lasted 15 years.³ Emperor Feroz Jughlaq (1408-45) who succeeded Muhammad Tughlaq, invaded Bengal in 1410 Vikrama. But having failed to subdue Shamsuddin, he was forced to conclude a treaty.⁴ This seems to show that Shamsuddin Elias Shah had invaded Nepal before the invasion from Delhi, or while Muhammad Tughlaq was still alive. There is no doubt that Sultan Shamsuddin of Bengal is the person referred to in the Vamshavali of Nepal and in the stone inscription of Simbhu.

It would be proper in this context to discuss the situation that prevailed in the contemporary Newar Kingdom of Nepal. A long time had already elapsed since the decline of this Kingdom had begun. After the death of Ananda Deva (circa 1359-77) the reins of administration slipped out of the hands of his dynasty. Rudra Malla, who was related to him, enthroned Arideva, his brother, and himself became Regent (Uparaj). He died in 1383 Vikrama. His wife, Devaladevi, then assumed the reins of administration. Thus Arideva had to spend his whole life as a nominal King. Six months before Rudra Malla's death, Ghiasuddin Tughlaq, Emperor of Delhi, devastated Simraungadh and occupied Tirhut (Mithila). Harisimhadeva, King of Simraungadh fled to Nepal.⁵ This state, situated between Nepal and Bihar, had been founded by Nanyadeva in 1154 Vikrama. Harisimhadeva probably died after arriving in Nepal. His descendents were coveting Nepal. In the meantime, Nayaka Devi, the sole heir of Rudra Malla and Devala Devi, had been married to Harishchandra. The affairs of the State passed into the hands of

2. Ishwari Prasad: Medieval India. Allahabad, 1928, p. 245.

3. Devi Prasad: Yavan Rajvamshavali. Allahabad, 1910, p. 30.

4. Ishwari Prasad: Medieval India, p. 249.

5. Ishwari Prasad: Medieval India, p. 226.

Nayaka Devi after the death of Devala Devi. Harishchandra Deva was either poisoned to death or assassinated in 1403 Vikrama. Nayaka Devi was pregnant at that time. Gopal, Harishchandra's brother, came to Nepal with a large number of his followers to protect or take custody of his sister-in-law. However, Jagat Simha, a prince belonging to Harisimha Deva's dynasty, drove Gopal off and beheaded him, captured Nayaka Devi and took over the reins of administration. However, Jagat Simha was imprisoned within a few months. Nayaka Devi too died soon, leaving a 10 days old daughter behind. The intranquil atmosphere that followed Jagat Simha's takeover of the administration thus came to an end. However, 7 months later, in 1404 Vikrama, Arideva died without any heir. This led to a struggle for succession. Finally, on the advice of all, Rajadeva, son of Ananda Deva, was enthroned. However, power was shared by Devala Devi and Rajadeva.

18 months later, in 1405 Vikrama, Pashupati Malla who was possibly heir to Devala Devi, was imprisoned. Devala Devi decided to give the title of regent (Uparaj) to Rajala Devi, her grand-daughter. She therefore married Rajala Devi to Sthiti Malla in Ashwin 1411 Vikrama, although Rajala Devi had hardly attained the age of 7 years. The Muslim invasion of Nepal took place about 3 years and 9 months before this marriage, and exactly one year after Pashupati Malla was imprisoned. Bhaktapur was then the capital. Devala Devi lived there together with her ministers. Rajadeva probably lived in Lalitpur at that time.

The Vamshavali suggests that the invasion had been launched from the east. According to the Vamshavali, Bhaktapur was devastated on the first day of the invasion, i.e. on Marga 21. According to the stone inscription, the Swayambhu Chaitya was burnt on Marga 22. This indicates that Shamshuddin had arrived with his Muslim troops from the eastern side. The Makwanpur area was not populous at that time. There was no main route leading from the capital of Nepal to Bihar through that area as at present. There were only two routes from Bihar to the capital of Nepal at that time. One led to Bhaktapur through Sindhuli, running along the banks of the Kamala river. The other led to Lalitpur via Hariharpur along the banks of the Bagmati river. However, as there existed dense forests along the route from Hariharpur to Lalitpur, even travellers from western Bihar used to visit the capital of Nepal through Sindhuli. They reached Sindhuli via Hariharpur. In 1824 Samvat, Major Kinloch too proceeded from Hariharpur to Sindhuli in his attempt to reach the capital of Nepal as commander of the troops of the British East India Company. The route from Bengal to Nepal through Sindhuli was a direct one. Hence, it is definite that the Muslim troops marched to Nepal through this route.

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Shamshuddin was the founder of a State as well as a warrior. He made Bengal fully independent. This independence lasted till 1632 Vikrama, by which time 4 or 5 descendants of Shamshuddin had ruled it. Shamshuddin probably intended to annex Nepal. The Muslim troops had accompanied him to Nepal purely with the aim of plunder. Until 86 years before this invasion, there were only Buddhists and Hindus in Bengal, and there was no trace of Islam there. Buddhists from Bengal used to visit Swayambhu while adherents of the Pauranic (Hindu) religion worshipped Pashupatinath. Thousands of Hindus from Bengal used to visit the Pashupatinath temple on the occasion of the Shivaratri festival. It was the custom to gild Chaityas, temples, water-taps, etc in Nepal. Foreign travellers regarded the gilded portions of these structures as really made of gold. The Bengalis and Biharis believed that Nepal was a prosperous country. As a result of the Muslim conquest of Bengal, Bengali Hindus had started converting themselves to Islam. During the rule of Fakhruddin, systematic arrangements were made to convert Hindus to Islam. Scores of monasteries had been set up for this purpose. The Fakirs living at these monasteries employed clever tactics to convert Hindus to Islam. However, the number of orthodox Hindus who were converted in this manner was very small, because Hinduism had kept its spirit alive. Only the adherents of Buddhism, which had already lost its essence, had been converted to Islam. In fact, nearly all of them had become Muslims. Shamshuddin too originally used to propagate Islam. That is why those Buddhists who had been newly converted to Islam had gone to loot Nepal. Many of them had previously seen the Swayambhu and the temple of Pashupatinath when they were Buddhists. They were therefore familiar with the routes leading to those places. The same converts now invaded Nepal to plunder the gold-plates adorning the Chaityas and temples of Nepal. The number of these invaders was probably not less than 20,000 for so many people were required to destroy Bhaktapur and Swayambhu, situated at a distance 4 Koshas, within 2 days.

According to the stone inscription, the Muslim troops first demolished the Chaitya and then burnt it completely. 22 or 23 years after this invasion, Rajaharsha reconstructed it from the very foundations on the order of King Arjuna Deva and Regent Sthiti Malla. The Vamshavali tells us that the temple of Pashupatinath had been destroyed. In India, there is not seen a single temple like that of Pashupatinath, built in the pagoda style. It is therefore possible that the temple resembled the chariot of Matsyendranath or the temple of Jagannath at Puri in Orissa at the time it was demolished. The custom of building the chariot of Matsyendranath every year had been continuing since 400 years before the Muslim invasion. It is therefore natural that the temple of Pashupatinath should have resembled the chariot of Matsyendranath at that time. Temples not built in the pagoda style as seen today are found only in China. Hence it is apparent

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that the temple of Pashupatinath was reconstructed on the Chinese model after its demolition by the Muslim invaders.⁶

If the destructive Muslim hordes could reduce the main Chaityas and temple of Nepal to such a pitiable condition, they would not have spared the stupas, Chaityas, buildings, water-spouts, etc in other towns and villages as well. The Muslim invaders, in fact, considered it to be their prime duty to plunder, pillage and demolish every thing. The Vamshavali tells us how the towns and villages of Nepal had been burnt and destroyed. It also describes the terrible slaughter organized in Bhaktapur. There is, however, no means to ascertain the exact number of men and women slaughtered in this massacre. How the Newars of Nepal reacted when the Muslim army invaded their land is still a matter of conjecture. They had abandoned their villages and towns and moved to the forests when King Jayatari Malla invaded their country 60 years before the Muslim invasion.⁷ Both the King and the people must have fled to the forests, having found

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6. 37 years after this invasion, that is, in 1444 Vikrama, a representative of the Chinese emperor came to King Madana Simha of Nepal. In 1481 Vikrama, another Chinese envoy arrived in Nepal and conferred a title on Madana Simha's son, Shakti Simha (Sylvan Levi: Le Nepal, Vol.2, pp. 228-30) I am, however, of the opinion that Madana Simha and Shakti Simha were Kings of Dolakha. In any case, the Nepalis then used to pay visits to China, or at least to Tibet, as frequently as they did 100 years ago. In 1479 Vikrama, King Jyoti Malla of Bhaktapur offered a golden jar (Subarna Kalasha) to the temple of Pashupatinath. This is proved by the stone inscription of Jyoti Malla (Bhagwan Das, Inscription No. 16), which refers to the establishment of a Chaitya by Jyoti Malla at Swayambhu. This possibly indicates that he had built a new Chaitya 40 years after the reconstruction by Rajaharsha. By that time, the temple of Pashupatinath had been completed. This means that the temple of Pashupatinath as we see it now had been built after the first Chinese envoy's visit to Nepal either during the last years or after the death of Sthiti Malla, possibly between 1450 and 1460 Vikrama.
7. There is no doubt that the Jayatari Malla mentioned in the old Vamshavalis of Nepal was the King of Jumla. In Plate No. 7 given in the Vamshavali compiled by Bendall, the following account of Jayatari Malla's invasion is given. "Jayatari, King of the Khasiyas, first came in Pausa 408 Samvat. At Simbhu, 800 Khasiyas killed (or were killed ?) , as a result of which both the King and his subjects fled to the forests. The Khasiyas then fled and the people came back to their homes." One sentence, meaning "the Khasiyas could not get food-grains", contained in the Vamshavali in my possession, is missing in the above account. If thus appears that the Newars had driven out the forces of Jayatari Malla by blocking all exit and entry points for the supply of foodgrains. Bendall's account creates the impression that the people who fled to the forests were Khasiyas. The word "Rashtra" referred to in the Vamshavali can be defined to include the King and the people.

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it unsafe to stay on in their homes during the Muslim invasion, as they did during the previous attack on Bhaktapur. The enemy must have burnt and destroyed houses and Chaityas after finding them empty.

The stone inscription at Swayambhu states that Rajaharsha, together with his brothers, defeated his enemy. But it does not refer clearly to the Muslim invaders. The question then arises as to who really were the enemies Rajaharsha defeated. That Rajaharsha was only one of the defenders of Kantipur is obvious from the fact that as stated above, he had reconstructed the Chaitya on the order of the King and the Regent (Uparaja). Nobody else but the Muslims could have been the enemy who had destroyed this Chaitya. There were probably scores of defenders besides Rajaharsha. This indicates that the inhabitants of Kathmandu had offered resistance to the Muslim invaders. It might have been difficult for them to have a hand-to-hand fighting against the invaders, because they were far outnumbered by the enemy. It is also probable that the Muslim invaders found it difficult to endure the cold climate of Nepal, being used as they were to the hot climate of Bengal. It could therefore be assumed that the cold climate must have forced Shamsuddin to retreat along with his army. But not only the cold climate but also the resistance offered by the Nepalis had driven them out. If this had not been the case, the Muslims would have come again to occupy Nepal the following year when the weather was favorable. There also does not exist any evidence leading us to assume that King Rajadeva or Devala Devi of Nepal had concluded any treaty with Shamsuddin. If a treaty had been concluded, at least a few Muslims would have been allowed to live in Nepal and construct mosques here. There is no trace of any mosque or Muslim settlement having existed during that period. The mosque that one sees in Kantipur today was built by a Fakir from Kashmir nearly 175 years after the Muslim invasion.

The effect of the Muslim invasion did not last more than a century. It was a terrible storm which wrought great havoc. It was natural that it should have been followed by a lull. The houses, Chaityas and temples which had been burnt or destroyed were reconstructed one after another. The process of reconstruction must have been completed by the beginning of Sthiti Malla's rule (1418-52), which took Nepal to the height of progress. In the course of building new towns and villages, the practice of constructing verandahs was started. The practice originated in China. The term Kausi was derived from the Chinese language. It may therefore be assumed that the practice of constructing verandahs (Kausi) began along with that of constructing temples according to the pagoda style.

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Those who came out of the forests and returned to their homes could only be the King and the people. The Khasiyas were soldiers, not a nation in themselves. There is no reason why the Khasiyas should return from the forests.

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The rule of Jyoti Malla (1463-85), son of Sthiti Malla, was also an epoch of progress. It was probably Jyoti Malla who had completed the rebuilding of the temple of Pashupatinath after offering a Kalasha to it, as well as the Chaitya at Swayambhu. Thus the rebuilding of whatever temples, Chaityas and other monuments there remained to be rebuilt might have been fully completed during his rule. The old State of Nepal attained the peak of expansion during the period of King Yaksha Malla (1485-1537), son of Jyoti Malla. The northern frontiers of the State extended to Sikarjung, which is far beyond the existing borders of Nepal. Its eastern and western frontiers reached only upto the Tamor and the Bheri respectively. In the Tarai, the frontiers stretched up to the Ganges, probably up to Monghyr. The trade conducted by Bihar and Bengal with Tibet was under the control of the Nepalis. This was why the capital and other adjoining towns were prosperous during that period, and why no trace of the Muslim invasion could remain long. By this time, 5 generations of those who had directly felt the impact of the Muslim invasion had passed, so that the Nepalis forgot the devastating invasion. This is why even historians are not aware of this episode.

An Appeal For The Abolition Of Slavery^x

(Continued)

While owners will admit that liberation of slaves will not dislocate work in general, they say that for certain special work they will suffer; in fact according to them such work, essential in domestic life, will altogether cease for want of proper labour. At present they say that slaves do such work as the carrying of the "kalas" in marriage or the "dolies" in transport and that when liberated the slaves will object to do such work which will remind them of their previous status. This was just the sort of argu-

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ment used by slave-owners of other countries which, however, did not materialise when abolition came. In the abstract it looks plausible enough, but in practical life the force of it is much reduced. The liberated slaves must live upon work and when that is made remunerative they are not likely to pick and choose. In fact those who have to live by labour will not refuse work when they can earn their living by it. The stress of the times has introduced violent changes in the once rigorously compartmented "Vritties" of the different "Varnas" and castes. That stress is a result of social economy, and change of occupation has now become so common as to have ceased practically to draw the attention which it did in the past. In many parts of India, the Brahmins regularly carry on the cultivation of their lands with their own hands. Many of you have been to Badrinath in course of your pilgrimages and must have noticed the higher castes of Kumaon and Gharwal, both hill men akin to ours, with sacred thread, engaged in the work of porters and "dolie" bearers. The Dharma Sastras say that in "apatkal" such things are not blameworthy. This Kali Yuga may be taken as a continuous "apatkal". Consider all honest work as dignified and you will not lose in self-esteem, neither become degenerate in

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morals. No one should be in trouble because of the occupation he follows for his living, and lest the caste people become perverse enough to create such trouble, laws have been framed to guard against such communal abuse. It is provided that no one should stand in the way of another's earning his living by honest labour, that any one may engage in any decent or proper work without incurring obloquy. These should be found adequate

^xMaharaja Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Appeal To The People Of Nepal For The Emancipation Of Slaves And Abolition Of Slavery In The Country, Kathmandu: Suba Rama Mani A.D., 1925 (English version).

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to prevent the trouble likely to be engineered by obstructionists. There is a dearth of the Jyapu or the Kasai class of persons in the hills, but there are other classes, such as Baramu Bhotays in some places and Pareghartis in others. To gauge the strength of this argument of dislocation in work census figures have been summarised for certain districts. These show that in nearly every place there are considerable numbers of freemen open to engagement.

Slavery of the same kind as ours was at one time prevalent in India and in the Malay Peninsula in such places as Perak and elsewhere. But neither History nor tradition shows that any trouble or difficulty followed the abolition. The slavery in the hills adjoining our western and eastern frontiers was practically identical with ours. Since the abolition they have got on quite well. Neither

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therefore from consideration of conditions in countries closely analogous to our own nor from a common-sense view does it appear that the abolition of slavery is likely to lead to the confusion and trouble as anticipated or apprehended by the present owners. If it had been a good institution it would have survived all attempts to get rid of it. When many countries have abolished it, it would be foolish to maintain that those who did so were less wise than we are. It would be idle to be apprehensive that we may fail where nearly the whole world has been successful. That would be owning some inferiority in us and this imputation, if made by any outsider, you would be the first to resent. In face of the judgment of the wide world, even of a country like Abyssinia, which you have read was the abode of aborigines and which has very lately abolished the legal status of slaves, how could we maintain that we are in the right in upholding the institution in our midst? Does not your conscience every moment accuse you of perpetuating a wrong to a class of your fellow beings?

Let us study a little attentively the group of men who are owners. Broadly they may be classified thus. First, we have those who have received slaves as patrimony and who have maintained them, in some cases at a loss,

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for prestige, to uphold the honour of the household. They detest the money that can be got by sale of human beings, their fellow creatures, in appearance, feelings and sensibilities like themselves and only thrown into a position of perpetual servitude by an evil destiny. Such owners

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have taken care of their slaves as their children, have married them, given them assistance to rear their young children and support their old parents. It would not take long for these masters to be convinced that the institution is fundamentally bad, and they would be the first to volunteer in this good cause to liberate their slaves. The slaves are attached to them and they have, therefore, nothing to fear on their liberation. In some cases the slaves are so only in name even now,-- then why should they not be freemen? The government have the greatest hope that such will come forward in their numbers to offer the example and the lead needed in such a movement. The Government count upon them most and expect not to be disappointed. Then come those who maintain slaves purely for their labour. Such owners have apprehensions as to their future if slaves are freed. The masters live perhaps isolated and depend entirely on their slaves to carry on their household and farm work. An attempt has already been made to

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show that their position would improve under a free labour system, that their fear of a dearth of labour did not appear to be well founded and was against ordinary economic laws. They have the sympathy of the Government to the fullest extent and Government are prepared to consider any reasonable suggestion they may make to prevent dislocation of business and at the same time to ameliorate the condition of the slaves. May we not expect that such owners also will come forward to help the Government in abolishing the institution? Their voice would be the deciding factor, and will they be so hard hearted as to vote against the slaves? Let us hope not. We come to the last group: those who maintain slaves to carry on their nefarious trade in human beings; who do not scruple to separate the husband from the wife the mother from the child; who do not scruple to resort to base methods to circumvent the law; who hope to become rich by a trade upon which rests the curse of Heaven, a trade which is overloaded with the leaden tears of parents and children. This aspect of it is the most reprehensible, the most revolting of all. It is so repugnant to the civilized world that they feel disinclined to have friendly intercourse with nations who retain the institution: they oppose recognition of such.

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nations as civilised till an end is put to it. Apart from questions of morality, leaving aside the growing number of desertions amongst slaves to the detriment of the best interest of the country and the Government, this consideration alone is enough to compel any progressive Government

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to take immediate action to maintain its position in the estimation of other nations in this age of civilisation. It is to be fervently hoped that the Government will have the support of all loyal subjects and all citizens who take pride in the good name of this country.

The Government for a long time past have realised, as every right thinking man will do, that the institution is fraught with evils. As far back as in 1896 S.E. they promulgated a Lal Mohar in which all the four "Varnas" and thirty-six castes were emphatically prohibited from recruiting or giving any free man, woman or child into slavery. This was no doubt intended to dry up the very source of the system. This has passed into a law and has been re-enacted under every successive Government since then. Subsequent legislation was also directed towards ameliorating condition of the slaves, and anything which would be a crime if committed against freeman was declared to be so when committed against a slave. Some enactments such as the

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exemption of slaves from being captured and restored to their owners during their sojourn in some parts of the country such as Naya Muluk, Morang etc., were made ostensibly with the object of colonising such places.

Some enactments of a different nature dealing with sojourn in foreign countries as also some aiming at a restriction on the purchase and sale and bestowing a property qualification on the slave and so on, have already been referred to. But the effect of the laws is not much in evidence and the reason for that is not difficult to guess. Till recently the law codes remained confined within the four walls of a court and knowledge of their contents was the monopoly of the few. Now all that has changed and with the progress of education, with the law codes placed within reach of all, it would not take long for even the slaves to pick up a knowledge of their rights. You are aware that if the slaves take advantage of some of the clauses, they can practically become freemen. Morang and Naya Muluk are no longer the unhealthy regions they were considered to be some years ago; India is easy of approach from nearly every point of the country owing to the extensive Railways marching with the southern frontier. With the multiplication of educational institutions, which are daily

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increasing, dissemination of general information has become more common, too. The inevitable effect of all these would be that the slaves, if not

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made free, would find a way to become so. It is merely a question of time. Then why not anticipate what you cannot prevent, when by doing so you can cut your losses and become the pioneers of a patriotic and humanitarian movement in the country? Why not accept what the Government is now offering, why not make a virtue of necessity and earn the gratitude of the fifty one thousand odd of your fellowmen? As a wise people you should look ahead and fore-stall trouble. The laws indicate the feelings of the Government, their sympathy with the sufferings of the slaves and their efforts, unfruitful though they have hitherto been, to improve the lot of those in bondage. But we do not deny that the Government are as much responsible for the continuance of slavery here as slave-owners themselves. Their unfounded dread that it might bring distress to the whole population, though slavery was limited in incidence, their vacillation in the past, together with some disinclination, possibly to incur heavy expenses for compensation, formerly made them move half-heartedly in the matter.

The enlightened opinion of the civilised world, with whom we are coming into more

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and more intimate contact now, is pressing on us with all its moral force in every matter and we are compelled to move in this matter also to be abreast of the times. You remember I think, how, despite some opposition, we totally put a stop to the heinous practice of Sati-a practice which was more intimately connected with our religion--by an enactment on Thursday the 25th day of Ashar in 1977 S.E. I now ask you what unwelcome results have followed this abolition as apprehended by the small dissentient minority then? Now knowing that this institution of slavery is founded upon a wrong and unholy principle which permits a rational being to have the same right of property over another as over beasts and animals; knowing that with the best organisation it cannot be freed from evils and vices inseparably associated with it; knowing that the institution is degrading the morality of slaves and their masters lower and still lower from day to day, and above all, knowing that the continuance of the institution in our midst rests like a black patch of tar on the otherwise fair name of the nation; shall you not, shall not the Government and we all, exert ourselves vigorously to remove it at any sacrifice, at any cost? We have learnt on the authority of figures in the register that the removal of slavery will affect only a very

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small number of us in the whole population. We see that 99 p.c. of our people even now are living without slaves; that our own people, so to say,

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living in Darjeeling, Almorah and the adjacent hill tracts under almost identical conditions can manage without slaves; we see that we alone labour under the incubus, when even countries known in the past as uncivilised have become free from it. Knowing all this it is fervently hoped that the unanimous opinion of this assembly, the representative of the best in the land, will be that this inhuman, barbarous, immoral and worthless custom be put to an end.

If you are all agreeable, as I ardently hope you will be, let there be a total abolition of this institution: an institution so abominable in its very nature that it should not be allowed to continue in any country and which, as you all must feel, is contrary to every sentiment that ought to inspire the breast of man. In order that the masters may not be losers, and to prevent any possible dislocation in the social economy, the following proposals are placed before you for careful consideration and opinion, with suggestions to ensure practical success and to avoid any difficulty or distress to either masters or slaves. It is proposed that:-

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1. On and from a certain date, to be fixed as early as possible in consonance with the general opinion, the legal status of slavery do cease and terminate throughout the Kingdom of Nepal.
2. The owners be given the statutory price for every slave held by them according to the register, over whom claim has been fully established.
3. The slaves, freed from the fixed date, are to be apprenticed to their former owners for a period of seven years: that is, the slaves should be bound to labour for their masters, the latter in return providing them with food and clothing as at present.

(To Be Continued)

(S.B.M.)

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Chronology Of Events During King Prithvi Narayan
Shah's Campaign Of Territorial Expansion^x

By

Baburam Acharya

(All dates are according to the Bikram Calendar. approximate western calendar dates have been given within parenthesis).

1728 (1671)	...	King Shubha Sen of Makwanpur was defeated by the joint forces of Patan, Bhadgaun, Tanahu and Gorkha. Gorkha received an elephant as war booty.
Bhadra 1782 (August 1725)	...	Gorkha occupied Bisankhu from Patan with the help of Bhadgaun.
Kartik 1782 (October 1725)	...	Gorkha helped Patan to defeat Bhadgaun. Patan, Kathmandu and Gorkha shared booty of Rs 24,000 and 2 elephants.
Poush 1787 (December 1730)	...	Patan and Gorkha launched a joint invasion of the area south of Sanga in Bhadgaun. Bhadgaun repulsed the invasion with the help of Tanahu and Makwanpur.
1792 (1735)	...	Gorkha invaded Nuwakot. Kaji Maheshwar Pant and Kaji Jayanta Rana were defeated.
1796 (1739)	...	King Ranajit Malla of Bhadgaun annexed Palanchok and other villages from Kathmandu.
1799 (1742)	...	Prithvi Narayan Shah ascended the throne of Gorkha.

^xBaburam Acharya, "Gorkhavijayakalka Ghatana," (Events During The Period of Gorkha's Victories). Purnima, 27, Aswin 2029 (October 1972), pp.163-174. The chronology ends in 1868 Vikrama. The remaining portion will be translated in another issue of the Regmi Research Series.

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Kartik 1799 (October 1742)	...	Gorkha invaded Nuwakot. Kaji Maheshwar Pant was defeated.
Marga-Chaitra 1799 (November 1742- March 1743)	...	Prithvi Narayan Shah visited Banaras. He had a fight with sentries on the Gomati river.
1800 (1743)	...	Gorkha signs treaty with Tanahu, Lamjung, etc. Gorkha and Lamjung jointly invaded Kaski. Gorkha later signed a treaty with Kaski.
Aswin 15, 1801 (October 1, 1744)	...	Battle of Mahamandel (Nuwakot), in which Gorkha won. Shankha Mani Rana on the enemy side was killed. Jayanta Rana captured in the Battle of Belkot.
Baisakh 1802 (April 1745)	...	Battle of Hilegaun, in which Gorkha won. Kashiram Thapa was defeated.
Shrawan 1803 (July 1746)	...	Jaya Prakash Malla killed Sirgha and Dati Pradhan. Taudhi fled to Patan. Kashiram Thapa too was killed.
1803 (1746)	...	Rajya Prakash Malla, younger brother of Jaya Prakash Malla, became King of Patan.
Bhadra 1803 (August 1746)	...	Bhadgaun and Gorkha jointly occupied Nagarkot from Kathmandu.
Aswin 1803 (September 1746)	...	Gorkha launched an invasion of Kathmandu. Jaya Prakash Malla was defeated at Dadhi. With Patan's help, Taudhi dethroned Jaya Prakash Malla and made Jyoti Prakash Malla, who was then an infant, King of Kathmandu. Coins of Jyoti Prakash Malla are available, bearing the date 866 Nepal era (1803 Vikrama).

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Kartik, 1803 (October 1746)	...	Gorkha defeated in Battle of Chhaling. Shivaram Basnet killed.
Shrawan, 1811 (July, 1754)	...	Nagarkot was until then under the joint occupation of Bhadgaun and Gorkha. Now Gorkha took sole possession of Nagarkot. Gorkha occupied Dahachok fort from Kathmandu.
Shrawan 14, 1812 (July 29, 1755)	...	Lamjung and Parbat jointly invaded Siranchok, which belonged to Gorkha. Ranarudra Shahi repulsed the invaders.
Jestha 19, 1814 (June 1, 1757)	...	Gorkha attacked Kirtipur but was badly defeated. Kalu Pande was killed.
Ashadh, 1816 (June 1759)	...	Gorkha occupied Sheopuri fort from Kathmandu.
Magh, 1816 (January 1760)	...	Chautariya Dalajit Shah of Gorkha occupied Kabhrepalanchok from Kathmandu.
Jestha, 1818 (May, 1761)	...	Chautariya Dalajit Shah occupied Chankot and Dhulikhel from Bhadgaun. Jasakarna Khatri of Gorkha and Mahindra Raya and Narasimha Raya of Bhadgaun displayed great bravery. Mahindra Raya was killed.
Bhadra 9, 1819 (August 24, 1762)	...	Gorkha invades Makwanpur. King Digbandhan Sen flees.
Aswin 2, 1819 (September 18, 1762)	...	Conquest of Sindhuli and Timal. 300 Gorkhali troops were killed.
Aswin 22, 1819 (October 8, 1762)	...	Gorkha invades Hariharpur. Members of the family of King Digbandhan Sen were captured. Digbandhan surrendered himself and was detained in Gorkha.
Poush 27, 1819 (January 10, 1763)	...	General Gurgin Khan of Mir Kasim was staying in Bettiah.

Contd...

Magh 10, 1819 (January 23, 1763)	...	Kaji Vamsha Raj Pande, Shri Harsha Panta and Bakshi Ramakrishna Rana repulsed the enemy, killing 1,700 of his troops.
Kartik 1820 (October 1763)	...	Dalajit Shah advanced from Dhulikhel and occupied Khaapu, Panauti, Banepa, etc. Jahangir Shah advanced from Nagarkot and occupied Nala and Sanga. 500 Nagas, disciple of Basti Bairagi, came through and attacked Sanga. Jahangir Shah was killed in the battle. Almost all the Nagas were also killed.
Chaitra 1822 (March 1766)	...	Lakang was attacked jointly by Lamjung and Parbat. The attack was repulsed by Kaji Surapratap Shah.
Bhadra 1823 (August 1766)	...	Gorkha launched second invasion of Kirtipur. Surapratap, the commander, was defeated.
Bhadra 13, 1823 (August 28, 1766)	...	Gorkha invaded Lamjung and occupied Chihandanda.
Aswin 6, 1823 (September 22, 1766)	...	Gorkha defeated Lamjung in Lakhepung. Sardar Parath Bhandari and 250 other officials of Lamjung were captured and taken to Gorkha.
Magh-Chaitra 1823 (January-March 1767)	...	Gorkha besieged Kirtipur. Kirtipur surrendered in the night of Chaitra Shukla Nawami. The Gorkhali forces were led by Surapratap Shah.
Aswin 1824 (September 1767)	...	Gorkha besieged the capital of Patan. The Gorkhali forces were led by Vamsha Raj Pande. Some areas in western Patan town were occupied. The Pradhan of Patan wanted 5 days' time. The Gorkhali called off the siege because they had to proceed to Sindhuli.

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- Aswin 9, 1824
(September 25, 1762) ... English forces, comprising 2 companies led by Captain Kinloch, reached Hariharpur.
- Aswin 24, 1824
(October 10, 1767) ... Gorkhali troops drove out the enemy from Hariharpur and captured 400 or 500 guns.
- Bhadra 22, 1825
(September 5, 1768) ... Gorkhali troops occupied Thabahil in northern Kathmandu, but later withdrew.
- Aswin 13, 1825
(September 26, 1768) ... Gorkhali troops occupied the royal palace of Kathmandu in the night. 20 or 25 people were killed on both sides. Kaji Tularam Pande was wounded and died the next day.
- Jaya Prakash Malla, who was not inside the royal palace at the time of the attack, fled to Patan.
- The Gorkhali troops were led by Kaji Surapratap, Tularam and Vamsha Raj.
- Aswin 14, 1825
(September 27, 1768) ... Ambar Simha Thapa and Ramakrishna Rana promoted as Sardars.
- Aswin 24, 1825
(October 7, 1768) ... The Pradhans of Patan surrendered the capital. King Tejanarasimha Malla and King Jaya Prakash Malla went to Bhadgaun.
- Kartik 1825
(October 1768) ... 150 Newars who had been converted to Christianity were expelled along with the Catholic Mission from Patan.
- Kartik 28, 1826
(November 13, 1769) ... Invasion of Bhadgaun. The battle continued for 3 days. Nearly 50 Gorkhalis and 1,700 of the enemy were killed. Even women sustained injuries. Jaya Prakash Malla was wounded and Ranajit Malla surrendered. The Gorkhali troops were led by Surapratap and Vamsha Raj.

Contd...

Poush 26, 1826 (January 9, 1770)	...	Vamsha Raj was given the credit for the conquest of Bhadgaun. At this, Sura Pratap left the country and went to the region beyond the Marsyangdi river. Prithvi Narayan Shah awarded severe punishment to his companies.
Falgun 12, 1827 (February 23, 1771)	...	Gorkha occupies Chhang in Tanahu.
Falgun 22, 1827 (March 5, 1771)	...	Gorkha occupied Durungchung as well as 4 outposts.
Falgun 23, 1827 (March 6, 1771)	...	Gorkha occupied Manmul and Pachmaiya.
Chaitra 11, 1827 (March 24, 1771)	...	Gorkha occupied Manpang, but withdrew after a few days. 6 Pradhans and 300 Nagarkotis were beheaded for organizing a revolt.
Baisakh 27, 1828 (May 9, 1771)	...	Gorkha occupied Kihun.
Jestha 25, 1828 (June 7, 1771)	...	Gorkha defeated Bhirkot in the Battle of Grihakot. The Raja of Bhirkot fled.
Jestha 26, 1828 (June 8, 1771)	...	Gorkhali troops besieged Kyangmi and Bhirkot's forces surrendered. 31 of them were beheaded.
Jestha 31, 1828 (June 13, 1771)	...	Gorkha occupied the capitals of Bhirkot, Garhun and Paiyun.
1828 (December 15, 1771)	...	Gorkhali troops invaded Sataun. Sardar Kehar Simha Basnet and 500 Gorkhalis were killed. Kaji Vamsha Raj was captured by the force of Parbat.
Magh 12, 1828 (January 25, 1772)	...	Enemy troops besieged the Gorkhalis in Dhor, whose King joined the former. The Gorkhalis surrendered. Sardar Prabhu Malla, Ranasur Pande and others were captured. The rest escaped.

Contd...

Magh 13, 1828 (January 26, 1772)	...	Gorkhali troops abandoned Bhirkot, Garhun and Paiyun.
Magh 14, 1828 (January 27, 1772)	...	Atibal Bisht abandoned Tanahu.
Bhadra 13, 1829 (August 29, 1772)	...	Gorkhali troops crossed the Dudh-kosi river and entered the Kingdom of Chaudandi.
Aswin 1829 (September 1772)	...	Gorkhali troops occupied Jhawa, Chisankhu, Dingla and other areas north of the Mahabharat range and west of the Arun river.
Shrawan 1830 (July 16, 1773)	...	Gorkhali troops occupied the capital of Chaudandi.
Shrawan 1831 (July 17, 1774)	...	Gorkhali troops crossed the Koshi river and occupied the capital of Vijayapur. Raja Karna Sen and Chautara Buddhakarna fled. The Gorkhali troops were led by Abhiman Simha, Ramakrishna Kunwar and Ambar Simha Thapa.
Aswin 13, 1831 (September 1774)	...	King of Sikkim ceded ilam and concluded a treaty with the Gorkhalis. Nepal's frontiers thus expanded to the Kankai river.
Magh 1, 1831 (January 10, 1775)	...	Death of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Ban On Land Transactions, 1806^x

From King Girban,

To the Ijaradars and common people of Thak, Theni, Barhagaun, mining areas, Khuwa lands and other Himalayan (Bhotantar) regions situated between the Chepe-Marsyangdi and Bheri rivers.

Fines are hereby imposed on persons who sell or purchase Aputali and Kipat lands. The rates are as follows:-

Rates per Khet (100 muris) of land

	<u>Fine on Seller</u>	<u>Fine on Buyer</u>
For the first offense	Rs 200	Rs 300
For each subsequent offense	Rs 100	Rs 150

An area of land which requires 50 pathis of seeds for sowing shall be regarded as 1 Khet (100 muris) of land.

Ijaradars shall transmit to the palace fines on (the sale and purchase) of Aputali lands exceeding Rs 100. The Amali shall appropriate fines up to Rs 100.

Any person who acts in contravention of these regulations shall be punished. No punishment shall be awarded to those not mentioned in the regulations or in Pattas, or those who do not contravene the regulations.

Detect cases in which these fines are leviabale. In case a Bichari is deputed there through Dittha Sanhya Vaidya to collect these fines, present yourselves before him and pay them if you have acted in contravention of these regulations.

Saturday, Magh Badi 7, 1862
(January 1806)

^xOriginal document in the possession of Mahesh C. Regmi. The reverse side of this document contains the signatures of Ranachwaj Thapa, Ajambar Sim Pantha, Dalabhanjan Pande, Narasimha and Sanhya Vaidya.

An Appeal For The Abolition Of Slavery^x

(Continued)

It will be seen from the above that the Government are disposed to pay the statutory price for every slave on whom the claim of the master is fully established, and that for seven years from the date of general emancipation the owners will receive the additional benefit of retaining freed slaves as their workers without pay just as they are doing to-day subject to the above proviso. During that time the money, if invested at the moderate rate of interest at ten per cent and the interest added to the capital at the end of every year, will be almost doubled, while at the usually

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prevailing rate of interest at sixteen per cent it will be nearly trebled. All the liberated slaves will remain with their masters for those years just in the same way as if they were not liberated, and it is hoped that the time allowed will be sufficient for the transition to a system of hire. It is believed that freed slaves will thus get accustomed to the new condition of things. The hire charge will also adjust itself. The freed slaves having to do the same work as freemen during the seven years, will not find it objectionable to continue doing so after the period and will settle down as hired labourers in the localities where they are. In fact, if the masters utilise the time with tact and gradually change from finding the feed and clothing into paying money wages the transition can confidently expected to be a smooth one, and to eliminate many of the apprehended difficulties which are more imaginary than real.

Questions of right and lien are involved in any scheme of total emancipation. To be fair to all when such doubts arise or when slaves dispute the claims of their masters, the Government will give each party every opportunity to prove his or her statement. On the other hand failure to have slaves registered would give rise to a strong presumption against the masters. It would of course be

^x Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Appeal To The People Of Nepal For The Emancipation Of Slaves And Abolition Of Slavery In The Country, Kathmandu: Suba Rama Mani A.D., 1925 (English version).

Contd...

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necessary to frame rules for the guidance of investigating officers when the work is undertaken, and it is superfluous to say that these will be considerate and calculated to minimise hardship and expedite work. Now as regards compensation, statutory prices seem to be the best to follow. Slaves in this country are not quite sort of commodity which they were considered to be in other places where slavery was prevalent. There were markets where the prices could be studied and averages struck, but here, purchase and sale, though prevalent, take place between individuals and the prices they pay or accept are dependent upon many personal considerations and are not simple questions of supply and demand. In some places a purchaser is on the look-out for a slave, but there are none available and if he is in urgent need or has taken a fancy to one he will and does pay more than the statutory price. Another owner may possess too many and would gladly part with some at any price offered if only he could find a purchaser. Here of course the prices are determined by necessity and satisfaction. An attempt was made to collect prices from different localities for the last sixteen years in order to strike an average, and it was found that for various reasons the price for a young female slave of statutory age, which is the

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basis of calculation in law, varied from Rs 50 to Rs 350. Thus it will be seen that no average can be satisfactorily established, neither can the actual price paid be taken as the basis because in most instances trustworthy documents will not be forthcoming. Hence the statutory prices are the only practicable basis of calculation.

In the process of readjustment the old, the infirm and the children amongst slaves who used to be maintained by their masters as idle hands will naturally become dependent, the old and infirm upon their adult sons and daughters, and the children upon their parents. Amongst liberated slaves those who can will work on hire after the seven years' apprenticeship to support themselves and their families; the rate of hire cannot be different from the prevailing local rate. The wise master will use the interval of the transition period to change the system of maintenance to wages in kind or money and increase the same as the burden of dependents is thrown on adult workers till the local rate is reached. Some old and infirm slaves may happen to have no adults to depend upon and will probably be maintained by the masters out of charity as they are doing even now. Some of them again may find an asylum in the Government charity homes, if their

Contd...

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master, after having received compensation from the Government, is so unkind as to drive them away after the seven years' period. This will probably be the usual method of adapting themselves to the change. The masters who will really study their own interests will not hesitate to give the liberated slaves a home to live in and to treat them kindly so as to bind them to themselves more firmly than through the bond of slavery. A small gift or advance in their time of need, a little care and solicitude for their welfare, goes a great way, and grateful servants will be found more dutiful, industrious and efficient than dissatisfied slaves. One cannot help thinking that those who fear that the slaves, after liberation, will leave them wholesale, are either exaggerating or have treated them in such a way as to have cause to fear desertion. Many of the objections generally advanced against total emancipation have been already dealt with and the advantage of free labour, which is now the custom all over the world, is proved by popularity. The point for consideration now is whether the system of apprenticing freed slaves for a period of seven years would be preferable or whether you would prefer a wholesale and immediate emancipation to come into force on a predetermined date. Upon a cursory survey of

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the history of the abolition of slavery it will be found that in some British dependencies the system of apprenticeship was tried, while in some colonies and other places immediate abolition was preferred. It is a question to be decided on the majority opinion of you all. On the one side it will give time for readjustment and will help to augment the compensation and on the other some may be inconvenienced by the arrangement.

If on the other hand you feel that total abolition is not desirable at the present time, the Government, compelled under circumstances already detailed, will have to introduce certain measures to eradicate this most glaring of abuses. The slaves must be given a greater certainty in their family relations by prohibition of the separation of members of a family by a purchase and sale. Traffic in slaves appears to have been repugnant to some of our Shastrakaras. Apararka, the talented commentator of Yagna Valka says thus:-

Nariṇām Vikrayam Kṛtvā careccāndrāyanam Vratam

Dviguṇam Puruṣasyaiva Vratamāhurmanisinaḥ,

in other words: in the opinion of the gifted sages one who sells a female should perform a "Chandrayana" and one who sells a male should do twice that penance.

Contd...

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Yagna Valka Smriti, Markandeya, Linga, Bhavisyottara and other Puranas contain many particular injunctions against the practise. For example in Vishnu Dharmottara we have:-

Kanyām hayam ca dāsīm ca svagrihe sambhavan subhān
 Poṣayitvā dviḥo mohāt paśūdetamśca vikrayet
 Sa bhuktvā yātanān saryā pascādvyaḍho bhavediha
 Tsya dehavisuddhyartham prāyaścittamidam subham.

Those among the 'Dvijas' (i.e. who wear the sacred thread) who out of greed sell a daughter, a horse or a slave girl, born and brought up in their households, will be born in this earth as "Vyadhas" (the low class hunters) after having suffered endless tortures.

Then again in Debaladharna Samhita:-

Dvijah sampadya yo dāsīm grhadharmasukhāptaye
 Paścāttam vikrayedyatnāt sa cāndālo bhavedbhuvī

i.e. the "Dviija" who having assiduously got a slave girl for his household work, sells her afterwards reduces himself to the level of a "Chandala" in this world.

A typical one from Markandeya Purana provides that:-

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Dāsīm dvijonugrṇṇīyādbhogārtham
 Nityam naimittikam kāmyam sadyah kṣarati pāpinah
 Vikrayedyadi tāṃ mūḍhaścāṇḍālatwam

This means that Dvijas who take slave girls for carnal purposes become fallen; the (merit of) every day religious works, those undertaken for particular occasions, as also those for fulfilment of desires of these sinful men, all become lost; these obsessed (men) would degenerate to low caste "Chandalas" were they to sell the girl slaves.

Contd...

So let us stop purchase and sale of slaves and separation of members of the family from each other; let the law providing an opportunity of emancipation for any slave when about to be sold be made more effective and comprehensive by the Government itself taking place of the kith and kin when none comes forward. The Government will be ready to buy any slave or slaves whenever the master is inclined to part with them and to liberate such after the purchase. The liberated slaves will have the option to continue with their erstwhile masters as hired labourers or to leave them as they may think suitable. Another effect will be to make the slaves more industrious when they know the law, of which at present they appear to be ignorant, that

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whatever they earn would remain their property to give them an opportunity to build a home out of such earnings. Thus two things now wanting to attach them to their land of birth will have been achieved. But a little consideration will show that the Government cannot stop here. Even when the purchase and sale of slaves is stopped, the growth in slave population from new births will still continue. The Government cannot be expected to take upon themselves an unlimited liability of buying up such children for an indefinite period, in order to set them free. So another law will have to be passed along with those referred to just now that children born either of slave parents or of slaves and freemen, after a specified date, will be free ipso facto. That date will be fixed when the Government are in possession of the considered opinion of the assembly. But as the avowed purpose of the Government is the abolition of slavery to remove the slur which rests on the country, and as that object can never be achieved unless and until start is made in right earnest, they intend to liberate all slave children of nine years of age or below on the said date by paying the statutory prices to the owners. On the announcement of the date, owners of such slave children shall be permitted to put in and prove their

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claims before the constituted court on pain of forfeiting such claims if they fail to do so. The freed children, till they attain majority, will remain with the masters of their parents rendering such services as they are capable of. Thereafter they will be left free in their choice of masters. While fresh recruits to slavery is prohibited by earlier enactments the one now proposed will stop accretion to the number by births. Even in this way it will take a long time to eradicate the institution, during which the stigma will continue to rest on the country. But if the majority opinion adopts this as preferable to total abolition the Government will take their view into careful consideration and may agree to it

Contd...

as a preliminary step to total abolition. In fact such laws were passed in some places such as in Zanzibar in 1889 and 1890 A.D. prior to the total abolition in 1897.

As I have said at the opening, it is a delicate question, it is a social and an economic question, concerning a little more than sixty-seven thousand of us, about sixteen thousand of whom are owners and the rest slaves; and though this number is small, very small indeed, in comparison with the total population yet it is of importance enough to require that we should take counsel together and adopt such measures as are agreed upon to be the

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best. The whole subject has been discussed from many points of view but just as the wearer alone knows where exactly the shoe pinches, the slaves and the owners will be the parties best able to see whether all the pros and cons have been considered. You are all invited to represent your opinion, on the many topics of to-day's discourse, in writing under your hand and seal for the consideration of the Government. The alternatives are set forth before you and if you can point out others so as to achieve the object or, if you think one preferable to the other, your views will have proper weight in the action which Government may take. You know that a good action is its own reward, as it secures for you the favour and approbation of God Almighty before whom there is no distinction of slaves and free men; you know the religious merit attendant upon the liberation of slaves and you will surely participate in it by your active cooperation with the Government in ending the institution; yea, even in helping to ameliorate their condition. I have already dedicated a sum of fourteen lakh Rupees for the work and I shall do my best to secure as much more as will be necessary. Apart from the demands of Religion, Justice and Humanity--no mean considerations in themselves,-- recollect that the best and vital interests of

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society, the good name of the country, the weal and woe of fifty-one thousand of your fellow beings held in slavery--slavery of body and soul -- rest in your hands; so that the opinion that you will give, will be one uninfluenced by any selfish consideration, will be one which might with propriety come from the scions of the great and mighty ancestry which is the pride of the country. Gentlemen, what I have said I have said from a sense of public duty. I have no hostility to the owners of the slaves: compensation to the owners, emancipation to the slaves,

Contd...

these are my desires; this is just the consummation on which all my hopes are planted and to which I earnestly beg you all to give your most vigorous help.

With earnest prayers to God that He may give us all wisdom to select the proper course, courage to pursue it, ability to perform our allotted part in it and turn the heart of all to feel for and incline us to help those held in vile bondage, let me bring this long discourse to a close thanking you for the patient hearing you have given to it and big with hope that with God overhead and heart within we shall be able to achieve success in the good cause in which we are all engaged.

(To Be Continued)

The Nepalganj Market

From the Commander-In-Chief,

To revenue collection functionaries (Mukhiya, Thari), respectable people, traders, ryots and other people in Jajarkot, Salyan, Phalawang, Dang, Pyuthan and Udayapur.

A new market was constructed in Nepalganj in view of the fact that you would have to travel far and incur losses if you visit India (Moglan) for trade. Previously too, an order (Rukka) had been issued directing you not to take your goods to India for trade, but to take them to the Nepalganj market and sell them there. In this order, you had also been warned that your goods would be auctioned if you take them for sale to Birta areas, to India or elsewhere.

Take whatever goods you have for sale to the Nepalganj market. If you take your goods to India or elsewhere, you shall be punished according to law.

Friday, Baisakh Badi 7, 1920
(April 1863).

Ancient Settlements In Kathmandu Valley¹

By

Bhuwan Lal Pradhan.

Although human habitation in Kathmandu Valley began in very ancient times, there is still lack of reliable evidence regarding the exact location of its ancient settlements. In the absence of historical materials, mythological and genealogical records, though not so convincing, are cited here to show which settlements were founded at what time in Kathmandu Valley.

Manjupattan

Manjupattan was the first settlement established in Kathmandu Valley by Manjusri during the Treta era. Since Manjusri is also said to have built the settlement of Guheshwari, it is likely that Manjupattan was situated either in the vicinity of Guheshwari or some where between Guheshwari and Swayambhu. According to the Swayamohu Purana, Manjupattan had been built in the shape of a sword belonging to Manjusri, with the hilt towards the south and the tip towards the north. Manjusri had made Dharmakar King of Manjupattan. He was the first King in Kathmandu Valley. All this, of course, is what mythological records tells us. The actual location of Manjupattan has yet to be ascertained.

Sankashya

Dharmakar was succeeded by Dharmapala as King of Manjupattan. Dharmapala was succeeded by Sudhanwa. Sudhanwa established a new settlement called Sankashya on the banks of the Ikshumati river. (Tukucha). According to a mythological account, Kushadhwaaja, a brother of King Janaka, killed Sudhanwa in Videha while the latter was there to attend the wedding of Sita. Kushadhwaaja then came to Sankashya to become its King. His descendants are said to have ruled over Sankashya until the end of the Dwapar era. The city of Sankashya was devastated by a major earthquake and was ultimately covered by forests. All that is known about Sankashya is that it was located on the banks of the Ikshumati river.

1. Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, "Upatyakaka Prachin Bastiharu." (Ancient Settlements In Kathmandu Valley). Gorkhapatra, Magh 14, 2029 (January 27, 1973), p. 5.

Contd...

Matatirtha

It is said that there existed a settlement of milkmen on the south-western portion of Bagmati Valley, that the temple of Pashupatinath had been discovered with the help of one of their cows, and that Nemuni had enthroned Bhukta Man (Bhumatang), a son of the owner of the same cow, as King. This settlement was called Matatirtha or Padmakashtha-Giri; the modern Kirtipur.² Eight Kings of the Gopala dynasty, ruled over this settlement. They built a large cattle-pound in Matatirtha. Three Kings belonging to the Mahishapala dynasty also probably reigned over Matatirtha.

Matatirtha-Thankot

Yelambar Hang, a Kirati, came from the east, defeated Bhuwan Simha, the third King belonging to the Mahishapala dynasty, and thus ushered in Kirati rule over the Bagmati Valley. According to the Vamshavalis, 28 Kings, from Yelambar to Galinja (also named Gasti, Ancient Nepal, Vol. 4), ruled in succession in the valley, and built their palace inside the Gokarna forest. However, according to Prem Bahadur Subba, author of a history of the Kiratis, the Kiratis had twice ruled over Bagmati Valley. There were 16 Kings, from Yelambar to Kuko, Kuko fled to Digarcha after being vanquished by Nimisha (or Nimistankar), a King belonging to the Soma dynasty. Bhaskara Varma, the fifth King in the Soma dynasty, was defeated by Mure Hang, who came from Digarcha. Mure-Hang began the second Kirati rule in Bagmati Valley. According to Prem Bahadur Subba, the capital of the first Kirati rulers was located somewhere near Matatirtha or Thankot. The town of Patan was established by Yelambar. This is why the town is also called Yala. The settlement of Matatirtha-Thankot is said to have extended to Patan.

Godavari and Deopatan

According to the Vamshavalis, Nimistankar, a King of the Soma dynasty, constructed palaces at Godavari and expanded that town considerably. Prem Bahadur Subba says that Deopatan was the capital of Bhaskar Varma, the last King of the Soma dynasty. It is probable that Bhaskar Varma or one of his ancestors had left Godavari and made Deopatan his capital.

2. Ancient Nepal (Prachin Nepal), Vol. 4, No. 13.

Gokarna, Chabahil, Shankhamul And Patan

Mure-Hang, who reestablished the Kirati rule in the Bagmati Valley after defeating Bhaskar Varma, left Deopatan and shifted his capital to Gokarna. According to Prem Bahadur Subba, a total of 17 Kings ruled over the valley after the resumption of Kirati rule. Heng Thore, the fourth Kirati King, shifted his capital to Chaur-Chauri (Chabahil), because of the outbreak of small-pox in his old capital. The new capital was ruined as a result of a big earthquake during the rule of the eleventh King, Shanko-Hang. King Shanko Hang built a new capital which he named Shankhamula. Shanko Hang later built a new capital named Patangichauri (Patan). According to legends, Yokna-Hang, the last Kirati King, was defeated by Bhumi Varma, a Lichchhavi King, in the battle of Teku-Dobhan, which lasted 12 days. With the flight of the Kiratis towards Sanga and Banapa, Lichchhavi rule started in valley. According to Baburam Acharya, the Lichchhavi had come to power in Kathmandu Valley during the first century, and Yalamber Hang had ruled over it half a generation before the Mahabharat war.

Bishalnagar, Suprabha

Dharma Datta, who came from Kanchi, started ruling over Bagmati Valley after defeating Shanko, the last Kirati King who was ruling in Bishalnagar,³ or after the death of a Kirati King named Rukna.⁴ This indicates that the Kiratis had already established a settlement in Bishalnagar. After the thousand-year rule of Dharma Datta, Bishalnagar remained submerged in water for another millenium. Legend also has it that Mahendra Daman, son of Banasur, the demon King, established a town named Suprabha near Chandagiri (or Chandagiri), situated to the west of the valley, and turned the valley into a lake by stopping the course the Bagmati river for the pleasure of his sister, named Prabhawati. He then ruled over the valley, for 1,000 (or 30,000) years. Suprabha was rendered desolate after Mahondre Daman was killed by Sri Krishna and Pradyumna. 1,000 years later, the deities of Bhatbhateni revived the town of Bishalnagar and made Swayamvrat its King. According to another legend, Vikramaditya, who ruled after Swayamvrat, installed the Nerayanhiti water spout to the west of his palace. Vikrama Keshar sacrificed himself after constructing a 9-storeyed palace at Nerayanhiti. According to another Vamshavali, Nimistanker, who vanquished the Kirati King Galinj, had resettled his soldiers and other people in Bishalnagar and expanded it. Dharmadeva then started living in the Bishalnagar

3. Ancient Nepal, Vol. 13.

4. Raja Bhogma Vamshava, as quoted in Ancient Nepal, Vol. 7.

palace. He built a beautiful town with 99,000 houses,⁵ running from Shankhamul to Jalesayannarayana (i.e. Budhanilakantha).⁶ Vikramaditya returned after ruling over the town for 12 years. Dharmadeva (or Dharmagat Deva)⁷ and his grand-son, Vishwa Deva⁸ were the other Kings of the valley. Vishwadeva, according to legend, died at the hands of his own son, Mana Deva.

Notwithstanding the discrepancies in chronology and names in the aforesaid legends, Bishalnagar appears to have been populated and destroyed from time to time.

The above-mentioned facts may be historically inaccurate. Even so, they shed some light on the origin of early settlements in the valley. Even if we ignore Bishalnagar, Suprabha, Manjupattan and Sankashya, about which there is more mention of deities and demons than of men, it appears that the early Kingdoms, capitals or palaces existed at Natatirtha and Thankot during the period of the Gopala dynasty, and perhaps of the Mahishpala dynasty, as well as during the reign of the previous Kirat rulers, at Bishalnagar, Godavari and Deopatan during the rule of the Kings belonging to the Soma dynasty, at Gokarna, Chabahil, Shankhamul and Patan during the reign of the later Kirat rulers, and at Baneshwar in the Lichchhavi period. In any case, it is an historical truth that the Kiratis were the original inhabitants of the valley. According to Baburam Acharya also, the original inhabitants of the valley were a small branch of the Kirati race known as "Nepar", and civilization had begun there about 7 or 8 centuries before the death of Christ. The reference made in the Vamshavalis to the fact that the Gopala and Mahishpala dynasties had emerged in the valley after the arrival of Sri Krishna shows that the Kiratis, who were hunters, were more advanced than those herdsmen. It may therefore be assumed that Kirati culture had developed in the valley seven or eight centuries before the death of Christ.

5. Ancient Nepal, Vol. 4.

6. Ibid, Vol. 13.

7. Ancient Nepal, Vol. 8.

8. Ibid, Vols. 8 and 13.

Currency Units, 1850

From the Commander-In-Chief,

To Colonel Khadga Dhvaj.

You have submitted the following report: The local people are complaining in large numbers that although from former times, Paise (rupees) consisting of 20 gandis (i.e. 4-pice units, thus making 80 paises to the rupee), have been circulating in Majhkirat and Pallokirat and even today, the 20-gandi (rupee) has been circulating in these regions and Khardar Hiranand has been insisting on payment in 22-gandi (rupees). You have therefore asked for instructions.

The sub-Ijaradar of the Ijaradar (i.e. revenue farmer) appointed from us has stipulated payment in mohar and paisa coins. He must make payment as stipulated. The people shall be permitted to make payment in Mohar coins in areas where this practice has been customary. If they want to make payment in rupees, they shall be permitted to do so according to the 20-gandi unit in case this unit has been in circulation there. Any excess amount which has been collected forcibly shall be refunded. Let none be able to harass the people. Work carefully, bearing this in mind.

Thursday, Poush Sudi 13, 1906
(January 1850).

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Mahesh C. Regmi.

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By Appear for The Abolition of Slavery¹⁸

(Continued)

1840

TABLE I.

The statistical table shows the calculated out-turn in the three periods in which a child employed six or ten sixteenth years, if the money spent on the first outlay and the year to year expenses were paid out at various rates of interest. The statements appear for the outlay and have indicated, in the table, is composed for last of our sections.

Particulars of account	5% ann 16 out out	10% ann 14 out out	15% ann 12 out out	20% ann 10 out out
Initial outlay on a girl ¹	120.00	120.00	120.00	120.00
Interest for the year...	6.00	12.00	18.00	24.00
Total ...	126.00	132.00	138.00	144.00
Living-in and nursing expenses ...	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
Total ...	136.00	142.00	148.00	154.00
Wages, 1st year...	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Interest for the year...	11.20	11.20	11.20	11.20
Total ...	152.40	158.40	164.40	170.40
Wages, 2nd year...	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Interest for the year...	11.45	11.45	11.45	11.45
Total ...	171.85	174.85	177.85	180.85
Wages, 3rd year...	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Interest for the year...	11.70	11.70	11.70	11.70
Total ...	188.55	191.55	194.55	197.55

¹Source: Charles Sumner, *Free Slavery from 1840 to 1860*, pp. 10-11. The figures are based on the assumption of a 10% rate of interest on the outlay, and a 10% rate of interest on the year to year expenses.

Continued

APPENDIX A (Contd).

Maintenance, 4th year...	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	at Rs. 1.00 per month
Interest for the year...	18.80	37.10	53.00		
Total...	219.70	281.70	330.80	142.00	
Maintenance, 5th year...	12.00	12.00	12.00	12.00	
Interest for the year...	21.90	44.90	66.00		
Total ...	253.60	338.60	408.80	154.00	
Maintenance, 6th year...	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00	at Rs. 1.25 per month.
Interest for the year...	25.30	54.00	81.60		
Total ...	293.90	407.60	505.40	169.00	
Maintenance, 7th year...	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00	at Rs 1.25 per month.
Interest for the year...	29.30	65.10	101.00		
Total ...	338.20	487.70	621.40	184.00	
Maintenance, 8th year...	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	at Rs 1.50 per month.
Interest for the year...	33.80	77.90	124.20		
Total ...	390.00	583.60	763.60	202.00	
Maintenance, 9th year...	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	Do. Do.
Interest for the year...	39.00	93.20	152.60		
Total ...	447.00	694.80	934.20	220.00	
Maintenance, 10th year...	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	at Rs 2. per month.
Interest for the year ...	44.70	111.00	186.80		
Total...	515.70	829.80	1145.00	244.00	
Maintenance, 11th year...	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	Do. Do.
Interest for the year ...	51.50	132.60	229.00		
Total ..	591.20	986.40	1398.00	268.00	

Contd...

APPENDIX A (Contd)

Maintenance, 12th year ...	27.00	27.00	27.00	27.00	at Rs 2.25
Interest for the year ...	59.10	157.70	279.60		per month.
Total ...	677.30	1171.10	1704.60	295.00	
Maintenance, 13th year...	27.00	27.00	27.00	27.00	Do. Do.
Interest for the year ...	67.70	187.40	340.80		
Total ...	772.00	1385.50	2072.40	322.00	
Maintenance, 14th year...	27.00	27.00	27.00	27.00	Do. Do.
Interest for the year ...	77.20	221.60	414.40		
Total ...	876.20	1634.10	2513.80	349.00	
Maintenance, 15th year...	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	at Rs 2.50
Interest for the year ...	87.60	261.40	502.60		per month.
Total ...	993.80	1925.50	3046.40	379.00	
Maintenance, 16th year...	30.00	30.00	30.00	30.00	Do. Do.
Interest for the year ...	99.30	308.00	609.20		
Total...	1123.10	2263.50	3685.60	409.00	

APPENDIX B.

The schedule below shows the calculated out-turn in the same period in which a child completes his sixteenth year, for second and subsequent children by the same mother, if the money spent year to year were put out at 10 p.c. per annum. The maintenance expense for the mother is left out on the same considerations as given in the previous appendix.

Contd...

Particulars of expense	When same put out at 10%	Same taken simply	Remarks
Lying-in expenses ...	10.00	10.00	If the woman bears six children and if the expenses were put out at interest parallelly with those incurred on the children, then for the first child's expense the amount reached at the end of the sixth year in Appendix A would be Rs 294/-.
Interest for the year...	1.00	...	
Total...	11.00	10.00	
Maintenance, 1st year...	0.00	0.00	same for each subsequent child as shown here is Rs. 62/- and for five Rs. 31/-, or about Rs 101/- for each child. For eight children it would be about Rs. 91/- per child.
Interest for the year...	1.10	...	
Total ...	12.10	10.00	
Maintenance, 2nd year...	0.00	0.00	about Rs 3/- is deducted from each for the slight services which the mothers get.
Interest for the year...	1.20	...	
Total ...	13.30	10.00	
Maintenance, 3rd year...	0.00	0.00	
Interest for the year...	1.30	...	
Total ...	14.60	10.00	
Maintenance, 4th year...	12.00	12.00	
Interest for the year...	1.40	...	
Total...	28.00	22.00	
Maintenance, 5th year...	12.00	12.00	
Interest for the year...	2.80	...	
Total ...	42.80	34.00	
Maintenance, 6th year ...	15.00	15.00	
Interest for the year ...	4.20	...	
Total ...	62.00	49.00	
Maintenance, 7th year ...	15.00	15.00	
Interest for the year ...	6.20	...	
Total...	83.20	64.00	

Contd...

Maintenance, 18th year ...	18.00	64.00
Interest for the year ...	8.30	
Total ...	109.50	82.00
Maintenance, 9th year ...	18.00	18.00
Interest for the year ...	10.90	
Total ...	138.40	100.00
Maintenance, 10th year ...	24.00	24.00
Interest for the year ...	13.80	
Total ...	176.20	124.00
Maintenance, 11th year ...	24.00	24.00
Interest for the year ...	17.60	
Total ...	217.80	148.00
Maintenance, 12th year ...	27.00	27.00
Interest for the year ...	21.70	
Total ...	266.50	175.00
Maintenance, 13th year ...	27.00	27.00
Interest for the year ...	26.60	
Total ...	320.10	202.00
Maintenance, 14th year ...	27.00	27.00
Interest for the year ...	32.00	
Total ...	379.10	229.00
Maintenance, 15th year ...	30.00	30.00
Interest for the year ...	44.70	
Total ...	447.00	259.00
Maintenance, 16th year ...	30.00	30.00
Interest for the year ...	44.70	
Total ...	521.70	289.00

Contd...

APPENDIX C.

In this schedule the price of a slave woman is taken at Rs 350/- and the calculation has been carried out in the same way as in the other appendices.

Particulars of expense	When same is put out at 10%	When same is put out at 10%	When same is put out at 10%	Remarks
Price of a girl	350.00	350.00	350.00	The calculated out-turn of the sum to be spent on the first child according to this schedule, on the completion of the sixth year would be Rs 742.00. For 5 others, at the rate of Rs 62.00, the sum would be Rs 310.00, or a total of Rs 1052.00 which, if distributed over 6, would produce an average of about Rs 175.00 each. Taking 8 children in the same way the average will come to about Rs 147.00 per child.
Interest for the year...	<u>35.00</u>	<u>56.00</u>	<u>70.00</u>	
Total ...	385.00	406.00	420.00	
Lying-in expenses	<u>10.00</u>	<u>10.00</u>	<u>10.00</u>	
Total ...	395.00	416.00	430.00	
Maintenance, 1st year...	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Interest for the year...	<u>39.50</u>	<u>66.50</u>	<u>86.00</u>	
Total...	434.50	482.50	516.00	
Maintenance, 2nd year...	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Interest for the year...	<u>43.40</u>	<u>77.10</u>	<u>103.20</u>	
Total...	477.90	559.60	619.20	
Maintenance, 3rd year...	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Interest for the year...	<u>47.70</u>	<u>89.40</u>	<u>123.80</u>	
Total ...	525.60	649.00	743.00	
Maintenance, 4th year...	12.00	12.00	12.00	
Interest for the year...	<u>52.50</u>	<u>103.80</u>	<u>148.60</u>	
Total...	590.10	764.80	93.60	
Maintenance, 5th year...	12.00	12.00	12.00	
Interest for the year...	<u>59.00</u>	<u>122.20</u>	<u>180.60</u>	
Total ...	661.10	899.00	1096.20	

Contd...

Maintenance, 6th year...	15.00	15.00	15.00
Interest for the year...	<u>66.10</u>	<u>143.80</u>	<u>219.20</u>
Total ...	742.20	1057.80	1330.40
Maintenance, 7th year...	15.00	15.00	15.00
Interest for the year...	<u>74.20</u>	<u>169.10</u>	<u>266.00</u>
Total ...	831.40	1241.90	1611.40
Maintenance, 8th year...	18.00	18.00	18.00
Interest for the year...	<u>83.10</u>	<u>198.50</u>	<u>322.20</u>
Total ...	932.50	1458.40	1951.60
Maintenance, 9th year...	18.00	18.00	18.00
Interest for the year...	<u>93.20</u>	<u>233.20</u>	<u>390.20</u>
Total ...	1043.70	1709.60	2359.80
Maintenance, 10th year...	24.00	24.00	24.00
Interest for the year ...	<u>104.30</u>	<u>273.40</u>	<u>471.80</u>
Total ...	1172.00	2007.00	2855.60
Maintenance, 11th year...	24.00	24.00	24.00
Interest for the year ...	<u>117.20</u>	<u>321.10</u>	<u>571.00</u>
Total ...	1313.20	2352.10	3450.60
Maintenance, 12th year...	27.00	27.00	27.00
Interest for the year ...	<u>131.30</u>	<u>376.30</u>	<u>690.00</u>
Total ...	1471.50	2755.40	4167.60
Maintenance, 13th year...	27.00	27.00	27.00
Interest for the year ...	<u>147.10</u>	<u>440.80</u>	<u>833.40</u>
Total...	1645.60	3223.20	5028.00
Maintenance, 14th year...	27.00	27.00	27.00
Interest for the year ...	<u>164.50</u>	<u>515.60</u>	<u>1005.60</u>
Total ...	1837.10	3765.80	6060.60

Contd...

Maintenance, 15th year...	30.00	30.00	30.00
Interest for the year...	<u>183.70</u>	<u>602.40</u>	<u>1212.00</u>
Total ...	2050.80	4398.20	7302.60
Maintenance, 16th year...	30.00	30.00	30.00
Interest for the year...	<u>205.00</u>	<u>703.60</u>	<u>1460.40</u>
Total...	2285.80	5131.80	8792.00

(To Be Continued)

Customs And Usages Of Rajvamshis In Morang

From Prime Minister Jung Bahadur,

To Dittha Kalidas of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office.

Chaudhari Bandhulal and 42 other persons belonging to the Rajvamshi community in Morang have submitted the following petition:

Our ancestors belonged to the solar dynasty. Formerly, this region was under forest, and there were no Brahmans here. All inhabitants of the region belonged to our caste. Because of our evil association with persons belonging to the Mussalman caste, who do not invite Brahmans to such ceremonies as Hwaran (naming of child) and Pasni (giving cereal food to child), but perform them according to the customs and usages of their own caste, and, moreover, use cows to draw the plow, we too have been following these practices.

These days the number of people belonging to the hills and the plains, as well as of Brahmans and Rajputs, has grown in Nepal. In case we receive a royal charter directing us to revere the Brahman and use bullocks to draw the plow, and orders to describe us not as Koche but as Rajvamshi, we will start revering Brahmans and stop using cows to draw the plow.

We therefore direct that a royal charter (Lal Mohar) shall be issued according to which (Rajvamshis) shall use bullocks, not cows, for plowing, that they should revere Brahmans, and that any person from among them who contravenes these regulations shall be fined according to law by the appropriate office or Amal.

Monday, Magh Badi 15, 1925 (January 1869)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, pp. 287-288.

Imposition Of Gadimubarakh Levy In Kumaun .

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Subbas, Fouzdars, Dafdaris, Budhas, Sayanas, Kamins, Pradhans, Panchthars, Meldars, Sukhumbasis, Panchapurbiyas, Darogas, Ijaradars, Jagatis, Chatakyas, Chaudharis, Thataulas, Katuwals, Godayits, traders, Askotya Rajputs, military personnel, shield-bearers and soldiers employed on monthly salary, other salaried persons, holders of Talap and Bitalap lands, Birta owners, Brahmans, Kariyas (slaves), Akariyas (non-slaves) belonging to all the 36 castes, Rakamdars, Mahaldars, Jagirdars and members of all untouchable (Pauni) castes in Darma, Johar-Bhot and all other territories in both the hill and plain (Madhes) regions throughout the Kingdom of Kumaun.

We have imposed the Gadimubarakh levy all over our dominions. We are sending the rates of this levy to be collected in that territory. On the basis of the crops (Bali) and property (Jayadat) of the Samvat year 1853, pay the levy at appropriate rates to the collectors (Tahasildar) and obtain clearance. This levy will not be collected every year. It is meant to felicitate His Majesty on the occasion of his coronation (Gadimubarakh). Make pay soon and willingly. Kalaonar and Brahma Padhya have been appointed as collectors.

For Almora Town

Subba	...	Rs 601
Ganjabhandar	...	Rs 100
Dafdari of do.	...	Rs 25
Deuti-Bhandar	...	Rs 51
Dafdari of do.	...	Rs 15
Daroga of Kachahari	...	Rs 50
Ijaradar of mint and copper mines	...	Rs 40
On Jagat revenue, except from traders and ryots	...	1 anna in the rupee

Contd...

Chaudhari for supply of goats	...	Rs 2
Thataula	...	Rs 5 each
Mijhar of ... mars	...	Rs 45
Katuwal of market	...	Rs 5
4 Godayits, according to number of members in their families (Mudahi)
Traders in towns and villages, after scrutinizing their Gajkar (?):		
Abal	... Rs 2.	Doyam ... Rs 1.
Salaried officers of the army, soldiers, Huddas, etc	...	1 anna in the rupee
Shield-bearing (Dhalet) soldiers, Admohadar (?)	...	1 anna in the rupee
On Sirto revenue from Juhar-bhot, amounting to Rs 10,000	...	2 annas in the rupee
On Sirto revenue from Darmabhot, amounting to Rs 5,000	...	2 annas in the rupee
(Total levy from Jahar-bhot and Darmabhot will amount to Rs 1,875 at this rate).		
On Jyula (rice lands) of Rajputs of Askot	...	8 annas per <u>bisi</u> .

Rates Of Levy On Jyula Lands Throughout This Region

On Jyula lands belonging to Brahmans with Talab and Bitalab assignments	...	12 annas per <u>bisi</u>
do. of Kariya (slaves) and others	...	8 annas do.
do. of Jagirdars	...	8 annas do.

Contd...

On persons liable to pay
Amal-Mamul (?) poll-tax
(Mudahi) all over the region ... Rs 1 each

Payable Throughout This Region; Other Than Poll-Tax (Mudahi) and Jyula
(taxes on irce lands)

Meldar	...	Rs 1 on each member of the family
Sukhambasi (Landless)	...	8 annas do.
Dumra (untouchables)	...	4 annas do.
Immigrant (Upariya) families of Panchapurbiya	...	8 annas from each household
On (contracts for the collec- tion of revenue from ?) catechu, sal timber and pasturage taxes (Kascharai)	...	2 annas in the rupee
Harpapet (?)	...	4 annas in the rupee
From 4 Budhas	...	Rs 200
From Panchthar and Chisankhu	...	Rs 50
From 4 Sayanas of pali	...	Rs 300

From Fouzdars And Dafdaris All Over The Country

<u>Area</u>	<u>Fouzdars</u>	<u>Dafdaris</u>
Kalikumaun	Rs 100	Rs 100
Pali	Rs 125	Rs 100
Barhamandal	Rs 75	Rs 75
Changorkha	Rs 45	Rs 45
Gagauli	Rs 50	Rs 50

Contd...

Danpur	Rs. 25	Rs 20
Sira	Rs 25	Rs 20
Phaldekot	Rs 60	Rs 60
Uchakot, Dhaniyakot	Rs 15	Rs 10
Salam	Rs 25	Rs 20
Uchyar	Rs 5	Rs 2½
Bisoudh	Rs 8	Rs 5
Dhyaniru	Rs 50	Rs 50
Choubhaisi	Rs 15	Rs 10
Chhakata	Rs 30	Rs 20
Agar	Rs 40	Rs 30
Marauri	Rs 15	Rs 10
Silkhana	Rs 15	Rs 10
Kotauli	Rs 15	Rs 10
Kota	Rs 60	Rs 50
Kanpur	Rs 5	Rs 2½
Kharak	Rs 5	Rs 2½
Juhar	Rs 100	Rs 60
Dami	Rs 100	Rs 80
On Jagir lands assigned to the army		Rs 1½

On Kamins:

Abal - Rs 10 Doyam - Rs 7½

Sim and Chahar - Rs 2½

Contd...

On village headmen (gaun-pradhan), Godait, Meldar, etc. on each member of the family	...	Rs 1 each
On Naiks, Badbhugeli (?), washermen (Dhobi)	...	8 annas per household
On those who used to pay Tikarh (?), other than Mamuli taxes, on each member of the family	...	Rs 1 each
On Kuriyas (tenants), Kariyas (slaves) and other inhabitants of Birta Bitalab lands, other than Brahmans	...	According to current rates of the Gadimubara levy.

Ashadh Badi 13, 1853
(June 1796)
Regmi Research Collections,
Vol. 23, pp. 89-92.

Annexation Of The Malla Kingdoms^x

By

Baburam Acharya.

After arriving back in Hariharpur, Kinloch sent message to Jaya Prakash Malla informing him of his inability to proceed to Kathmandu because of the Jat rebellion in the west. Jaya Prakash Malla, of course, felt disappointed over the message, but the local traders and artisans, who had been a witness to the gradual destruction of commerce and handicrafts in Bengal and Bihar by the British, heaved a sigh of relief.

The Malla Kings and the rulers of the Chaubisi Kingdoms had directed their attention to Sindhuli when they learned that the British reached there. The struggle which frequently erupted inside Kathmandu Valley during that period had come to an end. Prithvi Narayan Shah learned that it was Jaya Prakash Malla himself who had invited the British to come to Nepal after they had been forced to retreat following their defeat. He then started preparing to capture Kathmandu first, instead of concentrating his attention on Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. However, Prithvi Narayan Shah, anticipating a second expedition by Kinloch early in 1768, confined himself to laying a siege around the town of Kathmandu all through the winter. In the meantime, he won over the inhabitants of the outskirts of Kathmandu to his side by assuring them of his support. Being impressed by the personality of Prithvi Narayan Shah and his liberal temperament, the Newars of Kathmandu started veering towards him. Prithvi Narayan Shah then sent a Brahman messenger to deliver a message to Jaya Prakash Malla asking him to surrender, rather than risk loss of men and material by fighting against the Gorkhalis, since the English had already withdrawn to their country. Jaya Prakash Malla, however, was not prepared to surrender. He kept hoping that the British would attack again. It had become clear that the British would not be able to start any expedition during the rainy season. Prithvi Narayan Shah had resolved to occupy Kathmandu precisely during this season. In order to test the strength of Jaya Prakash Malla, he occupied Thamel,

^xBaburam Acharya, Nepaliko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Brief Account of Nepal).
Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 1966, Chapter VII:
"Tinai Malla Rajyahaaruko Unimulan." (Annexation Of The Three Malla Kingdoms),
pp. 42-51.

Contd...

situated in the north of Kathmandu town, early in September. This place was not strategically important because it was situated outside of the walls of Kathmandu town. Even then, Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied this locality just to see how hard Jaya Prakash Malla would try to check the Gorkhali advance. In actual fact, Jaya Prakash Malla did not make any effort to defend Thamel. Some days later, Prithvi Narayan Shah evacuated this area.

The inhabitants of Kathmandu had begun to dislike Jaya Prakash Malla because of his harsh rule. They did not like the fact that he should be squandering the wealth of temples. Having seen that Prithvi Narayan Shah had driven out the British, thereby protecting indigenous trade and handicrafts, the artisans of Lalitpur, as well as the traders of Kathmandu, had begun to look upon him as their savior. Even before imposing a blockade on Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan Shah had left its agriculture, trade and handicraft unharmed. The inhabitants of Kathmandu, who had become tired of the blockade, had, therefore, begun to admire Prithvi Narayan Shah. Even the common man of Kathmandu had begun to like him for the sake of uninterrupted supply of essential commodities. Thus, all the inhabitants of Kathmandu, with the exception of a handful of Maithili Brahmans, had ceased to support Jaya Prakash Malla.

Prithvi Narayan Shah resolved to take advantage of the annual Indra-jatra festival in Kathmandu, which was then approaching. Prithvi Narayan Shah was closing in on Kathmandu. But Jaya Prakash did not think it necessary to cancel the preparations for celebrating the Indra-jatra festival and order his troops to remain alert, because of the withdrawal of Prithvi Narayan Shah's troops from Thamel. He merely closed the gates of the capital and decided to celebrate the festival under strict security arrangements. It had been decided to celebrate the Indra-jatra and Kumariyatra festivals for 7 days. The first 2 days of the festival passed off peacefully. However, in the night of the third day, Gorkhali troops broke the gates and stormed into the town. The inhabitants of Kathmandu were then busy celebrating the festival after closing all gates. The Gorkhali troops entered into the town in three groups. The force that entered Kathmandu through Naradevi was personally commanded by Prithvi Narayan Shah. He kept the southern gate open, so that Jaya Prakash Malla might escape easily. While the King, his ministers and some soldiers were in the southern part of the town attending the ceremony connected with the chariot festival, Gorkhali troops entered into the royal palace. About 25 guards of the royal palace tried to offer resistance to the Gorkhali troops. About 8 or 9 men were killed or wounded on both sides. The guards then left the palace. In the night of Chaturdashi (the 14th day of the lunar month), Prithvi Narayan Shah seated himself on the throne of Kathmandu, which was kept on the courtyard of the Nhuchho Palace (September 26, 1768). On receiving news of this

Contd...

development, Jaya Prakash Malla abdicated and fled to Patan from Kathmandu through the southern gate. In Patan, he sought shelter from Tejanarasimha Malla.

Jaya Prakash Malla had about 200 Nagarkoti soldiers. The number of soldiers who guarded the outposts of the town was also considerable. But instead of offering determined resistance to the Gorkhalis, they thought it proper to save their lives by taking to their heels along with Jaya Prakash Malla.

The inhabitants of Kathmandu awoke the next morning only to find that Prithvi Narayan Shah had become their King. A stream of people carrying presents went to the royal palace to greet their new King. Guns were fired to celebrate the occasion. In the course of the gunfire, gunpowder suddenly ignited, and, as a result, Tularam Pande was killed. Prithvi Narayan Shah appointed one of his brothers as his representative to complete the Kumari-jatra festival. Feasts, dances, and other programs connected with the festival continued the next day with greater enthusiasm than was seen among them the preceding day. None of the inhabitants of Kathmandu lost anything as a result of the occupation of their town by Prithvi Narayan Shah. In fact, the occupation of a capital by an army without bloodshed and plunder has few parallels in the history of the world.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had no imperialistic ambition. His sole aim was to unify Nepal. This explains why he did not treat Kathmandu as a vanquished city and plunder it. He not only reassured the people of Kathmandu through his amicable treatment, but also chose Kantipur as his capital.

Soon after the withdrawal of the English from Nepal, the ministers of Lalitpur had contemplated surrendering themselves before Prithvi Narayan Shah. However, Jaya Prakash Malla had persuaded them not to do so by holding out different promises. After Jaya Prakash Malla himself fled Kathmandu and took asylum in Lalitpur, the ministers lost all hope and again made up their mind to surrender. None of the ministers of Lalitpur appeared to welcome Jaya Prakash Malla when he reached there to seek the protection of Tejanarasimha Malla. About 300 persons followed Jaya Prakash Malla to Lalitpur. All of these persons, except 8, came back to Kathmandu after Prithvi Narayan Shah sent a message to them asking them to come back or else risk the confiscation of their property.

On the other hand, Jaya Prakash Malla was still dreaming of holding out till another invasion by the English by keeping the ministers of Lalitpur confused for some more time and securing the support of Bhaktapur as well.

Contd. . .

However, just 10 days after his conquest of Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent Sriharsha Misra, his teacher, as envoy to Lalitpur to persuade the ministers there to surrender. As the Ministers finally agreed to surrender, both Tejanarasimha Malla and Jaya Prakash Malla fled to Bhaktapur where they sought shelter from King Ranajit Malla. King Ranajit Malla, at first, did not meet the two fugitive kings, so that they had to stay inside the Dattatreya temple. But later Ranajit Malla gave shelter to Jaya Prakash Malla in his palace with the concurrence of his subjects. Two days later, a force sent under the command of Dhanawant Simha and Kahar Simha Basnyat occupied Lalitpur town without bloodshed, and duly dismissed the local ministers. (October 6). The ministers had surrendered with the prime objective of saving the wealth they and their forefathers had amassed. Dhanawant Simha was then appointed as administrator of Lalitpur.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had expected the King of Bhaktapur also to capitulate soon after the fall of Lalitpur. He therefore sent a message to Ranajit Malla asking him to extradite both Jaya Prakash Malla and Tejanarasimha Malla to Kathmandu. However, Ranajit Malla replied that he could not abandon those whom he had granted shelter. However, he was willing to abdicate in favor of Prithvi Narayan Shah, because his only successor, Biranarasimha, had already died, and because he thought it would be contrary to tradition to accept either Ajit Simha or Avadhut Simha, his illegitimate sons, as his successor. Prithvi Narayan Shah knew this well, and therefore still regarded Ranajit Malla as his friend.

For one year after the occupation of Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan Shah kept himself busy reforming the civil administration.

Prithvi Narayan Shah built a 115 feet high magnificent building named Kailash after the Rajput style to the south of the Kathmandu palace. Being acquainted thoroughly with the tendency of some people in the valley to indulge in fraudulent and conspiratorial activities, Prithvi Narayan Shah did not wish to reside inside the city itself. He first thought of building palaces for himself, for his brothers as well as for his courtiers at the Dahachok hill and visiting the Kailash Palace only for the purpose of holding court. However, he abandoned the idea because he usually stayed at Nuwakot, while keeping the Crown Prince, Pratap Simha Shah at Kailash. While his father was yet alive, Pratap Simha Shah extended the Kailash Palace and constructed a new palace named Bilasmandir at what is now called Basantpur.

During the three months when Prithvi Narayan Shah was relaxing after having occupied Kathmandu, Jaya Prakash Malla, who was then living as a refugee in Bhaktapur, was clinging to his unrealizable ambition of re-occupying Kathmandu with the help of the English. He was confident that

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the English would certainly attack Kathmandu if only he succeeded in retaining the support of King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur for some more time. He had instigated Ajit Simha and Avadhut Simha, the two illegitimate sons of Ranajit Malla, to join him, after promising them to hand over the throne of Bhaktapur to them. Ajit Simha and Avadhut Simha had, in a way, become independent of Ranajit Malla. Prithvi Narayan Shah was watching all these developments in Bhaktapur carefully. When Ranajit Malla delayed surrendering before him, Prithvi Narayan Shah annexed several villages, including Thimi, from Bhaktapur, without any fighting, and then besieged the town itself. In the meantime, Jaya Prakash Malla had obtained military assistance in the form of some Khambu troops and horses from King Karna Sen of Chaudandi, and brought them to Bhaktapur. By that time, King Ranajit Malla had, in a way, come under the grip of Jaya Prakash Malla. In view of this, Prithvi Narayan Shah thought that he could not occupy Bhaktapur without war. Accordingly, he sent Gorkhali troops under the command of Kaji Vamsha Raj Pande to Bhaktapur. He also sent such able fighters as Kahar Simha Basnyat, Ramkrishna Kunwar, Kali Das Khadka and Amar Singh Thapa. He kept his three brothers in ~~Nuwakot~~ for fear lest they should disturb the preparations to invade Bhaktapur. The fourth brother Sura Pratap Shah, however, managed to join the troops despatched to Bhaktapur.

It was impossible for anybody to move out of Bhaktapur, because it had been tightly besieged on all sides. Jaya Prakash Malla had made arrangements to insure that all points of entry into Bhaktapur were tightly closed. Notwithstanding this, the Gorkhali troops commanded by Vamsha Raj Pande and Sura Pratap Shah forced their way into the town through its eastern gate at midnight. At day-break they started firing on the palace braving all obstacles. Jaya Prakash Malla was staying there with cannon and Nagar-koti and Khambu troops, with the intention of fighting back. However, the number of soldiers under his control did not exceed 500. Ajit Simha and Avadhut Simha too had recruited local youths for fighting against the Gorkhali troops. Fierce fighting continued throughout the day, since Jaya Prakash Malla appeared on the front as commander of his troops. Jaya Prakash Malla was facing attacks from both sides on horseback. But when he moved to command another force at another place, the Gorkhali troops marched forward against the Malla troops and moved to the royal palace. The Gorkhali troops then started shooting at the Malla troops in the lanes from house-tops. Jaya Prakash Malla, who was tired of the day-long battle, entered into the royal palace and closed the gates. The surviving Malla troops had already entered into the palace. In the meantime, the Gorkhali troops moved to the roof of the royal palace, installed the Gorkhali flag and continued to shoot at the windows and courtyards of the palace till night. Even in this situation, Jaya Prakash Malla remained in front of the royal palace and encouraged his troops. The Gorkhali troops continued their attack throughout the night. Next morning, all the three kings were trying to move to a safe part of the palace. Tejanarasimha and Ranajit Malla did

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so successfully, but when Jaya Prakash Malla was passing through a corridor he received an injury on the leg from a shot fired by the Gorkhali troops. He was then taken to an upper storey. Ranajit Malla was still hesitating to surrender. But when he saw that the unarmed people in the courtyard were being killed by the Gorkhali troops, and that the upper storey also was being attacked, Hemmaran, a body-guard of Ranajit Malla, put off his white turban and showed it outside. Sura Pratap Shah, regarding it as a sign of surrender, ordered the firing to stop. (November 13). He imprisoned all the three Kings in different rooms of the palace and then informed Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Ranajit Malla, observing patience even in this situation, completed his regular religious functions in the morning and took his meal in the afternoon. But Jaya Prakash Malla was compelled to do so in the same room, since he was wounded. When Prithvi Narayan Shah received this information, he went to the royal palace in Bhaktapur. He went directly to the room where Jaya Prakash Malla was kept after only looking at Ranajit Malla. After a long period of 28 years, the two friends met and embraced each other. Jaya Prakash Malla expressed his desire to pass the rest of his life in the service of the Goddess, and requested Prithvi Narayan Shah to send him to the temple of Guhyeshwari. Arrangements were made to send Jaya Prakash Malla to Guhyeshwari accordingly. Prithvi Narayan Shah then went to see Ranajit Malla. In this way, the first day passed.

A few days after Jaya Prakash Malla was taken to Guhyeshwari, his injuries became serious and he was taken to Aryaghat. He died there (on November 24).

Every year after his accession to the throne, Jaya Prakash Malla had to face one calamity after another. He was therefore foolish enough to murder his own ministers and generals. He thus failed in his life. However, he was brave, and considered it better to die than to surrender. In this respect, he achieved success. No other King had tried as much as Jaya Prakash Malla to check the Gorkhali advance. It was a major blunder on his part to recruit Nagarkoti troops and invite the British. But it was these mistakes of Jaya Prakash Malla which made the Gorkhalis brave warriors.

Since Ranajit Malla was over 75 years of age, he expressed his desire to live in Kashi (Varanasi, India). Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore sent him along with travelling and other allowances. (January 1770). However, Prithvi Narayan Shah considered Tejanarasimha Malla, the last King of Lalitpur, as imbecile and imprisoned him in Bhaktapur for life.

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After the conquest of Bhaktapur, the foundations of a new Nepal were laid, comprising the territories of Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Makwanpur, Bhaktapur and Gorkha. The subjects of these Kingdoms became the citizens of one Kingdom under one King. The inhabitants of this new Kingdom of Nepal began to be known as Nepali and feelings of emotional unity emerged among the Nepali subjects of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. Since Prithvi Narayan Shah and his brothers, as well as members of the nobility, had been born in Gorkha, they called themselves Gorkhalis. But Kathmandu town was the center of the newly-founded Kingdom of Nepal, and so they had already become the Nepalis of the Kingdom of Nepal. Gradually, the communal feeling that they were Gorkhalis disappeared and all the citizens of the newly-founded Kingdom became Nepalis. This national unity was one of the major achievements of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had conferred equal powers on Vamsha Raj Pande and Sura Pratap Shah. However, when the battle began, the latter displayed special enthusiasm and took over the full command of the troops into his own hands. He captured all the three Kings himself. Only 50 or 60 persons had been killed on the Gorkhali side during the battle (of Bhaktapur), which lasted 23 hours, as against more than 1,700 civilians and military personnel on Bhaktapur's side. The casualties included women. Prithvi Narayan Shah had given strict orders that unarmed peasants and traders should not be harmed in any way. But it was not possible to observe this rule during the battle of Bhaktapur. Prithvi Narayan Shah was therefore feeling perturbed. Inquiries revealed that the blame lay on Sura Pratap Shah. Accordingly, Prithvi Narayan Shah rewarded Vamsha Raj Pande instead of Sura Pratap Shah for the victory.

Sura Pratap Shah had desired not only to be rewarded for the victory but also to be appointed as administrator of Bhaktapur. However, he got neither. Prithvi Narayan Shah knew how the Malla Kingdom had been divided when the brothers of Raya Malla, who had been appointed as administrators of Lalitpur and Kathmandu, became independent Kings there, and how the Sen Kingdom had been divided similarly by the sons of the Sen King. He therefore utilized the services of his brothers but refrained from appointing them as local administrators because of the harm this would cause to the nation. When Sura Pratap Shah, in a huff, requested permission to live in Gorkha, Prithvi Narayan Shah readily gave it. Arrangements were made to maintain a strict watch on the activities of Sura Pratap Shah in Gorkha. Not wishing to remain in such confinement, Sura Pratap Shah escaped across the Marsyangdi river and reached Dullu, instead of staying anywhere in the Chaubisi Kingdoms. He died a few years thereafter.

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After Prithvi Narayan Shah subjugated Bettamandi and Lalitpur, King Rajendra Shah of Jajarkot sent presents to him. Prithvi Narayan Shah sent a message declaring that he would not interfere in the internal affairs of Jajarkot and calling on Rajendra Shah to accept Gurukul's suzerainty and pay Rs 700 as Gulabharat whenever a new King was crowned in Lalitpur. It is possible that another letter had been sent to each of the Gurukul Kingdoms. But the despotic Kings of these Kingdoms hardly stated to pass under the control of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

The two Kingdoms of Thama, Chaudhali and Vijaypur had already become weak. They did not have the strength to remain independent. It would have been better for them to accept Prithvi Narayan Shah's suzerainty. But the evil-minded Kings of these principalities considered it better to live as feudatories under the East India Company than to come under the control, and belong to the same country, having this attitude of these Kings, and the growing strength of the East India Company Government Prithvi Narayan Shah considered it desirable to extend his control by instead of letting the East India Company Government do so. Accordingly immediately after the conquest of Bhaktapur, he recruited additional troops and improved the strength of the Gurukul Army.

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An Appeal For The Abolition Of Slavery^x

(Continued)

APPENDIX D.

Value of Rs 100 in 9 years at 10 and 16 p.c. is given below.

Description	At 10 p. c.	At 16 p. c.	Remarks
Capital	100-00	100-00	
Interest 1st year	<u>10-00</u>	<u>16-00</u>	
	110-00	116-00	
2nd ,,	<u>11-00</u>	<u>18-50</u>	
	121-00	134-50	
3rd ,,	<u>12-10</u>	<u>21-40</u>	
	133-10	155-90	
4th ,,	<u>13-30</u>	<u>24-90</u>	
	146-40	180-80	
5th ,,	<u>14-60</u>	<u>28-80</u>	
	161-10	209-60	
6th ,,	<u>16-10</u>	<u>33-40</u>	
	177-10	243-00	
7th ,,	<u>17-70</u>	<u>38-80</u>	
	194-80	281-80	
8th ,,	<u>19-40</u>	<u>44-90</u>	
	214-20	326-70	
9th ,,	<u>21-40</u>	<u>52-10</u>	
Total	235-60	378-80	

^xMaharaja Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, Appeal To The People Of Nepal For The Emancipation Of Slaves And Abolition Of Slavery In The Country, Kathmandu: Suba Rama Mani A.D., 1925 (English version).

Contd...

APPENDIX E.

Showing free and slave population of the different districts.

Names of districts	From Census figures of 1977 S.E.				Figures of 1980 S. E.		Percentage of	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Inside the Valley	64440	305580	1329	306909	534	11409	1/2	4/5
Outside the Valley	10361	59860	241	60101	109	214	1/3	1
	74801	365440	1570	367010	643	1623		
West No. 1	38397	163895	1356	165251	608	1893	1	1 3/4
West No. 2	11597	78188	1015	79203	403	1071	1 1/2	2 3/4

1. Total number of houses including both pucca buildings and thatched houses.
2. Population, including slave owners less number of slaves.
3. Slaves.
4. Total.
5. Slave owners.
6. Slaves.
7. Percentage of slaves to total population of districts.
8. Percentage of slave owners to house owners taking one owner for each house.

Contd...

APPENDIX E (Contd.)

West No. 3	14976	81225	935	82160	478	1385	1½	3
West No. 4	29523	179072	4345	183417	1428	5082	2¾	5
Palpa and Gulmi	63615	370207	6693	376900	2206	7492	2	3½
Pewthan	21345	120387	1676	122063	527	1629	1¼	2½
Dang Salyan	36531	213194	1135	214329	200	1027	½	¾
Doti	24332	153226	900	153229	278	1030	2/3	1
Baitadi Dadelchura	9116	77302	593	77895	145	507	2/3	1½
Dahilekha	11789	83750	423	84173	87	323	2/5	2/3
Jumla	<u>14296</u>	<u>88433</u>	<u>889</u>	<u>89022</u>	<u>381</u>	<u>1220</u>	<u>1½</u>	<u>2¾</u>
	278517	1607679	19960	1627639	6741	22605
Koski Lamjung	23775	136044	3521	139565	1483	4236	3	6
Paluwang	790	4475	55	4530	27	111	2½	3¼
Jajarkote	12137	73579	295	23874	69	247	1/3	½
Bajhang	5821	42596	447	43043	109	492	1	2
Bajura	2483	19849	371	20220	56	360	1½	2
	<u>45006</u>	<u>276543</u>	<u>4689</u>	<u>281232</u>	<u>1744</u>	<u>5446</u>	<u>...</u>	<u>...</u>
	323523	1884222	24649	1908871	8485	8051
East No. 1	39669	211381	2322	213703	810	2563	1¼	2
East No. 2	31785	172921	4151	177072	1366	4718	2¾	4
East No. 3	20699	104768	3338	108106	1478	5047	4½	7
East No. 4	40958	265145	4523	269668	1011	3445	1¼	2
Dhankuta	58784	349818	3244	353062	1404	4307	1-1/4	2-1/2
Ilam	<u>14970</u>	<u>87028</u>	<u>447</u>	<u>87475</u>	<u>152</u>	<u>518</u>	<u>3/4</u>	<u>1</u>

Contd...

LITCHI (Contd.)

	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64
Area, Hect.	7775	11155	117	11697	73	67
Production, Metric Tons	7177	17377	372	17170	47	111
Yield, Tons/Hect.	6274	3776.3	372	3778.5	115	366 1/2
Export	738	113.7	516	1191.3	176	57 1/2
Stock (Metric Tons)	3057	2117.7	11	2113.8	11	171
Imports, Metric Tons	1756	1772.7	11	1778.3	2	5
Total Exported	2634	1155.5	26	1772.1	3	6
Stock, Metric Tons	171.5	1155.5	11	1166.6	1	6
Production, Metric Tons	1777	1111.5	1	1111.5		
Production, Tons	111.1	511.1	777	511.1	7	75
Production, Tons	111.1	757	2	757	5	11
Production, Tons	111.1	75.6	11	75.6		
Production, Tons	111.1	777	2	777		
Production, Tons	111.1	1777	37	1777		
	1111.1	7777.7	111.1	7777.7	111.1	111.1

Table 100 (Contd.)

Area of land (1958-59) 1111.1 1111.1 111.1 1111.1 111.1 111.1

* The figures for the total number of houses built are taken from the Census of 1951 and the figures of 1971 are taken from the Census of 1971.

Unsuccessful Attempts To Annex The Chaubisi Kingdoms And
Reconciliation With The English^x

By

Baburam Acharya.

At this time, Raja Karna Sen of Chaudandi, who was a supporter of the English, was the bitterest foe of the Gorkhalis. Karna Sen had aided Jaya Prakash Malla against the Gorkhalis, and even tried his best to drive them out with the support of the English. Even then, Prithvi Narayan Shah was not able to pay immediate attention to Chaudandi because the issue of the Tarai territories of Makwanpur had not yet been decided. These territories were still under the occupation of Captain Kinloch. It was apprehended that if Chaudandi was occupied, a similar dispute would arise with the English about its Tarai territories. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore considered it advisable to proceed against Chaudandi only after getting back the Tarai territories of Makwanpur. Accordingly, he initiated action against Tanahu in the west.

King Trivikrama Sen of Tanahu had become frightened after having been freed by Prithvi Narayan Shah. Tanahu's dominions then extended to Chitaur in the inner Tarai, Trivikrama Sen also owned a Zamindari in the Tarai area of Bettiah, south of Chitaur. When Golding of Bettiah, Humboldt of Patna and Kinloch were planning a second military campaign in Nepal, Trivikrama Sen promised to allow a passage to them through Chitaur. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore planned to wipe out the independent existence of Tanahu. In the meantime, Trivikrama Sen died and was succeeded by his eldest son, Kamaridatta Sen. Even then, Prithvi Narayan Shah's plan remained unchanged. He sent troops under the command of Bakshi Mahar Simha Basnyat to occupy Tanahu. Between February and March, the Gorkhali troops occupied Chhang, Manpang and some other settlements without any fight (1770). The Gorkhali troops, advancing further, besieged Sur,

^x Baburam Acharya, Nepal Ko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account Of Nepal); Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966), Chapter VIII, "Chaubisi Rajyahaaruma Adhikar Garne Asaphal Prayatna Ra Angrojsangako Mel" (Unsuccessful Attempt To Annex The Chaubisi Kingdoms and Reconciliation With The English", pp. 52-59.

Contd...

the capital of Tanahu. Seeing that Tanahu could not be defended any more, Kamaridatta Sen, who was childless, committed suicide. His brother, Harakumaradatta Sen, pledged himself to work for unity. Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, made him King of Tanahu. Harakumaradatta then accepted the suzerainty of the Gorkhalis. On ascending to the throne, Harakumaradatta Sen vowed to be always on the side of the Gorkhalis in their wars.

Lamjung, situated to the north of Tanahu and adjoining Gorkha, was a powerful Kingdom, though it was small in area. King Biramardana Shah of Lamjung felt worried when he learned of Tanahu's acceptance of Gorkha suzerainty. He sent his Crown Prince, Birabhupala Shah, to Kathmandu, and accepted Prithvi Narayan Shah as his suzerain. Prithvi Narayan Shah, on his part, restored Raginas fort to Lamjung.

The former ministers of Lalitpur were jobless at the time. Those among the Nagarkoti soldiers brought by Jaya Prakash Malla who owned property in Kathmandu Valley stayed on there. Only those who did not own any property in Kathmandu Valley left it. Prithvi Narayan Shah had permitted the Nagarkoti soldiers owning houses in Kathmandu to settle down there, regarding them as local inhabitants. Sardar Bhawani Simha was one of these settlers. Those Nagarkoti soldiers who had remained unemployed after the collapse of the Malla rule joined the unemployed ministers of Lalitpur in hatching a conspiracy to assassinate Prithvi Narayan Shah and drive out the Gorkhalis from the valley and thus restore their domination. They probably intended to free Tejanerasimha Malla, who was then in detention, and make him king of all the three Kingdoms comprising Kathmandu Valley.

At the time when the major part of the Gorkhali army was in Tanahu, Prithvi Narayan Shah proceeded to Bhaktapur to visit the temple of Dattatreya. As he reached a lonely place, the palanquin carrying him was ambushed by Bhawani Simha, who was on horseback. Exactly at the time when Bhawani Simha was making an attempt on Prithvi Narayan Shah's life with his sword, Harsha Pantha, the latter's body guard, dispersed the conspirators and killed Bhawani Simha. The surviving Nagarkoti conspirators were captured the next day. 6 former ministers of Lalitpur, including Laxmi Das, were also arrested when their conspiracy was uncovered. All these ministers were beheaded (March 1770). Other Nagarkoti soldiers who took part in the conspiracy were beheaded at their own houses.

Prithvi Narayan Shah gladly gave Harsha Pantha the title of Bijuli (lightning), because he had struck at Bhawani Simha and beheaded him at lightning speed. Since then, Harsha Pantha came to be known as Bijuli Pantha.

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Since the powerful Kingdoms of Tanahu and Lamjung had accepted Nepal's suzerainty, Prithvi Narayan Shah saw that it was now possible to extend the frontiers of his Kingdom to the Madi and Kaligandaki rivers in one stroke. He therefore despatched 500 troops each under the command of Vamsha Raj Pande and Kahar Simha Basnyat to occupy the northern and southern Kingdoms respectively. King Biramardana Shah may have sent a contingent to help Vamsha Raj Pande. Vamsha Raj Pande's forces entered into Kaski and occupied the post of Bhandaridhik. He then sent a message to King Siddhi Narayan Shah asking him to accept Prithvi Narayan Shah's suzerainty. But Siddhi Narayan Shah, who was backed by Kirtibam Malla of Parbat, refused to do so. Vamsha Raj Pande therefore thought it prudent to wait for some more time and watch the southern flank before attacking Kaski in strength. When, at an opportune moment, Vamsha Raj Pande launched his invasion of Kaski, Siddhi Narayan Shah tried his utmost to foil it. Ultimately, the Gorkhals emerged victorious in this battle, and Siddhi Narayan Shah accepted Prithvi Narayan Shah's suzerainty.

After conquering Kaski, Vamsha Raj Pande moved towards Nuwakot. At the battle of Tekan, the Gorkhals found it hard to defeat the troops of the local King, so that they had to retreat. However, the King of Nuwakot soon ran away from his capital and took shelter in Bhirkot. Nuwakot thus came under the control of Nepal. Vamsha Raj Pande and Sardar Prabhu Malla stayed on in Nuwakot.

The troops sent under the command of Kahar Simha Basnyat advanced towards the south along with reinforcements sent from Tanahu. However, the chieftains of Rising and Dhor, situated in this region, refused to acknowledge Prithvi Narayan Shah as their King. As such, the troops coming from Rising under the command of Kahar Simha Basnyat, and those advancing from Nuwakot under the command of Vamsha Raj Pande, jointly invaded Bhirkot and defeated the troops of the local ruler in the battle of Grihakot (June 1771). The ruler of Gerhaun, who was a minor, was carried away to Gulmi by his ministers, while the ruler of Palyun fled his capital after offering light resistance. As a result, both these principalities came under the control of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Having succeeded in extending the dominions of Nepal to the Kaligandaki river, Kahar Simha Basnyat and Vamsha Raj Pande spent the monsoon in Bhirkot.

In the battle of Grihakot, the 96 soldiers despatched from Tanahu to support the Gorkhals staged a mutiny, either at the instigation of their King, Harekumaradatta Sen, or to please the ruler of Bhirkot. They joined the Bhirkot troops and fought against the Gorkhals. Vamsha Raj Pande and Kahar Simha Basnyat ordered all these deserters to be beheaded on the charge of having sided with the enemy. Harekumaradatta Sen outwardly tried to prove that he was not responsible for this incident. However, he was

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very angry at the Gorkhalis. He was unable to express his feelings because he lacked strength. But this incident revived the old feelings of hatred for the Gorkhalis among the people of Tanahu. It was at this stage that the ruler of Rising defied the Gorkhalis. Vamsha Raj Pande thereafter occupied Rising.

King Biramardana Shah of Lamjung, King Kirtibam Malla of Parbat and King Mukunda Sen II of Palpa were the leading figures in the Chaubisi States at the time. The troops of Lamjung and Parbat were not inferior to the Gorkhalis. Palpa, of course, lacked military power, but it was economically prosperous. That is why all these three states occupied a dominant position in the region comprising the Chaubisi states. They were concerned and alarmed over the series of victories won by the Gorkhalis. The fact that the Gorkhali troops had advanced as far as the left bank of the Kaligandaki river and consolidated their position there was intolerable for them. Vamsha Raj Pande and Kahar Simha Basnyat, however, committed the mistake of wasting 3 months. It was during this period that the enemies of the Nepal government found an opportunity to organize themselves against the Gorkhalis. Early in December, the Chaubisi states started feverish military preparations against the Gorkhalis in Tanahu. Among those who played a major role in these preparations were the Kings of Parbat, Kaski and Palpa. Since the rulers of Tanahu and Lamjung also were indirectly involved in these preparations, the Gorkhali troops deployed in Bhirkot faced the danger of being encircled. These rulers planned to liquidate the Gorkhali troops in Bhirkot immediately after the end of the rainy season. However, Vamsha Raj Pande and Kahar Simha Basnyat, aware of the growing enemy build-up in Satahun, realized the need to launch a pre-emptive attack. They promptly attacked the enemy troops at Satahun. A fierce battle ensued, in which the Gorkhalis were defeated. 500 Gorkhali troops were killed along with Kahar Simha Basnyat. Vamsha Raj Pande was captured (December 15, 1771). Sarder Ranashur Pande, brother of Vamsha Raj Pande, then took command of the Gorkhali troops. He took the remaining Gorkhali troops to Dhor.

In view of the defeat of the Gorkhali troops, the Kings of Lamjung, Kaski and Tanahu too openly defied the Nepal government. As soon as news of the humiliation suffered by the Gorkhali troops reached Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan Shah despatched a contingent of troops under the command of Dhokal Simha, younger brother of Kahar Simha Basnyat. He also sent Harsha Pantha to accompany this contingent. However, the Kings of Tanahu and Lamjung, who had rebelled against the Nepal government, prevented the Gorkhalis from crossing the Marsyangdi river. On the pressure of these Kings, the ruler of Dhor too raised the banner of revolt against the Nepal government (January 1772). As a result, the remnants of the defeated Gorkhali troops found themselves encircled on all sides by the enemy. Both Ranashur Pande and Prabhu Malla were made prisoners by the

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enemy. The Gorkhali troops, who were thus deprived of commanders, broke the siege with considerable difficulty and moved into Tanahu. Even after their entry into Tanahu, the Gorkhali troops, led by Subedars, found their path blocked at different places by the inhabitants of Tanahu and Lamjung. They were even denied an opportunity to use boats to cross the Marsyangdi river. They ultimately crossed the river with difficulty. The reinforcements despatched from Kathmandu under the command of Dhokal Simha Basnyat were then staying at the same place. The two forces thus linked up.

Ranasur Pande, commander of the retreating troops, was dismissed by Prithvi Narayan Shah. Those soldiers who had lost guns were fined with Rs 60.00 each. In addition, he realized from them a sum of Rs 60.00 each as the price of their gun. The defeat suffered by the Gorkhali troops in the battle of Bhirkot, which was more serious than the one they had suffered in Kirtipur, and the fact that it had resulted from their encirclement by the enemy, gave a new lesson to the Gorkhali commanders. Thereafter, they began to show utmost circumspection whenever they set out to invade any region.

After the fall of Bhaktapur, the frontiers of Nepal in the hill region had extended from the Chepe and Marsyangdi rivers to the Dudh-koshi river, and to the inner Tarai in the south. However, the new State of Nepal was still incomplete, since the British occupation of the Tarai areas of Makwanpur continued. The Tarai territories extending from Parsa to Mahottari were a part of Makwanpur State. The forests of this area were inhabited by numerous wild animals. The Moghul emperors, therefore, had accepted two elephants annually as tribute from Makwanpur. However, when the Nawab of Bengal and Bihar declared himself independent after the disintegration of the Moghul Empire following the death of Aurangzeb, the administrator of Patna demanded cash instead of elephants. They eventually raised the amount of the tribute to Rs 12,500.00. Payment of the tribute was discontinued when Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied Makwanpur, including its Tarai territories. In the meantime, the British had brought Bengal and Bihar, as well as Oudh, under their control. The emergence of two parallel States in this manner created feelings of hostility between them. It was out of fear of the British that Prithvi Narayan Shah hurriedly occupied Makwanpur.

The British had also the ambition of occupying the hill regions of Nepal in order to monopolize India's trade with Tibet and Mongolia through Nepal's territory. At the moment they were thinking of doing so, they received a message from Jaya Prakash Malla pleading for assistance. The

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British responded to this message by sending troops under the command of Kinloch. However, Kinloch failed to enter into the hill region and the inner Tarai of Nepal. He stayed on in Bara district with the intention of attempting to move into Nepali territory a year later. However, he occupied the Tarai areas of Parsa and Rautahat districts, and started collecting revenue in order to meet the costs of the war. In the meantime, Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, thereby discouraging the British from making any attempt to enter into Nepal. Till then, however, he had not paid attention to Bara district. Even after the death of Kinloch, Hardy continued collecting revenue amounting to Rs 24,000.00 annually in Bara district. But he, together with his troops, fell a victim to malaria. Hence the British thought they should be ready to quit the Tarai if they could persuade Prithvi Narayan Shah to permit them to engage in trade in Nepal, which would yield an income of more than Rs 24,000.00 annually to them.

Satyadhar Upadhyaya Dahal, who lived at Jhangajholi (now in East No. 2), which formed part of Makwanpur state, was an employee of the deposed King Hemakarna Sen. His son, Dinanath Upadhyaya, was an employee of Kahar Simha Basnyat while the latter was governor of Makwanpur, for he knew well the relationship between the King of Makwanpur and the Moghul Nawabs with regard to the Tarai. He also had access to the relevant documents. He therefore went to Kathmandu along with Kahar Simha Basnyat, and personally appealed to Prithvi Narayan Shah to liberate the Tarai region of Makwanpur from the clutches of the British. The suggestions put forward by him in this regard were appreciated by Prithvi Narayan Shah, who therefore sent Dinanath Upadhyaya to hold negotiations with Major Kelly, a British officer, in Darbhanga (January 1771).

At this time, British officers and the officials of the Moghul Nawab in Bengal and Bihar were administering the districts. On reaching Darbhanga, Dinanath Upadhyaya conveyed a message from Prithvi Narayan Shah to Major Kelly. The message promised to pay to the British the same tributes in consideration of the Tarai territories which the Moghul Nawabs used to receive from the King of Makwanpur. In addition, it claimed that since Makwanpur had been annexed by Prithvi Narayan Shah, its Tarai territories should belong to him. Major Kelly forwarded this proposal to his superiors in Patna, who transmitted it to the governor of Bengal and Bihar. The governor accepted this proposal in the hope that such a conciliatory gesture would enable the British to get a foothold in Nepal. There were heated arguments between Dinanath Upadhyaya and Major Kelly on the question of tributes. Records in the possession of the British officers in Patna showed that the Kings of Makwanpur used to send a 21 feet tall elephant as tribute every year. It was on this condition that

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the British agreed to vacate the Tarai territories of Makwanpur in favor of the Gorkhalis and recall Hardy from there. However, the British proposed that the Gorkhalis should help to recover the revenue arrears which Hardy had been unable to collect. Dinanath Upadhyaya agreed to this proposal and signed an agreement to this effect. Hardy then withdrew from the Tarai region along with his troops. Dinanath Upadhyaya, on his part, recovered the revenue arrears and handed over the same to the British.

For three years, Nepal continued sending a 21-foot tall elephant to the British. As elephants of that height were not available in the forests, in subsequent years Nepal sent an elephant of a height of approximately 19 feet. At first, the British raised objection to this. But when Dinanath Upadhyaya produced an agreement signed between Nawab Mahawat Jung and Ram Narayan, which provided for the presentation of an elephant of that height, the English officer, George Vansittart, agreed to accept such an elephant annually. The dispute over Parsa and Rautahat was thus finally settled. Warren Hastings, the new Governor General of the British East India Company, accepted Nepal's sovereignty over the Tarai. With the restoration of the Tarai region, the territory of the newly-created Kingdom of Nepal extended to the Dudhkoshi and Kamala rivers in the east, the Marsyangdi river in the western hill region, the Uria river in the Tarai, Tibet in the north, and Bihar in the south (1771-72). Prithvi Narayan Shah gave priority to the task of further expanding the territory of this new State. Having met with setbacks in Satchun as a result of which he failed to conquer the Chaubisi states, he diverted his attention from the western region, and started preparing to occupy the two Sen Kingdoms of Chaudandi and Bijayapur, situated in the eastern region.

Supplies For Munitions FactoriesI. Copper

(a) From King Girban,

To Jayadrath.

If it appears that the old and new mines, which had been operated by Dharani Padhya under contract in 1861 (1804), will develop under Amanat management in 1862 (1805), operate them on Amanat basis and appoint men at suitable emoluments. Issue a contract for the operation of such mines if this appears preferable. We shall confirm whatever you do in our interests. Pay a monthly salary of Rs 9 to your clerk (Bahidar). We shall grant remission (for this expenditure).

Baisakh Badi 3, 1862

(April 1805)

Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 500.

(b) From King Girban,

To Jayadrath.

Blessings. Previously, you had despatched 2 dharnis of copper. You have now despatched 360 dharnis. You have also reported: "Exports of copper to the south have been banned. Copper will be purchased with the arrears due from Ijaradar, Dharani and supplied soon. Appropriate arrangements will be made after studying the results of Ijara and amanat operation (of copper mines) during 1862 (1805-6). (Employees) have been sent to inspect mines in different areas." We have noted these particulars. Two consignments of copper have been received, as you will learn from the receipts issued by the magazine. You have done well by banning exports of copper to the south. Purchase copper with the arrears due from the Ijaradar and despatch it quickly. Do not make any delay. Report to us whether supply of copper will be expedited on Ijara or Amanat basis during 1862 (1805-6). People are coming here with offers (to operate copper mines) on Ijara basis. We will do whatever is appropriate. Do not make the slightest delay, and send supplies quickly.

Ashadh Badi 14, 1862.

(June 1805)

Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 96-97.

Contd...

(c) From King Girban,

101 dharnis of pure copper, 111 dharnis of lead and 171 dharnis of iron have been received through Darba Sing Mijhar as the final installment of the supplies due under the contract to operate copper, lead and iron mines in the Listi area (of Sindhupalchok district) during the year 1861 (1804).

Ashadh Sudi 7, 1862
(June 1805).

(On the same date, similar receipts were issued for 561 dharnis of copper from the Kityani copper mines in Nuwakot, and 301 dharnis from Palanchok).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 112-113.

2. Steel

From King Girban,

116 dharnis of steel (Ispat), purchased by Srikrishna Padhya and Jayamangal Padhya with Rs 925 sanctioned from the revenues of Morang for the procurement of supplies from Calcutta, have been received through Trilochan Padhya and Narad Padhya and handed over to the custody of Kapardar Bhotu Pando. Clearance shall be granted against this receipt while auditing the accounts of the purchase.

Ashadh Sudi 11, 1862
(June 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 118-119.

3. Wax

(a) From King Girban,

To all villagers and outposts (Chauki) in the areas situated west of the Bishnumati river and east of Raginas.

Provide porterage services in your area for the transport of Wax and honey being supplied from Raginas under contract for the manufacture of cannon. These supplies shall not be held up at any outpost.

Baisakh Badi 4, 1862
(April 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 499.

Contd.....

(b) From King Girban,

To Chaukidars of all roads and ferry-points (ghat) in the areas situated west of the Bishnumati river and east of the Kali river.

Permit men bringing wax for the manufacture of cannon and of molds for other purposes (Waje Kam) to proceed to Balaji without any obstruction.

Baisakh Sudi 3, 1862

(April 1805).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 517.

(c) From King Girban,

To Chautariyas, Kajis, Sardars, Kapardars, Khajanchis, Subbas, Subedars, Ditthas, Jethabudhas, Najikis, Tharthaks, Umras, Bicharis, Dwares, Dhoka-Dwares, Darogas, Jamadars, Majors, Kotes, Ajitans, Amalis and others throughout our dominions west of the Bishnumati river.

Large quantities of wax are required here for the manufacture of cannon. Supply all wax produced in your areas to the wax contractor (Main-Bhansari) on payment of the price at local rates. The contractor shall collect a charge of 2 annas per dharni of wax in addition to the local rate and supply it to the munitions factory. Severe punishment shall be awarded if even one masa of wax is sold to others or exported.

Ashadh Badi 13, 1862

(June 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 93-94.

(The same order was sent on the same date to areas situated east of the Dhobikhola river).

(d) From King Girban,

To Bahadur Thapa.

You are directed to furnish quickly particulars of the location of honey-combs as well as of the quantities of wax collected by you in different areas.

Ashadh Badi 13, 1862

(June 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 93.

Contd...

4. Timber

From King Girban,

To the Amalis and inhabitants of the villages mentioned below belonging to all the 4 castes and 36 sub-castes, other than those who supply timber and charcoal daily to munitions factories or grind gun-powder at gun-powder factories, as well as laborers employed for the supply of fodder (Ghansi) and lumber-workers (Bosi).

Proceed to Malta (in Chisapani-Gadhi area) on Jhara basis and transport sal timber to ... obtain receipts and clearance from the officials appointed through Sardar Indra Simha Thapa. Those who do not provide Jhara services in this manner shall be punished. Bring the timber quickly.

Thankot

Dahachok

Satungal

Taginabu (?)

Machchhegaun

Bosan

Kirtipur

Chobhar

Pharping

Tistung-Palung

Balambu

Kisipidi.

Ashadh Badi 11, 1862

(June 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 84-85.

(The same order was sent on the same date to Kotku, Sunaguth, Bungmati, Tudikhel, Bode, Katike, Khokana, Itachi, Harisiddhi, Thaiba, Lele and other villages also).

(To Be Continued).

Arms And Ammunition For Garhwal Front

1. From King Girban,

To Kaji Nain Simha Thapa and Sardar Indra Simha Thapa.

Blessings. All is well here and we hope the same there. The news here is good.

We sent men to arrest the four military porters (pipa) who had deserted (the arms). Their noses were cut off. There may be other deserters too. Send particulars of their names and addresses. If they can be captured there, do so, and cut off their noses.

Cannon was despatched from here on the 11th day of the month of Aswin (approx. September 27, 1805), and may duly reach there. Keep along with you the cannon which you had taken from here, without leaving it. For making arrangements for Hulak porters, send troops one or two days before your departure. Order them to impress labor on Jhara basis for setting up Hulak outposts. If Hulak arrangements can be made in advance, the movement of cannon and ammunition will not be held up anywhere.

(Aswin Sudi 2, 1862)
(October 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 507.

2. From King Girban,

To Kaji Nain Simha Thapa.

You had written a letter to your elder brother, Bhimsen Thapa, from across the Bheri river. He has submitted the letter to us.

You have written that you have marched swiftly, taking with you cannon and ammunition. You have also written, "The cannon and ammunition were delayed for 3 days in Salyan. One piece of cannon, which had been taken from here, was found concealed with dry millet straw. We went there, strongly reprimanded the local village headmen, and covered 2 days' distance in 1 day along with the cannon and ammunition, and thus crossed the Bheri river. It may be better to give a warning to the people of Salyan."

You have thus marched swiftly and submitted appropriate reports. We shall write to you regarding the action to be taken against the people of Salyan, who held up the movement of cannon and ammunition for 3 days.

Contd...

You have also mentioned that soldiers, Huddas and Jamadars of the Ranabhim Company have not reached there, and that guns were despatched through Hulak porters in bundles. What sort of men has Jahar recruited? Inform him accordingly and send a list of the names and addresses of the defaulters. We shall arrest them and send them to Laxmipur. Recruit new and capable men in their vacant posts, and assign them lands and rents.

Take good care of the cannon and ammunition, in the same manner as you have done so far, and march swiftly. Confirm the assignments of lands and rents to those who join you before you cross the Bheri river. Resume the assignments of those who join you after you cross the Bheri river, and replace them by other capable persons.

Kartik Badi 14, 1862

(October 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 633-634.

3. From King Girban,

To Kaji Nain Simha Thapa, Sardar Indra Simha Thapa, Subedar Jahar Adhikari, and the Jamadars and Huddas of the Bardwani and Ranabhim (companies).

Proceed without any interruption. Do not leave your cannon behind. Do not stop short of your destinations. Do not make any halt on the way. In no circumstances should you leave the cannon behind. In case you make any delay, you shall be considered guilty.

Aswin Badi 11, 1862

(September 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 475.

4. From King Girban,

To the Amalis, Chauki (dars) and Hulaki porters in the areas situated west of Dharmathali and east of Garhwal.

On Aswin Badi 11, (1862 Vikrama), we have sent cannon and ammunition from here. Provide porterage services for their transport in your respective areas without making the slightest delay. In case these supplies are held up in the area under the jurisdiction of any person, he shall undergo punishment on his person and property.

Aswin Badi 11, 1862

(September 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 475.

Contd...

5. From King Girban,

To the Majhis, Mijhars and villagers of Devighat, Tarukaghat, Budhaisingghat, Kallyarighat, Arunghat, Pipalghat, Gajurighat and Parabaghat on the Trishuli river.

Provide 1 Jhara worker for each 7 households as decided upon by yourselves and join Kaji Nain Simha Thapa as soon as you receive this order. The Kaji will give you money for food. We hereby exempt you from Jhara services other than services at ghats (ferry-points) and for the supply of black grain. In case you do not go there, you shall be held guilty and awarded severe punishment.

Aswin Badi 12, 1862

(September 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 472-474.

On the same date, this order was issued also for Arunghat, Banighat, Borlangghat, Jyamirighat, Bunkotghat and Kuringhat on the Gandi (Gandaki) river, Tarkughat, Kholaghat, Chepughat, Majhuwaghat, Satighat and Gopasingghat on the Marsyangdi river, Saranghat, Patharaghat, Damaulighat, Silaghat and Wairenighat on the Seti-Madi rivers and Khaniyaghat, Darpughat, Gargabighat, Purlighat, Adhighat, Ridighat and Keladighat on the Kali river, as well as to all ghats on the Mahakali, Bheri and Karnali rivers.

Rates Of Transit Duties At
Chhoprak, Gorkha

From King Girban,

To preceptors, priests, Bhardars, Sardars, Subedars, Jamadars, musketeers, soldiers and all other people belonging to the 4 castes and 36 sub-castes.

Pay duties as usual at the following rates through Lachhiman Bubhadel at Chhoprak valley in Gorkha on elephants, horses, falcons and buffaloes brought from the western regions. Your goods shall be confiscated if you do not pay such duties, or use force, or attempt to smuggle them, and severe punishment shall be awarded to you. In case you resort to force, the local Amali shall extend assistance (in offering resistance).

Elephants	...	Rs 5 each
Horses	...	Rs $1\frac{1}{4}$,,
Falcons	...	Rs $1\frac{1}{4}$,,
Cow buffalo	...	10 annas ,,
Bull buffalo	...	3 annas ,,

Kartik Sudi 14, 1862
(November 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 650.

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Annexation Of The Sen Kingdoms^x

By

Baburam Acharya.

When Prithvi Narayan Shah was engaged in his campaign of building up a new Nepal, deep unrest was spreading in the Sen Kingdoms of the Kirat region. Makwanpur, which had broken away from the Kirat Kingdom of Vijayapur, was being ruled by King Manik Sen. He was succeeded by his son, Hemakarna Sen. Mahipati Sen was then King of Vijayapur. He was the younger brother of Manik Sen. He was also called Mandhata Sen. The Kings of Vijayapur styled themselves Hindupati or "lord of the Hindus", because they regarded themselves as rivals of the Mughals. They appointed their ministers, who were also known as Chautara, exclusively from among the Limbus. The Limbu ministers had their line of succession just like the Kings. King Mahipati had to flee his State and go to Lhasa as a refugee as a result of his conflict with his Limbu minister, Vichitra Rai. The Limbu ministers, even though not Kings themselves, carried on the administration of the State independently. In 1730 A.D. the then Limbu minister invited Jagat Sen, younger brother of Hemakarna Sen, and proclaimed him King of Vijayapur. Just at this moment, Mahipati Sen returned from exile. The minister, therefore, retained the upper Kirat region, situated to the east of the Arun river, and the Tarai area of Morang, in Vijayapur State and made Mahipati Sen its King. At the same time, he created a new State comprising the Central Kirat region, situated to the west of the Arun river and the Tarai areas of Saptari, with Chaudandi as its capital, and made Jagat Sen its King. Thus two Sen Kingdoms were established (1753). Jagat Sen was succeeded by his brother, Mukunda Sen IV. As Mukunda Sen was childless, Vikrama Sen, another younger brother of Jagat Sen, became King, and ruled for some years. He was succeeded by his son, Karna Sen, whose minister (Chautara) was Ajit Rai.

^xBaburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966). Chapter IX: "Kirat Sen Rajyahaaruko Unmulan." (Annexation Of The Kirat Sen Kingdoms), pp. 60-65.

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After the death of Shajepal Sen, Viceroyal Sen became King of Tripura (1754). Viceroyal Sen was the minister, Shajepal Sen and prominent minister during the reign of Sandhya Sen, who ascended by the throne in 1754. In 1762, Viceroyal Sen came from the country, because Sandhya Sen had quarrelled with the king and the country. However, he came back in 1761 and passed power after meeting Sandhya Sen. This effective power remained between the King and the minister for some years. This also was ended till the time when Sandhya Sen nominated Viceroyal Sen as minister. Viceroyal Sen was succeeded by Sandhya Sen, who was succeeded by King Sandhya Sen as the charge that he, in consultation with 47th Dal, minister of Choubhary, had tried to assassinate the King. But Sandhya Sen, restoring all his strength, eventually forced Sandhya Sen to go away. Sandhya Sen wanted to plan for assistance from the local British officer. But he failed to secure any aid from the British. Finally, Sandhya Sen, fleeing to his son Viceroyal, died. But Sandhya Sen killed the minister, but then regained power in Tripura (1764). In 1775, a rebellion broke out in Tripura, in which Sandhya Sen was exterminated, he was succeeded by his wife, Sandhya Sen. But Sandhya Sen was a powerful monarch. She had established King Sen as of Choubhary in case of Tripura.

Viceroyal Sen was the son of Prince Shajepal Sen's reign. On account of this, he was in good terms with Prince Shajepal Sen. It was therefore, proved for Prince Shajepal Sen to feel perturbed over the death of Viceroyal Sen. Following this incident, he issued orders to all districts to eradicate Sandhya Sen and every descendant.

From that time, King of Choubhary was kept after the fall of Sandhya Sen. Some British agents had a mission extended from the 47th Dal, east of Choubhary in the first region, where the king, Viceroyal Sen, had taken to the British as his ally. He was therefore, pleased. King of Tripura, the minister, to help the arrival of Prince Shajepal Sen. He invited the British to the help of his country after they were back steadily at that time. He was not prepared to sign Treaty with the British and also had there was some Treaty. Prince Shajepal Sen was not getting ready to invade Choubhary. After consultation the king of Choubhary, however, he replied that he could not accept Treaty, the Secretary of Choubhary, as long as the British remained in the first region in war, therefore, he could not sign Treaty with British. In 1775, the British agent in Tripura, and Prince Shajepal Sen, after a conference of this, started making military preparations to invade Choubhary. He appointed the British (1775) as his minister, and Prince Shajepal Sen had a nephew of Sandhya Sen, from King Shajepal Sen, and his younger brother, called Man Sen, as minister. In 1775, of Choubhary, Sandhya Sen was consequently given the name of Dal and started with full ministerial power.

The capital of Chaudandi was situated in the inner Tarai. The area surrounding the Udayapur fort, situated south of the border between the hill and Tarai regions, was inhabited by Magars, who were responsible for defending it. Majhkirat, situated in the hill region of Chaudandi, was inhabited also by Khasas. Prithvi Narayan Shah secretly sent Bangya Basnyat to this area and won over the Khasas, who were tired of the oppression to which they were subjected by Karna Sen. Among the Khasas were Harinandan Upadhyaya of Kharpa, and Trilochan Upadhyaya, both of whom were wealthy and influential. Both men were worried over the possibility of their property being plundered in the event of a Gorkhali attack on Chaudandi. Harinandan Upadhyaya thought that he could save his Birta lands and his wealth if he helped the Gorkhalis to conquer Chaudandi. Accordingly, he came over to Nuwakot and personally requested Prithvi Narayan Shah to attack Chaudandi. He promised that he would assist Prithvi Narayan Shah to the best of his capacity if he invaded Chaudandi. Trilochan Upadhyaya too promised whatever support he could give for the invasion. Prithvi Narayan Shah could scarcely afford to lose this golden opportunity.

Trilochan Upadhyaya had made arrangements to ferry Gorkhali troops across the Dudhkoshi river, by outflanking outposts in the Kirat area. Two companies of Gorkhali troops, despatched by Prithvi Narayan Shah under the command of Sardar Ramkrishna Kunwar and Sardar Amar Simha Thapa, crossed the Dudhkoshi river at night and entered into Chaudandi (August 1772). It was Prithvi Narayan Shah's intention to send Abhiman Simha Basnyat to occupy the capital from the Tarai area after the occupation of the Kirat region. Chaudandi did not have a standing army in the Kirat region. The local Khambus were given the responsibility of defending that region. Ramkrishna Kunwar tried hard to win them over to his side. But the Khambus refused to accept the Gorkhali domination and resolved to put up a fight. Every Khambu chief in the Kirat region was a feudal overlord, who regarded the Sen Kings as no more than a titular ruler. They apprehended that they might be subjected to the yoke of law once they agreed to accept the domination of the Nepal government. Hence their determination to fight back.

Khambu youths, who were skilled archers, stemmed the advance of the Gorkhali troops at every step with their arrows. They inflicted heavy losses on the Gorkhalis, so that Prithvi Narayan Shah had to send reinforcements under the command of Subedar Shiva Narayan Khatri. Chatim Rai of Rawa-Khola and Atal Rai of Pamakham were the principal leaders of the Khambus. However, the bows and arrows of the Khambus ultimately proved ineffective before the muskets of the Gorkhalis. Within a period of 5 months, the Gorkhalis occupied Rawa, Halesi, Majhuwa, Kulum and Dingla, thus conquering the whole of Majhkirat.

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The situation in the Limbuwan region of Vijayapur was critical at that time. Taking advantage of the dissensions between the King and his ministers, King Phunchek Namgyal of Sikkim occupied Ilam and attacked Limbuwan from the north-west of Ilam. The Limbus of these regions were therefore anxious to welcome the Gorkhali troops. Realizing this, the Gorkhali troops commanded by Ramkrishna Kunwar crossed the Arun river from Dingla and reached Chainpur. Nobody blocked their advance. The writ of the King and his minister was confined to the areas surrounding the capital of Vijayapur, where King Karna Sen and his minister, Buddhikaran, were staying. It was the monsoon season. Both the King and his minister were complacent, because they thought that the Gorkhali troops would not cross the Koshi and enter into Vijayapur during this season. However, Abhiman Simha Basnyat achieved this impossible task. Gorkhali troops, riding on elephants, crossed the turbulent Koshi and launched a surprise attack on Vijayapur (July 17, 1774). Unable to repulse this attack, King Karna Sen and Minister Buddhikarna fled to Sikkim along with their troops. With the occupation of Vijayapur, the Limbu Subbas (chiefs) of the area from Islingwa to Changthapu in the Limbuwan region bordering Sikkim accepted Prithvi Narayan Shah's suzerainty. Thus the entire Pallokirat region, with the exception of Ilam, was annexed without fight.

King Karna Sen and his minister sought asylum in Sikkim. Abhiman Simha Basnyat sent a message to the King of Sikkim asking him to vacate Ilam and extradite both Karna Sen and Buddhikarna. On receiving this message, the King of Sikkim ceded Ilam to Nepal (September 1774). But before Ilam could be actually handed over to Nepal, both Karna Sen and Buddhikarna separately escaped from there and headed for Calcutta. While in exile, they continued efforts to reconquer the Kirat region.

Previously, the Tishta river formed the eastern boundary of Morang. While annexing Ilam, the King of Sikkim had also occupied the area situated between the Kankai and Tishta rivers. When the King of Sikkim refused to restore this Tarai area, Abhiman Simha Basnyat sought Prithvi Narayan Shah's order to occupy it through invasion. Prithvi Narayan Shah at first had some reservations on this proposal. He instructed Abhiman Simha Basnyat to cross the Kankai "if Sikkim is intent on waging a war against us instead of seeking peace and make a decision yourself." The King of Sikkim sought reconciliation by handing over Ilam, and Abhiman Simha Basnyat then occupied the Tarai region of Morang, situated between the Koshi and Kankai rivers, thus bringing an end to the Kirat war. With the occupation of Chaudandi and Vijayapur within a period of 2 years, the entire Kirat region became part of Nepal.

Political Boundaries Of Nepal¹

By

Jagadish Chandra Regmi.

The political map of every country changes along with its history. This is so because of the imperialist tendency of neighboring countries. The structure of a country or a State changes frequently owing to mutual conflicts. This is true also of the political boundaries of Nepal.

It is known to all that the present map of Nepal emerged after the Sugauli Treaty of 1815. After that event, Jung Bahadur prepared the present political map of Nepal by incorporating the "Naya Muluk" territories. Before the Sugauli treaty was signed and after the unification of Nepal by Prithvi Narayan Shah, we find Greater Nepal, which was approximately double in size to that of present Nepal. Before Prithvi Narayan Shah, Nepal was divided into the Baisi, Chaubisi and Malla Kingdoms and the Makwanpur, Chaudandi and Vijayapur principalities.

Every independent nation has two types of boundaries. The first type of boundary is not restricted by political factors. The cultural boundaries of Nepal were consolidated and expanded in a well-organized manner after its revolutionary unification by Prithvi Narayan Shah.

It is very difficult to determine the cultural boundaries of Nepal from ancient times, because of the paucity of historical material. Nepali inscriptions even from the time of the Lichchhavis do not contain appropriate and reliable evidence regarding the then boundaries of Nepal. In such a situation, we have to determine these boundaries through a comparative study of the political boundaries of the contemporary India. We should, at the same time, pay attention to the sources and traditions of Nepal. We will discuss the boundaries of Nepal from this viewpoint.

1. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, Lichchhavi Samskriti (Lichchhavi Culture) Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2026 (1969), Chapter II: "Nepalko Rajanaitik Sima" (Political Boundaries of Nepal), pp. 89-94.

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Nepal Before The Lichchhavi

The Kirat Kings ruled over Nepal before the Lichchhavis came here. There is no historical basis to determine the period of reign of these rulers (approximately 600 or 700 years). No reliable evidence or inscription is found to write the history of this period. That is why the history of the Kirat period is not clear, and the political boundaries of Nepal during this period are not definite. We have to discuss Indian sources, as mentioned above, to know the condition of Nepal during the Kirat period.

At the time when Nepal was ruled by the Kirats, India was ruled by the Janapads (Shodashmahajanapada), the Nandas and the Mauryas.

The Buddhist text Mulasarvastivadavinayasangraha refers to Kirat Nepal for the first time. It mentions that the disciples of the Buddha had entered into Nepal along with traders while the Buddha was yet alive.² It also states that the traders had come to Nepal from Shravasti. Therefore the boundary of Nepal can be said to have started from Shravasti.

The Atharvaparishista, which was compiled before the above-mentioned Buddhist text, also refers to Nepal, along with Kamarupa, Videha, Udumbar, Avanti and Kaikaya.³ We thus know that the following states were situated on the borders of Nepal: Kamarup (Assam) on the west, Videha (northern part of modern Bihar) on the south-east, Udumbar (modern Punjab) on the south-west, and Avanti (central India) on the south.⁴ Although this does not directly refer to the boundaries of Nepal, it gives an idea of the then Nepal.

Two other contemporary works also refer to Kirat Nepal. These are the Arthashastra of Kautilya and the Mahabharata.

2. Mulasarvastivadavinayasangraha: Chapter 21, 16, Naishargika, p. 100; S. Lovi, Le Nepal, Vol. III, pp. 39, 181 and 185.

3. Atharvaparishista (Kurmavibhag) Weber, Verzeich der Hrs Kon Bibli (Berlin), Vol. I, p. 93.

4. D.C. Sircar, Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 21.

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Among these two books, the Arthashastra of Kautilya refers only to the name of Nepal. But the Mahabharata, (Vana-Parva) describes Nepal as a Vishaya. According to scholars, the term Vishaya means a district. Even then, it may be defined as a region.

Nevertheless, nothing we have mentioned above presents any evidence regarding the boundaries of Nepal at that time. It only proves that Nepal at that time had already emerged as a distinct political and geographical entity.

There were small republican (ganarajya) States in northern India when the Kirat Kings ruled over Nepal. Among these republican states, some were situated on the borders of modern Nepal. If we discuss the structure and condition of these states, we can form some idea regarding the general map of the then Nepal. A brief discussion of these border states is given below.

Kuninda Ganarajya

Kuninda is an old tribe of India. Scholars believe that this tribe had spread up to Almora (west of modern Nepal). Rapson⁵ has agreed with Pargiter⁶ that a group of this tribe had settled in western Nepal.

Moriya (Maurya) Of Pippalivana

In ancient times, the Moriya republic (ganarajya) was situated to the north-east of Koliya ganarajya and south and south-west of the Malla ganarajya. The original home of the Moriyas was called Pippalivana. Piprawa (12 miles south and south-west of Lumbini), which is situated in the southern part of modern Nepal, is regarded as their original home.⁷

5. E.J. Rapson, Cambridge History Of India, Vol. I. S.B. Chaudhary, Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 155.

6. Pargiter, Markandeya Purana, Bibliotheca Indica, 1904, p. 316.

7. B.C. Law, India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 56.

Koliya Ganarajya

Ancient Buddhist texts have referred to the Koliya ganarajya in different contexts. According to these texts, Ramagrama and Devadaha were well-known Koliya settlements. According to Yuan Chwang, Ramagrama was situated 300 li east of Kapilavastu. Scholars have regarded Dhamauli, a village situated between Gorakhpur and the borders of modern Nepal, as the original site of the Koliya Ganarajya.⁸

Vrijji (Bajji) Ganarajya

Bijji was a big republic in northern Bihar during the 7th century B.C. Its northern borders adjoined the southern borders of modern Nepal.

Cheti Rashtra

Among the ganarajyas situated in southern part of modern Nepal, Chetirattha (Cheta-Cheti Rashtra) was one. According to Vessantara Jataka (Jataka, Vol. VI, p. 554), Chetarattha was situated at a distance of 30 Yojanas from Jetuttaranagara on the way to the Himalayas. Another Cheti Kingdom or Janapada was situated in Bundel Khand. The Cheti Kingdom referred to in the Vessantara Jataka was situated in the southern part of modern Nepal, according to Bimal Chandra Laha.⁹

Koshala and Shakya Ganarajyas

The Kingdom of Koshala was probably situated in Sahetmahet (Bahraich and Gonda districts) to the south of modern Nepal.¹⁰ Koshala had once defeated the Shakyas. The Shakya ganarajya is believed to have been situated in Kapilavastu in the Tarai region of Nepal.¹¹

8. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1902, p. 151; S.B. Chaudhary, Ethnic Settlements In Ancient India, p. 63.

9. B.C. Law, India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 41.

10. S.B. Chaudhary, Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 62.

11. Ibid.

Pabbata Rattha (Parvata Rashtra)

The Buddhist text Samyattanikaya Attakatha refers to Pabbata Rathanagar in Videharattha. It is believed to have been situated on the southern part of modern Nepal.¹² Since Parvata Rashtra may have been so called because it extended to the hills. Janakpur and the adjoining areas up to the inner Tarai region of modern Nepal may have constituted Pabbata Ratha, since it formed a part of Videha and extended to the hills.

Videha (Mithila)

Ancient texts refer to Videha as one of the 7 important Kingdoms of India.¹³ Janakpur in modern Nepal is believed to have been its capital, Mithila.¹⁴

A study of the geography of the above-mentioned ganarajyas sheds light on the general map of the then Nepal. However, it does not give any information about Nepal's northern and eastern boundaries.

We may also arrive at correct conclusions regarding cultural conditions in Nepal during the Kirat period. All the above-mentioned ganarajyas were of Arya origin and their culture and civilization were well advanced. Since it was in close contact with these ganarajyas, the Nepali society of the Kirat period must have been well acquainted with the new culture and civilization. Lichchhavi culture emerged against this background.

12. M.S. Pandey, Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar, p. 13

13. S.B. Chaudhary, Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 163.

14. Ibid.

Nepali Coins During The Mediaeval Period

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali,

There is evidence that coins of some type or other have been used in Nepal from ancient times. The coins of the Kushan Kings, who ruled in India at the beginning of the Christian era, are discovered here from time to time. The ancient coins of Nepal resemble the Kushan coins. Since the coins of Yaudheya, an ancient republican tribe, resemble the Kushan coins, historians have said that the coins used in ancient Nepal resemble those of the Yaudheyas.

All the available coins of ancient Nepal are of copper. The words "Mananka", "Gunanka", "Vaishravana", "Pashupati", etc, are inscribed on them. The coins have therefore been named accordingly. These coins are undated, and it has not so far been possible to ascertain their dates. Historians believe that Mananka coins were issued by the Lichchhavi ruler Manadeva. The hypothesis that Gunanka coins were issued by Gunakamadeva seems doubtful, however, because Gunakamadeva ruled from the end of the 10th century to the beginning of the 11th. The Gunanka coins seem to have been issued much earlier. There is no evidence regarding the date of the Pashupati and Vaishravana coins.

Although the date of these coins has not been determined, the names of Kings are inscribed on the other two coins of ancient Nepal and so their date has been fixed. The names of Amshuvarma and his successor, Jishnugupta have been inscribed on these coins. This proves that these coins belonged to the 7th century.

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Mediaeval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Note at the end of Chapter XII, pp. 135-145.

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Ancient inscriptions of Nepal refer to Pana, Karshapana and Pana-Purana coins. The Thankot inscription of Jishnugupta indicates that 16 Panas made one Karshapana. This inscription states that 50% tax exemption had been granted to the people of Dakshinkaligrama. It also states that those who were liable to pay 1 Karshapana as tax should pay 8 Panas. This shows that 16 Panas were equal to 1 Karshapana in Nepal during the 7th century. Indian books on political economy state that 80 Cowries make 1 Pana, and 16 Panas, 1 Karshapana.

The Khopasi inscription of Shivadeva I states that villagers should pay 50 white Mrittikas during their visit to Kailashkut (palace). The Mrittika referred to in this inscription probably meant coins made of baked white clay.

Sadashivadeva, who ruled at the beginning of the 12th century, introduced coins in which the image of lion was inscribed. But this coin has not yet been discovered. It was an ancient tradition in Nepal to inscribe the image of the lion on coins. This has been done on Mananka coins, as well as on the coins minted by Anshuvarma. Similarly, Ratna Malla, first King of Kathmandu after the division of the Kingdom of Nepal, circulated copper coins with the image of the lion at the end of 16th century. This coin too has not been discovered.

Unless we are to ignore the unavailable coins of Sadashivadeva, who ruled during the twelfth century, and of Ratna Malla, who reigned during the fifteenth century, no coins of the period from the seventh century to the sixteenth are available in Nepal. The first available dated coin belong to King Jagat Prakash Malla of Bhadgaun. This coin is dated 752 Nepal era (1632 A.D.). However, undated coins of earlier Kings, Laxmi Narasimha of Kathmandu, and his father, Shivasimha, have been discovered.

It was Mahendra Malla, father of Shivasimha, who first minted silver coins in Nepal during the sixteenth century.² The present Mohar coins (which are of the denomination of Rs 0.50) are named after Mahendra Malla. It has been established that Mahendra Malla had minted his Mohar coins in 684 Nepal era (1564 A.D.).

2. These coins were put on display at a numismatic exhibition sponsored by the Department of Tourism some time ago.

The coins of the Muslim rulers of Bengal, who ruled from the thirteenth century, that is, from the time when Muslim power was ushered in India, to the sixteenth century, are known to have circulated in Nepal. Contemporary documents of Nepal refer to these coins as gold coins (Swarna-Mulya). The treasury of the Pashupatinath temple is believed to be in possession of several such coins. Hari Gopal Mukerjee had procured some of these coins for examination. His studies revealed that these coins belonged to the contemporary Muslim rulers of Bengal. Hari Gopal Mukerjee states that a large number of such coins were in the possession of the treasury of the Pashupatinath temple.³

Pre-Mahendra Malla coins belonged to the rulers of Bengal and so we may assume that Mahendra Malla's coins were similar to them. However, this is not the case with the coins of Shivasimha, a facsimile of which has been given by Hari Gopal Mukerjee or does not mention any date. Moreover, the circle situated in the center of the coin contains the word "Sri Sri", with "Allauddanyabad Din Urs Sultan Abul Muzaffar" on the margin. But on the reverse side the coin bears the image of Shiva as well as of a lion (Simha). Taken together, the images of Shiva and the lion represent Shiva Simha. The center of an ancient coin of Nepal bears the image of the Sun (Amshu), while its margin contains the words of the King (Maharajadhirajasya). Historians have therefore presumed that this coin was minted by King Amshuvarma. Laxminarasimha, son of Shivasimha, and the Kings of Patan also minted coins bearing the image of the lion (Simha), instead of inscribing "Simha" in words.

On one side of Laxminarasimha's coin is mentioned the name of a Muslim ruler, as in the case of those of his father, while the other side bears the effigy of Laxmi, Nara (man) and lion (Simha).

The coins of Pratap Malla, son of Laxminarasimha, mentions the Ilahi era on one side, and the name of Jahangir Shah in the Arabic script on the other (775 Nepal era or 1655 A.D.). It is not clear why it became necessary for this coin, minted at the close of the reign of Shah Jahan, son of Jahangir, to mention the Ilahi era started by Akbar, or the name of Jahangir. The Mohar coin of Nripendra Malla, son of Pratap Malla, dated 795 Nepal era (1675 A.D.) also contains designs resembling Arabic letters. So do the coins of Parthivendra Malla. Bhupalendra Malla's coins do not bear such designs. But the coins of Bhaskar Malla or Mahindrasimha Malla, Bhupalendra Malla's heir, again imitate the Arabic practice. Jagajjaya Malla departed from this practice. Jaya Prakash Malla, on the other hand, minted Mohar coins with Arabic designs.

3. Perceval Landon, Nepal, Vol. 2, pp. 318-323.

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Several Kings of Patan and Bhadgaun appear to have adopted the practice of minting Mohar coins containing Arabic letters or designs. To sum up, it had in a way become a tradition with the Kings of divided Nepal to mint such coins.

The account given in the Vamshavalis with regard to the arrangements made by Mahendra Malla for minting coins independently, is worth studying in this context. According to this account, Mahendra Malla had pleased the Emperor of Delhi by presenting him with swans and hawks. The Emperor granted him a stamp to mint coins, with which Mahendra Malla minted coins called Mahendra Malli Adheli in 1564 A.D. At the time when Mahendra Malla introduced his coins, the Emperor occupying the throne of Delhi was Akbar, who had just freed himself from the control of his guardians and began to rule independently. He had not even laid the foundation of the vast Mughal empire that he subsequently established through a series of conquests. In the light of this fact, it does not seem reasonable to assume that he turned his attention to the internal financial problems of Nepal. However, the fact remains that the coins of the rulers of Bengal circulated in Nepal. This had something to do with the geographical proximity between Nepal and Bengal. Nepal's coins had not been circulating for a long time, and only the coins of rulers of Bengal circulated. This naturally created the impression that the sole authority to mint and circulate coins vested in the rulers of Bengal. The Delhi-based Muslim power which dominated the whole of India at that time exerted tremendous influence on the minds of the people. It was against this background that Mahendra Malla minted coins of his own. Neither the three states comprising Kathmandu Valley nor any hill regions of Nepal had come under the control of Muslims. It was therefore natural to doubt whether the people would not hesitate to accept Mahendra Malla's coins in their transactions if these were brought into circulation all of a sudden in areas where coins of the Muslim rulers of Bengal were already in circulation. For this reason too, someone must have publicized the story of Mahendra Malla having received the permission of the Emperor of Delhi for minting his own coins. And this may be the reason why Arabic letters or designs continued to be inscribed on the coins of Nepal. As a matter of fact, it had become a tradition to do so.⁴ The coins of Shivasimha and Laxminarasimha

4. One contemporary Nepali painting depicts a King playing dice with a Princess. The King is presumed to be Mahendra Malla, and the Princess the daughter of a Muslim ruler of Bengal. The legend has it that Mahendra Malla had obtained permission from the Muslim ruler of Bengal to mint coins in his own name because he had greatly pleased the Princess, by playing dice. However, the purpose of making this painting or spreading the legend was nothing but to create a false impression among the people. It is very hard to believe that Mahendra Malla, King of Kathmandu, should have been required to please a Princess of Bengal by playing dice.

even contained the names of contemporary Muslim rulers of Bengal. Not much information on the exact relationship existing between the rulers of Bengal and the Kings of Nepal is available. The coins, bearing the names of the Muslim rulers of Bengal, resembled existing coins and so commanded the people's confidence.

In this context, the views of Tavernier, a French traveller, who visited India during the rule of Aurangzeb, are worth studying. In his travel account, Tavernier writes: "After travelling 5 or 6 leagues from Gorakhpur, one arrives in the territory of the King of Nepal. The King of Nepal is a vassal of the great Mughal King and sends one elephant annually as tribute." This statement of Tavernier leads us to infer that Nepal had once been a vassal of the Mughal Emperor and used to send an elephant annually as tribute to him. If this assumption is not incorrect, it would not be appropriate to doubt that Nepal had minted coins of its own with the approval of the Mughal Emperor, as stated in Vamshavalis.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the Muslim administrators of Tirhut and Patna attacked Makwanpur on the pretext that it had encroached upon and annexed an area stretching from what is now known as Bara to Morang. They captured King Shubha Sen of Makwanpur and took him to Darbhanga. Shubha Sen then undertook to pay a tribute of Rs 1,200.00 for that area. An elephant of the value of Rs 1,200.00 was sent from Makwanpur to the Mughal Subedar at Darbhanga. For the Mughal court in Delhi, there was no difference between Makwanpur and Nepal. The more familiar Nepal as conceived by the Mughal Emperor consisted of a hill region. The Mughal court in Delhi knew too well that the state of Makwanpur comprised both Tarai and hill regions, and that the states of Nepal Valley were situated across the Mahabharat range. Many people probably thought that the borders of the Mughal empire adjoined Nepal. Tavernier also implies that the distance between Gorakhpur and the territory of the state of Nepal was just 5 or 6 leagues. But this reference was to the state of Makwanpur, for the states of Nepal were located far away from Gorakhpur. The vassal state referred to by him was Makwanpur and none else, not Nepal.

After having said so much about the exterior form and shape of the coins of divided Nepal, it is necessary to discuss what actually prompted Mahendra Malla to mint his own coins. It was quite natural for him to desire to mint his own coins on the basis of the principle that every independent state must have its own coins. At that time, Akbar, the great Emperor of India, had just ascended the throne. Mahendra Malla therefore apprehended that the Mughal Emperor might invade his state, taking its independent coins as a sign of its prosperity. But none of the Muslim Sultans of Delhi,

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and not even the Mughal Emperors, had invaded Nepal since 1206 A.D. This greatly encouraged Mahendra Malla to mint his own coins. There was also the history of Bengal before him. The Sultans of Delhi had, from time to time, tried to invade and conquer Bengal. But Bengal remained independent from the time of Feroz Tughlak (1353-54 A.D.) to 1576 A.D., when it was finally conquered by Akbar. As such, it is logical to assume that Mahendra Malla should have been encouraged to mint his own coins with the assurance of the rulers of neighboring Bengal.

Nepal's growing trade with Tibet was another factor which prompted Mahendra Malla to mint silver coins. He needed coins of his own to facilitate the exchange of goods between Nepal and Tibet. He therefore concluded a treaty with Tibet, under which Nepal would mint coins for Tibet with silver to be supplied by the latter. The silver made available by Tibet was adequate for minting coins for Nepal. The supply of coins to Tibet proved very profitable to Nepal. This arrangement also checked the flight of both gold and silver from Tibet to third countries. Traders brought silver from Tibet and handed it over to the Mint of the Nepal government, which utilized the silver to mint coins for Tibet. The government of Nepal made a profit of 12% from this business. Of this amount, 4% was charged by the mint, while the balance (8%) was derived as profit from the alloy. The total annual revenue from this source amounted to Rs 100,000.00. Tibetan traders sold gold at Rs 8.00 per tola to the mint. The same gold was sold in the market at Rs 14.00 per tola. Nepal thus made huge profits from transactions in bullion. (Kirkpatrick, pp. 211-212).

Kathmandu and Patan were under a unified rule from 1461 A.D., when Ratan Malla was King, to 1644 A.D., in which year Siddhinarasimha Malla established an independent state in Patan. Bhadgaun was under the grip of Kathmandu. From all this, it appears that Kathmandu was the sole beneficiary of trade in these precious metals. But with the start of internal strife in Nepal, both Patan and Bhadgaun aspired for a share in the wealth accruing from this trade. Jagat Prakash Malla, who became King of Bhadgaun in 1632 A.D. adopted a policy of not remaining under the domination of Kathmandu. The same year, he minted coins independently. His coins resembled those of Shivasimha and Laxminarasimha. This indicates that he too wanted to have his coins circulated in Tibet. Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan too decided not to cast his lot any more with Kathmandu. Accordingly, he minted his own coins in 1641 A.D. (1761 Nepal era). King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu minted his coins during the same year. Thus all the three states of Nepal Valley minted coins separately and tried to have them circulated in Tibet. All the three states appear to have achieved success to some extent in this task. The Mohar coins of Bhupatindra Malla and his son, Ranajit Malla, the last two Kings of Bhaktapur, were definitely in circulation in Tibet, Bhupatindra Malla's

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coins were called Angi Rugpa in Tibet. These Tibetan words mean "sixth number". The coins were so named because the last numeral of the date inscribed on the coins minted by Bhupatindra Malla in 816 Nepal era (1666 A.D.) was 6. Ranajit Malla's coins were named Nagatang (meaning black coins) (Walsh, p. 633). These coins must have become black because of debasement.

Nearly 100 years later, Prithvi Narayan Shah, King of Gorkha conquered Nuwakot. Nuwakot was the principal route through which trade was conducted with Tibet. Hence, Prithvi Narayan Shah saw that much profit could be made if he too minted coins for exchange purposes. He determined to compete with the other principalities of Nepal in this field. He therefore minted coins of the same design as that of Nepal's coins. His first Mohar coin, minted in 1676 Shaka era (1754 A.D.), has been discovered. A description of another Mohar coin minted by him in 1680 Shaka era (1758 A.D.) is also available (Itihas Prakash, Vol. 1). Prithvi Narayan Shah's objective in minting coins before conquering Nepal Valley was to dominate trade with Tibet.

In subsequent years, both Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu and Ranajit Malla of Bhadgaun started sending debased silver coins to Tibet. Their revenue was dwindling as a result of the economic blockade imposed by Prithvi Narayan Shah. At the same time, their expenditure was mounting as a result of the war. For this reason, they were compelled to start minting debased silver coins. After conquering Nepal in 1768-69 A.D., Prithvi Narayan Shah withdrew these debased coins of the last Malla Kings, and replaced them by his pure coins. However, the debased coins already in circulation in Tibet created a great difficulty. Prithvi Narayan Shah decided to withdraw these coins and cancel them. Tibet did not accept this proposal, which would have involved it in loss. Later, separate rates were prescribed for the debased coins and the pure coins of Prithvi Narayan Shah. This further aggravated the difficulty and ultimately led to a war with Tibet during the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah in 1789.

From the artistic viewpoint too, the coins of divided Nepal are in no way inferior to contemporary Indian coins. The emblems inscribed on them have their own characteristics. Further study is needed in this regard.

One or two Kings occasionally minted dabal coins or gold mohars. But the practice was not common. Suka, or other coins of the denomination of fraction of a Mohar were, of course, minted. Suka coins were minted to commemorate special occasions or in the name of the queen.

The Nepal Samvat was used in the coins of divided Nepal. Prithvi Narayan Shah, however, adopted the Shaka calendar.

Supplies For Munitions Factories

(Continued)

Saltpeter

To Benudatta, Kamsamani and Daman Khawas.

Since large quantities of saltpeter are required here as in previous years, we had deputed you to make arrangements for its procurement. We had also made provisions for (the assignment of) lands and villages, as well as for money and for your emoluments, for this purpose. Since you left, we have received 227-18-5 (dharnis ?) of saltpeter by Ashadh Sudi 15, 1862 (July 1805), including 181-10 through Sindhuli and 46-8-5 through Hitaura.

Work has been hampered here because of the lack of saltpeter. You probably think that you will be able to evade your responsibilities with the support of the Bhardars. If you continue to discharge your responsibility of procuring saltpeter in this manner, we shall flay you alive. Saltpeter is urgently required here. Send supplies quickly in leather bags, so that no water may get in. Station one or two of your men both in Sindhuli and in Hitaura, to whom supplies of saltpeter sent by you may be delivered.

If you continue to make delay, we shall flay you alive. You must have received news regarding the man with whose support you have made such delay.

Shrawan Badi 1, 1862
(July 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 190-191.

Iron

From King Girban,

To Dittha Bishram Khatri.

Large quantities of iron are required for the munitions factory here. As a result, the price of iron has gone up here. Hand over Rs 100.00 to each of the following Subedars to purchase iron at the price current at

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local mines. Smelt the iron and purify it, and send it to the palace through Hulak porters along with troops belonging to different companies. Obtain receipts for supplies delivered. Remissions shall later be granted against these receipts while scrutinizing the accounts of your work. Do not make any delay in this work, but finish it quickly. Send supplies of iron on an urgent basis.

Rs 100 to Subedar Chamu Khatri to purchase iron.

Rs 100 to Subedar Bag Singh Thapa ,,

Rs 100 to Subedar Jarul Bohara ,,

Rs 100 to Subedar Chhirbire Khawas ,,

Rs 100 to Subedar Kirtibhakta Thapa ,,

Rs 100 to Subedar Biru Gurung ,,

Shrawan Sudi 13, 1862

(August 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 298-299.

Supply Of Metals

From King Girban,

To Dittha Bishram Khatri.

Some time ago, an order had been sent to Jayadrath directing him to supply metals. However, he has not sent any so far. You are now directed to expedite the supply of metals, since the manufacture of cannon has been hampered here. Make arrangements therefore to supply metals quickly. Send supplies along with a reliable person without making a moment's delay, so that metals may reach here quickly. We have sent you this order, since Jayadrath has not been able to send supplies quickly. Expedite the supply of metals.

Baisakh Badi 14, 1863

(May 1806)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 765.

Contd...

Saltpeter

From Clay Report.

From the Chemical Bureau.

We have sent you a different order in the Tamil region to purchase saltpeter worth Rs 15,000 in respect of the quantity assigned in 1943 (1944-45) in order to increase the production of saltpeter.

We have placed all saltpeter mines under your jurisdiction. The (saltpeter) mines at Chering and some others by Jambhans. For some time reports will be about 1000 and have started yet. In Chittr ... , we have sent further instructions to you for the mines, the State Government, along with some necessary orders and instructions. It is desirable (the starting of the mines). Also the necessary orders and instructions will be sent as required to expedite the work.

The 1st time, but still are, exploring deposits of saltpeter in various parts of the districts. In Chittr ... , we have sent further instructions to you, Kanchi District, Mysore District, and the State of the Tamil, to expedite the exploration. Give the necessary orders and instructions in this regard.

We have informed you that you were having for the saltpeter mines (the saltpeter deposits) in the districts. This progress in order to speed up the work. We have sent you instructions for the mines, we have sent further orders to you for the mines, along with the State of the Tamil in Chittr ... District exploration in both cases (of the saltpeter). However (saltpeter deposits) are located, using the local inhabitants (the saltpeter mines) and inform us. We shall have necessary equipment and supplies, as well as material for increasing their income, as requested by you.

We are sending you a separate (saltpeter deposits) in Chittr, Puduk and the surrounding areas also. We require ... details of saltpeter and saltpeter every year. In the case of the saltpeter deposits (for the supply of) will be sent to you. We have sent you this quantity of saltpeter every year, as shall you will have to be able to produce in Mysore, along with the necessary orders and instructions, along with the necessary orders and instructions.

We have received reports that there are saltpeter deposits in the Tamil region. We have sent you a separate order to you for the mines, along with necessary orders. Send us of your own also in relation to the production of saltpeter. We have sent orders in the name of the State and the State of 1943-44.

October 1943, 1943

(1943-44)

Special Research Collection, Vol. 7, pp. 74-75.

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

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The Last Days Of Prithvi Narayan Shah^x

By

. Baburam Acharya.

Even before the annexation of Chaudandi, Prithvi Narayan Shah had written to Governor-General Warren Hastings requesting a Patta from the East India Company Government and stipulating to pay revenue for the Tarai territories of Ambarpur and Vijayapur. He also wrote in his letter that he would capture Buddhikarna, who had murdered his cousin, King Kamadatta Sen. Prithvi Narayan Shah also sent Sriharsha Mishra and Brihaspati Pandit as his envoys to Calcutta. However, Warren Hastings sent no reply to this request. The envoys therefore returned empty-handed. Following the capture of Vijayapur by the Gorkhalis, the British officer of Purnea district, Ducarel, may have written to Governor-General Warren Hastings that Morang belonged to the East India Company. Obviously for this reason, Prithvi Narayan Shah received a letter in August, 1774, from Warren Hastings written on the 25th day after the capture of Vijayapur by the Gorkhalis. The letter asked him to withdraw his army from Vijayapur and Ambarpur if he wanted to maintain friendship. With the belief that he could maintain his control over the Tarai only by pleasing the British, Prithvi Narayan Shah despatched his envoy, Dinanath Upadhyaya, to Calcutta immediately after receiving the letter, notwithstanding the rainy season.

The Kings of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur had been minting pure silver Mohar coins weighing 48 lal each for their own use. They used the Newari script on these coins. When establishing trade relations between Kathmandu and Tibet, it was agreed that Kathmandu should mint coins for Tibet and use the Tibetan script thereon. These coins used to be minted according to the weight and alloy of Nepali coins. Prithvi Narayan Shah too had started minting Nepali coins of pure silver of the same weight in 1749. Jaya Prakash Malla had minted coins for Tibet from very impure metal in order to raise money to fight the war. He progressively debased his coins. Such coins had been in wide circulation in Nepal as well as in Tibet, since debasement is not apparent in newly-minted coins. Prithvi Narayan Shah's

^xBaburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi". 2022 (1966). Chapter IX. "Prithvi Narayan Shahko Antim Din Ra Unko Vyaktitwa." (Last days of Prithvi Narayan Shah and His Personality), pp. 66-69.

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policy was to circulate pure coins with a view to promoting faith in commerce. Immediately after annexing the Malla Kingdoms, he started collecting all such debased coins in circulation by paying for pure silver content, and put pure silver coins in circulation. He intended to withdraw the debased coins from Tibet too and replace them by pure coins. The Tibetans, however, refused to do so, as they saw that this would be harmful to them. This resulted in the virtual cessation of trade between Nepal and Tibet.

The problem of coins had already raised its head during the Kirat war. Prithvi Narayan Shah had not been able to pay attention to it, as he was busy with the war. Immediately after receiving news of the capture of Vijayapur, he concentrated his attention to making pure Tibetan coins. For the purpose of holding consultations on this issue, he sent a trade delegation led by Lal Giri, to Tibet in October, 1774 with a letter to the Dalai Lama.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had planned to go to Nuwakot and occupy the Chau-bisi States when Dinanath Upadhyaya was away in Calcutta on a mission to regain control over the Tarai areas of Ambarpur and Vijayapur, and Lal Giri was away in Tibet for the purpose of solving the problem of the debased coins. Only a few trusted ministers like Pandes and Basnyets used to know Prithvi Narayan Shah's plans. It was perhaps because he knew that he was nearing his last days that Prithvi Narayan Shah summoned his brothers, courtiers and officials in Nuwakot and delivered a touching lecture in December, 1774. This lecture is known now as "Divine Message." The message given by Prithvi Narayan Shah is showing the path of progress to Nepal and the Nepalis even today. The entire Nepali people then felt grieved when Prithvi Narayan Shah died of fever in the morning of January 10, 1775 at Devighat near Nuwakot.

Following the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah his eldest son, Crown Prince Pratap Simha Shah, was proclaimed King of Nepal in accordance with the rule of succession.

The views of two English gentlemen, who visited Nepal within 27 years after Prithvi Narayan Shah's death, about his personality may be given here. Colonel Kirkpatrick writes: "There are some apparent contradictions in his character which our imperfect knowledge of his history does not enable us to clear up: thus, notwithstanding the cruelty he manifested in his treatment of the inhabitants of Kirthipoor, in his ungenerous rigour towards the Patu sovereign, and on some other occasions, he is said to have disgraced one of his principal adherents for wounding one of the enemy while in the act of fleeing from the field of battle."

Contd...

Dr Hamilton writes: "His (Narabhupal Shah's) eldest son was a man of insatiable ambition, sound judgment, great courage, and unceasing activity. Kind and liberal, especially in promises to his friends and dependants, he was regardless of faith to strangers, and of humanity to his enemies; that is, to all who opposed his views."

The famous historian Sylvain Lévi, who visited Kathmandu 125 years after the death of Prithvi Narayan Shah, writes: "Prithvi Narayan Shah was capable of making the most of any situation. He was a man of limitless ambition and indefatigable activity. He was of keen intellect. He made quick decisions and did his duty selflessly. He was very liberal in rewarding services. He was ruthless in suppressing his opponents."

Dr D.R. Regmi says, "Prithvinarayan Shah was a nationalist to the core of his heart. With him conquest was the aim of life, patriotism was the guiding factor for any action. He combined in him all roles of a patriot and a valiant soldier and an organiser and a general. That is why as he acquired territories of enormous extent he saw to it that these were well consolidated under a centralized rule, and that the various people brought into the orbit enjoyed security without any feeling of being subjugated."

Foreign writers who visited Nepal at different times, as well as Nepali scholars, have thus unanimously praised the patriotism and illustrious personality of Prithvi Narayan Shah. This praise is by no means exaggerated.

Pratap Malla^x

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

The first of the coins of Pratap Malla, which have been discovered is dated 761 Nepal era (1641 A.D.). At the temple of Pashupatinath at Makhantol, there is a stone-inscription of Laxminarasimha Malla, dated Ashadh 761 Nepal era (1641 A.D.). This inscription, which is in the Nepal language, describes Laxminarasimha Malla as Maharajadhiraja. The assumption is that Pratap Malla had imprisoned his father and ascended the throne long before his death and minted coins in his own name.

According to Vamshavalis, Laxminarasimha Malla was a lunatic and so Pratap Malla imprisoned him and ascended the throne himself. This account creates the impression that Pratap Malla's action was justified. There is no means to verify whether or not Pratap Malla had concocted the story of his father's lunacy in an attempt to justify his action. Hence, it is not possible to say anything more in this regard.

In order to prove his accession to the throne, it had become more necessary for Pratap Malla to link his name to Goddess Tulaja than to mint his own coins. Accordingly, in Jetha 762 Nepal era (1642 A.D.), Pratap Malla installed the banner of a lion (Simhadhwaja) with an inscription containing a genealogical account of his dynasty at the temple of Tulaja, which had been constructed by Mahendra Malla, his forefather. (Sanskrit Sandesh, Vol. 1, No. 2). According to Vamshavalis, Laxminarasimha Malla had not been able to pass Goddess Tulaja's esoteric hymns on to Pratap Malla because of his death in jail, and, as a result, these hymns were forgotten.

Pratap Malla was a far-sighted man. He did not like the division of Kathmandu Valley. For this reason, he did not appreciate the establishment of the independent state of Patan. He also did not want the independent state of Bhadgaun to exist. However, he did not succeed in his efforts to bring both Bhadgaun and Patan under his control, because he lacked an

^xSurya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyaka Ko Madhyakalin Itihas (Mediaeval History of Nepal Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter XIII: "Pratap Malla", pp. 147-159.

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organized force and, moreover, because Patan was ruled by a capable King such as Siddhinarasimha Malla. A small group was benefitting from the existence of three separate Kingdoms in the valley. This group was naturally determined to defend its privilege at all costs. The people of the Valley at that time were too ignorant to realize the harmful consequences of division.

According to one account, Pratap Malla invaded Patan long before he ascended the throne after imprisoning his father. The invasion took place the very day King Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan installed the image of a deity at the temple of Krishna, built by him in Falgun 757 (1637 A.D.). This is corroborated by a stone inscription installed by Siddhinarasimha Malla in the same temple. According to this inscription, the enemy had attacked Patan exactly at the time of celebrations for the construction of the temple, and occupied forts, but Siddhinarasimha Malla had later driven out the attackers and liberated the forts. The inscription does not mention Pratap Malla, but the enemy referred to in it was nobody else. In his stone inscription (Hanuman-Dhoka Palace) of 769 Nepal era (1649 A.D.), Pratap Malla also has referred to this attack on Patan and his occupation of Siddhinarasimha Malla's forts. The battle cited in both stone inscriptions took place between 1637 A.D. and 1649 A.D.

In the valley, the Bagmati river formed the boundary between Kathmandu and Patan. It does not seem probable, however, that these two Kingdoms fought each other on the banks of the Bagmati river. It is, indeed, difficult to believe that a battle had taken place across the Bagmati exactly at the time of the inauguration of a temple which was noted for its beauty and when people from various parts of northern India had probably congregated there. The above-mentioned stone inscription of Pratap Malla gives reason to suppose that the battle took place on a northern hill. It refers to Kuti, in Tibet. According to the account of contemporary European travellers, the Newar Kings of Kathmandu controlled two passes called Kuti and Kerung, through which people entered Tibet. Desideri, who travelled to Tibet via Nepal between 1616 and 1621 A.D. writes, "Until recently, the Kuti area, along with its fort, was under the control of the King of Kathmandu. Now it is under the control of Lhasa." (Desideri, p. 130). About Kerung, he says, "If one travels southward through Kerung, one arrives in Patan, the second of biggest Kingdom of Nepal." (Desideri, p. 118). This view leads one to assume that the Kuti and Kerung routes were controlled by Patan and Kathmandu respectively. Their control of these routes must have lasted until 15 or 20 years before the battle. There were recurring disputes over the possession of passes or other areas situated on the borders of Tibet. Kuti had probably been in the possession of Tibet for some time during the rule of Pratap Malla. It is probable that at that time, he might have instigated a dispute over some of these areas. The control of Kuti was later transferred to Kathmandu in the wake of one of these disputes. This is apparent also from the account given in Vamshavalis, which states that

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While the war between Bhadgaun on the one hand and Kathmandu and Patan on the other was in progress, father Grueber, a European traveller, reached Kathmandu on his way back to Rome from China. He has written an account of this war. From his account, it appears that the joint armies of Pratap Malla and Srinivasa Malla were commanded by the latter. Father Grueber saw these joint armies standing on the banks of the Bagmati river. With the help of the telescope given by Grueber, Pratap Malla looked at the disposition of Jagat Prakash Malla's troops. Pratap Malla then proposed an immediate attack. In appreciation of these services rendered by Father Grueber, Pratap Malla sought to provide him with accommodation and permit him to stay in Nepal. But Father Grueber had to leave Kathmandu in a few days as he had been recalled from Rome. But according to the account given in Vamshavalis, this war started when Pratap Malla attempted to impose an economic blockade on Patan and Bhadgaun by blocking all routes. Srinivasa Malla and Jagat Prakash Malla reacted to this move by entering into an alliance and launching an attack on Kathmandu (Shrawan 778 Nepal era, 1658 A.D.). The route to Bhadgaun was reopened following this attack. Some time later, Pratap Malla won Srinivasa Malla over to his side and reopened the route leading to Patan. This reconciliation between Kathmandu and Patan naturally meant the isolation of Bhadgaun. The independent existence of Kathmandu itself would have been at stake had Pratap Malla not succeeded in winning the support of Srinivasa Malla.

Following this alliance, the joint army of Kathmandu and Patan attacked Mala. Jagat Prakash Malla retaliated by attacking a village at Changu and setting it on fire (Paush 780 Nepal era, 1660 A.D.). Eight persons were killed, and 21 captured during this battle. A few months later, the joint army of Pratap Malla and Srinivasa Malla occupied Bandegram and then Chorpuri. Jagat Prakash Malla, finding himself helpless in the face of the steady advance of the joint forces of Kathmandu and Patan, finally admitted defeat and presented money and elephants as tribute to Pratap Malla. A dabal coin of Pratap Malla, minted in 781 Nepal era, 1661 A.D.), that is, after his victory in this war has been discovered. In this coin, Pratap Malla has described himself as "King of Kings." (Rajarajendra).

The above-mentioned wars were not wars in the true sense of the term, but were just ordinary quarrels. Nobody can be described as victorious or conqueror merely on account of his having triumphed in such minor quarrels. Pratap Malla is not renowned in history as a conqueror or warrior. He is famous for something else. He is famous for his love of literature, construction of buildings, etc.

(...Contd....)

... Images of images built by Petya Hills are still intact. It was in the hall the Prince Gennady-Oleg in the side of the market place in Moscow, along with the court-yard known as Royal Court Street 11. The workshop named Stone One for the hall of British soon inside Royal Court were also built by Petya Hills, he was the teacher of Iosifov and Gennady located in front of the same palace, Petya Hills also was a conversation with a good teacher the palace. The palace was named as "Royal", the hall of Stone was built by Petya Hills, after the construction of this temple, the King of Royal started visiting the hall of substitution. This temple is still preserved by the King of Royal, Petya Hills built several temples in Paganism and Islamism temple were not used in their house, he constructed several new temples and other places of religious importance and beautiful also same. The King (Gennady) installed by the or Emperor is still intact.

Petya Hills was a devout believer. This is clear from the record of Gennady with a request by the personally and described by the or Emperor, this was in a time when the King of Moscow was in the palace in Moscow. The Paganism temple was not used since invited Emperor Gennady from 1215 till the time to the to work the church of Saint Basil's in Moscow, Petya Hills's faith for Petya Hills was built covered the study of Gennady in Moscow.

... King Gennady of Moscow went to Moscow, Petya Hills greatly honored himself in King of Royal (Gennady). In one of his King records 1215 built in (1215 A.D.), in Moscow built the hall.

The collection of images built by Petya Hills not only preserved the memory of the past, but also enriched the inhabitants. The construction of Architectural in 1215 built in (1215 A.D.) not only built in the country of the King, but also was it very easy for its inhabitants to see and visit other religious places. The King Gennady's description of the location of Architectural in the Royal language. This temple was built with the same spirit this temple was preserved physically by Gennady, but it was constructed specially for the King.

Petya Hills usually performed the Prayer and Prayer religious activities, to visit friends from different parts of India were invited. The collection physical opportunity for the people of Royal in regular contact with visitors from different parts of India, and contributed to the growth of links and cultural exchange between them. The ritual gift of gold (1215) performed by him at the temple of Paganism in King 1215 built in (January 1215 A.D.) is well-known. The temple installed to work the palace in the name of this ceremony in with its collection of last temple, or Emperor, great was great.

Pratap Malla's religious tolerance was commendable. Of course, religious tolerance has been a special trait of every King of Nepal. But the form which this virtue took during the reign of Pratap Malla is of inter-communal importance. He welcomed the Jesuits and even offered them permanent accommodation in Kathmandu. Syamarpa Lama of Tibet obtained permission from him to construct the shrine of Swayambhu one year before Pratap Malla became King. Scholars from different parts of India found shelter in his palace. Lambakarna Bhatta of South India was his preceptor. Vamshamani Upadhyaya and other scholars of Mithila also obtained shelter from Pratap Malla. There is an interesting story about Pratap Malla's respect for Buddhism. In Shrawan 769 Nepal era (July 1649 A.D.), Pratap Malla, accompanied by his Queen Lalamati, visited the ancient Vihara at Thamel to peruse the Shatasahastrika Pragnyaparamita written in Marga 344 (November 1224 A.D.) by Sri Jinashrignyan, a resident of Nagadesha, situated between Thimi and Bode. Highly impressed by this work, Queen Lalamati promptly composed some verses expressing her admiration for it. On listening to these verses, Pratap Malla too composed some verses eulogizing this great work. The documents containing these verses can still be seen along with that book. On the occasion of the Indraajatra festival, girls representing the Virgin Goddess (Kumari) visit the Vihara of Thamel in the course of their drive around the city on a chariot and these verses are recited in their presence (Sanskrit Sandesh, Vol. 1, No. 5).

Pratap Malla demonstrated a liberal approach on the question of marriage. In his stone inscription of 769 Nepal era (1649 A.D.), installed at the temple of Krishna near Hanumandhoka, he has referred to his two queens named Rupamati and Rajamati. The stone inscription, a reproduction of which was first published by Bhagwan Lal Indraji, (Sanskrit Sandesh, Vol. 1, No. 3) refers to the existence of Kamalpur, the ruins of which are still found in Cooch Bihar. The name of Kamalpur was later changed to the more famous one of Bihar. It was first named Kocha or Cooch Bihar in order to distinguish it from Bihar situated in northern India. This was done because the state of the Kochas, was established in this Bihar. During the early 10th century, the Afghan Kings of Gaud (Bengal) defeated Nilambar, the last King of Cooch Bihar, and imprisoned him. Then followed a period of chaos in Cooch Bihar. During this period, several tribes from the north-east region invaded Cooch Bihar. Finally, the Kochas succeeded in establishing their rule, because they were the strongest of the invading tribes. Hajo, the most powerful Kocha leader, also occupied what is now Assam and eastern Bengal. Since he was childless, he was succeeded by the son of his daughter, Bisu. During Bisu's reign, the Tantrik cult became popular in Cooch Bihar. It was under the influence of this cult that Bisu changed his name to Bishwavasus or Bishwa Simha. Bishwavasus divided his Kingdom between his two sons named Maranarayan and Shukladhwaja. Cooch Bihar was given to Naranarayan as his share. Naranarayan was succeeded by his son

Contd...

Lord Sargen in 1550 A.D. Lord Sargen was defeated by the English under
 Douglas in a war. After his death in 1552 A.D., Sargen's daughter was
 married to Queen Siker. In 1557 A.D., ruling only for 5 years, she
 was succeeded by his son Yung Sargen. Sargen, was the ruler of the
 of the same Yung Sargen. In fact, the dynasty to which she belonged and
 which was described in Fretag Hill's stone inscription referred to, was
 was that of Sargen's and his ancestors. Thus, Fretag Hill married the
 daughter of Sargen, King of Yung Siker.

This marriage fitted in with the tradition followed by the ancient
 Kings of Sikkim. Sargen II, a Licchavi King who ruled during the eight
 century, was married to the King, daughter of Gupta King's daughter
 and a Princess of the Licchavi dynasty of northern India. Sargen, the
 son born to Sargen's son Yung Siker, was married to Sargen, daughter of
 King Sargen of Sikkim.

In his stone inscription, Fretag Hill also inscribed the name of
 Sargen, his name, in addition to that of Sargen. In style and
 in writing there are some differences, while the inscription of
 Sargen is written in both the Tibetan and Chinese languages, the style used in
 writing Sargen is very ancient.

A Chinese stone tablet of the same era (1557), containing the name
 of Sargen, has been discovered. The stone-written stone inscription
 referring to him is inscribed at the temple of Irtang in the year
 1557. The inscription seems to show that both Sargen and his
 son died by them. The statues of both kings are installed at the temple
 of Irtang. The stone inscription indicates clearly that the inscription
 of Sargen's name had been engraved by their "descendants for the future".
 For all these reasons, it is reasonable to assume that the King name
 was the name of Sargen's father issued to commemorate his death.

Fretag Hill later married the other king. This is proved by the
 inscription mentioned in a pillar inscribed by him in front of Sargen
 King (Sargen's name, Ch. 7, p. 1-4). It shows that the subsequent
 name of Fretag Hill is named Yung Siker and Sargen's name. It shows
 Sargen's name as the Princess of Sargen's name (Sargen's name
 name). This indicates that she was the Princess of Sargen's name.

The inscription also contains the name of Fretag Hill's name. The
 name Sargen's name, Sargen's name, Sargen's name, Sargen's name
 name and Sargen's name. In the time the inscription was written
 Sargen's name was living. According to the inscription, Fretag
 Hill and his son King for a period of one year by Fretag.

A Mohar coin bearing his name, dated 789 Nepal era (1669 A.D.) has been discovered. Chakravatindra Malla is said to have died after he hardly passed one day of his rule. Since the same inscription gives the title of Maharaj-kumari) to Bhupendra Malla, this leads one to assume he was regarded as Crown Prince. None of the other sons of Pratap Malla has been given any special title.

The definite date of Pratap Malla's death is not known. However, from all available accounts, it appears that he died around 795 Nepal era (1675 A.D.). A Mohar coin of his son, Nripendra Malla, which was issued during that year has been discovered. Pratap Malla thus appears to have ruled for a total period of 35 years.

There is no doubt that Pratap Malla was a capable and learned ruler of Kathmandu. His works contain many egoistic and erotic expressions and are full of similes. This was, however, a feature of the contemporary Sanskrit poetry, which was on the decline. If we are to interpret the similes used by him, we may have to arrive at the groundless conclusion that he had 3,000 queens, as the Vamshavalis say. During the reign of Pratap Malla, the story of the vast harems of the Mughal emperors of India had reached Nepal. It appears that after reading this story, the gullible authors of Vamshavalis committed the mistake of attempting to link the glory of Nepal with the harems of the Mughal emperors. There is actually no shred of truth in this story. Pratap Malla was interested only in learning and had a broad outlook. This is apparent also from the shelter given by him to scholars from different parts of India in his palace. He was also interested in Tantrism. His matrimonial relationship with Cooch Bihar was probably the indirect result of his love for the Tantric cult, for this cult had become very popular in that Kingdom at that time. A large number of temples of different deities are still seen in Kathmandu. The daily religious functions, dances and festivals at those temples provided spiritual satisfaction as well as entertainment to the common people at that time. The religious life of the people was marked by a spirit of tolerance. Nobody harbored religious intolerance.

Although it is not possible to ascribe any specific major achievement to Pratap Malla, and although he does not appear to have initiated any particular action aimed at changing the course of history, his rule does seem to be a page in the history of ancient Nepal. He was definitely the greatest of the Kings of the three Kingdoms of Nepal.

Resumption Of Guthi Land Endowments In Jajarkot

Report Submitted By Kharidar Surjyanidhi Upadhyaya of The Jajarkot Rajya Birta Survey Office

No. 11 of the regulations issued in the name of this office is as follows:-

Lands granted to any person as Guthi and Mafi (tax-free) in Jajarkot by the Raja of Jajarkot or by any Bhardar, inspector (Janchaki) or collector (Tahasildar), other than lands being used under royal order or other authority which had been sanctioned previously, shall be measured and surveyed by the survey team in the presence of local functionaries (Thari, Thani, Mukhiya and Jimmawal), owners of adjoining lands, the persons who have been utilizing (such Guthi and Mafi lands) so far and the tenants. A statement signed by them shall be prepared indicating the area of the lands (used as Guthi and Mafi), the reason for the grant and conditions thereof, the amount paid every year and the year from which such payments were made. The lands shall be sequestered, recommendations made according to the law, and a report shall be submitted (to the government) through the Sadar Dafdar-khana (office) along with copies of the statement mentioned above and of all available orders and documents. Action shall then be taken as directed.

When surveys were conducted in the old Rajya of Jajarkot in accordance with these regulations, it was discovered that the Rajas of Jajarkot had granted the following lands, fetching a total income of 24 rupees and 13 annas, as Guthi for the following reason since the time of the Baisi and Chaubisi rulers. These grants have not been confirmed by royal seal and the signatures of former Mukhtiyars. The lands have been used accordingly.

Contd...

After conducting surveys in the manner mentioned above, I have sequestered the lands, and, since no order or other document is available, recorded a statement from the persons using the lands and those paying rents thereon, as well as of owners of adjoining lands as witnesses. I submit a certified copy of this statement herewith.

Since the lands have been used without any order or other document, the users cannot be permitted to retain them according to Section 18 of the Law on Miscellaneous Land Matters (Jagga Jamin Goshwara Ko). It thus appears necessary to enter these lands (in the tax assessment records as Raikar).

However, I feel that the lands should be confirmed in the names of the users under Section 9 of this law, since they have been using it since former times. Moreover, the people may undergo misery if another person invokes the devata or vayu (who were being propitiated with the produce of the concerned lands),

It is not proper for me to make a definite recommendation, since this involves the grant of land on a Mafi (tax-free) basis. It is for (Your Highness) to decide whether or not to make such a grant.

Memorandum Of (Sardar Dafdarkhana Office)

This office has made investigations on this report. Section 18 of the Law On Miscellaneous Land Matters prescribes:

In case anybody grants lands to any person on a Mafi (tax-free) basis through his own order without obtaining any order (from the government), or himself appropriates land as Birta by submitting false particulars, he may be sentenced to capital punishment or to imprisonment for life at the discretion of the Prime Minister.

In case any person accepts such land as a gift or donation, or purchases it, with full knowledge that the land had been acquired in the manner mentioned above, he shall be punished with a fine equal to the value of the land. Rents due on the land shall also be realized from him.

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In case he has done so without any knowledge of the manner in which the land had been acquired, he shall not be deemed to have committed any offense. Only the amount of the rent due on the land shall be realized from him. Such lands shall be resumed and recorded in the official register.

A report has now been received to the effect that the Raja of Jajarkot had endowed the following lands as Guthi in the manner mentioned below without the sanction of the then Mukhtiyar, and that the lands are being used accordingly (by the recipients).

It thus appears that these lands, endowed as Guthi by the Raja of Jajarkot on his own initiative without a royal order or the approval of the then Mukhtiyar, which are being used accordingly (by the recipients) should be resumed according to law and entered in the register.

However, the Law on Miscellaneous Land Matters also contains the following provision:

Lands which had been obtained during the time of former Kings on any condition and which are being used accordingly shall be confirmed according to the grant, if any, or else on the basis of possession after consulting owners of adjoining lands. In case (the landowner) makes a request for a fresh grant, it need not be issued. If a part of the same plot of land is being used on the basis of a grant and the rest on the basis of possession, that part for which there is a grant shall be confirmed. The other part, for which there is no grant, cannot be confirmed even if it has been in the possession (of the concerned landowner) for 16 years past. It shall be converted into Raikar.

The report mentions that the grant does not contain the signature of the then Mukhtiyar, but that the lands have been endowed as Guthi by the Raja of Jajarkot since the time of the Baisi and Chaubisi rulers; and are being used accordingly.

(The Sadar Dafdarkhena Office) therefore represents that the lands may be confirmed or resumed at the discretion (of the Rana Prime Minister)

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This memorandum was endorsed by the Muluki Adda. (The Prime Minister) then issued the following order:

These lands shall be entered in the register (Moth). The amount of 24 rupees and 13 annas required for the performance of the prescribed religious functions on the basis of the usual collections shall be granted from the Tahasil Adda (Revenue Collection Office) of (Jajarkot) Rajya, Chaitra Sudi 15, 1949 (April 1893).

This report has accordingly been forwarded to the Jajarkot Survey Office.

Particulars Of Lands And Revenues

- (1) Two Guthi endowments in Barhakot-Dara: Formerly, Aghilli Devata (goddess) emerged on this land. Whenever it did not rain in winter or summer, the villagers would assemble and pray (to this goddess) for rain. It would then start raining. This used to happen frequently. After the entry of the Gorkha government, the matter was represented to Subba Jog Man, who had come to attack Jumla. The Subba then made a Guthi endowments, with the income from which a temple (deval) was constructed and religious ceremonies are being performed. According to a statement signed by the local people, the total income from the two Guthi endowments amounts to 2 rupees, 11 annas and 3 paisa. The breakdown is as follows:
 - (a) Guthi endowment of Subakoti Devata, known as Dhane-Khola Khet, cultivated by Suro Diyara. The total income, according to the rate of 14, as prevalent in the Rajya, is 14 annas and 3½ paisa.
 - (b) Guthi endowment of Rangamachula Devata, known as Katti-Khet, cultivated by Chame Diyara, total area being 11 muris and 5 pathis, total income being 1 rupee, 12 annas and 3½ paisa, at the rate of 16.
- (2) Two Guthi endowments in Saiyan-Dara: Formerly, before the entry of the Gorkha government (into Jumla), Maibi-Devata emerged on this land and started harassing the local inhabitants. The Nayak of the Dara then endowed this land as Guthi, constructed a temple (deval) and initiated religious ceremonies. The people then felt relieved, according to a statement signed by the local people. The total income from the two Guthi endowments amounts to 15 annas and 2 paisa. The breakdown is as follows:

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- (a) Guthi endowment of Shri Bhairav Devata in Yaslegaun, Khet lands cultivated by Jagbir Sim. The total income is 7 annas and $2\frac{3}{4}$ paisa at the rate of 16.
- (b) Guthi endowment of Shri Bhauta-Chhahari, 2 muris of Khet land known as Ramsar, cultivated by Bauru Padhya. The total income is 7 annas and $2\frac{3}{4}$ paisa at the rate of 16.

(3) One Guthi endowment of Kamal Jaisi in Khagena-Dara:-

Formerly, (before the entry of the Gorkha government into Jumla), the Raja of Khagena granted this land to Kamal Jaisi. Later, he confiscated the land. Grieved at this, Kamal Jaisi committed suicide on this land which has now been endowed as Guthi. He became a Pret (evil spirit) and began to harass the Raja of Khagena, who then granted the land as Guthi to Kamal Jaisi, constructed a temple (deval) on the land and initiated religious ceremonies. The Raja then felt relieved, according to a statement signed by the local people. The total income is 2 rupees, 13 annas and 2 paisa. Particulars are as follows:-

- (a) 18 muris of Khet land, called Hadekakal, in Kurari village, cultivated by Dharma Das Jaisi. The total income is 2 rupees, 8 annas and $1\frac{1}{2}$ paisa at the rate of 14.
- (b) 2 muris of Khet land in Paigha village, cultivated by Ranabir Khatri. The total income is 5 annas and $\frac{1}{2}$ paisa, at the rate of 16.

(4) Two Guthi endowments in Maru-Dara:

Formerly, before (the entry of the Gorkha government into Jumla), this devata emerged (on this land) and started harassing the local inhabitants. At that time, the Raja of Jajarkot endowed the following lands as Guthi, constructed a temple (deval) for this Devata and initiated religious ceremonies. The inhabitants then felt relieved, according to a statement signed by the local people. These two Guthi endowments yield a total income of 5 rupees, 5 annas and 3 paisa. The breakdown is as follows:-

- (a) The Guthi endowment of Kakalata-Kamakha Devata yields 1 rupee, 14 annas and 3 paisa. This included 11 annas and 3 paisa on $5\frac{1}{4}$ muris of Khet land called Donali, and 1 rupee and 3 annas from 8 muris, 8 pathis and 6 manas of Khet land called Patihalna, at the rate of 14, both cultivated by Harshabir Roka Sad.

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(b) The Guthi endowment of Paigha-Bijuli-Daka-Masta Devata yields 3 rupees and 7 annas. This includes 2 rupees, 13 annas and $1\frac{1}{2}$ paisa from $20\frac{1}{4}$ muris of Sera Khet land at 14 paisa (per muri), and 9 annas and $2\frac{1}{2}$ paisa from $3\frac{3}{4}$ muris of Khet land called Dohali at 16, both cultivated by Mairam Rokaya.

(5) A Guthi endowment of Mahadev Jaisi in Satiya-Dara.

Formerly, (before the entry of the Gorkha government into Jumla, the Raja of Jajarkot had granted this land to Mahadev Jaisi. However, he resumed it subsequently. Grieved at this, Mahadev Jaisi committed suicide on this land which has now been endowed as Guthi. He became a pret (evil spirit) and began to harass the Raja of Jajarkot. The Raja thereupon granted the land as Guthi to Mahadev Jaisi and use it for worshipping (God) Mahadev. He then felt relieved, according to a statement signed by the local people. This Guthi endowment has an income of 1 rupee, 6 annas and $2\frac{1}{4}$ paisa from 8 muris and 15 pathis of Khet land, at the rate of 16, which is cultivated by Kal Khatri.

(6) Guthi endowment of Sri Chaturmasa Devi in Jagatipur-Dara. At one time, this land had been cultivated by a Brahman woman called Chaturmasa. However, the Nayak of the village evicted her and started using the land himself. Grieved at this, the Brahman woman went to the land and committed suicide. She became a pret (evil spirit) and began to harass the Nayak. The Nayak, as a result, was unable to use the land and so relinquished it. He appointed other persons to cultivate the land, but everybody who cultivated the land underwent suffering and therefore relinquished it. The land therefore remained uncultivated for 100 or 120 years. In (19/34) (Vikrama, or 1877 A.D.), Raja Jung Bahadur Shah granted the land (to a descendant of the Brahman woman Chaturmasa), saying, "Since she was your ancestor, propitiate her and use the land if you can. I give it as Guthi (in the name of) Chaturmasa." A temple (daval) was constructed on the land and religious ceremonies were initiated. Mano was worshipped in the months of Ashadh and Marga when crops were sown and harvested. Relief was then felt, and the land was thus reclaimed and cultivated, according to a statement signed by the local people.

This Guthi endowment yields an income of 1 rupee, 9 annas and $2\frac{1}{2}$ paisa from 10 muris of Khet land called Yasbagar at the rate of 16.

(7) Guthi endowments in Jajarkot:-

(a) Paini Guthi. These are Guthi endowments made in different years by the Rajas of Jajarkot. The income of these Guthis is used to perform regular and ceremonial religious functions, according to

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a statement signed by the local people. The total income of these Guthi endowments, numbering 5, is 9 rupees, 14 annas and $1\frac{3}{4}$ paisa. The breakdown is as follows:-

- (i) Guthi endowment made by Raja Dip Narayan Shah for his Ishtadevata on $5\frac{1}{2}$ muris of Khet land called Yahu. The total income is 1 rupee and 6 annas at the rate of 25.
- (ii) Guthi endowment made by Raj Dip Narayan Shah of Jajarkot for Srimalika Devi on $2\frac{1}{4}$ muris of land. The total income is 9 annas at the rate of 25.
- (iii) Guthi endowment made by Raja Dip Narayan Shah for Srikalika Devi on $2\frac{1}{2}$ muris of Khet land called Sankhola. The total income is 10 annas at the rate of 25.
- (iv) Guthi endowment made by Raja Dip Narayan Shah for Sri Shiveshwar Mahadev on 17 muris, 12 pathis and 4 manas of Khet land. The total income is 3 rupees, 8 annas and $1\frac{3}{4}$ paisa. This includes 3 annas from 15 pathis of Khet land called Pipe-Jyula at the rate of 25; one rupee, 3 annas and $2\frac{1}{4}$ paisa from 5 muris, 12 pathis and 4 manas of Khet land called Pauwa-Nera at the rate of 1 rupee and 14 annas and 2 rupees, 1 anna and 3 paisa on $11\frac{1}{4}$ muris of Khet land called Ret at the rate of 18 rupees and 12 annas.
- (b) Guthi endowment made by Raja Jung Bahadur Shah in 1931 (Vikrama, or 1874 A.D.) for Sri Dipadurgeshwar Mahadev on $15\frac{1}{4}$ muris of Khet land yielding a total income of 3 rupees and 13 annas. This includes 3 rupees and 10 annas from $14\frac{1}{2}$ muris of Khet land, called Sodar-Nera, at the rate of 25, and 3 annas from 15 pathis of Khet land, called Pipa-Jyula, at the rate of 25.

Thursday,
Falgun Badi 30, 1949
(February 1892)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 62, pp. 107-121.

Interviews With Baburam Acharya^x

On Baisakh 10, 2027 (April 22, 1970), Prof. Tulsi Ram Baidya of the Department of History of the Tribhuvan University, Dhanabajra Bajracharya, an expert on history, Prof. Chudamani Bandhu of the Department of Nepali, Basudev Tripathi, Secretary of the Institute of Nepal Studies of the Tribhuvan University, and Superintendent Madhusudan Risal tape-recorded the following interviews with Itihas - Siromani Baburam Acharya at his residence at Battisputali in Kathmandu on behalf of the Institute with the objective of preserving as much as possible of his comprehensive knowledge of history.

Question: What historical evidence is available about Kirata rule in Nepal?

Answer: None. There was no civilization here during the Kirata period. History is not possible in the absence of civilization. History begins with the dawn of civilization during the Lichhavi period. The Kirata period predates the dawn of civilization.

Question: We believe that the names of the four Adhikaranas (offices or courts), Kuthara, Shulli, Mapahok and Lingvala, references to which are found in Lichchhavi inscriptions, constitute evidence of Kirata rule. These are, in a senso, contemporary references. These Adhikaranas thus seem to have been established during the Kirata period.

Answer: This is not the case. How could there be Adhikaranas during the Kirata period? We must consider how and when civilization did appear during this period.

Question: It is definite that the Kirata period continued for some time after the Buddha. The Arthashastra of Kautilya and other sources indicate that commercial relations between Nepal and India had started by that time. In our opinion, civilization had emerged to some extent even during the Kirata period as a result of commercial and other contacts.

Answer: Where is there any reference to Kirata?

Question: When we consider the Lichchhavi chronology, and include the period of about 800 years of Kirata rule, we will certainly arrive at that period.

^xInstitute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University: Baburam Acharya ra Uhanka Kriti (Baburam Acharya And His Works), Kirtipur: the Institute, Falgun 29, 2029 (March 12, 1973).

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Answer: How can you do so ?

Question: There are also the Gopalavamshavali and other sources.

Answer: The Gopalavamshavali is not reliable.

Question: Even if it may not be reliable, it has, in our opinion, much noteworthy material. In Nepal, there may not have been any system of historical research, but names were certainly recorded. The 32 names of Kiratas mentioned in the Gopalavamshavali are not in the Kirata language.

Answer: They are not Kiratas at all. How can you make such an interpretation ? This is quite unreliable. I do not accept any of this. When the light of civilization dawns, you have architecture. I believe that civilization dawned from the day when Gumbahal was constructed. I do not regard the earlier history of Nepal as authentic. When did civilization dawn in Kumaun ? Kumaun was not civilization until the time of Kalidasa. They say that Kumaun is the same as Kartripura. But this is not true. Kalidasa has made no reference to Kumaun in his works. We get a reference to Garhwal at last. People come to the banks of the Ganga, steal gold and go back. Civilization has not dawned at that time. I visited Garhwal. There is an inscription of the sixth century, in the Kutila script, that too in Uttar-Kashi. We found nothing above that place. During the sixth century, civilization had spread only up to Uttar-Kashi, not above that place, nor to Badrinath. How then could there have been civilization during the Kirata period ? In Nepal, civilization had already dawned during the first century. Arya civilization means the civilization of Aryavarta. The Aryas did not come here; only their civilization did. In our hill regions, civilization had dawned earlier. Kashmiri civilization was the first to reach here. Let us not talk about Kashmir, for there civilization commenced during the Vedic period itself. East of Kashmir, Nepal was the first to be civilized. The oldest copper inscriptions are found in Jumla and Humla. We cannot get older inscriptions even in Kumaun and Garhwal. Even words preserve (historical) material. I have already said that the term Dangol refers to Dakshinakoligrama. Formerly, because of Mahayana, Kshatriyas and others all became one. They are now civilized because of Mahayana. I have discovered the meaning of "Gwala". It really refers to Koshanugrama, of which it is the corrupt form. I believe that Nepali history began with Koshanugrama. Before this, in my opinion, Nepal has no history."

(To Be Continued)

(S.B. Maharjan).

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After Pratap Malla¹

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

Three of the sons of Pratap Malla, Mahipatindra, Nripendra and Parthivendra appear to have survived him when he died in 715 Nepal era (1675 A.D.). It is possible that Bhupendra Malla, whom Pratap Malla had designated as Crown Prince, also had died by that time. Mahipatendra Malla, being the oldest surviving son, was entitled to succeed Pratap Malla. However, he was imprisoned by Nripendra and Parthivendra. The youngest son of Pratap Malla, Parthivendra was wise and clever. He therefore wielded actual power even though Nripendra Malla became King. This may be the reason why the Vamshavalis do not even mention that Nripendra Malla became King. However, documentary evidence is available to show that this was the case. A coin issued in 795 Nepal era (1675 A.D.) bears his name. This proves that he ascended the throne immediately after the death of his father, Pratap Malla. A stone inscription of Nripendra Malla's time, dated 798 Nepal era (1679 A.D.), refers to him with royal titles. Nripendra Malla probably died in 799 Nepal era (1679 A.D.) He died on the new moon day before the Dashain festival. His last rites were performed by Brahmans and the festival was celebrated as usual in Kathmandu. This shows that Nripendra Malla did not bear much importance in the eyes of Parthivendra Malla.

Mohar coins of Parthivendra Malla, dated 800 Nepal era (1680 A.D.) and 802 Nepal era (1682 A.D.) have been discovered, describing him as King of Nepal (Maharaja Nepalendra). The reverse side of these coins bear the name of his queen, Rajyalaxmi Devi, also with royal titles (Maharani Jagatmata). The first coin was probably minted immediately after Parthivendra Malla ascended the throne.

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Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Mediaeval History of Kathmandu Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter XIV: "Pratap Malla Pachhi." (After Pratap Malla), pp. 160-172.

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An inscription of Parthivendra Malla dated 799 Nepal era (1679 A.D.) has been found at the Pashupatinath temple. It shows that he had done some construction there. According to Vamshavalis, the Pashupatinath temple which had been constructed by Queen Ganga had been damaged and tiles had been baked at Deopatan for its renovation. To expedite the renovation, Parthivendra Malla himself carried tiles from there to the Pashupatinath temple. The inhabitants of Kathmandu followed his example, with the result that all the tiles were taken to the temple in one night and so the work was completed quickly. This constitutes evidence of the instinctive loyalty of the Newar subjects of Nepal towards their King.

Another event which took place during the rule of Parthivendra Malla sheds light on another social custom. One Dharma Jha from Tirhut murdered a relative at Changunarayan. Dharma Jha was immune from capital punishment because he was a Brahman and so his property was confiscated. But a problem arose in crediting a Brahman's property to the royal treasury. It was therefore decided that the property should be used for religious purposes. There is no doubt that it was actually used to renovate several temples and construct new ones.

Parthivendra Malla was probably poisoned to death in Ashadh 807 Nepal era (July 1687). A mohar coin bearing the name of Bhupalendra Malla, Parthivendra Malla's successor, and dated 808 Nepal era, has been found. There is no doubt that Parthivendra Malla had been poisoned to death, for it is known that Pratap Malla's sons had quarrelled among themselves over succession. Mahipatindra Malla, the actual heir to the throne, had fled Kathmandu and settled in Patan. An inscription stating that 24 women had become Sati on the death of Parthivendra Malla has been discovered. The custom of becoming Sati was no doubt observed at that time. But it is surprising that so many women should have become Sati (Sanskrit Sandesh, Vol. , Nos. 10-12) 20 or 22 years later, 21 wives of King Yoga Narendra Malla had performed a similar act of self-immolation on his death. This event is narrated in Yogamati's stone inscription² dated Magh 843 Nepal era (February 11, 1723) however, Riddhilaxmi Devi, mother of Bhupalendra Malla, Queen of Parthivendra Malla and had not become Sati upon the death of her husband. This is confirmed by her stone inscription dated Kartik 810 Nepal era³ (November 1689 A.D.). It is not improbable that many of the numerous concubines of the King might have been forced to become Sati, while leaving the powerful queens alive, just to create the impression that so many women could show the courage of burning themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband.

2. Bhagwan Lal Indraji, No. 22.

3. Bhagwan Lal Indraji, No. 20.

Apart from the stone inscription of Bhupalendra Malla's mother, two mohar coins dated 812 Nepal era (1642 A.D.) have been discovered. In addition to inscribing the name of Bhupalendra Malla, the coins contain the words "Vira", "Nepaleshwar Rajendra", "Girindra", Rajarajendra, and "Chudamani Samrat". Riddhilaxmi's stone inscriptions also describe him as emperor and lord of Nepal (Nepaleshwara Maharajadhiraja Sakalarajachakradhiswara).

A stone inscription dated Falgun 814 (1694 A.D.), installed by Riddhi Malla, has been found at Changunarayan.⁴ It shows that Bhupalendra Malla was ruling at that time. That he was alive till 818 Nepal era (1698 A.D.) is apparent from a copper inscription found at the courtyard of Patan. It mentions the names of King Bhupatindra Malla of Bhadgaun, King Yoga Narendra Malla of Patan and King Bhupalendra Malla of Kathmandu.

Bhupalendra Malla had possibly died in 820 Nepal era. This is apparent from the discovery of the mohar coin of Bhaskara Malla, son of Bhupalendra Malla. This coin is dated 821 Nepal era (1701 A.D.). A Suki coin of Bhaskara Malla, dated 818 Nepal era (1698 A.D.), has been found. However, it is believed that this coin had been issued on a special occasion while his father was yet alive.

Bhupalendra Malla's queen was named Bhuwanalaxmidevi. This is clear from the stone inscription installed by her below the statue of her husband and that of herself installed at Changunarayan in 824 Nepal era (1704 A.D.).

According to the Vamshavalis, Bhaskara Malla was a minor when he succeeded his father. He was aged 14 years at that time. Until he had come of age, his mother functioned as Regent and carried on the affairs of the state with the help of ministers. According to Father Desideri, her ministers used to steal much wealth from the royal treasury whenever they got an opportunity to do so.

The Vamshavalis describe Bhaskara Malla as a King with an unstable mind. This fickleness appears to have developed to the point of changing into adventurousness as he advanced in age.⁴ According to the Vamshavalis, he had gone on a hunting expedition to the Tarai and captured 7 elephants. It is presumed that he had bagged these elephants in the Tarai areas under the control of Makwanpur. As a mark of his daring act of capturing elephants, he assumed the title of Gajapati, or lord of elephants. In 837 Nepal era (1717 A.D.), he proclaimed himself as King of Patan and issued coin under the name of Gajapati Mahendra Simha. He had also assumed the title of Nepaleshwara Girindra. Thus Kathmandu and Patan came under the rule of a single King after a lapse of 86 years. However, Bhaskara Malla failed to save this Kingdom. Like his predecessors, he seems to have sunk himself in the luxuries

4. Sanskrit Sandesh, Vol. 1, No. 6.

of the palace and gradually lost the adventurous spirit which he had developed at the prime of his life by virtue of his unlimited wealth and supremacy. According to the Vamshavalis, Bhaskara Malla had built a rest-house at Kindol in Swayambhunath and lived an amorous life with his two queens and two concubines, as if he was not content with the pleasures of his palace.

According to the Vamshavalis, an epidemic had broken out in Nepal at that time. According to the description of the epidemic given in the Vamshavalis, the victims experienced acute pain in the ear as well as severe headache. The epidemic thus appears to be a kind of plague. There was panic throughout the country. 80 to 90 people died of the plague daily. Father Freyer, who had come to Nepal at the end of 1716 on his way back from Lhasa, has also given an account of the calamity brought by the plague. According to him, the epidemic was a very serious one and that it had taken a toll of 20,000 lives within a period of 3 months. The Vamshavalis give the number of the dead at 18,714. However, they indicate that these people had died within a span of 3 years. This shows that Father Freyer had given this figure on the basis of hearsay, and that he had mentioned 3 months instead of 3 years by mistake.

When Father Freyer reached Nepal, 5 Capuchin missionaries were already working there. At first, they used to wear black robes. But as this was disliked by the Kaji of Patna, they were supplied with blue robes. Accordingly, they were wearing blue robes at that time. The people of Nepal regarded blue clothes as unholy. They wondered whether the epidemic was not the result of God's wrath over the Capuchin missionaries' use of inauspicious robes. The missionaries, sensing these doubts among the Nepali people, immediately procured white clothes and started wearing them. Seeing this, the Nepali people told them, "You are now wearing clothes of the kind you ought to use. You no longer look like the Moghuls. You have now become like Nepalis." By saying that the Capuchin missionaries no longer looked like the Moghuls, the Nepalis meant that the missionaries no longer looked like Muslims. Father Desideri's account also tends to confirm this story. Bhaskara Malla had recruited some Muslims as his bodyguards. This was resented by the local Newars who did not like the influential position attained by foreigners at the palace. They therefore attacked the royal palace and slaughtered several Muslims in the presence of the King. For political reasons, the Nepalis at that time entertained bad feelings towards the Muslims. It was therefore natural for the Nepalis to dislike the blue robes worn by the Capuchin missionaries and take them for Muslims.

According to the Vamshavalis, Jhangal Thakuri Kaji had concealed Bhaskara Malla at Kindol Bahal to the south of Swayambhunath to keep him immune from the epidemic. After staying there for 6 months, Bhaskara Malla once inquired of a Newar peasant (Jyapu) as to how many people were then

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dying daily. The Jyapu replied that the epidemic had subsided considerably and that only 4 or 5 people were dying daily. Bhaskara Malla, who was already tired of remaining separated from his concubines, leaped from the window and returned to the royal palace, where he was reunited with his concubines. He was infected by the plague at the palace and he died.

Let us now compare this account of Bhaskara Malla's death with Father Desideri's version. From Father Desideri's version, it appears the people had frequently revolted against the King on the ground he had employed Muslims. Desideri writes that one day some people had sent a poisoned betel leaf to the palace. Father Desideri adds: "The Muslim servants of Bhaskara Malla got wind of this conspiracy and informed the King accordingly. The King gave the betel leaf to a goat in order to ascertain whether it really contained poison. The goat died. The guilty persons were banished." This account tends to confirm that the people of Nepal were opposed to Bhaskara Malla at that time, and that they had frequently conspired to kill him. The people were, of course, angry over Bhaskara Malla's action in employing Muslims. However, they used this only as a pretext. Their real motive was to murder Bhaskara Malla anyway. The Kajis of Patan also resented Patan's occupation by Bhaskara Malla. For this reason, they also probably conspired to kill him. This is the reason why Jhangal Thakuri Kaji, a loyal servant of Bhaskara Malla, had concealed him at Kindol Vihar, while outwardly pretending that he had done so in order to keep him immune from the epidemic. Bhaskara Malla's death soon on his return to the palace led the people also to believe that he had died of the plague. But in fact the real cause of the King's death was something else, as hinted by Father Desideri.

Another point made by Father Desideri is even more intriguing. According to him, Bhaskara Malla's mother as well as ministers had stolen much money from the royal treasury when he was a minor, and, on coming of age, he imprisoned his mother and punished her accomplices. It was at this time that Bhaskara Malla's queen had given birth to a son. The group that had been punished by Bhaskara Malla then tried to assassinate him with the thought that this murder would lead to his succession by his minor son and put actual power in their hands. Realizing this ambition of these men, Bhaskara Malla killed his infant son and lived separately from the queen. He then employed Muslim servants for his personal safety. This was the reason why the Newars had turned against him. The people asked the queen to maintain close contacts with the King and, thereafter, rose in revolt, in which they murdered the Muslim servants of the King. Although there is lack of evidence to verify the account of Father Desideri, there appears to be some element of truth in it. Bhaskara Malla's action in employing Muslims as his attendants must have been disliked by his subjects.

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It might have been easy for the noblemen at the time to present this as a central issue before the people in order to gain their sympathy and it was then natural for them to conspire to kill Bhaskara Malla.

It has been mentioned above that Bhaskara Malla had assumed the title of Viramahindra Malla as a mark of his success in capturing an elephant. The coin that was issued in Patan after its occupation by Bhaskara Malla in 835 Nepal era (1715 A.D.) also bears the same name. A mohar coin issued by him in 829 Nepal era (1709 A.D.) has been discovered. One side of this coin bears the name of Jayaviramahindre Malla, while the other contains the words "Sri Sri Lokanatha". Another mohar coin dated 837 Nepal era (1717 A.D.) contains the words "Jayamahindra", on one side, and "Simhadeva" and "Sri Sri Sri Kalunamaya", on the other. Both these coins were issued in Patan under the second name of Bhaskara Malla. This leads one to wonder whether the name Bhaskara Malla, which was current in Kathmandu was not liked in Patan. This also gives some idea of the extent of hostility that existed between the two rival states of Kathmandu and Patan at that time.

Bhaskara Malla died in Bhadra 842 Nepal era (August 1722 A.D.). According to the Vamshavalis, his two queens, and two of concubines, became Sati.

Being childless, Bhaskara Malla was succeeded by Jagajjaya Malla, a distant cognate relative. The Vamshavalis do not shed any light on who Jagajjaya Malla was, or how effective was his hold on the throne. One mohar coin of Jagajjaya Malla, dated 858 Nepal era (1738 A.D.) has been found. One side of this coin contains the words "Sri Sri Jagajjaya Malla", while the other side bears the words "Sri Sri Mahipatindra Malla", Mahipatindra Malla was the real heir to Pratap Malla, but he was imprisoned by Hripendra Malla and Prithivendra Malla in order to prevent him from becoming King. Later, Mahipatindra Malla escaped from prison. Jagajjaya Malla was a descendant of Mahipatindra Malla. He had perhaps inscribed the name of Mahipatindra Malla, the founder of his dynasty, in his mohar coin in order to show that he had title to the throne. A suka coin dated 850 Nepal era (1732 A.D.), bearing his name, has been found. It also bears the name of his queen, Kumudindevi.

The political events which occurred during the reign of Jagajjaya Malla are mainly connected with his sons. Two sons, Rajendra Prakash and Jaya Prakash, had been born to him before his accession to the throne. After he became King, 3 more sons, Rajya Prakash, Narendra Prakash and Chandra Prakash, were born to him. Rajendra Prakash, the eldest son, died in 851 Nepal era (1731 A.D.). Jagajjaya Malla was overwhelmed with grief at his death. The notables from the hill region who had come to console King Jagajjaya Malla told him that they did not like his second son, Jaya Prakash Malla. They proposed to him that Rajya Prakash Malla, his third son, be declared heir to the throne. Their attitude towards Jaya Prakash,

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who had become heir to the throne after Rajendra Prakash Malla's death, naturally worried Jagajjaya Malla. At this very time, Chandra Prakash Malla, his youngest son, also died. This added to Jagajjaya Malla's worries, which finally resulted in his death in 856 Nepal era. (1736 A.D.).

Jaya Prakash Malla acceded to the throne after Jagajjaya Malla's death. Soon after his accession to the throne, he expelled his younger brother, Rajya Prakash Malla, who had been favored by the notables from the hill region. Rajya Prakash Malla moved to Patan, which was then in the grip of political instability. Finally, King Vishnu Malla of Patan, who was childless, proclaimed Rajya Prakash as his heir. In the meantime, the group opposed to Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu hatched a conspiracy against him. They supported Narendra Prakash Malla, his younger brother, and proclaimed him as the ruler of Sankhu, Changu, Gokarna, Nandigram and Deopatan. Within a few months, however, Jaya Prakash Malla defeated Narendra Prakash Malla in a battle. Narendra Prakash Malla fled to Bhadgaun, where he died after a short while. After crushing Narendra Prakash Malla's revolt, Jaya Prakash Malla searched out and punished all his supporters. Since troops recruited from among hillsmen had also opposed him and supported the rebels, Jaya Prakash Malla raised an army consisting solely of men from the Tarai region. Taking advantage of this internecine conflict in Kathmandu, King Ranajit Malla of Bhadgaun occupied Sankhu and Changu.

Hardly had the flames of conflict that followed in the wake of Jaya Prakash Malla's accession to the throne died out than Narabhupal Shah of Gorkha invaded Nuwakot (1737 A.D.). However, Jaya Prakash Malla repulsed this attack. This invasion failed as it was not preceded by adequate preparation. In 1744 A.D., 8 years later, Prithvi Narayan Shah, son of Narabhupal Shah, invaded Nuwakot again and occupied it. Jaya Prakash Malla laid the blame for his defeat in this war on the commander of his hill army. He sent troops under the command of Kashiram Thapa to reoccupy Nuwakot. This time too he was defeated, and Kashiram Thapa fled to his home at Sipa. Jaya Prakash Malla suspected Kashiram Thapa to have collaborated with Prithvi Narayan Shah. There is no doubt that the Gorkhalis had won over all his hill officers. Angered by their collusion with the Gorkhalis, Jaya Prakash Malla ordered his Tarai troops to kill 8 hill officers, including Kashiram Thapa. Those Newar nobles who had betrayed him were also executed. Bhikwal Kaji was beheaded, while Taudhik Kaji fled to save his life.

The hill and Newar officers again hatched a plot against Jaya Prakash Malla. Dayavati, queen of Jaya Prakash, also joined this conspiracy. The aim of these conspirators was to depose Jaya Prakash Malla and proclaim his 5-year old son, Jyoti Prakash Malla, as King. They thought they would be able to do anything they liked in case a minor occupied the throne. The

Contd...

common people too had become tired of Jaya Prakash Malla's excitable behavior. Kalidas of Patan was also secretly helping this group of conspirators. The conspirators asked Prithvi Narayan Shah to attack Kathmandu. Gorkhali troops then occupied Sankhu, Changu, Manahara valley and the adjacent areas. Jaya Prakash Malla personally commanded his troops to drive out the Gorkhalis, but he was defeated. The Gorkhali attacks had caused much consternation among the inhabitants of Kathmandu. They wanted that the Gorkhalis should in no circumstances be allowed to enter into the valley. Finally, the people, led by King Rajya Prakash Malla of Patan, counter-attacked the Gorkhalis. As a result, the Gorkhali troops retreated from some of the areas occupied by them and probably moved across the Manahara river. Thus the people did what King Jaya Prakash Malla had failed to do. This naturally led to a decline in the people's faith in the King.

Precisely at this moment, the conspirators proclaimed Jyoti Prakash Malla as King of Kathmandu. Jaya Prakash Malla ran away to save his life (1746 A.D.). A mohar coin dated 866 Nepal era (1746 A.D.) has been discovered. On one side of this coin is mentioned the name of Jyoti Prakash Malla, while the other side bears the name of Mahipatindra Malla. The tradition of inscribing the name of Mahipatindra Malla on Mohar coins had been started by Jagajjaya Malla. It has been followed by Jaya Prakash Malla also. He had issued such mohar coins in different years. A 2-anna coin containing the words "Sri Janani Jaya Laxmi Devi", which too was issued during the rule of Jyoti Prakash Malla has been discovered. This indicates that another queen of Jaya Prakash Malla, possibly his eldest one, had been associated with the conspiracy as regent of Jyoti Malla, who was then a minor.

Jaya Prakash Malla had to hide himself in order to save his life. After spending 4 years in this manner, he moved to the temple of Guheshwari. While staying there, he managed to persuade the troops to support him. The troops despatched to kill him also defected to him. With the help of these troops, Jaya Prakash Malla regained his throne. The rebels were vanquished. Several ministers (Kajis) who led the rebels committed suicide out of fear of revenge, and many others were killed. Queen Dayavati was also imprisoned. She died in detention.

The Pradhans of Patan deposed Ranajit Malla and recognized Jaya Prakash Malla as King of Patan. However, Jaya Prakash Malla punished these selfish Pradhans. He gave evidence of his bad temper in Patan also. The Pradhans of Patan then invited Dalemardan Shah, younger brother of Prithvi Narayan Shah and proclaimed him as their ruler.

Contd...

By this time, the Gorkhalis had tightened their grip on the whole of the valley. Jaya Prakash Malla continued fighting against the Gorkhalis. At this time, Jyoti Prakash Malla, his son, died. In Bhadra 888 (August 1768), Prithvi Narayan Shah entered Kathmandu. Jaya Prakash Malla fled to Patan, where he was given shelter by Tejanarasimha Malla. When Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied Patan as well, Jaya Prakash Malla fled to Bhadgaun. In Bhadgaun, he sustained bullet injuries. He died later at Aryaghat.

Permission To Salmis To Use Palanquins

To the Salmis of Banepa;

The following petition submitted by you has been represented to us:

The Salmis of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhadgaun have been permitted to carry the bride in a palanquin in the course of the wedding ceremony. Only (we Salmis of) Banepa have not been granted permission to do so. We pray, therefore, that we may be permitted to use the palanquin in the same manner as Salmis in the three towns.

Accordingly, we grant you permission to carry the bride in a palanquin in the same way as in the three towns.

Aswin Sudi 4, 1915

(September 1858)

Regmi Research Project, Vol. 33, p. 303.

Privileges Of Gumba In Mugu

To Lt. Colonel Gunjaman Singh Basnyat of the Jumla office.

Greetings.

Tenzing Norbu Lama, Utken Tsunding Lama and Utken Gyanzing Lama, residents of Mugu in Jumla, have submitted the following petition to the Kaushal Office:-

Formerly, there were no villages or settlements in the area called Mugu. Thereafter, a Lama called Dharmaraja Parameshwara came from Tibet (Bhot) and built 2 Gumbas there called Saraka and Latha. He thus changed the face of that desolate area and installed (idols of) gods and goddesses there. He made several people his disciples, and lived there, after establishing the Gumbas.

Subsequently, a few other families also came there from Tibet and the place became a village. The Raja of Jumla, Bahadur Shah, then felt pleased, thinking that a great Lama had come from Tibet to live in that place. He granted (to the Gumba) lands situated below Ratapani and above Tala.

The Raja of Jumla also promulgated the following regulations (Thiti): "Preserve forests around the Gumba. Nobody shall kill birds, musk-deer or blue sheep (Nahur), or fell trees, in these forests. In case any person commits any crime and takes asylum with the Lama inside the Gumba, he shall not be captured, but shall be pardoned. The Lama of the Gumba shall perform the last rites, as well as Ghewa rites, of people who die in Mugu village and award justice in their disputes, as well as in disputes among disciples in the Gumba, according to traditional custom. No taxes shall be collected on goods transported by the Lama or the Jhuma of the Gumba through yaks, sheep, or Jhowa for consumption."

When the Gorkhalis entered into Jumla, these regulations were confirmed. Subsequently, Lt. Tul Singh Karki Chhetri, who came to Jumla to conduct surveys, scrutinized the orders issued by the Rajas of Jumla and confirmed all of them.

In 1899 Vikrama (1842 A.D.) the Gumba was destroyed by fire. Royal and other orders, books and documents, (idols of) gods and goddesses, etc. were all destroyed by the fire.

The Lama then rebuilt the Gumba and installed (idols of) gods and goddesses. He collected disciples and thus lived on, propagating religion and praying for victory to His Majesty.

However, knowing that the orders and documents have been destroyed by fire, the local villagers, as well as people from other areas, come here and fell trees in the forests belonging to the Gumba. They also hunt in these forests, and kill blue sheep, musk-deer and birds. They quarrel with us when we tell them not to fell (trees) or kill (birds and animals) in this manner. They do not obey us. Even when anybody takes asylum inside the Gumba, they capture him forcibly and take him away. They harass us, demanding taxes on goods procured by the Lamas or Jhumas for consumption.

If the Gumba is unable for any reason to cultivate lands endowed by anybody formerly to burn lamps at the Gumba, and if such lands remain uncultivated for 1 or 2 years as a result, the villagers forcibly cultivate these lands themselves.

Contd...

Formerly, the Raja of Jumla had endowed lands for performing religious functions at the Gumba. These endowments had been confirmed, and fresh orders issued, when officials deputed to conduct surveys after the entry of the Gorkhalis scrutinized orders and documents. The lands of the Gumba had been held accordingly. In these circumstances, people should not be allowed to disrupt religious functions and harass us. In case an order containing regulations upholding religious traditions in all these matters is issued again according to the law, we will pray for victory to His Majesty, perform religious functions at the Gumba and continue the regular and ceremonial worship of gods and goddesses.

We cite the following witnesses, who know everything in this regard: Mukhiyas Dhara, Sira, Dharkya, Sonam and Dumdum.

All the above-mentioned particulars are correct. In case these are proved incorrect, we undertake liability for punishment according to the law. We shall not again put forward additional claims or evidence. If we do so, this may be regarded as false.

The petition was referred to the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office, and an official has represented the matter to us through the Kaushal Office. You are hereby directed to procure the necessary evidence, summon witnesses as well as the defendants and acquaint them with the contents of this petition. If they admit that this is true, record a statement from them. Otherwise, have them fill a reply, make the litigants face each other and award justice according to the law.

Magh Sudi 11, 1925

(January 1869)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 62, pp. 452-458.

Interviews With Baburam Acharya^x
(Continued)

Question: What was the condition (of Nepal) before Manadeva I ?

Answer: Civilization commenced much before Manadeva I. Gumbahal was constructed during the first century of the Christian era. Manadeva appeared in the fifth century. There is a gap of more than 300 years. This means that the history of Nepal commenced long before Manadeva I.

Question: What evidence is there that Gum-Vihara was constructed during the first century ?

Answer: This is an estimate. Mahayana commenced in 78 A.D. A stone inscription installed three years thereafter has been found at Sarnath. It must have taken at least 18 years for Mahayana to reach here.

Question: Who constructed Gum-Vihara at that time ?

Answer: People from the Kushan dominions.

Question: What is the evidence ?

Answer: Historical evidence is available. Kushan coins have been found. I do not know whether or not the museum has them, but these coins have been found here. Walsh, the English writer, has mentioned them. He says Kushan coins came to Nepal because there were commercial contacts during the Kushan period. But that is all.

Question: That is the real thing. As long as Nepal did not mint coins of its own, it had to depend upon Indian coins. Lichchhavi inscriptions refer to Karshapana, Pana, Purana and other coins. But only copper coins called Pana are available. The other coins seem to have reached here as a result of contacts with India.

Answer: That is what they say. But the Kushanas did not really come before that. Mahayana commenced only after 78 A.D. How then could civilization come before that year ?

Question: Muslims and other foreigners came to India for its wealth and similar other objectives. What motive prompted the Kushanas to come to Nepal ?

Contd...

Answer: Just for propagating religion. People do not feel greater fervor in anything else than in propagating religion.

Question: What was the religion (of Nepal) before that period ?

Answer: There did not exist any religion at all. Before that time, people were uncivilized. I assume that they carried on their business on the basis of their own discoveries. They first came through Sindhuli. They did not touch any other route. They could not pass through a straight route. As one proceeds through Sindhuli, one has to move eastward along the Sunkoshi river. While travelling eastward through this route, people reach Ramechhap district on the right side of the river. There exists an iron mine in Ramechhap district. How enormous the mine is can be assessed from the fact that the estimate runs to several hundred thousand maunds. The mine is not working at present only because of the non-availability of fuelwood. People extracted iron from this mine and made axes and spades. They tamed boar and turned these into pigs. They captured Luinche and developed them into chicken. They also had dogs, which are more faithful to their masters than any other animal in the world. These three creatures were the only ones that were available at that time. People subsisted on wild fruits and agriculture.

The terrain was marshy at that time. Elephants could sink in the Bagmati and the Manohara rivers. People crossed these rivers on boats. They used to make boats, without which they could not cross the Bagmati. They had necessary tools as well as wood for this purpose.

Question: In this context, we would like to ask one more question. Stone inscriptions dating back to the Lichchhavi period are all in the Sanskrit language. However, the place-names mentioned in those stone inscriptions are not derived from the Sanskrit language. Was this so because people spoke a different language, while Sanskrit was the official language ?

Answer: Yes, that is true. When the Kushanas arrived here, they faced the problem of language. They somehow managed by using the language of signs. They had not come to Nepal along with their wives. Rather, they married local women. They then had children, who learnt their mothers' tongue. Even while learning the mother-tongue, they had to seek the help of interpreters. The Lichchhavis, who came later, spoke in the Newari language. Did not Manadeva speak in the Newari language ? He used to talk in the Newari language and even take the meat of buffaloes.

Question: You say Manadeva used to speak in the Newari language and take the meat of buffalo. Is this mere speculation or do you have historical evidence to prove it ?

Contd...

Answer: This is not mere guess-work. There is evidence that Manadeva regularly took buffalo-meat. According to Manusmitri, one completes mourning rites for six months once one offers oblations in the form of buffalo-meat (Mahisha). One could then eat buffalo-meat. Of course, commentators have argued that Mahisha means a wild buffalo (arna). But can we accept this interpretation? What is important is that we should grasp the meaning of the original term, and proceed accordingly. At that time, people used to take the meat of wild animals. The Abhiras had prohibited the consumption of the meat of wild animals. They worshipped and reared the cow. They consumed only fish. Since they did not take meat, consumption of meat was prohibited in Nepal during that period.

Question: Does this mean that both Abhiras and Gopalvamshis lived in Nepal?

Answer: No, Abhiras and Gopals were the same people.

Question: The Gopal Vamshavali states that cow-herds (gwala), buffalo-herd (Mahishpala) and Kiratas in that order, had ruled Nepal. What is your opinion?

Answer: Let us make no mention at all of the Gopal Vamshavali. The account of events supposedly preceding the rule of Raghavadeva, as given in the Gopal Vamshavali, is not reliable at all. Only the accounts of Vaishya Thakuris, or of the rule of the successors of Raghavadeva, who initiated the Nepal era, are reliable to some extent.

Question: What is your opinion regarding the origin of the term Nepal?

Answer: I think that the word "Nepal" is derived from the term "Newar". The last letter of the term Newar later changed to "l", as a result of contacts with the Lichchhavis since the Mahabharat period. The term "Newar" does not occur in ancient records. It is mentioned in Pratap Mallas stone-inscriptions. Even in these stone inscriptions, the term "Newar" is used as a mere term, not in the communal sense (Newara-Akhale). In a book entitled Prakrit Panjika, however, the term Newal is used. It is a verse recited by a poet recounting the conquests of Jayachandra. The poem probably referred to an actual and not to an imaginary event. The poet must have known Nepal when he mentioned Newal. Newal may mean both Newar and Nepal. The word Nepal continues to be used in our literature. Do you find this word in the Gopal Vamshavali? I have not seen it in that book. Does it really mention Newar?

Question: Nowhere is this word mentioned in Gopal Vamshavali.

Contd...

Answer: The truth is that the word Newar has been replaced by "Nepal". The word "Newal" was substituted by Nepal in the course of the use of the Sanskrit language.

Question: Can you offer any particular meaning of the term Nepal ?

Answer: No, I can't.

Question: While the names of several countries have changed, that of Nepal remains unchanged. It thus seems to us that this name has some special meaning.

Answer: No, I don't think so. Once a word is incorporated into Sanskrit, it never changes.

Question: A number of place-names such as "Yupagrama" have been forgotten. But the word Nepal was retained during as well as after the Kirata rule.

Answer: That is not true. "Yupagrama" is still called "Yala". Are not "Yala" and "Yupagrama" the same place ?

Question: Yes, "Yupagrama" is the Sanskrit name for "Yala". You had published an article in Arpan, in which you appear to have tried to link the Nyarwa caste with the Newar community.

Answer: Yes, that is the case. There is a community called Nyarwa. It is not I coined the word Nyarwa. This word is actually mentioned in a book about the Rikutin community, which forms a part of the Bhote community. According to this book, the Bhote community has three castes, who are, in turn, divided into 12 categories of Tamangs and 18 sub-castes. Among the 18 sub-castes are Tantriks, who are divided into 3 sub-castes. Among these sub-castes are Magars and Gurungs. One of them is a hybrid (half-caste) of an unidentified community, the second is the hybrid of Brahmans and Kshetriyas, and the third is that of Newars. The others do not come within the 12 sub-castes of Tamangs. The Nyarwas are described in the book as the hybrid of Newars. However, if a Tamang is asked about this, he would call Nyarwas Newars. The Tamangs say that they freely establish matrimonial relations with Nyarwas. This shows that Newars wielded considerable influence at that time too.

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Interviewers' Note:- During the Lichchhavi period, Sanskrit was the state language. All records at that time are found to be written in this language. However, the names of more than 80% of the villages or places, hills, mountains, etc, are derived from the dialects of the Kirata family. Lambati, Stharu, Shitali, Nupuuna, Thantunri, Hospring, Jolpring, Prangpring and Dalprang, the well-known settlements of that time, are Kirata names. Since these names were in use long before the entry of the Lichchhavis into the valley, they left these unchanged. Similarly, the four administrative offices (Adhikarana) referred to above appear to have been created during the Kirata period, since they bear Kirata names. A number of taxes, levies, Vishtis (labor exactions) and government posts had also Kirata names. That the Kiratas continued to have a place at the court of the Lichchhavi Kings is proved also by a stone inscription installed during the period of Amshuvarma, recently discovered at Hanuman Dhoka, The Gopalvamshavali, the Pashupati Pyrena, etc also refer to the traditional administrative pattern of the Kiratas. The above questions were asked in the light of all this historical evidence.

Caste Status Of Meches

To Khajanchi Shiva Prasad Arjyal.

Greetings. People belonging to the Meche community in the Tarai region of Morang district take pork, chicken and buffalo meat. So far, water touched by them has not been used (by people belonging to higher castes).

In 1917 Vikrama (1860), when we visited Morang, Chaudhari Ujir and other persons belonging to the Meche community submitted the following petition to us:

We have not used water touched by Mussalmans. Our daughters have been employed as maid-servants (at the court). We are Hindus. Water touched by us must be regarded as pure.

The petition was referred to the Bharadari and Kaushal offices, which arrived at the following decision:

In the hill region, water touched by communities taking pork, chicken and buffalo-meat, as well as the flesh of dead cattle, is regarded as pure. It appears that these people belonging to the Meche community do not take water from the hands of Mussalmans. Water touched by them cannot be regarded as impure merely on the ground that they take pork, chicken and buffalo-meat. Water touched by them must be regarded as pure.

Accordingly, on the occasion of Maghe-Sankranti (the first day of the month of Magh) in 1917 Vikrama (January 14, 1861), Chaudhari Ujir and other Meches of Jamarigadhi in Dohagadhi Parganna were assembled at Tagal-Bandhara on the Mechi river and water touched by them was taken (by people belonging to higher castes).

It is now necessary to issue a royal order proclaiming to the Meches that in the future water touched by them will be regarded as pure. You are therefore directed to hand over one blank royal order form from among the numbers allotted for the Tarai region to Kaji Bishnu Prasad Gurugharan Panditju, who (has been assigned the responsibility of) replying to queries made by the four Adalats and scrutinizing judgments according to the laws of the Kingdom of Gorkha.

Shrawan Sudi 4, 1919 (July 1862)
Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 33, pp. 478-429.

Chak-Chakui Levies

(1) From King Rajendra,

To Subedar Hikmat Adhikari.

The following regulations, which have been customarily observed from ancient times, had been reconfirmed in the year 1886 Vikrama (1829 A.D.):

For Chak and Chakui offenders, the rates of fine were as follows:-

	<u>Chak</u>	<u>Chakui</u>
For Chokha castes ...	Rs 5 to Rs 20	Rs 5 to Rs 15.
For Dum castes ...	Rs 5 to Rs 15	Rs 5 to Rs 12

The local people have now represented to Kaji Narsing Thapa that these days Bhardars and Jimmawals are acting in contravention of these regulations and were not permitting the redemption of enslaved persons. The matter has been referred to us.

We hereby decree that fines shall be collected according to the regulations reconfirmed in 1886 Vikrama (1829 A.D.), and that no person shall be enslaved for Chak and Chakui offenses. If the husband wants to redeem (the adulteress on payment of the fine), he shall be permitted to do so. Those Bhardars and Jimmawals who have contravened the regulations shall be made to sign a confession, and Jimmawals shall be produced before the court and awarded punishment. In case Bhardars have been guilty of such contravention, the matter shall be referred to us, and action shall be taken as directed by us.

Ashadh Sudi 13, 1895

(July 1838)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 27, pp. 576-577.

(2) From King Girban,

To people belonging to the Brahman, Khas, Magar, Thakse, Gurung, Nisyal, Bhujyal, Babagya, Agri and Rohani communities, as well as other people belonging to the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes in Parbat.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations for Parbat, which has a total of 81000 houses:-

Contd...

Brahmans shall be exempted from forced and unpaid labor (Jhara, Beth, Bagar) obligations.

Khasas and Magars shall be exempt from Chak-Chakui fines; their escheat property (Moro-Aputali) shall also be exempt (from acquisition by the State).

From people belonging to other Shudra castes, the Amali shall appropriate Chak-Chakui fines at the following rates:-

Chak	...	Rs 15
Chakui	...	Rs 15

Nobody shall be enslaved in lieu of such fines.

Tenants (Kuriya) shall not be evicted from their homesteads, or from the dry (Khoriya) lands cultivated by them.

The following fees shall be paid in consideration of these regulations:-

Brahman	...	Rs 1 on each homestead
Khas, Magar, Rohani, Gurung, Nisyal, Bhujyal and Babagya	...	Rs 2 ,,
Thakse:		
Abal	...	Rs 5 ,,
Doyam	...	Rs 4 ,,
Sim	...	Rs 3 ,,
Chahar	...	Rs 2 ,,
Agri	...	Rs 3 ,,

Make payments at these rates through Asidhar Khadka.

Marga Sudi 5, 1860

(December 1803)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 147.

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Interviews With Baburam Acharya

(Continued)

Question: Which dynasty did Amshuverma belong to ?

Answer: Amshuverma was a ruler who belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty.

Question: What is the evidence ?

Answer: His sons and grandsons describe themselves as belonging to the Lichchhavi dynasty (Lichchhavi-Kulaketu). Narendradeva and others too do so. What more evidence do you require ?

Question: We must be careful before proving this relationship. Amshuverma never referred to his dynasty in any of his stone inscriptions. In his coins, he has inscribed "Chandra". Manadeva and others have not done so. This may shed some light on the mystery.

Answer: That he belonged to the lunar dynasty ?

Question: Yes. He thereby indicated that he belonged to the lunar dynasty. A study of the inscriptions would clearly indicate that a different period commenced with Amshuverma. Had Amshuverma belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty, it would not have been necessary for him to assume such titles as Shrisamanta, Shryamshuverma, Maharajadhiraja and Shryamsho, (omitting Varma), in that order. Amshuverma never described himself as Deva like other Lichchhavi Kings.

Answer: Has not he assumed the title of Bhattaraka ?

Question: None of his inscriptions has described him as Bhattaraka. It is only later inscriptions that have given him this title. Why did not he reside in the Managriha palace. Had he belonged to the Lichchhavi dynasty, he would have lived there.

Answer: How could the Lichchhavis dwell in Managriha. They never did so.

Question: Managriha came into existence from Manadeva. The royal orders of Basantadeva, Ganadeva and Shivadeva state that they were issued from Managriha.

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Answer: Manadeva did not live in Managriha. Mahideva was expelled within one year after the death of Manadeva. Then the son of Mahideva was brought from Dakshinakoligrama and placed on the throne. His sister, Jaya Sundari, was forcibly married. Just as Jung Bahadur married the daughter of the second prince, he was kept in Managriha. Then he was made a captive King. Manadeva's residence was located in Dakshinakoligrama. He never moved from there.

Question: The Vamshavalis state that Manadeva constructed Managriha.

Answer: Manadeva constructed one building in his Kingdom. Shivadeva too had built a palace called Shivagriha. There is no reference to this fact in stone-inscriptions. However, subsequent writings refer to Shivagwalasthane, Amshuvarma had constructed a building in the name of Shivadeva. Shivagwala referred to this Shivagriha. Did Shivadeva actually live in this building because it was named after him? No, he did not. It was just named after him.

Question: But the stone-inscriptions indicate clearly that the Lichchhavi Kings who ruled before Narendradeva lived in Managriha. The stone-inscriptions left by Dhruvadeva and Jishnu Gupta describe them as residents of Managriha and Kalashkuta respectively. This also lends weight to the view that the throne was located at Managriha.

Answer: Of course, the Lichchhavis were kept at Managriha. But later they were expelled from there. They were kept at Managriha so that they might be treated as prisoners.

Question: A slight change appears to have occurred during the rule of Amshuvarma. After he captured full power, and after the abdication of Shivadeva, Amshuvarma proclaimed Udayadeva, a Lichchhavi prince, as Crown Prince (Yuvaraja) with the objective of placing him on the throne. Previously, there did not exist any practice of making such proclamation. No stone-inscription contains any reference to any Crown Prince.

Answer: It is essential to know facts about Rupavarma in order to know who Amshuvarma was. Rupavarma was a Mahasamanta of Koshanu (gwala). No stone-inscription of Rupavarma is available. But a stone-inscription installed by Chandra Shamsher refers to Rupavarma. It mentions the year 205 Samvat, but this is wrong. The actual date is 505 Samvat.

Question: A seal of Rupavarma has been found. It is in the Kutila script, which appears to have been in vogue around 205.

Answer: What is the seal made of? Is it not an earthen seal?

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Queen: Yes, it is an earthen seal. But the script does not belong to the period of Amshuvarma.

Answer: That is not true at all.

Question: Both the words "Rupa" and "Ma" can be seen clearly in this seal.

Answer: Rupavarma cannot definitely be said to have ruled in 205 Samvat. Who was reigning at that time?

Question: But this is the era mentioned in the inscriptions of Jayadeva and his successors. Sumatitantra also confirms that this era had lasted 304 years. Inscriptions of up to 207 Samvat have been found. It is thus apparent that the year 205 mentioned in the above inscriptions is accurate.

Answer: I do not believe this is so. What about coins?

Question: No other coin belonging to the Lichchhavi period bears an effigy of the moon. However, this is found in some of the coins issued by Amshuvarma. Scholars do not seem to have taken note of this.

Answer: This might mean that Amshuvarma belonged to the lunar dynasty?

Question: Sure. One interesting point about Amshuvarma is that, as indicated by his stone-inscriptions, he has assumed different positions and titles one by one. For this reason, it seems necessary to revise previous opinions about Amshuvarma.

Answer: If true, does not this mean that Narendradeva told a lie?

Question: Udayadeva was not actually the son of Amshuvarma. You maintain that Udayadeva was Amshuvarma's son merely because he has been referred as Crown Prince (Yuvaraja) in Amshuvarma's inscriptions. But this is not true. Amshuvarma had proclaimed Udayadeva, a Lichchhavi Prince, as Yuvaraja so that Udayadeva might succeed him. Udayadeva was not Amshuvarma's son.

Answer: Why not?

Queen: There is no conclusive evidence that Udayadeva was the son of Amshuvarma.

Answer: Who proclaims any person except his own son as his heir?

Question: But the situation was quite different at the time of Amshuvarma.

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Answer: Whom did Jishnugupta proclaim as Yuvaraja ?

Question: The situation was again different during Jishnugupta's time. Like Amshuvarma, Jishnugupta and his successors could not become Kings (Maharajadhiraja) as they wanted. That is why they only claimed themselves to be the actual rulers, and described the Lichchhavi King as one set up by them (Simhasanadhyasikulaketu). For the same reason, they proclaimed their sons as Yuvaraja. However, there is some difference between Jishnugupta and Amshuvarma in one respect. While Jishnugupta portrayed himself as King, and therefore proclaimed his son as Yuvaraja, Amshuvarma did not wish to do so. Amshuvarma had proclaimed Udayadeva as Yuvaraja before he thought of becoming King himself. Udayadeva may be the son or relative of Shiva-deva, and this is the reason why Udayadeva had had to flee shortly after the death of Amshuvarma^x. Thus Jishnugupta and his successors prevented the consolidation of Amshuvarma's position.

Answer: No, no. Amshuvarma was a staunch adherent of the Pashupata sect.

Question: How can we call him so when he had equal respect for Buddhism and other religions ?

Answer: It is true that he had equal respect for Buddhism.

Question: But the Abhiras discriminated against Buddhists. During their rule, no facilities were available to Buddhists. On the contrary, Buddhists were hated. Amshuvarma, on coming to power, guaranteed equal rights to the adherents of all religions, thereby upholding the traditions of the Lichchhavis.

Answer: That is not true. Amshuvarma actually did not tolerate Vaishnavas. This intolerance was due to the fact that he was an adherent of the Pashupata sect. In his inscription of Handigaun, Amshuvarma mentions Pashupati first of all. The temple of Changuanarayan had been constructed long before that of Pashupati; Yet Amshuvarma gave No. 1 place to Pashupati, Changuanarayan (Dolashikharswamin) comes next in the list. Amshuvarma deliberately avoided the mention of the word "Narayana." He was stricter in the case of the temple of Budhanilakantha. He has made a very small endowment for the Budhanilakantha temple, for the simple reason that it had been established by the Abhiras, whom he hated.

^x Udayadeva's stone-inscription dated 45 Samvat has been discovered recently at Chitlang. See Tistung-Chitlang Bhokko Aitihāsik Samagri (Historical Materials of the Tistung-Chitlang Area).

Question: This may be true to some extent. Another point worth noting about Amshuvarma is that the inscription of Shivadeva located at Chapagaun does not mention Amshuvarma.

Answer: This is not correct.

Question: No, the inscription does not mention Amshuvarma. It only mentions Shivadeva. By that time, Amshuvarma had not come into the picture.

Answer: The inscription is damaged.

Question: The portion of the inscription containing the name of the King is not damaged. Only the lower part has broken.

Answer: This inscription was not installed during the rule of Amshuvarma. Instead, it should contain the name of Bhaumagupta Abhira. It is possible that the portion of the inscription bearing his name has broken.

Question: This is not correct. A study of the contents of this inscription would prove that Bhaumagupta had been overthrown by that time. The role played by Amshuvarma in the history of the Lichchhavi period appears to be a little strange. On the one hand, he seems to have gradually gained the confidence of the people and eventually become Maharajadhiraja. On the other, he was fully loyal to the Lichchhavi dynasty. He did not want that his own dynasty should rule in Nepal. He proclaimed Udayadeva, a Lichchhavi Prince, as Yuvaraja. He wanted Udayadeva to succeed him. This is the reason why Jishnugupta enthroned Chimarjunadeva, describing him as a person belonging to a ruling dynasty, in order to show that he too had put a Lichchhavi prince on the throne.

Answer: No. Bhaumagupta Abhira, who installed the image of Narayana reclining on water, had even become Bhattaraka. But he later came to grief. He then realized that he could not get along unless he put a Lichchhavis on the throne.

Question: Do you have any evidence other than the fact of Udayadeva being proclaimed as Yuvaraja to prove that Amshuvarma was a Lichchhavi?

Answer: There are the inscriptions of Narendradeva.

Question: You have repeated the same argument. What about the effigy of the moon in the coins of Amshuvarma?

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Answer: There is another point. Buddhakirti, who has written an account of the Lichchhavi dynasty, has given an account of Lichchhavi Kings only, not of others.

Question: The above-mentioned inscription of Jayadeva does not mention Amshuvarma, nor does it contain any reference to other rulers. Rather, this inscription appears to have been installed with the sole objective of recounting the glory of the Lichchhavi Kings. It is therefore natural that it should not have mentioned Amshuvarma.

Answer: But it does mention the name of Udayadeva.

Question: This is so because Udayadeva was the father of Narendradeva. Since Narendradeva had come to power with the help of Udayadeva, it was natural for his name to be mentioned in this inscription.

Answer: The inscription also contains the word Kshitisha. What does this mean ?

Question: This term is a little unclear.

Answer: Kshitisha refers to Amshuvarma, because he was not a King.

Question: Amshuvarma was a ruler with a glorious personality during the Lichchhavi period. If he had been a Lichchhavi, he would have clearly described himself as such. Why should he have used such a vague expression to describe himself ? Moreover, we should note the difference between Varma and Deva.

Answer: No, there is no difference between Varma and Deva. Udayadeva was previously called Udayavarma. A person was called Varma, as long as he did not become King or Crown Prince. Members of the princely family of Udayapur are all "Simha". But when anyone ascends the throne, he is called Rana. There were many Varmas at that time. Amshuvarma's own nephew, who was a Mahasamanta, was a Varma. I do not recall his name.

Question: Bhogavarma ?

Answer: Yes, Bhogavarma.

Question: They were Rajputras. The inscriptions describe them as Rajaputra and Shurasena. This shows that they were Rajaput Kshatriyas.

Answer: Yes, they were all Rajaputs.

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Question: Amshuvarma was one of these Rajaputras. The Vamshavalis contain a reference to the abdication of Shivadeva. This point too merits some consideration. One inscription refers to Shri Shivadeva Vihara. Does this mean that Shivadeva had renounced the world and led an ascetic life, as stated in the Vamshavalis ?

Answer: No, no. There is also a place called Manadevavihara and Rajavihara. Did Manadeva too become a monk ?

Question: It appears to us that more than ordinary consideration should be given to the point mentioned in the Vamshavali that Shivadeva had become a monk, and handed over the reins of administration to Amshuvarma, that Amshuvarma had proclaimed Udayadeva as Crown Prince (Yuvaraja), and soon.

Answer: At Nhugala, there is an inscription dated 535 Samvat in which only the word Deva appears. It had been installed by Shivadeva. Before his death, he had expressed a wish to make a ritual gift. He installed the inscription after making the gift.

Question: Of course, this inscription contains the word Deva. But it is slightly obscure. This also appears to indicate that Shivadeva had abdicated.

Answer: Dilli Raman Regmi claims that the 25 Puranas had been allocated for the King. Is there any reference to this anywhere ?

Question: Yes, there is. An inscription found at Handigaun contains the words "Bhattarakapadanam Purana 25." Commander-in-Chief (Mahabaladhyaksha) too was given 25 Puranas.

(To Be Concluded)

Disguised English Travellers In Nepal And Tibet¹

By

Mahesh Raj Pant.

Woolen shawls woven by Kashmiri weavers were in great demand in the whole of India, as well as in Persia and England. The attention of the East India Company was therefore drawn towards this field.²

In 1831 Vikrama,³ Governor-General Warren Hastings of the East India Company had sent George Bogle to Tibet as his envoy⁴ to procure specimens of goats and sheep whose wool was suitable for the manufacture of shawls. Samuel Turner, who had been sent on a similar mission by Warren Hastings in 1840 Vikrama, was able to bring some goats and sheep along with him to Bengal.⁵ But the animals could not withstand the hot climate of Calcutta. They shed their wool, and their skin started cracking. Turner then sent the animals to England, where he thought the climate would prove more suitable. But the animals could not bear a journey by sea and so died on

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1. Mahesh Raj Pant, "Nepalsanga Ladain Kholnu Aghi Angrejharule Gupta Bhesma Gareko Nepal-Bhot Bhraman" (Tours of Nepal and Tibet Undertaken in Disguise By Englishmen Before The Launching of the War With Nepal). Purnima, 26, Shrawan 2029 (July 1972), pp. 67-88.
 2. John Pemble, The Invasion of Nepal: John Company At War, p. 69.
 3. Clements R. Markham, Narratives Of The Mission Of George Bogle To Tibet And Of The Journey Of Thomas Manning To Lhasa, p. 68.
 4. Ibid. pp. 8-9. "... to send one or more pairs of the animals called Tus, which produce the shawl wool. If by a doolie, chairs, or any other contrivance they can be secured from the fatigues and hazards of the way, the expenses is to be no objection." This is an excerpt from Warren Hastings' letter to George Bogle.
 5. Clements R. Markham, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

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the way. Subsequently, Turner made other attempts to send such animals to England, but without success. The desire of Hastings to breed Tibetan goats and sheep in India or in England for the production of shawl wool thus remained unfulfilled.⁶

In 1856 Vikrama, instructions were sent to Calcutta from England to send some goats and sheep, whose wool was suitable for the manufacture of shawls, for purposes of breeding?⁷

In 1741 Vikrama, Ladakh signed a treaty with Tibet and thereby obtained a monopoly in the import of shawl wool from western Tibet. Merchants from Kashmir had a monopoly in the purchase of such wool from the Ladakhis. The other provinces of India had thus no share in the shawl wool trade.⁸

Dr. William Moorcroft, a veterinary doctor, employed in the cavalry division of the East India Company, was eager to develop direct trade relations with western Tibet for the import of shawl wool.⁹

The East India Company used to import horses of good breed for Kabul for its cavalry. But when Ranjit Singh expanded his territories in the Punjab, the Company found it very difficult to do so after 1863 Vikrama. This naturally worried Moorcroft and so he planned to procure horses from elsewhere. He expected his visit to Tibet to prove helpful in this regard too.¹⁰

6. Samuel Turner, An Account Of An Embassy To The Court Of Teshu Lama in Tibet, pp. 356-357. "Here we saw multitudes of the valuable animal, whose coat affords materials for that exquisitely fine and beautiful manufacture, the shawl. They were feeding in large flocks upon the then dry herbage that covers these naked-looking hills. This is, perhaps, the most beautiful species amongst the whole tribe of goats; more so, in my opinion, than the Yangol kind. Their colors were various: black, white, of a faint bluish tinge, and of a shade something lighter than a fawn. They have straight horns, and are of a lower stature than the smallest sheep in England. The materials used for the manufacture of shawls is of a light fine texture, and always next the animal's skin. A coarse covering of long hair grows above this, and preserves the softness of its coat, to the nature of the climate it inhabits; upon removing some of them to the hot atmosphere of Bengal, they quickly lost their beautiful clothing, and a cutaneous eruptive humour soon destroyed almost all their coat. I was also unsuccessful in repeated trials, to convey this animal to England. It would neither endure the climate of Bengal, nor bear the sea; though some few of them, indeed, lived to land on England, yet they were in so weak a state, that they very shortly after perished."

7. Alistair Lamb, "Tibet In Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1767-1842." Journal

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Moorcroft decided to reach western Tibet through Garhwal, which was then under Nepal's control. He then began a search for fellow travellers who had a good knowledge of this region. One reason why he chose this route was his hope that travel along it would enable him to gain knowledge about Nepal, which could be useful at the time of the war which might be fought against Nepal.¹¹

Emperor Akbar II (1863 to 1894 Vikrama)¹² had adopted Zakarunnissa, a Princess of Chambli State of Gujarat, and married her to Haider Young Harsey, an Anglo-Indian. Thanks to this marriage, Harsey had become the magistrate of a place known as Kareli situated near Barilly. He had made his permanent residence in Kareli.¹³

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Of The Royal Asiatic Society, Nos. 1-2, 2015 Vikrama (1958), p. 38.

8. John Pemble, op. cit., p. 5-9; Tsepong W.D. Shakabpa, Tibet: A Political History, pp. 122-123; Ram Rahul, The Government And Politics Of Tibet, pp. 37-38.
9. Hugh Pears, The Harseys: Five Generations Of An Anglo-Indian Family, pp. 66-68.
10. Hugh Pears, op. cit., p. 67; John Pemble, op. cit., p. 70.
11. This statement is based on the fact that Moorcroft made his knowledge about Nepal available to the East India Company at the time of the Nepal war. East India Company, Papers Respecting The Nepal War, pp. 76-93.
12. James Burgess, The Chronology Of Modern India For Four Hundred Years From The Close Of The Fifteenth Century A.D., 1494-1894, p. 290.
13. Hugh Pears, op. cit., pp. 53-54; John Pemble, op. cit., p. 40.

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After Nawab Sadat Ali of Oudh signed a treaty ceding half of his state to the East India Company on Margashirsha, 1858 Vikrama, Bareilly was annexed to the dominions of the East India Company Government.¹⁴ The revolt which started in Bareilly in the winter of 1862 Vikrama had been crushed by Haider Young Hearsey.¹⁵

In Baisakh 1865 Vikrama, the East India Company deputed Captain Hearsey, Captain Raper and Captain Webb to locate the source of the Ganga river. After traveling through Hardwar, Devprayag, Srinagar, Karna-Prayag, Nanda-Prayag, Joshimath, Badrinath, etc. for three months, these explorers arrived at the conclusion that the source of the Ganga lay at Gangotri. The Englishmen had obtained permission from Nepal for undertaking a tour of these places, which were then situated inside the State of Nepal.¹⁶

Hearsey is known to have submitted a military report to the English commander who had been making secret preparations for the invasion of Nepal.¹⁷ This leads one to assume that material which could be useful to the English commanders could also have been collected during the expedition undertaken to locate the source of the Ganga.

In 1866 Vikrama, the East India Company sent Hearsey to attack Brammadeo (now in Kanchanpur)¹⁸ in the Tarai of Nepal. The East India Company had sold the Tarai territory to Oudh after defeating Nepal in the war.¹⁹

14. Mahesh Raj Pant, "Nepal-Angrej Yuddhako Tayari." (Preparations For the Nepal-British War), Purnima, 2, p. 75.

15. Hugh Pears, op. cit., p. 52.

16. Ibid, pp. 55-57.

17. Mahesh Raj Pant, "Bir Bhakti Thapa" (The Brave Bhakti Thapa), Purnima, 21, pp. 27-28.

18. Khadga Man Malla, Nepal Ko Bhugol (Geography of Nepal), (Ninth Edition), p. 56.

19. Hugh Pears, op. cit., p. 57.

King Pradyumna Shah of Garhwal was defeated in a battle with Nepal.²⁰ After his death in 1862 Vikrama,²¹ his son, Sudarshan Shah fled and sought asylum with the East India Company Government.²²

The Chandi area (now in the Bijnaur district of Uttar Pradesh) of the Garhwal State, which Nepal had failed to occupy, and Dehradun, which Nepal had occupied, had been bought by Hearsey from Sudarshan Shah for a total of Rs 3005.00 on Ashadh 10, 1868 Vikrama.²³

Moorcroft decided to take Hearsey who had been residing in the neighborhood of Garhwal for some time, had traveled through Garhwal once, and had fought against Nepali troops, along with him.

20. Mahesh Raj Pant, "Bir Bhakti Thapa" (The Brave Bhakti Thapa), Purnima, 14, pp. 149-154.

21. On Kartik 12, 1861 Vikrama, Nepal defeated King Pradyumna Shah of Garhwal and occupied that country. (Purnima, 14, p. 154). Pradyumna Shah fled, but was killed in the next battle (which he fought with the Gorkhalis). His brother, Pritam Shahi, was captured by the Gorkhalis. (Ibid, pp. 152-154). The second battle had been fought in 1862 Vikrama. This will become clear from two documents published in the Regmi Research Series, edited by Mahesh Chandra Regmi, Year 3, No. 2, February 1, 1971, pp. 46-47.

Troops had been sent under the command of Kaji Amar Simha Thapa (senior) to attack Garhwal. His chief assistants were Kaji Ranadhir Basnyat and Subba Hastadal Shah. (Purnima, 14, p.150). Since these two persons had differences with Kaji Amar Simha Thapa, Ranadhir Basnyat was replaced by Surabir Khatri, Ranabir Khatri and Dhanakar Khatri, and Hastadal Shah by Chandrabir Kanwar. (Regmi Research Series, Year 3, No. 2, p. 47). According to the Bhasha Vanshavali, Chandrabir Kanwar took part in the last battle of Garhwal (Purnima, 14, pp. 151-152). It shows that the last battle of Garhwal took place in 1862 Vikrama.

22. Purnima, 14, pp. 153-154; Papers Respecting The Nepal War, op. cit., pp. 250 and 270-271.

23. Hugh Pears, op. cit., pp. 58-60; Rahul Sankrityayan, Garhwal, p. 236.

Early in the 19th century Vikrama, Shivadeva, born in the Joshi dynasty which had been dominating the affairs of Kumaun since the 17th century Vikrama, had become all-powerful of Kumaun by virtue of his bravery. However, in the tussle for power, he was assassinated by his rivals in 1821 Vikrama. His foes, however, had not succeeded in totally eliminating the influence of the Joshis. This explains why the reins of administration were in the hands sometimes of Harshadeva Joshi, son of Shivadeva, and sometimes of his foes. Finally, Harshadeva Joshi was driven out of Kumaun by his opponent. He later joined the Gorkhali troops who were planning to conquer Kumaun. In 1847 Vikrama, the Gorkhals conquered Kumaun. Harshadeva Joshi wanted to become the ruler of Kumaun himself in consideration of the help which he had given to the Gorkhals. However, the Gorkhals did not oblige him and this led to a rift between the two sides. Harshadeva Joshi then joined hands with the enemies of the Nepal Government. He also became an accomplice of the Englishmen who were then making secret preparations for a war against Nepal.²⁴

Moorcroft decided to make Harshadeva Joshi his companion during his travel to western Tibet, as Harshadeva had grown up in Kumaun, which adjoined Garhwal, had become the most powerful man of that area for some time, and had got annoyed with Nepal.

Both Nepal and China had asked for assistance from the East India Company during their war in 1849 Vikrama.²⁵ But neither Nepal nor China received any aid from the company.²⁶ It remained neutral because it had commercial relations with both Nepal and China.²⁷

The East India Company, after it started ruling India, began to impart military training on the western model to the Tilangas (i.e. inhabitants of Tailangadesh) in Madras and introduced the European system of recruiting

24. Badri Datta Pande, Kumaun Ka Itihas (History of Kumaun), pp. 258-412.

25. Leo E. Rose, Strategy For Survival, pp. 56-57, 67-68. Dilli Raman Regmi, Modern Nepal, pp. 179-180.

26. William Kirkpatrick, An Account Of The Kingdom of Nepaul, pp. 7 and 350-352; Yogi Naraharinath, Itihas Prakashma Sandhipatra Sangraha, pp. 20-22.

27. William Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 349-354; Leo E. Rose, op. cit., pp. 57-58, 67-69.

troops. The troops thus recruited were called Tilanga. Later, all the native troops under the English began to be known as Tilangas.²⁸ Imitating the English Tilangas, Nepal had started raising some troops since the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Such troops were also called Tilangas.²⁹

These Tilangas, who were dressed in English style uniforms, were wrongly taken by the Chinese commander who fought against Nepal as English troops. He then submitted a report to Chinese Emperor Chien-lung (1793 to 1852 Vikrama)³⁰ to the effect that the Company's profession of neutrality in the war was false and that it was actually aiding the Nepal Government.³¹

In Bhadra 1850 Vikrama, George McCartney visited the court of Emperor Chien-lung as the envoy of King George III of Britain (1857-1876 Vikrama).³² The Chinese authorities inquired of McCartney as to why the English should have assisted Nepal in the war between Nepal and China.³³ McCartney denied that the company had ever extended any assistance to Nepal. He affirmed that, on the contrary, the Company had helped the Chinese troops by sending its own soldiers and that it would not hesitate to assist them in the future also in case of need.³⁴

Chien-lung, who was angry with the English, sent McCartney from China soon.³⁵ As a result, McCartney's mission to China did not yield the expected results.³⁶

28. Shyam Sundar Das, Hindi Shabda-Sagar, p. 1415.

29. Naya Raj Pant, Devi Prasad Bhandari, Gautam Bajra Bajracharya and Dinesh Raj Pant (ed.). Shri 5 Prithvi Narayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), pp. 330-395; Dhanabajra Bajracharya and Gnyan Mani Nepal (eds.), Jayaratnakaranataka, p. 83.

30. Shri 5 Prithvi Narayan Shah Ko Upadesh, pp. 1349-1350.

31. Samuel Turner, op. cit., p. 440.

32. Marga W. Fisher and Leo E. Rose, England, India, Nepal, Tibet, China, 1765-1958, pp. 1, 5.

33. Alistair Lamb, "Tibet In Anglo-Chinese Relations, 1767-1842." Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society, 2014 (1957 A.D.), Vols. 3-4, p. 174.

34. Dilli Raman Regmi, Modern Nepal, p. 225.

35. John Pemble, op. cit., p. 68.

36. Dilli Raman Regmi, op. cit., p. 204.

Taking advantage of the civil war in Tibet, China interfered in the affairs of that state. Since 1785 Vikrama, China had been stationing its representative as well as troops in Tibet, thereby ruling over that State.³⁷ Following the outbreak of the Nepal-China war, all routes leading to Tibet from India were closed for the English and English subjects on the order of Chien-lung.³⁸

On learning of Chien-lung's displeasure at the English, George III wrote a letter to him in 1852 Vikrama. That letter falsely claimed that the English had attacked Nepal from the rear when it was involved in a war with China. The aim behind this deliberate falsehood was to improve relations with China.³⁹

Even after the death of Chien-lung in the winter of 1852 Vikrama,⁴⁰ his policy of barring Englishmen and English subjects from entering into Tibet was continued. In 1868 Vikrama, an Englishman named Thomas Manning again went to Tibet in disguise. However, on orders from Peking, he was soon expelled from Tibet.⁴¹

Because of China's policy not to let Englishmen, enter into Tibet, as well as of doubts whether Nepal too would refuse to permit their entry into Garhwal, which was then under Nepal's control, Moorcroft decided to slip into Tibet secretly. At that time, a group of Sanyasis called Gosains used to travel to Tibet through Nepal for the purpose of trade.⁴² Moorcroft thought that he could enter into Garhwal with the permission of Nepal once he managed to reach Tibet in the guise of a Gosain. He thought that he could thus avoid various difficulties in his future trips to Tibet. Accordingly, Moorcroft and Hearsey, disguised as saffron-clad Gosains, entered into Nepali territory on Baisakh 29, 1869 Vikrama. They carried with them muskets wrapped in saffron cloth. They were accompanied by Harshadeva, one Pandit, and one Afghan soldier named Gulam Haidar Khan. Their luggages were carried by 30 or 35 porters.⁴³

37. Sepon Shakabpa, pp. 140-144.

38. Clements Markham, op. cit., p. 79.

39. John Pemble, op. cit., p. 68.

40. Margaret W. Fisher and Leo E. Rose, op. cit., p. 3.

41. Clements Markham, op. cit., p. 80.

42. "Travels of George Bogle", pp. 124-125. Kiran Chandra Chaudhari, Anglo-Nepalese Relations, pp. 40 and 60.

43. Hugh Pears, p. 69.

Hearsey, with the cooperation of Harshadéva, started preparing maps of roads immediately after entering into Nepali territory. He did not use instruments for this purpose, lest this should rouse suspicion among the Nepalis. Instead, he measured the route, 2 footsteps of Harshadéva calculated as equal to 4 feet.⁴⁴

The party of spies did not travel through the main route, but passed through a place named Lohawa in Garhwal, where it mixed with pilgrims travelling to Badrinath. On arriving at Joshimath, it left the route to Badrinath, and headed for Tibet through Paikhand. The Jimidár of Garhwal came to know of this and reported the matter to the local Thanedar as well as to the local commander of the Nepali troops, Subedar Ratna Simha Rana.⁴⁵

Chautara Bam Shah, administrator of Garhwal and Kumaun, who was staying at Almora, was also informed that Englishmen, disguised as mendicants, had gone to Tibet through Garhwal. He sent a report in this regard to Kathmandu.

On Jestha 24 (June 9), Moorcroft and his party reached the Himalayan area of Niti, which was situated 18 miles north-east of Joshimath and adjoined the State of Garhwal.⁴⁶ They asked the ruler of Niti for permission to go ahead saying that they were going on a pilgrimage to Manasarovar. They could not say that they were going to Tibet to conduct commercial transactions. The ruler of Niti, after pointing out that the route to Manasarovar did not pass through his territory,⁴⁷ told Moorcroft and his party, "You are carrying weapons and are accompanied by a large number of men. You are either Gorkhalis or Firangis, even though you are wearing saffron clothes. You are enemies of Tibet and shall not be permitted to proceed to Tibet." Moorcroft and his companions claimed that they had not come with sinister motives, but were proceeding on pilgrimage to Manasarovar. They added, "We have brought some goods with us; we intend

44. Ibid, p. 69.

45. Ibid, pp. 69-70.

46. Rahul Sankrityayan, Garhwal, p. 251.

47. Badri Datta Pande, Kumaun Ka Itihas, op. cit., p. 67. There is a road from Darma in the Himalayan region of Kumaun to Manasarovar.

to sell them in order to meet our travelling expenses. It is true that we are carrying some weapons, but these are not meant for attacking any person. We have brought these weapons purely for self-defense. If you find it difficult to release us only on the ground that we are armed, we are prepared to leave these weapons somewhere at this place." This reply had some effect on the ruler of Niti. He asked them to wait at least for 15 days to obtain an entry permit from the Tibetan officer across the border. However, no such permission was obtained even after 15 days. This led Moorcroft and his men to suspect that the ruler of Niti was deceiving them. Thereupon, Moorcroft humbly presented some gifts to the officials of Niti. On Ashad 12, Moorcroft and his party were granted permission to enter into Tibet.⁴⁸

On Ashadh, Moorcroft and his men left from Niti and crossed the border with Tibet. On Ashadh 22, they arrived at the Tibetan principality of Dawa, situated 30 miles north of Niti. The next morning, they called on the ruler of Dawa. After presenting him with 3 yards of superfine cloth, some sugar and spices on a brass plate, they asked him for permission to proceed onward. Pleased with these presents, the ruler of Dawa wrote a letter to the authorities of Gartok situated about 40 miles away from Dawa, recommending permission to Moorcroft and his party to proceed through that route. The reply sent from Gartok, which was positive, reached Dawa on Ashadh 27.⁴⁹

Accordingly, on Ashadh 31, Moorcroft and his party left Dawa. They reached Gartok 6 days later. The following day, on Shravan 5, they met the ruler of Gartok and purchased wool in large quantities, thereby establishing trade relations with western Tibet.⁵⁰

Moorcroft's primary objective, namely, the establishment of trade relations with Gartok was thus realized. However, not content with this, he sought and obtained permission to travel to Tibet from Niti in the capacity of a pilgrim to Manasarovar. He therefore decided to proceed to Manasarovar.⁵¹ People had then almost forgotten that a European named Antonio Andradá, had reached Manasarovar in 1681 Vikrama, i.e., 200 years ago.⁵² It was then widely believed that no European had visited the

48. Hugh Pears, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

49. Ibid, pp. 71-74.

50. Ibid, pp. 74-75.

51. Ibid, p. 75.

52. Clements Markham, op. cit., p. 56.

Manasarovar lake, a famous center of pilgrimage. For this reason, this lake was unknown to the Europeans at that time. Moorcroft therefore thought that he could gain fame as an explorer all over Europe in case he succeeded in reaching Manasarovar and writing an account of it. These tempting prospects prompted him to seek permission from the ruler of Gartok to visit Manasarovar. The ruler of Gartok permitted Moorcroft to proceed straight to Manasarovar and back through Niti without visiting any other place. Accordingly, Moorcroft and his party left Gartok for Manasarovar on Shraavan 11.⁵³

This party reached Ravanahrad on Shraavan 21 and Manasarovar on Shraavan 24. On Shraavan 25 and 26, it toured the area situated along the shores of the Manasarovar lake. Hearsey tried to leave a memento of this journey by inscribing his name and that of Moorcroft on stones. After observing this vast lake and meeting the saints and ascetics dwelling inside the caves located near that area, the party returned from there on Shraavan 27.⁵⁴

When it arrived in Dawa on Bhadra 9 on its way back from Manasarovar,⁵⁵ the local ruler sought to arrest Moorcroft and other members of his party. However, Debu Budha, a member of the ruling family of Juhar Bhot who was in league with the British, succeeded in getting them freed against a security of Rs 10,000.00.⁵⁶ On Bhadra 13, they left Dawa,⁵⁷ and arrived in Juhar Bhot,⁵⁸ a Himalayan vassal state of Nepal situated to the north of Kumaun.

The inhabitants of Kumaun used to buy borax and other commodities from Juhar Bhot, which they sold to the people of the south. This trade yielded considerable profit to the inhabitants of Kumaun, which then formed part of Nepal. With a view to depriving the Nepalis of this profit, Moorcroft and his men established direct commercial contacts with the inhabitants of Juhar Bhot at that time.

53. Hugh Pears, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

54. Ibid, pp. 76-77.

55. Ibid, p. 77.

56. Kumaun Ka Itihas, op. cit., p. 76.

57. Hugh Pears, op. cit., p. 77.

58. Mahesh Raj Pant, "Bir Bhakti Thapa." (The Brave Bhakti Thapa), Purnima, 12, pp. 53-54, 56-57.

On Bhadra 19, 1869 Vikrama, Hawkins wrote an innocuous message from Bareilly to Bam Shah. The message read as follows, "Moorcroft may reach Tibet safely. But they are afraid lest they should be detained in Nepal on their return from Tibet. Because of this fear, Dr. Moorcroft has gone to Tibet to purchase some horses and enjoy travel in that country. Captain Harsey too may have gone there along with Moorcroft. Bearing in mind the friendship between the Company and Nepal, you are requested to take care of these men when they return from Tibet, and escort them safely to the border." This message was received by Bam Shah on Ashwin 15, 1869 Vikrama. He forwarded the message to Kathmandu, along with a personal letter stating that the Englishmen whom he had previously described as disguised men were actually influential persons.

After arriving at Chandpur, situated at a distance of 8 miles from Karna Prayag,⁵⁹ Moorcroft and his party met Bandedo Thapa,⁶⁰ who was the Nepali officer of that area. On Ashwin 27, Bandedo Thapa inquired of them why they had passed through Nepali territory incognito. They straightaway replied that they could not have entered Tibet had not they moved in disguise, that in any case, they had not done anything bad by traveling through Nepali territory in this manner, and that there was no reason why they should not be allowed to move about inside Nepal when the Nepalis could travel freely within the Company's territory.

(To Be Concluded).

59. Rahul Sankrityayan, Garhwal, p. 334.

60. Hugh Pears, op. cit., p. 78. The name of the Nepali officer has been given as Banda Thapa. This is not a common Nepali name. Moreover, there is no reference to this name in contemporary Nepali documents. Bandedo Thapa was the name of Bhakti Thapa's elder brother. (Purnima, 21, p. 40). I have therefore given the name of this Nepali officer as Bandedo Thapa. Bhakti Thapa was 70 years old when he was killed in the battle of Deuthal on Baisakh 6, 1872 Vikrama. (Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Amar Simha Thapa, pp. 102-104). According to Hugh Pears (p. 78), Bandedo Thapa was about 70 years old when he met Moorcroft in 1861 Vikrama. This corroborates my view.

Restoration Of Abolished Rajyas

Several principalities in the western hill region which had been abolished during the latter part of the eighteenth century were restored during the 1860's in appreciation of the cooperation which they rendered during the Nepal-Tibet war (1855-56), as well as during the military expedition which Prime Minister Jung Bahadur undertook in 1857 to help the British suppress the Indian mutiny. These Rajyas included the following:-

1. Garhunkot
2. Galkot
3. Bhirkot
4. Kaski
5. Malneta

In 1851-52, there were 3 Rajyas, or principalities of feudatory status, in the Kingdom of Nepal which enjoyed full internal autonomy on payment of an annual tribute (Sirto). These Rajyas and the payments due from them were as follows:-

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Raja Gajaraj Simha of Bajhang | ... | Rs 501 |
| 2. Raja of Mustang | ... | Rs 806 and
5 <u>tangan</u> horses |
| 3. Raja Gajendra Simha of Thalahara | ... | Rs 25. |

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Law And Order In Nepalganj, 1897

To the Chief Officer and employees of the Naya Muluk Forest Inspection Office (Ban Janch Goshwara).

Greetings. Major Captain Jit Bahadur Khatri Chhetri, Nayab Subba Deviraman Upadhyaya, and Kharidar Kehar Singh Rajbhandari have represented to us that they recommend the following orders to be sent in the name of the Forest Inspection Office in the following matters. Act as directed by us in these matters as follows:

Since the establishment of Nepalganj town, a levy called Pasiana has been collected from traders at rates ranging from 3 annas to 2 rupees and $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas depending on the size of the concern for protecting the town from the depredations of burglars and dacoits.

The proceeds of this levy were distributed equally among two watchmen (Chaukidar) appointed for this purpose, on the stipulation that they would recompense goods burgled by thieves in their sight, or by breaking locks or through walls or roofs. These watchmen have been patrolling the streets in the town all through the night. This system continues to this day.

At present, the Pasiana levy collected at the rates mentioned above, yields Rs 543 and 11 annas. Watchmen who have made the above-mentioned stipulation patrol the streets all through the night.

Even then, (the shops of) traders are burgled from time to time. We tried to ascertain the reason, feeling that such thefts would not be possible without the connivance of the watchmen.

In the month of Ashadh 1954 Vikrama (June -July 1897), one Gobind Sikh, son of Guru Bux Singh, one of the watchmen, who was walking along with his father, stole a goat belonging to Nausinda Lal Bahadur, a resident of (Nepalganj) town. (Nausinda Lal Bahadur) caught hold of the thief and produced him before us. He signed a statement confessing that he had committed the theft in collusion with his father, Guru Bux Singh. Jangali Sikh, a nephew (of Guru Bux Singh), who also had been appointed watchman, was also implicated in the statement, and both watchmen were then dismissed.

Since it was not appropriate to discontinue watchmen's services, two persons, including a Muslim called Shankar, have been appointed. But if this man had been honest, he would not have come forward to accept such a position. The reason is that honest persons do not undertake liability to recompense goods stolen by others. Only dishonest and evil persons make such a stipulation. Moreover, reports were received that thefts were committed in collusion with this watchman.

Contd...

A contingent of the military police stationed in Nepalganj has also been patrolling the town at night. We therefore recommend that:

- # The watchmen mentioned above should be removed from their positions from the harvest year 1954 Vikrama (1897).
- # The sum of Rs 543 and 11 annas, being the proceeds of the Pasiana levy should be utilized to appoint the following personnel:-

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Monthly salary</u>
Hawaladar	2	Indian Rs 4½
Amaldar	1	Indian Rs 4 and 5½ annas
Constables	8	Indian Rs 4

Total No. 11

- # Good people from the hills should be appointed to these posts and given the same status as the military police.
- # The military police should patrol the town twice every night as usual.
- # The men appointed as mentioned above should station themselves at three places around the town at night with torches and also patrol the streets. They should be told that they will be held responsible if they are derelict in their duties and, as a result, the shops of traders are burgled.
- # These men should be appointed in such a manner that they get their salaries for the month after this order reaches here. They should be employed in the manner mentioned above. Their attendance records should be maintained at the Banke Revenue Office and salaries drawn from there every month according to law and regulations.

We hereby recommend that an order containing these provisions should be sent to the Forest Inspection Office.

Aswin Sudi ..., 1954
(September 1897)

Contd...

Recommendation Of The Muluki Office

In our opinion, the recommendation of the Naya Muluk Bandobast Office is reasonable.

Subba Dharmadatta Upadhyaya.

Order Of Prime Minister (Bir Shamsheer)

Approved.

Kartik Badi 6, 1954
(October 1897).

Royal Order On Sanitation, 1840

From King Rajendra,
To inhabitants of four castes and thirty-six sub-castes.

Do not eat green things raw. Roast or cook them before using them as food. Use water for drinking only after filtering and boiling it, and then letting it become cold, as otherwise worms which exist in water destroy the liver, thus causing death. Do not use water for drinking without doing so. Local people should work collectively for covering wells, so that rainwater may not fall into them. Avoid the use of water from fields, streams, irrigation channels and wells which have not been covered.

Jeshta Sudi 9, 1897
(June 1840)

Regni Research Collections, Vol. 26, p. 260.

Control Of Interest Rates In Western Hill Areas, 1799

From King Girban,

We hereby promulgate the following regulations for areas west of the Trishul-Ganga river in the name of Gajya (Gaj Simha Khawas).

1. Fines at the following rates shall be collected from persons who have charged interest at more than 10% in cash and 25% in kind after the promulgation of the royal order prohibiting the collection of interest at more than 10% in our dominions west of the Trishul-Ganga river up to Kumaun.

Abal	...	10%
------	-----	-----

Chahar	...	(?)
--------	-----	-----

2. Take along with you 25 soldiers along with a Jamadar of the Amardol Company stationed in Bhirkot for the collection of fines. Transmit the proceeds from time to time with a military escort.
3. In case any person is apprehended on the charge of having collected interest at rates exceeding 10% in cash and 25% in kind, and in case he makes a statement in writing to the effect that he has not done so, but is subsequently proven to be guilty of this offense, a fine double the amount (collected in excess of the permissible payment) shall be levied.
4. In case any person is apprehended on the charge of having collected interest at rates exceeding 10% in cash and 25% in kind, and in case any local official or functionary (Amil, Umra, Dware, Jethabuda) causes obstructions and attempts to suppress the case, he shall be punished with a fine double the amount involved in the case.
5. After the expiry of 10 years, permit the payment of only double the amount of cash loans and treble the amount of in-kind loans in case no interest or commission has been collected. In case (payment of) a higher amount has been stipulated in writing, this shall be invalidated.

Emoluments shall be paid at the following rates to the persons employed for the collection (of fines). The expenses shall be debitted in the course of audit.

Gajya	Rs 100
5 Tahasildars accompanying him	Rs 375
1 Assistant (Bhaiya)	Rs 75
4 Clerks (Bahidar)	Rs 300
Total	Rs 850

Jestha Badi ..., 1856

(May 1799)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol 24, p. 733.

Interviews With Baburam Acharya

(Continued)

Question: How were Shivadeva and Amshuvarma related to each other ?

Answer: There was no relationship. Shivadeva was King and Amshuvarma minister.

Question: But Amshuvarma has been described as the sister's son of Shivadeva.

Answer: There is no conclusive evidence. Shivadeva was a Vaishnava, while Amshuvarma was a Pashupata, although both were Lichchhevis. I doubt whether there was any inter-marriage between the two sects.

Amshuvarma was an adherent of the Pashupata sect. He was not a descendant of Kramalila, but was appointed later as Mahasamanta. There was Kramalila, followed by several others. Amshuvarma then became Mahasamanta. He was not on good terms with the Abhiras. At that time, renowned scholars used to visit the Pashupati temple. Amshuvarma thus acquired an opportunity to acquire knowledge. He studied everything. He was a very capable statesman. The facts about Rupavarma which have been mentioned above are probably not true. This may be the later Rupavarma. It was he who had a water-spout installed. This is mentioned in the stone inscription. He was

called their names to him from a distant place, like Trichasura and
 Panchasura. They belonged to the royal family. This does not mean that they
 were the sons of kings. But they were of royal blood. They could not sur-
 render themselves as belonging to the Mahabharata dynasty because only the
 person who traces his blood to the title of "Maharaja" is eligible.
 It was not enough to write themselves without using any special designa-
 tion. But their names could not describe themselves as "Maharaja's son".
 They were ordinary persons. They were members of an Imperial
 dynasty. But, they were not to be seen as King's. They should be mentioned
 as those who were King's. The address was that I they would not they
 themselves among the King's. They had become King's because of
 their sons as Kings. Subsequently, they also became "Maharaja's son".

But Anantavarma's son proved to be not. The address was "Maharaja's son".
 The Sanskrit inscription of Anantavarma shows that writing was also in a better
 In you remember this I in my time, Anantavarma II-I towards the east. The
 subject is not clear. But the reference is to his wife of Anantavarma's
 younger son. I therefore believe that Anantavarma was the son of a
 Maharaja, but of his younger brother. The address would not be of
 King because he was a distant relative. Anantavarma's son was not a royal
 person and he had. Anantavarma was the son of Anantavarma. When he was
 in Anantavarma, then he returned from Anantavarma, he went straight to Anantavarma.
 Only the inscription found there. He granted Mahabharata privileges
 (Mahabharata) in this village. From then (the people of Mahabharata) returned
 Anantavarma was sent by the Chinese King. He says, however, that he
 was to remain (his name) after the name of Anantavarma and Anantavarma.
 That is not I.

In an inscription inscribed ten years later, he has written that the
 name of (Anantavarma) was Anantavarma, as seen in the inscription. He started
 his name inscription ten years later, in the name. All this means
 that Anantavarma was definitely a Maharaja.

(Editor's note: Inscriptions of Anantavarma I's found since 17th century)

(The end of the document)

Disguised English Travellers In Nepal And Tibet

(Continued From Previous Issue)

After thus satisfying Bando Thapa, who was 70 years old; Moorcroft and his party reached Karnaprayaga. On Kartik, they arrived at Mehalchaur, situated on the banks of the Ramganga river. The Thanedar of Mehalchaur tried to stop them, saying, "You should not have moved in disguise without informing the Nepal government notwithstanding the amicable relations existing between the Nepal government and the Company government, Now that you have done so, you must stay here for some time. We shall free you only after consulting the government. Since friendly relations exist between the Company government and the Nepal government, we may receive favorable orders from our government."⁶¹

The next morning, Moorcroft attempted to proceed by brandishing his gun. The local guards then confiscated his gun and tied him as well as Harsey with ropes. The others were shackled, and their belongings too were confiscated. Later, Subedar Ratna Singh Rana reached Mehalchaur and freed Moorcroft and Harsey. However, the others were kept in detention.⁶² Ratna Singh Rana submitted a report to this effect to Bam Shah. Moorcroft, on his part, wrote a letter in Hindi to Bam Shah as well as to Amar Simha Thapa, the aged governor of the Nepal territories situated across the Jamuna, protesting against his detention by Nepali troops. On receiving this letter, Bam Shah sent messages Ratna Singh Rana through 2 Jamadars, ordering him to free all those who had been kept in shackles, and escort Moorcroft to a place called Pali in Kumaun. He also informed Ratna Singh Rana that he would go to Mehalchaur personally or depute his son. In accordance with the prevailing policy of Nepal not to offend Englishmen, Bam Shah did not deal harshly with Moorcroft and his men, although he was informed that they had travelled to Tibet through Nepali territory in disguise, and that they had attempted to force their way back to English territory defying the Nepali guards. Bam Shah despatched to Kathmandu a report, accompanied with the letters written to him by Ratna Singh Rana and Moorcroft. The letter gave details of how Moorcroft had reached Tibet through Nepal in disguise and how the Nepali guards had detained them on their return journey.⁶³

61. Hugh Pears, op. cit., p. 78.

62. Ibid, pp. 78-79.

63. Loc cit.

When the Jamadars reached Mehalchaur, those who were detained there were freed and all the belongings of Moorcroft and his party, which had been confiscated, were restored to them. They were then escorted to Pali. From Kathmandu, a message was despatched to Bam Shah. It read: "It was not proper for the Englishmen to enter into Nepal in disguise without even giving any notice to us, notwithstanding the friendly relations existing between the British and us. Remind them that they should not henceforth behave in this manner. Return their belongings and send them back to the Company's territory." This was in reply to Bam Shah's letter with which Hawkins' letter was enclosed. Bam Shah sent his son, Lakshabir Shahi, to Pali to carry out the instructions contained in this reply.

On reaching Pali, Lakshabir Shahi told Moorcroft that it was improper for him to have travelled through Nepal, a friendly country, in disguise without informing the Nepal government, and that he could have at least informed the Nepal government or Chautariya Bam Shah of the purpose of their travel to Tibet on their return from that country and the place of their arrival on their return journey. He also declared that it was not proper on the part of the guards to detain Moorcroft and his party without orders from the government. He announced that the soldiers responsible for such improper conduct would be punished. However, Moorcroft said that the incident should be forgotten and there was no need to punish the guards. Lakshabir Shahi, obviously to placate Moorcroft, insisted that the Nepal government should punish these guards.

In order to fulfill the English rulers' desire to start the manufacture of woolen shawls, Moorcroft had brought more than 50 sheep from Tibet. Moorcroft intended to breed these sheep in Scotland or Wales because he had heard that similar sheep brought by Turner in 1840 Vikrama had not been able to survive because of their inability to endure the hot climate of Calcutta and the cold climate of England.⁶⁴ The sheep brought by Moorcroft from Tibet carried loads of wool meant for weaving shawls. These sheep which had remained behind, were ordered to be brought to Pali. After treating Moorcroft with due courtesy, Lakshabir Shahi ordered 2 Jamadars and some soldiers to escort him up to the border. On Kartik 23, he bade good bye to Moorcroft, who then returned to Almorá.⁶⁵

After reaching the border, Moorcroft took the two Jamadars to Kashipur (in the Tarai area of Kumaun). He sent them back from there.

64. John Pamble, op. cit. p. 70.

65. Hugh Pears, op. cit. p. 79.

When the news of Moorcroft's detention reached Calcutta, the capital of the British East India Company, Governor-General Minto told Krishna Pandit, Nepal's envoy in Calcutta, "Moorcroft has sent a letter informing us that he had been imprisoned by Shamsheer Rana's troops and tied with ropes when he arrived at Mehalchaur, situated on the banks of the Ramganga river on his way from Karnaprayag to Chilkiya. He had used this route because he had no choice but to pass through Nepali territory on his way back from Tibet, where he had gone in search of horses of different species, and sheep and goats bearing wool which is useful for wearing shawls. It is not good that our men should be put to such injustice on the territory of a friendly country. You should ascertain the facts from your Bhardars of Gadh Kumaun." Accordingly, on Kartik 25, 1869 Vikrama, Krishna Pandit wrote letters to Bam Shah, 2 Kajis and 2 Sardars of Gadh Kumaun seeking information on the incident. In his letter to Bam Shah, Krishna Pandit wrote, "It would have been better if you had imprisoned Moorcroft and his men only after receiving orders from the government of Nepal after being informed that they had moved about through Nepali territory with the aim of engaging in espionage and creating trouble. You should have merely reminded them that they were not permitted to enter into our territory without the order of our government even if their sole objective was to find horses; and then sent them back to their country."

When these letters reached Farrukhabad, Edward Colebrooke, who functioned there as representative of the Company government for the territories annexed by it from Oudh,⁶⁶ forwarded them to Almora along with a message of his own. The letters were received by Bam Shah on Marg 27, 1869 Vikrama. Three days later, he sent a reply to Krishna Pandit, giving details of the incident. His reply was as follows: I have been ordered from Kathmandu to put the guards at our post in fetters because they have committed an offense by tying up the Englishmen. The message sent to me from Kathmandu states: The Englishmen have, no doubt, harmed the friendship between our two countries by trying to enter into our country in disguise and move about through our territory by brandishing guns. Even then, we should be careful not to take any step that undermine our friendship (with the East India Company government). The guards were right in stopping these Englishmen who had moved through our territory in this manner. But it was not proper for them to have tied them up. You are ordered to free the Englishmen and allow them to proceed along with their goods. Since these guards had committed an offense, you should put them in fetters and send them back to Kathmandu." Accordingly, I put them in fetters and despatched them to Kathmandu."

66. Papers Respecting the Nepaul War, op. cit. p. 250.

Having succeeded in establishing commercial contacts with Tibet with difficulty, and gained valuable authentic information about routes and other matters about Nepal, Moorcroft had expected that his services would be adequately rewarded by the Company government. However, Moorcroft had travelled to Nepal without the approval of Governor-General Minto. Moreover, his journey had resulted in the Company government's relations with Nepal being strained. Governor-General Minto did not therefore express enthusiasm over Moorcroft's adventure.⁶⁷ Since the traders of Amritsar had started purchasing wool for weaving shawls from Gartok after Ranjit Singh had begun expanding his territories. Minto therefore did not show any interest in the wool trade, as he apprehended that this might disturb his relations with the Sikh ruler.⁶⁸

Minto actually discouraged Englishmen from visiting Tibet in view of China's policy not to let any Englishman enter Tibet, its dependency. He was afraid that any permission to Englishmen to go to Tibet would adversely affect his relations with China. That Minto did not actually want to encourage Englishmen to travel to Tibet is also proved by his refusal to permit Thomas Manning to go to Tibet as a representative of the Company government as requested for by him in 1863 Vikrama. Thomas Manning had subsequently visited Tibet as an ordinary traveller, but was deported from there.

Britain and France had not been on good terms for a long time. Both the English and the French had expanded their territorial possessions in India. However, the English finally succeeded in weakening France's hold in India. That was why France had been waiting for an opportunity to vanquish the British in India. It wanted to occupy Egypt before launching an invasion of India. Accordingly, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt in 1855 Vikrama. However, the English troops defeated Napoleon in Egypt, so that his ambition to conquer India remained unfulfilled. Later, Emperor Napoleon succeeded in winning Russia over to his side. In 1864 Vikrama, he concluded a treaty with Emperor Alexander of Russia. Since Russia was geographically close to India, Governor-General Minto of the East India Company was afraid that Napoleon might invade India in collusion with Russia. For this reason, Minto tried to secure the support of the Punjab, Afghanistan and Persia, all of which were situated between Russia and the Company's dominions in India. In addition, he adopted the policy of avoiding war with the native states of India. In 1867 Vikrama, differences of

67. John Pemble, op. cit. pp. 84-85.

68. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

opinion arose between France and Russia, and hence fears of an imminent French invasion of India diminished to some extent. Even then, until 1870 Vikrama, that is, until the English had succeeded in persuading Russia to join an alliance against Napoleon, Governor-General Minto continued to fear a combined French-Russian invasion of India. This was the reason why he was not in a position to start any war inside India at that time. He needed good relations with both Nepal and Ranjit Singh. That was why he could not encourage the mission undertaken by Moorcroft.

Although the Company government could not derive any immediate advantage from Moorcroft's journey, the information gained by him as well as by Hearsey about the situation of Nepal proved to be of considerable advantage to the English during their 1871 Vikrama war with Nepal. This is clear from the considerable correspondence that took place between the top officers of the Company government and Moorcroft and Hearsey,⁶⁹ Hearsey himself commanded the English troops that sought to occupy Kumaun during this war.⁷⁰ This showed that the Company government benefitted from the journey of Moorcroft and Hearsey to Tibet.

(Concluded)

69. Papers Respecting The Nepaul War, op. cit. pp. 47-51, 52-59, 76-93, 250-253 and 286-288.

70. Purnima, I, p. 50.

Chronology Of Patan^x

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

At the time when Ratna Malla established an independent Kingdom in Kathmandu, the feudal chiefs of Patan were rising in opposition to Raya Malla. Copies of inscriptions of two Kings of this dynasty have been found. These are as follows:-

1. Vishnu Simha's inscription of Magh 674 Nepal Samvat (1553 A.D.), published in the Sanskrit Sandesh, Year 2, Nos. 1-3.
2. Purandara's inscription of Magh 686 Nepal Samvat (1565 A.D.), published in the Sanskrit Sandesh, Year I, No. 8.

These inscriptions mention the following Kings:-

1. Jaya Simha
2. Kirti Simha
3. Kusum Simha (Queen: Jayalaxmi)
4. Vishnu Simha (Queen: Kamalalaxmi)
5. Purandara
6. Purushottama

^xSurya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Kathmandu Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter XV: "Patanka Itihasko Kalanirnaya." (Chronology of Patan), pp. 173-177.

Contd...

These inscriptions do not indicate the dynasty to which these Kings belonged. Vishnu Simha has described his mother, Jaya Laxmi, an ornament of the Vaishya or Bains family. This seems to indicate that they had merital relations with the ancient Bains Thakuri family of Nepal. The account that Ratna Malla rebelled against his brother, Raya Malla, after the death of his father, settled in Patan and later established an independent Kingdom in Kathmandu through the boon of a goddess reveals that this was a vassal dynasty of Patan and had become a rebel after the death of Yaksha Malla. The King of this dynasty may have helped Ratna Malla to establish an independent Kingdom in Kathmandu. Although in these inscriptions, Vishnu Simha and Purandara Simha have adopted the style of independent Kings while referring to their ancestors, the Vamshavalis state that Purandara constructed the temple of Vishnu during the reign of Mahendra Malla in Kathmandu. This shows that his position was not higher than that of a vassal. These Kings assumed titles appropriate to independent Kings when the Kingdom of Kathmandu had been weakened and it had to ask for help from Patan. But they were in reality vassals. In the end, Shiva Simha dethroned the last ruler of this dynasty some time before 723 Nepal Samvat (1603 A.D.) and appointed his son, Thakul Simha, as the feudal chief of Patan. Although the exact date of this change is not known, this event may have taken place during the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th century.

Shiva Simha's son, Thakul Simha, also seems to have died early. Another son of Shiva Simha, Harihara Simha, was then appointed as the feudal chief of Patan. The Vamshavalis state that he declared himself independent when his father was still alive. He might have done so because of differences with his father. Harihara Simha appears to have died soon thereafter, however. After his death, his son, Siddhinarasimha Malla, became the feudal chief of Patan. According to the Vamshavalis, this event took place around 740 Nepal Samvat (1620 A.D.). Siddhinarasimha Malla appears to have proclaimed himself as the independent King of Patan 10 years after the death of Shiva Simha. This is confirmed by a coin issued by him in 751 Nepal Samvat (1631 A.D.).

Some inscriptions of Siddhinarasimha Malla, as well as manuscripts written during his time, have been found. An inscription of Falgun 757 Nepal Samvat (1638 A.D.), found at the Radhakrishna temple in Patan (Bhagavanlal Indrajai, No. 17) contains the names of Siddhinarasimha Malla's ancestors, beginning with King Mahendra Malla of Kathmandu. The list is as follows:-

1. Mahendra Malla
2. Shiva Simha Deva
3. Harihara Simha (Queen: Lalamati)
4. Siddhinarasimha

Contd...

A Suka coin issued by Siddhinarasimha Malla, bearing the date 774 Nepal Samvat (1654 A.D.), has been found. According to the Vamshavalis, the chariot of Matsyendranath collapsed and broke down, and several other inauspicious events took place, in that year. It is possible that the coin was issued to commemorate the propitiatory ceremonies. The Vamshavalis also state that Siddhinarasimha Malla became a mendicant in 777 Nepal Samvat (1657 A.D.) and performed penance. There is evidence that later he resided on the banks of the Ganga river. This is proved by the Yogamati inscription of Patan. (Bhagavanlal Indraj, No. 22). Probably Siddhinarasimha Malla went to Varanasi to spend his last days there.

Shrinivasa Malla took over the reins of administration in 777 Nepal Samvat (1657 A.D.). But it is possible that he was formally crowned King only three years later. An inscription dated 803 Nepal Samvat (1683 A.D.), which has been found at Natwa Vihara in Patan, indicates that this was the last year of his rule. I have seen an inscription dated 804 Nepal Samvat (1684 A.D.), which his son, Yoganarendra Malla, had installed in Kirtipur.

Several coins and manuscripts of Yoganarendra Malla's time have been found. One of his Mohar coins was minted in 820 Nepal Samvat (1700 A.D.). Yoganarendra Malla probably died a few years thereafter. Later coins show that acute civil strife prevailed in Patan after his death. These coins are as follows:-

<u>Date</u>		<u>Issued In The Name Of</u>
<u>Nepal Samvat</u>	<u>A.D.</u>	
826	1706	Jaya Indra Malla-Bhagawati Devi
826	1706	Lokaprakasha Malla-Yogamati Devi
829	1709	Viranarasimha Malla-Yogamati Devi
829	1709	Jayaviramahendra Malla
832	1712	Jayayogaprakasha Malla
835	1715	Hridinarasimha Malla
836	1716	do.
837	1717	Jayamahindrasimha Deva

Contd...

Yoganarendra Malla was succeeded by Indra Malla, the son of his elder sister. This was not liked by Yoganarendra Malla's daughter, Yogamati. She therefore proclaimed her son, Lokaprakasha, as King and had coins minted in his name. But Yogaprakasha died soon thereafter, and so she made Viranarasimha King. Meanwhile, Indra Malla too died. Another faction then proclaimed Viramahendra Malla, an illegitimate son of Yoganarendra Malla, as King; Lokaprakasha, son of a King of Bhaktapur, was then made King. Subsequently, Hridinarasimha proclaimed himself King and minted coins in his name. One year later, King Bhaskara Malla of Kathmandu became King of Patan as well. As King of Patan, he minted coins under the title of Mahendra Simha. In his coin of 837 Nepal Samvat (1718 A.D.), he assumed the title of "Great King" (Rajarajeshwara Girindra). He died in 842 Nepal Samvat (1722 A.D.).

Viramahindra Malla appears to have been succeeded by Vishnu Malla, although Wright (p. 249) gives the name of the successor as Yogaprakasha. But Wright himself has written that Yogaprakasha died in 843 Nepal Samvat (1723 A.D.). If thus Yogaprakasha had become King, he only ruled briefly.

Vishnu Malla's rule too was not peaceful, because coins bearing the name of Rajyaprakasha and dated 855 and 856 Nepal Samvat (1735 A.D. and 1736 A.D.) have been found. This probably indicates that during the reign of Vishnu Malla, a rival faction proclaimed Rajyaprakasha Malla, son of King Jagajjaya Malla of Kathmandu as King of Patan. The above-mentioned coin of Rajyaprakasha Malla bears the name of Yoganarendra Malla also, probably in an attempt to show that Rajyaprakasha Malla was the real heir of that King. Vishnu Malla retaliated by minting a coin in 861 Nepal Samvat (1741 A.D.) in the name of Jayevivayoganarendra Malla and thereby proving that he was the real heir of Yoganarendra Malla.

The conflict was resolved when Vishnu Malla accepted Rajyaprakasha Malla as his successor. (Wright, p. 249). Vishnu Malla died in 864 Nepal Samvat (1744 A.D.) and was succeeded by Rajyaprakasha Malla. Rajyaprakasha Malla too died in 878 Nepal Samvat (1758 A.D.). A fresh civil strife ensued in Patan.

Rajyaprakasha Malla was succeeded by Vishwajit Malla, a son of Vishnu Malla's sister. A coin of 878 Nepal Samvat (1758 A.D.), minted in his name, has been found. In that same year, or in the following year, Vishwajit Malla committed suicide. Thereafter, King Jayaprakasha Malla of Kathmandu became King also of Patan. But he was soon replaced by Ranajit Malla, King of Bhaktapur. The drama soon repeated itself and Jayaprakasha Malla was restored as King of Patan. He was again dethroned, and Prithvi Narayan Shah was invited to become King of Patan. He sent his brother, Dalamardan Shah, in response to this invitation. Dalamardan Shah became King of Patan in 884 Nepal Samvat (1764 A.D.). He was dethroned after one year. Tejanarasimha Malla then became King of Patan in 885 Nepal Samvat (1765 A.D.). It was during his reign, in 888 Nepal Samvat (1768 A.D.) that Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered Patan.

Land Reclamation In Udayapur

1. From King Rajendra,

To members of Brahman, Thakuri, Khas, Magar, Gurung, Praja and Pauni (untouchable) castes, slaves and bondsmen of all the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes who have fled to India (Moglan) from our territories for fear of their creditors.

Come back and cultivate lands belonging to the Gorakh Company in Udayapur along with your family. We hereby direct that creditors and slave-owners shall not seize them, but shall recover their dues after their debtors, slaves and bondsmen acquire the means. In case (creditors and slave-owners) use force, they shall be deemed to have committed an offense.

Shrawan Badi 4, 1883
(July 1826).

2. From King Rajendra,

To members of Brahman, Thakuri, Khas, Magar, Gurung, Praja and Pauni (untouchable) castes as well as all of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes who have escaped to India (Moglan) from our territories (to avoid punishment) on life and property after committing murder or other crimes.

We hereby pardon all crimes involving punishment on life and property committed by you in the past. With due assurance, come back along with your family and cultivate lands belonging to the Gorakh Company in Udayapur.

Shrawan Badi 4, 1883
(July 1826)

Regmi Research Series, Vol. 34, pp. 44-45.

A Geographical Description Of Kathmandu Valley During The Lichchhavi Period

By

Jagadish Chandra Regmi

The area of Kathmandu Valley is 209 sq. miles.² Notwithstanding its small area, it has considerable natural, political and historical importance.

According to the legend, the valley had originated with the drying up of a vast lake. On the basis of the topographical features of this area, scholars believe this was how it had come into being. Similar views have been expressed regarding the origin of the term "Nepal". Originally, Kathmandu Valley might have been called "Nepal" for certain reasons, and this name of this area might probably have been retained as such after its territories extended towards both the east and the west.

The history of Kathmandu Valley, like that of Nepal, begins with the Kirat period. However, the history of this area appears to have assumed a definite shape only after the beginning of Lichchhavi rule, which lasted from the first to the eighth century. There do not exist any sources other than contemporary stone inscriptions which may help us to know about the history of the Lichchhavi period. Most of the inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period have been discovered in Kathmandu Valley itself. One each of such inscriptions has been found in Gorkha, Kewalpur (West No. 1), Sanga, Lele and Palanchok as well. The concentration of stone inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period in Kathmandu Valley indicates that it must have been an important area at that time. This probably explains why Radha Govind Basak, an Indian historian, has even expressed the view that the territory of Nepal during the Lichchhavi period was confined to or extended a little beyond Kathmandu Valley.³

1. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, Lichchhavi-Sanskriti (Lichchhavi Culture). Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2026 (1969). "Kathmandu Upatyaka: Bhugol Parichaya." (An Introduction To The Geography Of Kathmandu Valley), pp. 106-110.
2. P.P. Karan, Nepal, A Cultural And Physical Geography, p.93. However, another source gives the area as 322 square miles. cf. A.L. Pradhan, Nepalese Economics, p. 1. Other sources state that Kathmandu Valley has an area of 250 square miles.
3. R.G. Basak, History Of North-Eastern India, p. 239.

Contd...

Now let us discuss the topography of Kathmandu Valley as it existed during the Lichchhavi period. The stone inscriptions of this period refer to scores of place-names, but most of these appear to be of non-Sanskrit origin. Such place-names as Makhoprim, Khripung, Lembati and Bugayumi certainly are not of Sanskrit origin. However, it has not been possible yet to establish their origin. But it is likely that these place-names derived from the languages spoken by the Kiratis and other autochthones of the valley. Such names help to shed light on the ethnic and cultural background of Kathmandu Valley at that time. Although the Lichchhavis and other Hindu or Aryan communities had popularized Aryan culture and the Sanskrit language in Kathmandu Valley after settling here, the traditional names of its different places appear to have remained unchanged. Several ancient place-names of Kathmandu Valley are still in use. While there are several place-names of Sanskrit origin at present, many others are derived from local dialects. These include Itayachhe, Inayacho, Kwachhe, Themel, Kija, Churpingal, to cite only a few. The fact that such ancient place-names should have remained in use notwithstanding the advent of the Aryan culture in the valley 2000 years ago makes its cultural heritage unique. In this context, it should be noted that the name of every country, province or locality has a history behind it. As an example, we may cite the name of Kathmandu, which is the corrupt form of Kasthamandapa, which literally means a wooden building. The area known as Kasthamandap gradually expanded, and this name has now come to denote the entire valley.

It is difficult to identify the present location of most of the places mentioned in the stone inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period. However, in a few cases, the old names have now changed. It would be possible to identify such places on the basis of philological principles. The following chart would make this point clear:

<u>Names Current During Lichchhavi Period</u>	<u>Modern Names</u>
Kūrpāsi	Khopasi
Bugayūmi	Bugmati
Uparimanālang	Nala
Thenco	Thankot
Sankō	Sankhu (?)
Lanjagwal	Lagan

Contd...

Sangā

Sanga

Tegwal

Tyagal

Bhumbhukkikā

Bhuijsira

Mol (tor)

Stone inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period are found here and there in the valley. These are concentrated in three areas of the valley, however. These areas are now called Kantipur, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur. There is no evidence that all these three areas had acquired a urban character during the Lichchhavi period. The mention of the names of numerous villages in the contemporary stone inscriptions proves that almost all settlements in Kathmandu Valley at the time were largely rural in character. However, a town named Sambapur is known to have existed somewhere inside Kathmandu Valley during that period. A worn-out stone inscription found at Naxal mentions Sambapur.⁴ Amshuvarma's inscription found at Handigean also mentions this place.⁵ The three towns of Kathmandu Valley must have developed during the medieval period.

Lichchhavi Name Of Kantipur

As indicated above, the town of Kathmandu as one sees today did not exist during the Lichchhavi period. Modern Kathmandu was then called Koli-grama or Dakshina Koligrama. This is mentioned in 5 stone inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period.⁶ This name appears to have continued in a somewhat changed form until 1450 A.D. A manuscript written during that year contains the words Jamalganthi Koligrama.⁷

4. R. Gnoli, Nepalese Inscriptions In Gupta Characters, p. 120.

5. Ibid, p. 49.

6. Abhilekh Sangraha, Part I, p. 25; Gnoli, pp. 68, 72, 78, 81 and 88.

7. Purnima, 9, p. 10.

Contd...

Lichchhavi Name Of Bhadgaun

Like Kantipur, Bhadgaun had not become an urban area during the Lichchhavi period. The name of the Bhadgaun area appears to have changed a little during the Lichchhavi period and now it has completely changed. Shivedeva I's inscription dated 594 A.D., found at Golmadhi-Tol in Bhadgaun, mentions Makhoprim.⁸ However, the stone inscription of the same King found at Tulachche Tole in Bhadgaun also mentions Khripung Grama.⁹ The stone inscription found at Kankale Tole also mentions Makhodulu.¹⁰ Prim and Dulu are suffixes. Thus all these three names sound the same phonetically. This means that the three names current during the Lichchhavi period were the earlier forms of Khwapu, the medieval name of Bhadgaun. Khwapu is now pronounced by the Newari-speaking peoples as Khop. It seems to have acquired the Sanskrit name of Bhaktapur since the medieval period.

Lichchhavi Name Of Patan

The Patan area too had not acquired an urban character during the Lichchhavi period. Formerly, there existed several villages in this area. Patan town emerged from the growth of these villages.

According to Baburam Acharya, "Upagrama", mentioned in a stone inscription belonging to the Lichchhavi period, was the old name of Yanla (Newari of Patan).¹¹

The term Yupagrama is referred to in three stone inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period.¹² It appears to have changed and been replaced by a different Sanskrit name during the medieval period.

The cultural and geographical background of Kathmandu Valley thus appears to be interesting. From the cultural viewpoint, this area, which remained the center of Nepal during the Lichchhavi, medieval and Malla periods, has hardly any parallel in the world. The soil, temples, idols and stone inscriptions of the valley preserve its nearly two millennia old history. For 2000 years, it has remained the capital of a country. Hence, it is a place of historic and lasting importance.

8. Gnoli, p. 32.

9. Gnoli, p. 33.

10. Abhilekh Sangraha, Part 5, p. 9.

11. Nepali, 16. But Baburam Acharya has put forward the strange argument that the term Yupa is of Kirati origin. The term is actually of Sanskrit origin.

12. Abhilekh Sangraha, p. 26; Gnoli, pp. 90 and 113.

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Sex And Marriage Regulations In The Far-Western Hill Regions,1851^x

In case any person commits adultery with a married woman, and the husband files a complaint, the court shall realize Rs 28 from the adulterer and hand it over to the husband.

In case incest is involved, action shall be taken according to the law.

A Jaisi Brahman shall not take up the wife of his elder brother as his own wife after the death of such brother. In case he does so, the woman shall be separated and the man shall be fined with Rs 20.

In case any person is guilty of incest, infanticide or house-breaking, he shall be punished according to the law if he belongs to a caste which cannot be enslaved; if he belongs to a liquor-drinking (Matwali) or untouchable (Achhuti) caste, he shall be enslaved.

A person belonging to the Khas or Khasiya castes may take up the wife of his elder brother as his own wife after the death of such brother with her consent. He need not pay any money for doing so. No fine shall be imposed on him on the ground that he has taken up the wife of his (dead) elder brother as his own wife. But if the younger brother takes her away forcibly, even though she wants to remain chaste to her (dead) husband, he shall be punished with a fine of Rs 20. The woman shall be permitted to go wherever she wants. In case her paternal relatives give her away forcibly to the younger brother (of her dead husband) or any other person on payment of money, the amount shall be recovered and a fine of Rs 20 shall be imposed on them.

Those who need exiation in offenses relating to untouchability and commensal relations shall be granted expiation in the presence of a representative of the religious authority (Dharmadhikara).

^xAdministrative Regulations For Bheri-Mahakali Region, Kartik Sudi 8, 1908 (November 1851). Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 49, pp. 85-100.
Sections 18, 19 and 22.

Interviews With Baburam Acharya

(Continued)

Question

Where was Mallapuri, which is mentioned in the Changu inscription, located ?

Answer

Mallapuri was located in Parasi.

Question

Recently, a professor deputed by the Department of Culture of the Tribhuvan University saw ruins in an area of 4 square miles inside the Itadanda forests across the Gandaki river in the Parasi area.

Answer

Did he find any inscription there ?

Question

He did not say anything about inscriptions. But he thinks that the ruins belong to the 6th century B.C.

Answer

That does not mean much difference.

Question

Does this show that Mallapuri was located across the Gandaki river ?

Answer

Mallapuri was located in the ancient homeland of the Mallas. When the Guptas were vanquished by the Huns, the frontier chieftains became independent. When he came to know of this, Manadeva led an expedition there. There are references to show that he took with him horses and elephants to fight a war. His route lay through Narayangadh across the Triveni river.

Contd...

Question

What is your opinion regarding Mallakara ?

Answer

There were taxes of many kinds, of which Mallakara was one. Sylvain Levi was wrong in saying that it meant a tax imposed on the Mallas of Baglung.

Question

According to Patech and Ragmi, Mallakara meant a tax imposed on Mallas. Is this so ?

Answer

Mallakara had no connection with the Malla community. It was a tax levied on a wrestling society.

Question

Wherever Mallakara is mentioned in the inscriptions, there are references also to cocks, pigs, fish, etc, as in the Bungmati inscription. Elsewhere too, it is mentioned in the context of tax exemptions on birds and animals. There are separate references in the inscriptions indicating the tax on Mallas and on their young ones. It thus appears that Malla denoted a domestic bird or animal like chicken or pigs, and that the tax imposed on it was known as Mallakara. Had the tax been imposed on wrestlers, the question of it being levied also from "young ones" would not have arisen.

Answer

The Thankot inscription may mean that it was a tax on wrestling, like Goyuddhakara (tax on bull fights).

Question

But the term used in the inscriptions is Mallakara, not Mallayuddhakara. The issue is a controversial one. But a study of Lichchhavi inscriptions would show that Mallakara meant a tax imposed on an animal. At present, male buffaloes of a certain kind are known as "Malana." There is no direct reference to male buffaloes during the Lichchhavi period. You have said that Manadeva took buffalo-meat, but nowhere in the inscriptions is there

Contd...

any reference to male buffaloes.¹ There was no separate tax on the young ones of chicken and pigs, but there was one in the case of Mallakara. This obviously means that the term Malla meant the male buffalo. The question needs further research.

Question

What was the relationship between Jishnugupta, Vishnugupta and other Abhiras ?

Answer

Vishnugupta was a son of Jishnugupta.

Question

What was their relationship with the former Abhira-Guptas ?

Answer

They belonged to the same family. Is not there evidence that they were the grandsons of Bhaumagupta ?

Question

Bhaumagupta or Bhumagupta ?

Answer

Bhumagupta.

Question

Bhumagupta is mentioned only at two places. Most of the inscriptions mention Bhaumagupta. Only in the later inscriptions of Jishnugupta and Narandradeva is the name given as Bhumagupta.

1. An inscription of Amshuvarma has been found at Taukhal recently. It proves that buffalo-farming was prevalent during the Lichchhavi period. Tistung-Chitlang Bhikko Aitihasik Samagri. (Historical Materials In The Tistung-Chitlang Region).

Answer

Bhumagupta and Bhaumagupta are two different persons. Bhumagupta had occupied the throne, while Bhaumagupta had not.

Question

This point is not very clear. Whom do you consider Bhumagupta ?

Answer

Bhumagupta is the one who installed the idol of Budhanilkantha Narayana, not Vishnugupta. This is stated in the inscription found in Budhanilkantha. Whose praises are given in the beginning of the inscription ?

Question

Vishnu and Mahadeva.

Answer

This is known because praises of Vishnu also are found at the same place.

Question

This does not seem to be the case. That was the age of Shankaranarayana. Efforts had been made to bring about harmony among Vaishnavism and Shaivism. This has been clearly stated in the Deopatan inscription of Swamivartta. Bhaumagupta wanted to bring about harmony between Vaishnavism and Shaivism. Therefore, this inscription does not prove that the Budhanilkantha idol was installed by Bhumagupta.

Answer

Whatever may be the case, since the praises of Vishnu have been given in the inscription of Budhanilkantha itself, this seems to have referred to Budhanilkantha. Although that was the age of Shankaranarayana, the then rulers respected both Shaivism and Vaishnavism. The inscription of Bhashmeshwara shows that the son of Ravigupta had installed the temple of Ravishwara in the name of his father.

Question

Will you please shed light on the boundaries of the Lichchhavi Kingdom ?

Contd...

Answer

The Lichchhavi Kingdom was very small during the period of Manadeva. Manadeva never proceeded east of the Sunkoshi. His Kingdom did not extend far beyond Sindhuli-Gadhi. In the west, he did not cross the Vishnumati river, because the region was not very populous. The Lichchhavis did not establish new settlements. Manadeva could go anywhere on horse or elephant back. He had gone to Mallapuri also. Since the population was very small at that time, the territories of Nepal in the west were limited.

Question

If so, how far did the territories of the Lichchhavis reach roughly, in your opinion?

Answer

Lichchhavi rule was confined to Kathmandu Valley and 7 adjoining villages up to Palanchok.

Question

If so, many feudal lords (Samanta) have been mentioned in the inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period. For example, it is said that Samanta bowed down before Basantadeva. Even the inscription of Amshuvarma states that several Samantas came to offer their obeisance to him. Where did they come from?

Answer

Basantadeva was a prisoner. An account written after 200 years cannot be taken as evidence. It had been written by a poet.

Question

But the inscriptions of Amshuvarma mention the same thing. The inscription of Changu and other places also mention that Samantas came to Amshuvarma to offer obeisance.

Answer

This is not correct. By Samantas they meant dutakas posted at different places.

Contd...

Question

Samantas and dutakas are different. Government officials who conveyed the order of the King to the people were called dutakas. Various government officials are seen to have been appointed as dutakas. Later, Crown Princes were appointed in this capacity. On the other hand, Samantas are petty chieftains who paid tribute. This is evident from the description of their Crowns in inscriptions. Therefore, Samantas and dutakas are not the same. Where did the Samantas of the Purvadesha (east) mentioned in the Changu-narayana inscription of Manadeva belong to ?

Answer

The region situated between Sanga and Purnavati (Panauti) was called Purvadesh. The Samantas belonged to this region.

Question

Does not the description of the Samantas of Purvadesha as rogues (Shatha) refer to the Kiratis ?

Answer

No. Purvadesh denoted the seven villages.

Question

What does the Lichchhavi inscription found in Gorkha indicate ?

Answer

The Lichchhavi inscription found in Gorkha belongs to the time of Amshuvarma.² But it is damaged. I had found an earthen jar full of coins of the Lichchhavi period in Gorkha. Harshavardhana had emerged in the south, while Srong Tsan-Gampo was ruling in the north during that time. Amshuvarma was thus faced with a difficult situation. Tibetans began to come into Nepal

-
2. Two inscriptions of the Lichchhavi period have been found in Gorkha recently. One is of Shivadeva II and is dated 122 Samvat. The other is of Jayadeva II. These inscriptions show that Gorkha was directly ruled from the center and there was no vassal state there. This shows that Nepal was bigger during the Lichchhavi period. Gorkhako Itihasik Samagri (Historical Materials of Gorkha).

Contd...

and it was necessary to check them. Otherwise, they would have reached Dolakha. An inscription of "Shri Kalahabhimani" (Amshuvarma) has been found at Mulkot. This is sufficient to prove that Amshuvarma's rule was extended up to that area.

Question

But "Mananka" coins have been found in Baglung too.

Answer

I too had found an earthen jar full of coins in Gorkha. These coins had reached Baglung from Gorkha. Amshuvarma's rule had extended to Gorkha. He had colonized Nuwakot. Amshuvarma opened the route of Chitaur-Gadhi, where Ranakrishna Kunwar had lived for a long time.

Question.

This means that Nepal's territory was small during the period of Manadeva. You had written once in an article that Nepal was big during his rule. Why this difference?

Answer

No. Nepal's territory was not bigger during the rule of Manadeva. But it increased during the rule of Amshuvarma. He extended the boundaries because it was necessary to do so.

Question

An inscription of Samudragupta found in Allahabad states that he was the ruler of the region from Kamarupa to Kartipur including Nepal. If Nepal meant only the valley at that time, where did it touch Kamarupa and Kartipur?

Answer

There was no civilized country at that time. Everybody was uncivilized there.

Question

The inscription of Amshuvarma found at Tistung mentions musk as one of the export commodities of Nepal. There was a flourishing trade in musk at that time. It seems that Nepal was then a big country, if not a developed

Contd...

one. Inscriptions of Basantadeva too have been found in Tistung along with those of Amshuvarma. Therefore, it seems unreasonable to say that Nepal's boundaries were extended only during the rule of Amshuvarma.

Answer

Is there an inscription of Basantadeva too in Tistung ?

Question

Yes, there is. The year too has been given. The year and the name of the King are both seen in the transcript sent by Kaiser Bahadur. Only the middle portion is illegible.³

Answer

I too had seen it. The term Bhattaraka Maharaja is not mentioned in one of these inscriptions, and the eulogy too seems to be shorter. I had read it a long time ago. There are only two inscriptions at Tistung.

Question

Three inscriptions have been found there, one of Basantadeva and two of Amshuvarma.

Answer

These areas were then part of Nepal.

Question

The Anantalingeshwar inscription of Narendradeva is addressed to all adhikaranas within Nepal. This shows that Nepal's boundaries were fiscal during that time. Had Nepal been small, there would have been no reference to Samantas, and Nepal would not have earned prestige outside. According to available evidence, the region situated between the Saptagandaki and the Saptakoshi and the adjoining areas were certainly a part of Nepal. No proof that Amshuvarma extended the boundaries of Nepal through war has been found.

Answer

No. He did not conquer territories across the Dudhkoshi, but he certainly proceeded up to Gorkha.

3. The inscription of Basantadeva found at Tistung is dated 434 Samvat.
Historical Materials In The Tistung-Chitlang Region.

Question

When did Lichchhavi rule end ?

Answer

Probably in 879 A.D. This needs further study.

Question

Did the Kings after Jayadeva II belong to the Lichchhavi dynasty ?

Answer

All of them were Lichchhavis. There was no change of dynasty. Had this been the case, a different era would have been used.

Question

We had considered previously that the Lichchhavi period lasted up to the rule of Jayadeva II.

Answer

It is said that a new era commenced thereafter. This means the advent of Vajrayana. Everything was polluted. This is a different matter. But the Lichchhavi dynasty did not end. It ended in 305, after the emergence of Raghavadeva.

Question

What do you think about the view that dyarchy prevailed during the Lichchhavi period ?

Answer

There was no dyarchy at any time. Only one man can rule, not two.

Question

Is not rule by auxiliary Kings dyarchy.

Answer

Yes, only that. Like Trichandra College during the time of Chandra Shamsheer.

Contd...

Question

What is your opinion regarding the existence of two eras during the Lichchhavi period ?

Answer

I have described one as Koshanu Samvat. It commenced in the month of Kartik. It was different from the Shaka era.

Question

Will you give any proof that it was not the Shaka era ?

Answer

There is considerable evidence. Where has the inscription of Mandeva's daughter been published ?

Question

It has been published in Part I of Abhilekhsangraha.

Answer

It is here. See it and think over it.

Question

The description of festivals throughout the year in the Anantalingeshwar inscription commences with the month of Kartik. This proves that the year according to the era used then commenced in the month of Kartik. But how does this prove that this was not the Shaka era ?

Answer

Then it is proved that this year commenced in Kartik. The Shaka Year commenced in the month of Chaitra.

Question

In Nepal, the Vikrama era too commenced in Kartik.

Answer

Where ?

Contd...

Question

In the inscriptions of the Malla period.

Answer

No. The Vikrama era was made to begin in Kartik because the Nepal era too commenced in this month.

Question

The Vikram era has been described as beginning in Kartik in some parts of India too.

Answer

There are reasons for it. There is the tradition of the year beginning in Kartik in Kashmir. This system was introduced in the regions which had contacts with Kashmir. It may be for this reason that the year commencing in Kartik is found in India.

Question

What does this prove about the Kushana era ?

Answer

I call it the Koshanu era, not the Kushana era. Kushana era refers to the era introduced by the Kushana Kings. But this era was not introduced by King Kanishka with political motives. Rather, the name is due to religious factors. The word "Koshanu" was inscribed in coins. That is why I have called it the Koshanu era.

Question

When did the Koshanu era start ? Should 135 years be added to it to make it the Vikrama year ?

Answer

Generally, 78 years should be added to the Koshanu era to make it the Christian era, and 135 years for the Vikrama era.

Contd....

Question

Let us discuss this question further. What do you think about the era which started during the time of Amshuvarma ?

Answer

I have described this as the later Koshanu era.

Question

According to some historians, this era was started in the year 529 after leaving out 500. What is your opinion ?

Answer

This is correct. But Amshuvarma took over the administration in the year 528. Subsequently, people left out 500 and referred to 28 only for the sake of convenience. Harshavardhana did the same in India when he ascended the throne. However, this new era in India did not remain in use after his death.

(To Be Continued)

Trade And Industry In Ancient Nepal^x

By

Lila Raj Shrestha.

According to an ancient Buddhist text, Mulasarvastivadavinayasangraha, the disciples of Gautam Buddha had visited Nepal in the company of traders while he was yet alive. This shows that trade had already started in Nepal at that time. According to the Arthashastra of Kautilya, even before 300 B.C., water proof woolen blankets known as Varshavaranam, Bhimmisi blanket made by joining 8 pieces, and another type of woolen blanket known as Apasaraka, had gained a good market in the then India. The Kirat dynasty ruled over Nepal during that period. Therefore, this trade of blankets in ancient Nepal may be regarded as trade during the Kirat period. This sheds light on the blanket industry of the Kirat period and international trade in this commodity.

The trade and industry of the Kirat period seems to have assumed an organized form during the Lichchhavi period also.

The pedestal of a Surya image installed during the reign of the Lichchhavi King Manadeva at Tebahal in Kathmandu by one Sarthavaha Guhamitra shows that Indian traders visited Nepal for purposes of trade (Sarthavaha-trader). Trade during the Lichchhavi period is also revealed by the Testugga (Tistung) inscription of the period of Mahasamanta Amshuvarma. This inscription was addressed to an official deputed for the purpose of collecting trade levies. Since it refers to the ban imposed on the export of a copper vessel covered with the skin of musk-deer, Tistung seems to have been an important trade route during that period.

Another aspect of the diversification of trade during the Lichchhavi period is the trade of Nepal with Tibet. The Tang annals of China shed some light on this. According to these sources, the number of traders exceeded that of peasants in Nepal, due to the development of trade with Tibet. That trade with Tibet was conducted through the cooperation of the State is proved by the Vaidya grama (Lagan Tole) inscription of the period

^xLila Raj Shrestha, "Prachin Nepalko Antarrashtriya Udyog Ra Vyapar." (International Industry and Trade of Ancient Nepal). Gorkhapatra, Bhadra 23, 2030 (September 8, 1973), p. 5.

Contd...

of Shivadeva II. This inscription states that traders conducting trade with Tibet will be provided with the free services of 5 porters from Vaidyagram every year.

The Pashupati inscription of the period of the Lichchhavi ruler Narendradeva mentions that the peasants of that region were exempted from unpaid labor obligations in foreign countries. The Yengubahal (Patan) inscription of the period of Narendradeva makes a similar statement. This inscription shows that the government at that time provided traders conducting trade with Tibet with the facilities of forced and unpaid labor in order to extend cooperation to them.

The manufacture of woolen goods, such as blankets, flourished during the Kirat period. During the Lichchhavi period, edible oil, iron, copper utensils, textiles, dyes, musk and paper were manufactured. Nepal had learnt from China the art of making paper during the 7th century A.D., and India similarly learnt this from Nepal during the 10th century. Exports of Nepali paper to North India and Tibet during the Lichchhavi period indicate the development of paper manufacturing during that period.

An inscription found at Sanga belonging to the period of Amshuvarma states that oil mills were exempted from the levy amounting to 13 jars of oil. It also refers to oil mills. This shows that the oil industry flourished in that area during the period of Amshuvarma.

The Tistung inscription of Amshuvarma has referred to the iron industry. An ancient text, Yukti Kalpa Taru, has described the reputation gained by Nepali swords. This shows that the manufacture of iron goods flourished during the Lichchhavi period. That the manufacture of dyes too flourished during the Lichchhavi period is proved by the term Nailyakar (tax on indigo) in the Thankot inscription of Bhimarjunadev and Jishnugupta. According to the Jain text Brihatkalpasutrabhashya, textiles too were manufactured during that period. It has praised the quality of Nepali textiles.

Musk was extracted in Nepal from ancient times. Nepali musk was famous even in South India. The inscription of the South Indian King, Yadavakrishna of the 13th century mentions the white yak's tails and musk of Nepal. There are some other references too regarding Nepali musk during the ancient period. An Arab text of the 8th century, Hudood-e-alam, shows that the Arab countries imported musk from Nepal during that period.

History Of Patan^x

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

We have seen above that Kings of the Chhetri dynasty with the word Simha at the end of their names ruled Patan at the time when Nepal was divided after the death of Yaksha Malla. There is evidence that these Chhetri Kings had matrimonial relations with the ancient Bains Thakuris of Nepal. Two inscriptions of this period show that this dynasty ruled Patan for five or six generations with the status of independent Kings. But they remained as ordinary feudal chiefs when there were strong rulers in Kathmandu. This is proved by the Vamshavali account (Wright, p. 207) according to which Purandara Rajavamshi constructed a big Narayana temple in Patan in 686 Nepal era (1566 A.D.) during the reign of Mahendra Malla. The renovation of the Swayambhunath shrine commenced in Magh 714 Nepal era (1594 A.D.) with the permission of King Shiva Simha of Kathmandu and was completed in Magh 725 (1605 A.D.) according to an inscription found there. (Sanskrit Sandesh, Year 2, Nos. 4-6). According to the same source, Shivasimha Malla was able to conquer Patan as a result of the religious merit he had gained thereby. This shows that Shivasimha had expelled the feudal chiefs and taken over the administration of Patan before 1605 A.D.

There is evidence to prove that Patan had come under Shivasimha and placed under the control of his son, Thakulasimha, before 1603 A.D. A manuscript written in Jestha 717 Nepal era (1597 A.D.) "during the reign of Purandarasingha" has been found. This shows that Shiva Simha had conquered Patan some time between 1597 and 1603 A.D. (Ibid).

Shivasimha did not have to fight a major war to conquer Patan. It is possible that he had the support of the nobles of Patan and that they accept his suzerainty as soon as he went there along with his troops. We have already mentioned above that after conquering Patan Shivasimha appointed his son, Thakulasimha, as ruler of Patan. Probably because Thakulasimha died soon, Shivasimha appointed another son, Harihara Simha, to this position in 728 Nepal era (1608 A.D.). Hariharasingha too died.

^xSurya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Kathmandu Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter 16: "Patanko Itihas." (History of Patan), pp. 179-192.

Contd...

... and his son, Simbirskite, was appointed ruler of Pskov, under
 the title of Grand Duke, and in 1581 was (1581 a.d.). Since that
 was still alive at that time and Simbirskite used to consult him in
 administrative matters.

Simbirskite was succeeded as King of Lithuania after his death by
 his son, during the reign of Simbirskite, Simbirskite left
 to rule in Pskov as an independent King. In 1581 was (1581 a.d.)
 Pskov still remained independent and started making claims to the
 area he was given. This provided a pretext for Simbirskite to make
 his independence. In 1581 was (1581 a.d.) he was killed under the
 name of 1581 declaring the independence of Pskov. This did not prevent
 Pskov, who had several previous attempts to bring Pskov under the
 crown.

Simbirskite was also a great faith in both Simbirskite and Pskov
 and was a special friend of Pskov. He built a Pskov temple in a
 beautiful style in Pskov, according to an inscription which was
 given in 1581 was (1581 a.d.). He also supported many charitable
 in Pskov of Pskov. This was his very purpose, to give gifts to
 charity during his own reign. This gave rise to the Pskov
 temple, the one Simbirskite built's structure according to the
 construction, the one Simbirskite built Simbirskite built in
 the independence, that he inherited his influence from of Pskov
 Simbirskite built. This naturally led to the Pskov
 to be preparing for Simbirskite built.

Pskov built was much wanted to give other that group and to
 a non-representing form, as a result, he failed to subject, Pskov.

Pskov built was Simbirskite built's son. When he was, he
 and he was born with him. Pskov built was an attempt to
 the Pskov relations between Pskov and Lithuania, but without success. He
 tried to stop all intercourse between Lithuania and Pskov, including
 in Pskov. Still more friends of government officials of Pskov were
 if they came to Lithuania.

Simbirskite built tried to have this success, he
 had friendly relations with King of Pskov (1581-1581 a.d.) of Pskov
 who was trying to bring Pskov to the King. Simbirskite
 built was Pskov from Pskov as a result, the Pskov
 issued by Lithuania proved ineffective to some extent. Simbirskite
 built also succeeded the Pskov Pskov of Pskov to Pskov
 Pskov.

According to the Vamshavali, Siddhinarasimha Malla had installed an image of Pashupati at Patan and named the place where this was done as Shivapur. This indicates that it was not then safe for people in Patan to visit the temple of Pashupati in Kathmandu. The Vamshavali also states that Siddhinarasimha Malla celebrated the Dashain festival without observing the usual mourning rites after the death of Lalapati, queen of Pratap Malla, in Bhadra 768 Nepal era (September 1648 A.D.). These instances give some idea about the personal animosity between Pratap Malla and Siddhinarasimha Malla.

Patan, the Kingdom of Siddhinarasimha Malla, is an ancient State of Nepal Valley. Buddhist volumes state that this town had been established by Emperor Ashoka of India. The four stupas found at Patan had been installed by Ashoka himself. In ancient times, Patan was a center of the Buddhist religion. According to the Vamshavali, Siddhinarasimha Malla tried to make this town prosperous and populous. He built water spouts and tanks at various places and arranged for public entertainments by starting new festivals. He made the people prosperous by developing trade.

There were several Viharas in Patan since ancient times. Formerly, Buddhist monks lived in these Viharas. Later, when the Vajrayana cult became dominant, Buddhist monks started to live a married life. They thus began to live in Viharas or Bahalas as house-holders. There were, of course, still some unmarried Buddhist monks. The Viharas where they lived were called Bahis. In this way, Buddhist Viharas were divided into two categories, Bahis and Bahalas. Since Buddhism was progressively declining, there were many evils in Viharas during the reign of Siddhinarasimha Malla. According to the Vamshavali, he made many efforts to reform Viharas. Although the rules framed by him for Buddhist Viharas are vague, he amended rules relating to the selection of the abbot (Nayak) and amalgamated and improved the management of several Viharas.

Siddhinarasimha Malla thus performed many philanthropic acts. However, his mind was not in worldly affairs. According to the Vamshavali, the death of his queen, Bhnumati, was mourned publicly in 768 Nepal era (1648 A.D.) by royal order. (Wright, p. 238-39). His disenchantment grew day by day, and in 777 Nepal era (1657 A.D.) he became an ascetic, thinking that the world is like a bubble of water. He then left for the banks of the Ganges.

After Siddhinarasimha Malla, his son, Shrinivasa Malla, ascended the throne of Patan. A Mohar coin minted by him in 781 Nepal era (1661 A.D.) has been found. The delay of 4 years in minting coins may have been due to the fact because that Siddhinarasimha Malla died 4 years after he became an ascetic.

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Immediately after he ascended the throne in 777 Nepal era (1657 A.D.), Shrinivasa Malla had a quarrel with Kathmandu. In collaboration with King Jagatprakasha Malla of Bhaktapur, he fought a battle with King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu. This battle seems to have benefitted Jagatprakasha Malla, because the routes blockaded by Pratap Malla were reopened. If any two among three Kingdoms of equal strength colluded with each other, they could defeat the third one. Pratap Malla understood this well. Therefore, he forgot his pride and immediately became friendly with Shrinivasa Malla. Notwithstanding their hostility, the two Kings established friendly relations because they were close relatives. Pratap Malla cannot be blamed for this friendship, but it was improper for Shrinivasa Malla to collude with Pratap Malla by betraying Jagatprakasha Malla. After the establishment of friendship with Pratap Malla, Shrinivasa Malla became general of the joint army of Kathmandu and Patan and invaded Bhaktapur in 880 Nepal era (1660 A.D.). A military outpost in Changu was set on fire, 8 persons were killed and 21 captured. Jagatprakasha Malla ordered the prisoners to be beheaded at temples. It was, therefore, natural for Kathmandu and Patan to become angry with Bhaktapur. With the objective of taking revenge, the joint forces of Kathmandu and Patan occupied Bundegram, a military outpost in Champagram and Chorpuri. In 882 Nepal era (1662 A.D.), Shrinivasa Malla looted Nakadesh and occupied Thimi. Jagatprakasha Malla was totally defeated in this battle, and he then retired from active politics.

When this battle was fought, a Jesuit priest named Grueber had come to Nepal on his way back from Lhasa. He has described the Nepal of that time, its Kings, and the battle fought at that time. He has referred to King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu and King Shrinivasa Malla of Patan. According to him, Shrinivasa Malla had a good physique. Father Grueber also saw the joint army of Pratap Malla and Shrinivasa Malla which was ready to fight the enemy. He has written that Shrinivasa Malla ordered his troops to attack the enemy when he saw their troops near with the telescope of Father Grueber.

Because of the mutual hostility between the Kings of Patan and Kathmandu, or because they had a telescope, these missionaries received a warm welcome. They were offered all necessary facilities if they desired to stay in Nepal. Due to the goodwill shown by the Kings of Nepal, the missionaries thought that they did not oppose Christianity, although they were Hindus.

After gaining victory over Bhaktapur, Shrinivasa Malla minted a Mohar coin in his name in 786 Nepal era (1666 A.D.), in which he assumed the title of "Nepalshwara" (Lord of Nepal). Pratap Malla was not able to oppose this step. This shows that his power had declined.

Contd...

Shrinivasa Malla too was a religious man like his father. He built a number of temples in Patan and renovated several others, according to the Vamshavali. In 787 Nepal era (1667 A.D.), he built a 3-storey palace in the southern wing of the Mulchok palace for Agamadevata, as well as a temple of Degutale. He increased the number of storeys in the temple of Sarveshwar, which had been constructed by Sthiti Malla, from 3 to 5 and renovated the tank there. He also extended the dance festival in the month of Kartik, started by his father, from 15 to 25 days. According to the Vamshavali, Shrinivasa Malla performed several such religious acts.

Shrinivasa Malla seems to have become an ascetic by following in the footsteps of his father. This might have happened in the year 805 Nepal era (1685 A.D.), because a Mohar coin of this year, minted by his son and successor, Yoganarendra Malla, is found. Yoganarendra Malla also inscribed two of his eulogies, in addition to the names of his queens, in this coin. The words "Sangitarnavaparaga" show that he had a good knowledge of music and dancing. Another eulogy minted in the Mohar coin is "Nepala Chudamani". This proved that he did not care much for the contemporary rulers of Nepal.

That Yoganarendra Malla was a special devotee of Matsyendranatha is proved by his coins, because a coin minted in 808 Nepal era (1688 A.D.) by him contains the word "Lokanatha". Buddhists worship Matsyendranatha as Lokanatha Avalokiteshwara. All Mohar coins issued in Patan after this period contain the word "Lokanatha".

(To Be Continued)

(S.B. Maharjan).

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History Of Patan^x

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

(Continued from previous issue)

Yoganarendra Malla constructed a pillar in front of the Degutale temple, which had been constructed by his father, and installed his image over it. A legend was created about this statue of Yoganarendra Malla. Some selfish persons conducted the propaganda that Yoganarendra Malla was still alive. This legend or confusion was created during the anarchy in Patan which followed Yoganarendra Malla's death, because it was necessary for any claimant to the throne to prove his close relationship with Yoganarendra Malla. Therefore, some Kings who ruled during this period of anarchy seem to have created the story that Yoganarendra Malla was still alive, in order to prove that the Kingdom belonged to them.

Yoganarendra Malla's son died when Yoganarendra Malla was still alive. Since he had no successor, there was a great tussle in Patan for the throne after the death of Yoganarendra Malla.

Yoganarendra Malla had many wives. He inscribed the names of several of his queens in his coins. These queens include Nerendralaxmi Devi, Pratapalaxmi Devi and Yogalaxmi Devi. Once he had gone to Changunarayan along with his queens and concubines. At that time, someone poisoned him. 21 queens and concubines became Satis. A Vamshavali found recently puts the number as high as 31. This happened in the year 825 Nepal era (1705 A.D.).

Immediately after the death of Yoganarendra Malla, there was a great tussle for the throne of Patan. That this tussle continued for 10 years is proved by a study of coins minted during that period.

^x Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyekako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Kathmandu Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter 16: "Patanko Itihas" (History of Patan), pp. 179-192.

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The first coin of this period of anarchy is dated 825 Nepal era (1705 A.D.). The obverse of this coin contains the words "Shri Shri Lokanatha" and "Shri Jaya Indra Malla", and the reverse "Shri Bhagyavati Devi, 825" (1705 A.D.). Jaya Indra Malla was the son of Manimati Devi, a daughter of Shrinivasa Malla, and thus Yoganarendra Malla's nephew. But Yogamati, daughter of Yoganarendra Malla, did not like Jaya Indra Malla to become King. A Mohar coin dated 827 Nepal era (1707 A.D.), mentioning the names of her son, Lokaprakasha Malla, and Yogamati herself, has been found. This coin bears the name of Lokaprakasha Malla on one side and of Yogamati on the other. This reveals that Yogamati opposed Indra Malla's claim to the throne, on the ground that the son of the daughter of Yoganarendra Malla had a stronger right to the throne than the son of his sister. It cannot be said whom of the two did contemporary tradition consider to have a stronger right to the throne.

Unfortunately, Lokaprakasha Malla died early. Yogamati's lust for power had not been satisfied, however. A Mohar coin dated 829 Nepal era (1709 A.D.) bears her name. This coin contains the names of Viranarasimha Malla and Yogamati Devi. It is not known how Viranarasimha was related to the royal family and what kind of right he had to the throne of Patan. Another Mohar coin of the same year has also been found, which contains the name of Jayaviramahendra Malla and 829 Nepal era (1709 A.D.). The Vamshavalis describe Mahendra Malla as a son of Yoganarendra Malla. His mother was pregnant during the death of Yoganarendra Malla, but the faction led by Indra Malla drove her out of Patan on the pretext that she was insane. Mahendra Malla was born in Gorkha, where his mother had taken refuge. The Vamshavalis state that the King of Gorkha too supported Mahendra Malla's claim to the throne of Patan and threatened to offer him help if the claim was not accepted. The Kingdom of Gorkha was then ruled by Prithvipati Shah. A Kaji of Patan named Milu also helped Mahendra Malla and his mother to come back from Gorkha. He kept them in the palace of Patan and declared Mahendra Malla as King of Patan in the year 1709 A.D. But the efforts of Milu Kaji and the challenge of Gorkha proved meaningless, since Mahendra Malla died soon.

The period of the reign of Mahendra Malla cannot be determined. A Mohar coin dated 832 Nepal era (1712 A.D.) bearing the name of Yogaprakasha Malla, has been found. According to the Vamshavalis, Yogaprakasha Malla came of the royal family of Bhaktapur and was exiled from Bhaktapur because he was born under the sign of "Mula". He too seems to have died soon of small-pox.

Two Mohar coins dated 835 Nepal era (1715 A.D.) and 836 Nepal era (1716 A.D.) have been found. These coins bear the name of Hridinarasimha. One side of the first coin has a lion (Simha) in the center, and the words "Hridinara" and "Malla Deva" around it. On the other side, the word

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"Karunamaya" and the year 835 (1715 A.D.) are inscribed. The other coin also consists "Vira Hridinara" and a lion in the center of one side, and "Karunamaya" on the other, along with the date, 836 Nepal era (1716 A.D.). He was the son of a daughter of Yoganarendra Malla.

In 837 Nepal era (1717 A.D.), Patan came under King Bhaskara Malla of Kathmandu. The coins minted by him after he ascended the throne of Patan mention "Mahindra Simha." In a Mohar coin issued by him in the year 837 Nepal era (1717 A.D.), the name "Jaya Mahindra" on the one side and "Simha Deva, 837 Kalunamaya" on the other are inscribed.

A Mohar coin of Mahindra Simha, dated 835 Nepal era (1715 A.D.) has also been found. At that time, the coins of Hridinarasimha were also in circulation. This coin mentions "Jaya Mahindra" on one side, and "Simha Deva 835 Nepaloshwaragirindra" on the other. This shows that the throne of Patan was offered to Mahindra Simha in the year 835 Nepal era (1715 A.D.) and that he minted Mohar coins with the title "Nepaleshwaragirindra". Since Hridinarasimha Malla declared himself King of Patan at that time, Mahindra Simha had to wait for two years to take over the rule of Patan into his hands.

A Suki coin of Mahindra Simha dated 838 Nepal era (1718 A.D.) has also been found. Another name, Mahindralaxmi, has also been inscribed in this coin. Mahindralaxmi might have been his queen.

The Kingdom of Patan separated from Kathmandu in 842 Nepal era (1728 A.D.) after the death of Bhaskara Malla or Mahindra Simha. But how can a Kingdom be ruled without any King? That was why Yogaprasanna Malla, a Prince of Bhaktapur, was made King of Patan. A Mohar coin minted in the year of his accession to the throne has been found. The words of "Jaya-yogaprasanna Malla Deva 842" are inscribed on one side, and "Karunamaya" on the other side of this coin. According to the Vamshavalis Yogaprasanna Malla ruled for only one year and died of small-pox.

Vishnu Malla, son of a daughter of Yoganarendra Malla, then became King of Patan. Although he was enthroned in the year 843 Nepal era (1723 A.D.), his first available coin is dated 849 Nepal era (1729 A.D.). According to the Vamshavalis, he built a palace in Patan, since his reign was peaceful. He encouraged the people to work in the construction of the palace by working himself. Vishnu Malla, riding on the back of an elephant, carried 2 or 3 bricks himself. However, this reveals the temperament of a King during a period of decadence. It is true that Vishnu Malla carried bricks, but on the back of an elephant.

Contd...

The bell installed by Vishnu Malla at the Taleju temple of Patan is very famous. It was installed in the year 857 Nepal era (1737 A.D.). The inscription on this bell shows that Chandralaxmi Devi was his queen (Itihas Prakash, Part 1, pp: 63-64).

After the death of Jogajjaya Malla in 1752 A.D., (sic), Jayaprakasha Malla occupied the throne of Kathmandu and expelled Rajyaprakasha Malla. According to the Vamshawali, Rajya Prakasha Malla took refuge in Patan, and Vishnu Malla adopted him as a son. But when the Mohar coins of Rajya Prakasha Malla show that he had rebelled against Vishnu Malla. Two of his Mohar coins, dated 855 Nepal era (1735 A.D.) and 856 Nepal era (1736 A.D.), have been found. Since these coins were minted during the reign of Vishnu Malla, evidence that Rajya Prakash Malla had rebelled against Vishnu Malla becomes strong. Moreover, the name of Yoganarendra Malla is inscribed on all these coins. Rajya Prakasha Malla thereby wanted to prove that his right to the throne was just, and not that of those who ruled in Patan after Yoganarendra Malla's death. The story that Yoganarendra Malla was immortal, that he would not die unless a bird installed above the head of the serpent in his statue flew away, and that arrangements for his food and sleep in the palace should be made until his death was concocted during this period. This story has a political meaning.

This conflict subsided when Vishnu Malla declared Rajya Prakasha Malla as his successor.

Vishnu Malla seems to have died in 862 Nepal era (1742 A.D.). Rajya Prakasha Malla then ascended the throne of Patan. A Mohar coin dated 869 Nepal era (1749 A.D.) bearing his name has been found. According to the Vamshavalis, the powerful nobles of Patan were not pleased with Rajya Prakasha Malla and so blinded him. A Suki coin dated 872 Nepal era (1752 A.D.), bearing the name of Vishwajit Malla, has been found. This shows that Rajya Prakasha Malla died around 1752 A.D.

According to the Vamshavalis, King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur and King Jaya Prakasha Malla of Kathmandu ruled for 23 years in Patan after the death of Rajya Prakasha Malla before they were driven out by the Pradhans. The Vamshavalis have also stated that Vishwajit Malla, son of a daughter of Vishnu Malla, became King after Ranajit Malla and Jaya Prakasha Malla were driven out. However, a Mohar coin of Vishwajit Malla dated 878 Nepal era (1758 A.D.) has been found. This shows that Vishwajit Malla ruled up to that year. According to the Vamshavalis, he was assassinated by the nobles at the gates of the Taleju temple in the presence of his queen. (Wright, p. 251).

Contd...

After the death of Vishwajit Malla, the nobles of Patan invited Prithvi Narayan Shah to occupy the throne of Patan. But Prithvi Narayan Shah sent his brother, Dalamardan Shah, instead. The date of Dalamardan Shah's arrival in Patan is not known. But a Mohar coin bearing his name dated 888 Nepal era (1768 A.D.) has been found. This shows that Dalamardan Shah ruled over Patan until Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered it. Numismatic evidence shows Dalamardan Shah to be the last King of Patan. But, according to the Vamshavalis, Tejanarasimha Malla was the last ruler of Patan. In 1768 A.D., when Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied Patan, Tejanarasimha Malla fled to Bhaktepur and was killed there.

Miscellaneous Documents On Nepal-China War

Jagir Assignments For Army In Majhkirat

1. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Bandhu Rana.

With effect from Baisakh Sudi 14, 1850, we have assigned the territories under the administrative jurisdiction of Majhkirat as Jagir to the Shri Bhagavatidal and Shri Dal Companies. Hand over all revenues collected by you after this date (to these companies) and give them charge.

Baisakh Badi 10, 1850

(May. 1793)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, p. 10.

2. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the ryots and subjects of Majhkirat.

With effect from Baisakh Sudi 14, 1850, we have assigned (the territories under the administrative jurisdiction of) Majhkirat as Jagir to the Shri Bhagavatidal and Shri Dal Companies. Present yourselves before Subedar Balawant Raika and Subedar Bamsye Khatri and supply provisions, Give charge of these territories in accordance with the Jagir assignment titles (Patta).

Baisakh Badi 14, 1850

(May. 1793)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, pp. 10-11.

Contd...

Regulations For Majhkirat

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Subedar Balawant Raika and Bamsya Khatri.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations for Majhkirat, which have been assigned to companies as Jagir.

1. Confirm those Rais who have been occupying their positions from ancient times. Collect fees from them at the customary rates. Abolish those Rais who had been appointed later by royal order through Subbas. Withdraw the royal orders issued to them and bring these to the palace.
2. We shall send respectable persons from here to scrutinize Raikar and Birta lands. Measure lands along with them and assign the excess area to the companies. Remit half of the proceeds of fines to the palace, and assign the balance to the companies.
3. We shall send orders for the impressment of Jhara labor from the inhabitants of thums as well as of Bitalap, Chhap and Khuwa lands in the region situated east of the Dudhkosi river and west of the Tamor river for reclaiming waste lands in Tumlingtar. Take over charge of the reclamation operations there.
4. Confiscate rice lands in Mayabi, Mohariya and Chhap holdings and prescribe Serma taxes on Pakho lands contained in such holdings according to (the size). In the case of large Chhap holdings some portions of which are left uncultivated without being occupied by tenants and homesteads, confiscate such uncultivated portions and settle people there. Income from lands thus reclaimed shall be assigned to the companies.
5. Revenues from the Chhipi levy (on dyers of cloth) were previously under the jurisdiction of the Subba. We now assign these revenues to the companies.

Baisakh Sudi 14, 1850 (Thursday)

(May 1793)

Ragmi Research Collections,

Vol. 36, pp. 13-14.

Contd...

Assignment of Military Personnel

From King's Own Yorkshire Light.

We hereby appoint the following personnel in the 3rd Battalion and the 3rd Light Company and assign (the revenues collected under the authority of) Company laws, including (revenue from guns and volunteers (batteries), and the proceeds of the regimental, company, battalion, regimental and regimental levies and (revenue) from the land levy levies collected from land, and including all other land and land levies, as well as Company and regimental levies, as well as all other revenues.

We hereby appoint 200 men to them to be assigned. (The revenues mentioned above) shall be assigned to them in Company. These revenues should be assigned. For this purpose and to act upon the provisions in this regard to the police, it may be required. We hereby appoint that you have been assigned to us, including the regimental and appointed the subjects, as well as the land levies, levies and other land levies and other land levies. We hereby appoint that you have been assigned to us, including the regimental and appointed the subjects, as well as the land levies, levies and other land levies. We hereby appoint that you have been assigned to us, including the regimental and appointed the subjects, as well as the land levies, levies and other land levies.

Particulars

	<u>3rd Regimental</u> <u>Company</u>	<u>3rd Light</u> <u>Company</u>
Sub-ster	1	1
Junior	1	1
Major	1	1
Adjutant	1	1
Quartermaster	1	1
Steward	1	1
Drum-major	1	1
Musician	1	1
Trainer	1	1
Band	1	1
Total	17	17

Pipa Jamader	1	1
Pipa	1	1
Tabalya	1	1
Tasya	2	2
Marsya	2	2
Bheri	2	2
Bansuri	2	2
Lohar (blacksmith)	2	2
Sarki (cobbler)	2	2
Karmi (carpenter)	1	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	143	143

Thursday, Baisakh Badi 14, 1850

(May 1793)

Ragmi Research Collections,

Vol. 36, pp. 8-9.

Defense Of Nuwakot

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Dhami families, (employees of) gunpowder factories, government employees (Jagira) and others (Dhakre), Tharthok (families), Brahmans and others (Praja) and all other people belonging to the 36 castes.

We have sent Sarvajit Pande, Pihubar Lama, Kalu Pashya, Subedar Pakhura and Subedar Gale to look after Nuwakot. Act according to their orders in any task that may come up.

Wednesday, Shrawan Badi 1, 1850

(July 1793)

Ragmi Research Collections,

Vol. 36, pp. 6-7.

Contd...

Enslavement And Confiscation Of Property

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Shatrusal, Panabir Khatri, Amar Singh Thapa, and Subedars, Tilangas, Umras and Dhalets.

We had previously sent a letter to you describing the categories of people who should be enslaved. Hand over the cows, bullocks, buffaloes, sheep and goats of the people who are thus enslaved to Gajindra, who has been sent there for this purpose, in such a manner that there is no discrepancy. Gajendra will keep (these animals) there in a cattle-farm. Also arrange for the foodgrains required for the farm.

Shrawan Badi 6, 1850

(July 1793)

Regmi Research Collections,

Vol. 36, p. 7.

(This order was sent on the same date also to Chamu Bhandari, Bhairav Singh Khawas, Ajaya Khawas and Anartha).

(To Be Continued)

Interviews With Baburam Acharya

(Continued)

Question

In your opinion, in which areas other than Kathmandu Valley can we find archaeological materials of the Lichchhavi period ?

Answer

I cannot say anything. Such materials are found in all places from the Dudhkoshi river on the east to Gorkha in the west.

Question

Is there any other place where you think such materials can be found ?

Answer

No. There is no such place other than those which I have already mentioned.

Question

How far do you agree with Yogi Naraharinath that the Bhadradhivasabhavana and Hanumandhoka palaces of Kantipur are the same ?

Answer

is inscribed there. It had been difficult to read the word "Narendradeva"

I do not agree with him. Bhadradhivasabhavana was situated at Bhandarkhal near the Pashupatinath temple. Two inscriptions referring to Bhadradhivasabhavana have been discovered. Both inscriptions have exactly the same contents. Narendradeva had constructed a monastery, Shivadeva Vihara, in the name of his son. That is why the word "Bhattaraka Shivadeva" in the Bajradhar inscription previously. When the inscription of Patan was read, the word Narendradeva was seen. This proved that the Bajradhar inscription also belonged to the period of Narendradeva. After the great earthquake of 1933, the debris was removed from there. It was then that this inscription was discovered. It then became certain that the inscription had been installed by Narendradeva. It mentions Shivadeva along with the title of Dutaka Bhattaraka, because Narendradeva had become very old.

Contd...

He had handed over the affairs of the state to his son. Therefore, his son was called Bhattaraka.¹ But he was not called Maharaja. Narendradeva was then living as an ascetic at the Pashupatinath temple. He constructed the Bhadradhivasabhavana palace and lived there. Therefore, Bhadradhivasabhavana is neither Hanumandhoka nor Patan. I think that this place was called Bhandarkhal after some years as a corrupt form of "Bhadra". Bhadradhivasa is the area surrounding the Pashupatinath temple. Narendradeva did not then live at the Kailashkutabhavana. This place is situated at an elevation. Bhandarkhal was derived from Bhadra-Nivasa. This is only a speculation. There is no written proof.

Question

It is said that the term Yangal was derived from Indragriha.

Answer

That is right. This is my own view. The word "Yan" is derived from Indra and "Gal" from Griha. The term "Yangal" came into being in this manner.

Question

When was Indragriha built ?

Answer

Manadeva built it.

Question

In there any evidence to show that it was constructed by Manadeva ?

1. Formerly, the ruling King was called Bhattaraka. Narendradeva, when he came to power by removing Vishnu Gupta and others, called himself Bhattaraka in the beginning. But he grew ambitions later and called himself Paramabhataraka. Bhattaraka then became the title of the Crown Prince. This is proved by the inscription of Narendradeva. Therefore, he does not seem to have handed over the affairs of the State to his son.

Contd...

Answer

There is no clear evidence. But this is shown by the context. Mans-
cova was King at that time. Who else would have constructed it? It was
constructed in the Indian style. A similar palace was constructed in India
too.

Question

Have Magars any connection with the Lichchhavi period?

Answer

Magars reared pigs during the Lichchhavi period. On the other hand,
the Lichchhavis were ritually pure. Some of them were Buddhists too.
Therefore, they could have vanquished the Magars had they so wanted.
But they did not establish any relationship with the Magars. Lichchhavis
regarded Magars as untouchable. The word Magar does not belong to this
community. They were called Magars by mistake. When the Khasas came, they
considered these people as Mongols. Magar is the corrupt form of the word
Mongol. Magars do not call themselves by this term.

Question

Who are the Hels?

Answer

Hels are Abhiras. Hel is the corrupt form of the word Abhira.

Question

Lichchhavis have settled here like other ethnic groups. Whom did
they mix with?

Answer

Some of them are Dangols. Those settled in Dakshinakoligrama are
all Dangols.

Question

Is not Koli a separate ethnic group?

Contd...

Answer

No. This has not yet been determined clearly. It has not been explained so far. The name of the village is Dakshinakoligrama.

Question

This is controversial. The central part of Kathmandu was formerly called Koligrama. A manuscript at the Machhindrabahal shrine belonging to the period of Yaksha Malla mentions Koligrama. The present Kel Tole reminds us of this term. The southern part of Koligrama, Dakshinakoligrama developed further. The names Koligrama and Dakshinakoligrama seem to have come into being because Kolis settled in this area in large numbers. Kolis, maternal relatives of the Buddha, were then as famous as the Shakyas.

Answer

No. This is very far-fetched.

Question

Was not the settlement of the Vrijikas called as Brijikarathya ?

Answer

No. Brijikas are Lichchhavis.

Question

Lichchhavis were included in the Vriji confederation (Sangha). But Vrijikas and Lichchhavis are different. Similarly, Shakyas too came here.

Answer

No. There was no way for Shakyas to come here. Where did they come from ?

Question

Who are the Shakyas referred to in the inscription of Tebahal² ?

-
2. An inscription recently discovered in Chabahil refers to Bhikshu Bandhu-bhadra Shakya. The Buddhist text Mulasarvastivadavinaya has also referred to the entry of Shakyas into Nepal. Inscriptions of the Malla period contain many references to Shakyas.

Contd...

Answer

They were called Shakyas only later, when the Shakya monastery was built. The monastery built by Shantirakshita in Tibet is the Shakya monastery. Those initiated in such monasteries were called Shakyas. There is a difference between these Shakyas and the present Shakyas.

Question

If Lichchhavis could come here from outside, why could not Shakyas ?

Answer

No. Lichchhavis had come here to occupy the throne, whereas Shakyas did not come for this purpose. Shakya is a religious institution. They are connected with the Shakya monastery. Gautam Buddha was a Shakya of that place. We cannot believe that he came to Nepal. Even the descendants of Koshanu, who came here much later, had to face difficulties. No route had been opened up. How could then anyone come here ?

Question

They could have come from Butaul through India.

Answer

Had Shakyas come here, they would have brought their civilization with them and their inscriptions would have been discovered. Ashoka too would have come here and installed inscriptions here.

Question

The Buddhist text Mulasarvastivadavinaya mentions that Shakyas came and settled here. It also states that Ananda had come here to meet the Shakyas.

Answer

When was this text written ?

Question

It was written during the period of Harshavardhana.

Contd...

Answer

Only contemporary writings can be taken as evidence. These are only legends. We should not believe in legends.

Question

Kolis also seem to have come here. The existence of Koligrama and Dakshinakoligrama proves the existence of Koli settlements.

Answer

There were only small villages in the beginning and houses were isolated. "Toles" came into being when houses were built adjoining each other. The area beyond Dakshinkoligrama was called "Uttar Tole". But there was no settlement beyond Jhouchhe Tole.

Question

If so, how was the inscription of Manadeva discovered in Koi Tole ? This inscription refers to a water spout built for the public.

Answer

This was constructed outside the town. A Buddhist monastery had been constructed in Yambu. The water spout seems to have been constructed for this monastery.

(To Be Continued)

Selected Letters Of Prithvi Narayan Shah^x

1. From Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To Vidyapati Padhya.

Go to Liglig with Jhara laborers from 120 families. You shall be punished if there is any delay in doing so. Go immediately by all means.

Ashadh Badi 10, 1796
(June 1739)

NOTES

This letter was sent to Vidyapati Padhya while Narabhupal Shah was King of Gorkha and Prithvi Narayan Shah was yet Crown Prince. It shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah had already started participating in the administration.

2. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To Dhanapati Padhya and Deusharma Padhya.

Greetings. All is well here and we wish the same there. This would cause much pleasure to us.

The Kajis have reported to us whatever you had told them. We have heard their report. You have made a good request. We hereby grant you (tax exemption) on your homesteads and Birta lands. Finish the task assigned to you. On the day you do so, we shall grant you gold bangles and other rewards, and shall also appoint you in good positions. Finish the task assigned to you and come here.

Nayakot,
Tuesday,
Falugn Badi 3.

^xMohan Prasad Khanal, Prithvipatra-Sangraha. (A Collection of Letters of Prithvi Narayan Shah). Lalitpur: the author, 1971, 20 pp.

NOTES

This letter is addressed to Dhanapati Padhya and Dousharma Padhya of Daupur. However, it does not mention the year. These two persons had sent a message through Prithvi Narayan Shah's Kaji's offering their help in the conquest of Naldum if their lands and homesteads would be reconfirmed. The letter thus seems to have been written in Falgun 1810 Vikrama (February 1753).

3. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To Dyauhari Jaisi.

We hereby grant you the following lands:

Lands acquired from Ojha,

Lands given by Bhotes and Brahmans, and

Lands acquired from Chamu Padhya.

Nobody shall cause any harassment.

Monday, Magh Badi 1, 1811
(January, 1754)

NOTES

Dyauhari Dotel was a resident of Dopur near Naldum. He had received many Birta grants from Kings Jagajjaya Malla and Jayaprakash Malla of Kantipur. As mentioned in the notes to the previous letter, he had helped Prithvi Narayan Shah in the conquest of Naldum.

4. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To Damodar Pandit.

Greetings. All is well here and we wish the same there. This would cause much pleasure to us. The news here is good.

It seems that you are angry because yesterday's attempt has failed. It does not behove you to be so. If our ritual brother's father has confiscated your lands and homesteads, I will grant them elsewhere. We had talked about (lands and homesteads) in Bhanwarkot. If you (like them) after inspecting them, we shall grant them to you.

Contd...

The most important thing should be kept secret. We had already known that (our ritual brother's father) would comply with the wishes of Jayaprakash. If our ritual brother's father is angry, I am not. Differences have arisen owing to circumstances, but these will be resolved if there is an effort. Even if Jayaprakash asks for peace, we shall not relinquish Naldum. Our purpose will not be served if sweet assurances are not offered. Lachhuman Padhya went to Bhaktapur yesterday also. If the task is accomplished, this is good. Otherwise, it will be accomplished if you try. According to the scriptures, it is good to start action in the interests of the State even at the cost of one's life. But it will not happen so. Everything will be accomplished after (you) come. What more to wise people.

Capital: Nuwakot,
Monday (?), Shrawan Sudi 10.

NOTES

Damodar Padhya, to whom this letter is addressed, has not been identified. Nor is it clear why his lands and homesteads were confiscated by King Ranajit Malla (father of Prithvi Narayan Shah's ritual brother). The letters shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah had signed a treaty with Jayaprakash Malla offering to leave Naldum. However, he had no intention of honoring this pledge. The letter seems to have been written in Shrawan 1814 (July 1757).

5. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To Lachhiman Thapa.

Blessings. All is well here and we wish the same there. We have received your letter and noted the contents. The news here is good.

Yesterday too I had afforded you protection. But you dishonestly persuaded me to free Birya Dhami from fetters. I did so because I relied on you. Today, he has rebelled by enlisting the support of Bhotes of the other side. You have not committed any other offense. If you take an oath and seek refuge with us, send the members of your family along with Kaji. I shall give you whatever is due to you.

You have represented that you will help in the campaign to occupy Timal. This is good. Take the initiative if you can. Astrologers have fixed the auspicious moment only after the end of the month of Bhadra (i.e. after September 16). In the meantime, try to pacify and control the Bhotes. As regards other tasks, do them as soon as you get orders from the Kaji.

Sunday, Bhadra Sudi 1, 1819.
(August 1762).

Contd...

NOTES

Lachhiman Thapa had been granted asylum by Prithvi Narayan Shah previously also. But he helped Birya Dhami, who had been imprisoned by Prithvi Narayan Shah, to get freedom. However, Prithvi Narayan Shah promised to grant him refuge again because of Lachhiman Thapa's offer to help in the campaign to occupy Timal.

6. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To Bhawanishankar Arjyal of Bhramarkot.

120 muris of land had been confiscated from you on the charge that you had purchased it from Bishwoshwar Kayasth. We hereby restore this land today, as you have offered Rs 200. Nobody shall cause any obstruction (in your reoccupying this land). Cultivate the land or give it to others for cultivation, or conduct transactions in it.

(Countersigned By: Kahar Simha Basnyat).

Monday, Poush Badi 9, 1822
(December 1765)
Nuwakot.

NOTES

After occupying Naldum, Prithvi Narayan Shah attacked Kabhrepalanchok, Timal and other areas. He won over the local people by offering them privileges and concessions. People were satisfied because they could get reconfirmation of large areas of lands, while Prithvi Narayan got money to finance his military campaigns.

7. From Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To Kahar Simha Basnyat.

Blessings. All is well here and we wish the same there. We have received your letter and noted the contents. The news here is good.

You have sent reports about the Gokarna-Changu area. We have listened to these reports. We have sent orders to the Khanal of Bhaimal to loot crops, occupy posts and thus harass Bhadgaun. Summon the Khanal and make necessary arrangements. Take great care of the local people as well as of crops there. What more to wise people?

Thursday, Aswin Sudi 2,
Kantipur.

Contd...

NOTES

Kahar Simha Basnyat, one of the two sons of Shivaram Simha Basnyat, had been deputed by Prithvi Narayan Shah to impose a blockade on Bhaktapur after the conquest of Kathmandu and Lalitpur. He appears to have enlisted the help of the Khanals of Dumakhal to loot paddy crops in Bhaktapur. The letter seems to have been written in 1826 Vikrama (1769 A.D.).

8. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,
To the two families of the priests of Namada.

It appears that you have been functioning as priests of Namada from former times. We hereby confirm you in this position. Perform religious ceremonies ... protect the forest around the shrine, and look after the Kaphal trees. Anybody who cuts trees in this forest shall be punished. In case anybody harasses or oppresses you ...

Jestha Sudi ... 1830
(May 1773)
Kathmandu.

NOTES

The document has been damaged by insects and hence some words are missing. It shows what policy Prithvi Narayan Shah had followed for the protection of forests.

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Interviews With Baburam Acharya^x

(Concluded)

Question: What is your opinion about the Tharus ?

Answer: I do not know anything about the Tharus. The Tharus of Morang formerly called themselves "Kuchila". It is speculated that they did so because they were related to the Rajvamshis of Coochbehar. I do not know more about this.

Question: Narahari Nath states that Tharus are actually Aryans, and that they were called Tharu because they lived in low-lands.

Answer: No, they are not Aryans, There are Chitauriya and Lamphu Tharus, who live in Parsa district.

Question: Are the Tharus of the eastern Tarai, Chitaur and the western region the same people ?

Answer: No, they are not. In the western region itself, the Tharus are divided into different communities. In Butaul, there are two categories of Tharus-Dangolia Tharus and Kathoriya Tharus.

Question: Are the Tharus of Chitaur too of two categories ?

Answer: No, Dangolias and Kathoriyas are the only two communities there. Dangolias have their original home in Dang.

Question: Are Dangolia Tharus so called because they come from Dang ?

Answer: Yes, the term Dangolia is derived from Dang. Dangolia Tharus have spread themselves up to Kailali in the western region. All the Tharus that we see up to Kailali district are Dangolia Tharus.

Question: Have the Tharus any connection with Danuwars, Majhis and Darais ?

Answer: The Tharus of Kanchanpur are called Ranas.

^xInstitute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Baburam Acharya ra Uhanka Kriti (Baburam Acharya And His Works), Kirtipur: the Institute, Falgun 29, 2029 (March 12, 1973).

Contd...

Question: Are Tharus living elsewhere ?

Answer: In Kanchanpur, Tharus are called Rana. Beyond this, I do not know anything. Rana Tharus follow strange customs and usages. For instance, they do not maintain any relations with any other Tharu. Nor do they establish matrimonial relations with other Tharus. They do not cultivate lands belonging to any other community; they cultivate their own lands only. They also keep aloof from other communities.

One strange claim Rana Tharus make is that they had been "driven out from Mahabharat." Their wives called themselves Gopini. They thrust the plate towards their husbands with their feet while serving meals. I have witnessed this custom myself. Moreover, Rana Tharus do not take milk. When asked the reason, they say that they do not do so because they have to feed the calves. We asked whether we could take milk. They replied that we could do so if we liked, and actually brought milk for us. Then I told them that they too should take milk. They obliged us. Actually, they do not totally abhor milk. Such are these people.

All these Tharus appear to have some connections with Magars. There is another group of Tharus in Morang district. I have forgotten the name. They wear only a loincloth and sell cinchona. The dialect spoken by them is almost identical to that spoken by Limbus.

Question: Were they Dhimals ?

Answer: Yes, Dhimals. In physical appearance, they resemble Kiratas. One important thing about Chitauniya Tharus is that their Panchayat used to be a powerful body. Orders issued by this Panchayat commanded greater sanctity than even those of the King.

Question: How was that Panchayat managed ? Was it an elected body ?

Answer: The Panchayat used to be managed very efficiently. Its members were selected through mutual consultations.

Question: What was the nature of the Panchali, i.e. the Panchayat system, that prevailed during the Lichchhavi period ?

Answer: Panchayats were not formed then through elections organized by the government, as is the case today. The Panchali was set up by villagers themselves through mutual consultations. In Bhaktapur, there were many Tols, each with a chief (Pradhan) who either stood as a candidate on his own initiative or was nominated by the government. The Panchalis existing during the Lichchhavi period were generally operating within the Guthi system. They had links with Guthis only; and had no connections at all with politics.

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Question: At that time, Guthis operated independently. Why should have Panchalis been mentioned separately ?

Answer: The term Gosthi means a small meeting or discussion within a cattle shed. On the other hand, a Panchali is larger, and is a permanent and authoritative institution. It has no connection with the village.

Question: This does not appear to be true. A close study of inscriptions belonging to the Lichchhavi period would show that at that time an institution called Panchali was created in a village to attend to matters relating to popular welfare and local administration. Every Panchali was named after the local village, e.g. Lopringgrama Panchali, Lopring Panchali, Matinggrama Panchali, Matinga Panchali, and Bhringareshwara-Grama Panchali, Bhringar Panchali, Narasimhagrama Panchali and Narasimha Panchali. Similarly, Panchalis have been named after Yugwal, Jegwal, and several other villages. The boundaries of settlements were demarcated on the basis of Panchalis. This explains why the inscriptions contain reference to the residents of a particular Panchali. The inscription of Shiva Deva at Buhaniakantha, and of Amshuvarma, may be cited as examples. These inscriptions are addressed to the inhabitants of two Panchalis. Such examples can be multiplied; but this is sufficient to prove the correlation between a Panchali and a village. The origin of the term Panchali also makes this point clear.

Whenever new rulers appeared during the Lichchhavi period, they handed over increased administrative powers to the villagers in order to satisfy them. These powers were exercised by Panchalis. In case Panchalis were found incapable of exercising such powers, the King held consultations through Antarasana. The inscriptions of Narendra Deva at Devapatan may be cited as evidence in support of this statement. It mentions that should the Panchali fail to handle matters entrusted to Navagriha, these would be referred to Anatarasana for consideration. Provisions regarding Panchalis were inscribed on copper-plates. This inscription also indicates that a few members of a Panchali were appointed by the King. Similarly, the inscription located at Narayanchaur refers to the fact that local affairs were managed through Panchalis. Thus there is no doubt that the Panchalis of the Lichchhavi period were powerful Village Panchayats of the time.

Answer: This is true to some extent. But Panchalis did not have powers to collect taxes.

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Question: Although there existed a separate authority to collect the main government taxes, Panchalis were permitted to collect fines and levies. One-sixth of the proceeds of judicial fees were appropriated by Panchalis, while the balance was paid to the state treasury. This is clear from the inscription discovered at Narayanchaur in Naksal. The Lichchhavi rulers followed the policy of encouraging local government. The Panchali system thus constituted an important part of the administration which had contacts with the people. Naturally, the Panchalis of that time differed to some extent from the Panchayats of modern times.

Answer: But the government did not interfere in Panchali elections.

Question: This might be true. But it is obvious that Panchalis formed an organ of local self-government at that time. Moreover, the Panchali system existed till the Malla period. In records relating to the Malla period, we find references to the construction of rest-houses, road-side shelters, water-taps, etc, and organization of cultural programs by Panchalis, as well as to the participation of Panchas (members of Panchalis) in wars. Panchas existed during the Shah rule too. One contemporary document refers to the fact that Panchas had assembled in front of the Hanuman Dhoka Palace to see King Rana Bahadur Shah when they heard rumors that he was being harassed by Bahadur Shah.

Answer: Panchayats, of course, existed during Chandra Shamsheer's regime too. During his rule, village headmen were permitted to settle village affairs. This arrangement was abolished only later.

Question: Will you clarify your views on Panchali ?

Answer: I have not yet studied this subject properly. An appropriate conclusion may eventually be reached through study and discussion.

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Question: What was the state of learning during the Lichchhavi period ? Was there anything in the field of learning that one could take pride in during the Lichchhavi period, and is it available now ?

Answer: No book written during the Lichchhavi period is available. All books written during that period have disappeared. It is therefore difficult to speculate whether such books are available now.

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Question: What is your opinion on the claim that "Chandra Vyakarana" (grammar) had been written by Chandravarma Gopi, a vassal (Samanta) of Amshuvarma ?

Answer: Sylvain Levi has also expressed the same view. All older inscriptions have stressed the consonant following "r", e.g. V_garma. But the Chandravvyakarana does not do so. Amshuvarma's inscriptions too do not follow this practice. This is a difference between his inscriptions and older ones. At least he has been influenced by the Chandra-Vyakarana. There are references that Amshuvarma had compiled a book on grammar himself.

Question: There is a reference in one inscription to this effect. Chinese documents too mention this.

Answer: Amshuvarma certainly had a knowledge of the science of grammar. His style is excellent, Prithvi Narayan Shah had no education, but his speech is so good that no word is adequate for praising it. Amshuvarma had good command over style and grammar. In fact, he was a L_{ch}chhavi and a prince (Rajputra). He was one of the descendants of Vrishadeva. He lived in Pashupati, so he was known as a Pashupata.

Previously, Kramaleela was Mahasamanta there. He was succeeded by a different person, not by Amshuvarma. Amshuvarma became Mahasamanta only in succession to that person.

Question: Who was this Kramaleela ?

Answer: I do not know who he was. But, anyway, he was a Mahasamanta. He describes himself as King (Maharaja). But Amshuvarma did not so designate himself.

Question: How far is it correct to say that the L_{ch}chhavi period was a golden age ?

Answer: I cannot say anything about this.

Question: At that time, exorbitant taxes were collected from the people. This is possible either when the people are in a position to pay any amount as tax, or when taxes are collected forcibly in any amount wanted by the government.

Answer: No, taxes were not collected by force at that time. Of course, taxes were exorbitant. There were many taxes at that time, such as Mapchok.

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Question: Taxes might have been numerous, but these were gradually abolished. Was this because the people could not pay taxes? Were those taxes imposed on the people? Was the economic condition not good at that time?

Answer: This was not the case. There is an inscription at Maligaun. It is said that it had been installed by Vishnu Gupta, not by Jishnu Gupta. Who is the Dutaka mentioned in this inscription?

Question: Shrihara Gupta.

Answer: Yes, the name of a King is undoubtedly mentioned at the top of that inscription. That portion of the stone-inscription is illegible. But it is not an inscription of Vishnu Gupta as King. It contains the name of a Lichohhavi King.

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Question: Did the Pashupati temple exist at the time of Manadeva I?

Answer: The temple of Pashupati had been constructed long before Manadeva I.

Question: Is there any evidence?

Answer: The evidence is that the Pashupati area had already been created during the rule of Manadeva I. The inscription of Bhasmeshwara, installed a short time after Manadeva I, mentions the Pashupati area. What more evidence do you need? In India too, Shivalingas have been installed by that time.

Question: If the Pashupati temple had been built by the time of Manadeva I, it should have been mentioned in the inscription of Vijayavati.

Answer: The inscription is located above the Pashupati temple. Is it necessary to mention the Pashupati temple in every inscription?

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Question: Will you shed some light on your studies of Rana rule?

Answer: It is difficult to do so. There is no limit to the subject.

Question: Then will you at least explain one or two facts about that regime?

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Answer: Surya Bikram Gnyawali wrote a biography of Prithvi Narayan Shah. But it was banned. As a result, copies of this book could not reach Nepal. Only 5 copies were somehow smuggled in. The rulers of that time discouraged the writing of history. There is one book in which a certain person is said to have been assassinated by another person in the Kot massacre. But this was written in an English book. Has anybody written this in Nepali?

Question: Have you not read in some books that Jung Bahadur had Gagan Singh assassinated by Bairinar Singh ?

Answer: Yes, I have read this. That was a fact.

Question: Badrinar Singh had an affair with the daughter of Gagan Singh. He therefore frequently visited the house of Gagan Singh. One day, Bairinar Singh, brandishing a pistol before the bodyguard of Gagan Singh, forced him to shoot Gagan Singh. Later, he shot the bodyguard. Lal Jha, a priest of Gagan Singh, was forced to flee. Thus Jung Bahadur is said to have assassinated Gagan Singh through his younger brother. Is this account true ?

Answer: There is no truth about the affair with Gagan Singh's daughter. At the time of the assassination of Gagan Singh, Kaji Mahabir Gartaula was 12 years of age. One day I had gone to attend a wedding ceremony at the house of Mahila Guruji (Hem Raj Pande). There I asked Kaji Mahabir Gartaula where Gagan Singh had been killed. He showed me the house and the spot where Gagan Singh had been killed. He told me that he had heard that Badrinar Singh suddenly appeared and shot Gagan Singh. There were eye witnesses of this premeditated assassination. But I have not contacted them. My grandfather was also aged 12 or 13 years at that time. He too said that Bairinar Singh was the actual assassin. Bairinar Singh was subsequently banished because he had killed Gagan Singh. Khadga Shamsheer also had been similarly exiled after he had assassinated Ranoddip Singh, lest he should similarly harass the rulers.

Question: Will you say something about any event that might have occurred in the course of your research and studies during the Rana regime.

Answer: Once we received the second edition of a map of Nepal. It showed "Sagarmatha" or "Chomolongma", which is a Tibetan name. These Englishmen are so cunning that they named the summit "Everest" after discovering it. There is another book probably captioned "The Himalayas". It contains maps of 15 or 20 different Himalayan peaks, one of them being that of "Everest." The English authors of this book write that this summit had no name previously, and that it is visible only from Nagarkot. They wanted to visit Nagarkot with another motive. Lord Kitchener was taken to that area, &

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Bungalow was built there. This place commands a view of the whole of Nepal. There was a political motive behind the permission given to Kitchener to have a view of the whole of Nepal. It was Lal Dhvaj Sunuwar who helped me to identify all mountain peaks. These Englishmen have named one Himalayan peak as Gauri Shankar, whereas it is actually called Gaura Parbat. One day, standing at Gauchar, I said to Lal Dhvaj Sunuwar, pointing towards "Everest", "Captain, see how majestic does the "Everest" look." However, he pointed out that it was not "Everest" but a different peak. He showed me the real "Everest." I did not believe what he told me. But later I read the above-mentioned book at his house. And then I found that he was right. I also looked at the "Everest" from Madhuban. From there we had a clearer view of the summit. "Everest" is visible clearly from Gauchar also. Yet these Englishmen wrote that "Everest" is not visible from Nepal.

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Question: What, in your opinion, should be done to promote research on the history of Nepal ?

Answer: Historical materials are being lost day by day. In case we cannot preserve available materials, we will be left with nothing after 5 or 7 years. Hence there should be a collection of historical documents at the Tribhuvan University. All historical materials in the possession of the Archeology Department, or at least their copies, may be kept at the Tribhuvan University. Many historical letters are lying at Jaisikotha in the Foreign Ministry. There are many letters which have never been opened. All such letters should be collected and be kept in the custody of the University.

Ancient Khas Culture^x

By

Balakrishna Pokhrel

The term Khas is used to denote both the Khas community and the Khas language. As a community, it comprises Brahman, Chhetri, Gharti, Damai, Kami, Sarki, Huika, Tamote, Gaine, Badi, etc. As a language, it is popularly known as Khas dialect. Newars call this language Khayan Bhaya, or Parbatiya, and the Khas community as Khayan or Parbatiya. However, the practice of calling the dialect Parbatiya or Khas language is fast declining since Nepalis belonging to other communities residing as far as Gulmi, western Palpa, Assam, Darjeeling, Burma and elsewhere, have adopted it as their mother-tongue. It is now better known as Nepali, though in some quarters it is also called Gurkhali. It has become not only the national language of Nepal, but also the spoken language of the majority of people in north Bengal, Sikkim and Bhutan. The Nepalis living in Assam, Burma, Malaya and other parts of the world communicate with one another through the medium of this language.

Several Sanskrit works refer to Khas or Parbatiya^{xx}. On the basis of these references, it can well be said that the Khas were not the Aryans of the Vedic period. They were Aryans, but of a later period, like Pallava, Gurjara, Shaka, Darada and Pishacha. It is probable that these post-Vedic Aryans were akin to the Vedic Aryans in speech and culture. Differences, if any, might have been as insignificant as those in the dialects of Tamangs, Gurungs and Thakalis. Although included in the Indo-Iranian family, the Khas dialects belonged neither to the Iranian family nor to the Indian. They belonged to the mid Indo-Iranian family. This is the conclusion that one reaches after a study of Kashmiri, Sina, Kabari, Kohistani, Kafiristani, etc, as they are spoken today. For convenience sake, we may describe the languages spoken in this linguistic melting pot as belonging to the family of Himalaya-Aryan languages.

^xBalakrishna Pokhrel, "Prachin Khasa Samskriti, Ek Chhinalphal" (A Discussion On Ancient Khas Culture). Ruprekha, Year 3, No. 2, Jestha 2019 (June 1962), pp. 38-45.

^{xx}Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, p. IV.

A group of this family (Pallava, Shaka and Gurjara), which had spread to the Indus Valley, got itself mixed up with the language of the Vedic Aryans, while the second group (Darada, Pishacha, etc) confined themselves to and around Kashmir. This is why the languages of Daradas, Pishachas and others were able to preserve their non-Vedic character. The descendants of these non-Vedic Aryans are none but those speaking the above-mentioned non-Vedic languages, that is, Kashmiri, Sina, Kobari, Kohistani, Kafiristani, etc.

The third group (i.e. the Khasa) of this Himalayan Aryan family moved towards the eastern hill region. At that time, the eastern Himalayan region was covered by settlements of Kiratis (i.e. Rai, Magar, Gurung, Newar, Khambu, Limbu, Lepche, Dukpa, Toto, etc). On the other hand, the Vedic Aryans had by then quickly spread from Kulu valley to the Manasarovar. They spoke what is called Khasa Prakrit, which was the original form of the present-day family of Kumauni, Garhwali and Nepali languages. Although it was an upshoot of the Shauraseni language, it was influenced by the Ardhamaghadh Prakrit spoken in the region situated to the east of the Mahakali river.

While expanding to the east from their home land, the Khasas were compelled to give up their original language in the same way as the Pallavas, Shakas and Gurjaras had done while moving to the Tarai (Madhesh). Hardly had they approached the northern part of the modern Punjab than their original language changed into the above-mentioned Khasa Prakrit. Even then, they retained several words of their original language. This is evident from the vocabulary of the languages spoken in the region stretching from Kulu valley to Nepal. The Khasa had probably entered into Kulu valley around 600 A.D.

The Khasas had possibly spread to Garhwal, Kumaun and western Nepal by 800 A.D. Their domination of these regions, however, did not last long, as they came into conflict with the rulers of Garhwal and Kumaun. This may be the reason why they later shifted to Manasarovar and western Nepal. The pillar inscription at Durlanghyanagar leads one to speculate that the Khasas had entrenched themselves in these regions by 1100 A.D. The invasion of Kumaun in 1123 A.D. by Krachalla, a Khasa ruler, and a copper plate deed left by his son, Ashokachalla at Gaya sometime before 1287 A.D. lends added weight to this view. Several Khasa rulers, including Sangrama Malla, Ripu Malla, Jitari Malla and others advanced as far as Kathmandu.

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We may conclude that the present form of the Khasa dialect is not the original one. Nor are the Khasas definitely the descendants of the ancient Khasas. There is also no evidence that they did not assimilate themselves into the Vedic Aryans on reaching Nepal from Kashmir. They must also have mixed with the Kiratis of Nepal. They might have mixed with other communities when the inhabitants of Gujarat and Rajasthan shifted to the Himalayan region during the Muslim invasion of India. The modern Nepali language has special affinities with the Gujarati and Rajasthani languages. There are several reasons for this. The Khasas had close contact with the Gurjaras, Pallavas and Shakas. Hence, even in the absence of the influx of these communities into the Himalayan region, the Khasa dialect could develop special affinity with the Rajasthani dialect. In Gujarat, Rajasthan, western Nepal, Kumaun and Garhwal, sub-groups of the Shourseni, an upshoot of Sanskrit, the Vedic Aryan language, are spoken. Hence, linguistic affinity was possible in these areas even in the absence of the Khasa, Gurjaras, Pallavas and Shakas. The affinity between the Khasa dialect and the Gujarati and Rajasthani dialects has been enhanced by the influx of refugees from India into the Himalayan region.

We may thus conclude that the ancient Khasas entered into Nepal as victors. Having long given up their language, they adopted the local variety of the Shourseni, (the original form of modern Nepali) without any hesitation. They, however, added some Khasa words to this dialect. The entire people coming under the domination of the Khasas then allowed themselves to be called Khasas in the same way as the non-Gorkhali communities who came under the control of the Shah rulers agreed to be called Gorkhalis. In short, if the conquered gave their language to the conquerors, the latter contributed their own words to the conquered.

For this reason, we can use the term Khasa in two senses: (1) pre-historic Khasa, that is, the Khasas of the ancient times when they lived in proximity to the non-Vedic Daradas and spoke a dialect of their own, and (2) historic Khasa, that is, the Khasas of the later period when they had spread towards the Mansarovar and western Nepal. The dialect spoken by the later Khasas formed a part of the Vedic family, and had been adopted even by the descendants of the Vedic Aryans. There was a gap of a millennium between the pre-historic and historic Khasas.

In this article, the term Khasa has been used in the second sense. For this reason, the ancient Khasas mentioned in this article should be regarded as the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Baitadi, Doti, Jumla, Humla, etc. The ancient Khasas include both the "westerners" (Dotyals) and the "easterners" (Jumlis). Though, from the historical viewpoint, Dotyals (i.e. the inhabitants of Doti) have less ethnic affinities with the Khasas than the Jumlis (i.e. the inhabitants of Jumla),

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both the "westerners" and the "easterners" are regarded as Khasas from the linguistic viewpoint. In fact, before the Khasa invasion, Dotyals and Jumlis were not regarded as "easterners" and "westerners". Both of them spoke the same language and observed the same customs. The Jumlis probably began to be despised by the Dotyals when they developed contact with the non-Vedic Khasas. Even so, we are not yet in a position to regard the Dotyals as non-Khasas, for they too came under the family of the Khasa or Nepali language. Grierson classifies the Aryan dialects of Kulu Valley as "western dialects", those of mountainous Garhwal and Kumaun as "central hill dialects", and the Nepali language as "the eastern dialect."

So far as the eastern Kumaun language is concerned, it has closer affinities with the eastern hill dialects or Nepali than with the central hill dialects. The dialects of Doti and Baitadi, if not others, have closer affinities with Nepali than with Garhwali. There is therefore no doubt that these dialects are the local forms of the eastern hill dialects, that is the Nepali language.

Prithvi Malla is the most noted among the Khasa rulers who ruled after 1300 A.D. According to G. Tucci, his dominions extended from Ladakh, Lachchhin and Tibet to modern Pokhara. However, in the absence of careful study and satisfactory research, we cannot accept this view as correct. Even according to Nepali scholars, his Kingdom was almost as big as modern Nepal. It was divided into the northern and southern regions. The northern region was called Jadyan, meaning the Tibetan region (Bhot Pradesh), while the southern region was called Khasas, meaning the Khasa region. The pillar installed by Prithvi Malla at Durlanghyanagar contains two inscriptions, one facing north and the other south. The former is in Tibetan script, while the latter is in Sanskrit. The Tibetan inscription was meant for Jadyans, that is, the Tibetan subjects of Prithvi Malla, and the Sanskrit inscription for the Khasas. His well-known gold-plate inscription of 1356 A.D. and some other inscriptions were in the Nepali language. So was the copper plate inscription of his father, Punya Malla.

Several inscriptions of the Khasa rulers discovered so far do not contain details regarding contemporary social, political and economic conditions. Most of these inscriptions relate to Birta grants made to the Brahmans. Some of these inscriptions indicate that the custom of conferring title of Paikela was followed at that time. It may be noted that in the folk-songs of the Karnali region, a Thapa is called a Thapali, and a Raika, Raikali. Kaski, Basnyat, Shrinet, Thapa, Raika, Rana, Buiha, Raya, Rokaya, Bohara, etc are also pure Khasa titles. In the beginning, the holders of these titles were all independent Kings. However, in the course of time, such titles were granted to royal courtiers as well. At that time, it was natural for these titles to be attached with the privilege of land-holding.

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Among the Khasa Brahmans were Joisis or Jaisis whose main duties were to foretell the future, attend to royal correspondence and engage in educational activities. (This probably explains why the Khariders, (holder of Khari, meaning chalk, were generally appointed from among Jaisis during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah also). Padhya and Upathyaya Brahmans functioned as priests of the royal family.

The system of slavery was probably not prevalent among the Khasas before the advent of Muslims to this side of the Hindukush mountains. They did not even have a Nau (barber). One can therefore easily imagine how the then Khasas looked. With an overgrowth of beards and moustaches, they must have looked fearsome. They must also have had their hair long as Sikhs or Bhotes have even today. This means that the practice of shaving (Chhewar), prevalent among the Khasas today, is of a very late origin.

Nor does the Khasa community of today have washerman (Dhobis). Probably in those days Khasas wore woollen clothes which did not require frequent washing. They used the term luga to denote clothes made only of cotton (ruwo). Luga is a distorted form of the ancient term Luwa, which can be compared with the Maithili term nuwa. Examples of the letter l changing into n are found elsewhere too. Some examples are as follows:-

<u>English</u> <u>Equivalent</u>	<u>Sanskrit</u>	<u>Pali</u>	<u>Nepali</u>
Below	-	Muli	Muni
Forehead	Lalāta	-	Nidhār

Khasas probably washed their dirty clothes themselves.

Although familiar with pottery, Khasas did not make it themselves. They obtained pottery, etc. from their neighbors on hire or in exchange for some other commodities, because they did not have potters (Kumbales) among them. They, however, did have copper-smiths (Tamotas), and iron-smiths (Kamis). This indicates that, besides being skilled in working in iron, copper, brass, etc; Khasa lived in proximity to iron deposits. Mines were then called agro, and miners, agris. Timber was utilized to make utensils as well as residential buildings. They used wicker to make dokos, nanglos, dalos (baskets), etc. They might have learned using the bamboo as edible foodstuff from Magars. The use of dried and fermented vegetables (Gundruk and Sinki) is supposed to be the contribution of Khasas. There are interesting tales about the origin of these foodstuffs.

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The ancient settlements of Khasas were called Ganwado or Ganwalo. The modern terms Gaundo and Gaunle are derived from these two Khasa terms.

These Khasas were on bad terms with the Boksa Tharus of the south, whom they hated and feared. They were also not on good terms with the Madhise Lichchhavis, whom they called Bajyas.

Agriculture was the sole occupation of the Khasas. However, they were acquainted with dairy farming and sports as well. The term goru meant cattle of both sexes. A house was called Kudo, this term has two variations, viz. Kura (meaning the hole of a fish) and gund (the nest of a bird). In government offices, a house is still called Kuri or Kuriya. The term Kurio owes its origin to the Sanskrit term Kuti. The walls of a Kudo were made of stone, while the roof was of straw. Timber was also used to erect houses. Paving materials like stones, planks and clay were also not unknown.

Social relations were more or less similar to those we see now-a-days. Families were undivided. The oldest member was the head of a family. Men were called logne and women Swasni. Sons and daughters were called Chela and Cheli respectively. A husband and a wife were called Poi and Joi respectively.

The rulers of Khasan were adherents of Buddhism, but they did not show lack of faith in Hinduism.

They calculated time in different ways. While the rulers used water clocks, the common people calculated time on the basis of the length of the pine tree shadow or recesses after work. For the purpose of resting after work, farmers used to take the yoke off the shoulders of their bullocks three times a day. They took rest each time they took off the yoke from the shoulders of their bullocks. One day was thus calculated as equivalent to 3 yokes. Alternatively, they calculated one day on the basis of the length of a pine tree's shadow. One day was thus calculated as equivalent to four pine trees' shadow. The phrases, "Tin Juwa Gham", "Char Salli Gham" (three yokes or four pine trees' shadow in the day), are still in use. Khasas used the term Melo to denote a flat tract of land. What word they used to denote a fair (mela) is not clear, however. Probably they used the term rama (or ramito).

The custom of offering girls to temples was prevalent among the Khasas. The girls thus offered were called deuki or deusi. The modern deusi system followed during the Tihar festival may be traced to these girls. Later, it came to be observed by men also. Similarly, the bhailo dance was originally performed by Bhandas during the Tihar festival. Later, women too started participating in the Bhailo festival. Bhailo is another

name for Bhandis. The term Bhand-Bhailo, like Sapo-Napo (which, in the Jumli dialect, means measurement), Cheli-Beti (girls), etc, is still in vogue. The Bhandis were the father of the modern Bhailo system.

Among the several sub-groups of Nepali Kiratis today, it was the Magars who actually first came into contact with the Khasas. The Khasas had, of course, previously come into contact with the Rais. But their main settlement, called Khasan, was located inside what is now called the Karnali zone at a considerable distance from the Rai region. On the other hand, the Magars had their dense settlements to the east of Khasan and continued to be their closest neighbors for more than 600 years. This may be the reason behind the close affinities existing between the social customs of Khasas and Magars. Though belonging to the Kirat family, the Magar dialect has grammatical rules similar to those of the Nepali language. As for the construction of sentences, there is not the slightest difference between the two languages. It appears that Nepali words denoting communities such as Gurung, Tamang, Limbu, and Lapche, were derived from the Magar dialect. The Gurungs call themselves Tamus, and the Tamangs and the Lapches call themselves Tambas and Rongs respectively. We may therefore conclude that these apparently non-Aryan terms were borrowed by the Khasas from the Magars or Mangras (as they are also called). This is true also of such terms as Janr and Raksi.

Today, the term Chihan or Chiyan is used to denote a burial ground. But in those days it might have denoted a cremation ground (masan). This is apparent from Hasyakadamba, written by Shaktiballabh Aryal. Now-a-days, the term Malhami is used to denote persons carrying a dead body to a river bank, while in those days it might have meant a boatman (Majhi). But the term is not of ancient origin, since it belongs to the Arabic family. In Arabic, the term Mallaha or Majhi means a boatman. The term Malhami must be a rival to Majhi, an ancient Khasa term. Anyway in the early days, the Majhis had to attend to the performance of funeral rites of Khasas among whom both systems of cremation and burial of dead bodies were followed. The term Malham may also mean a Malha or ghat (i.e. a place where boatmen (Majhi) live). As such, the term Malhami may mean not only a boatman (Majhi), but also a person proceeding to the Malham.

Miscellaneous Documents On
Nepal-China War

A. Food Procurement

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Potadar of Bhadgaun.

Collect one mana of rice on every ropani of Birta rice lands belonging to the people (Prajā), and supply (the rice thus collected to the army). Grant remissions on this account while collecting the Pota tax. Remissions shall be granted accordingly when the accounts are audited.

Shrawan Sudi 7, 1849
(July 1792)

(This order was issued on the same date for Patan and Katamandu also).

B. Bisamuri Levy

1. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To people belonging to the thirty-six castes in Kathmandu Valley who are under obligation to pay the Bisamuri levy.

Prices of foodgrains have been fixed as follows. Supply foodgrains at these prices through the appropriate official (Tahabildar) as soon as you receive this order.

Rice	...	4 pathis per rupee
Wheat	...	8 pathis per rupee
Maize	...	12 pathis per rupee
Millet	...	12 pathis per rupee

Shrawan Sudi 7, 1849
(July 1792)

Regmt Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 209

Contd...

2. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To Masteram and Bhajuram.

Rice collected here under the Bisamuri levy has been supplied to the troops at the rate of 3 pathis per rupee. Supply the rice collected there under your supervision, as well as the rice sent from here, under the Bisamuri levy, at the rate of 3 pathis per rupee. Obtain payment in cash. Make payment for Bisamuri supplies to the Brahmans, and transmit to us the funds which we had sent. Make supplies available on credit at the following rates:-

Wheat flour	...	5½ pathis per rupee
Maize or millet flour	...	7 pathis per rupee
Crushed rice	...	3¾ pathis per rupee

Bhatra Suti 4, 1849
(August 1792)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 216.

C. Conscription In Hill Regions

1. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Jagirdars, Dhakres and soldiers between the ages of 12 and 80 in Lamjung, which has 8,000 houses.

A war has started with Tibet. As soon as you see this order, come to us on Jhara basis along with your weapons. For the time being, we shall grant you rent assignments (Balikharcha). Later, Jagir land assignments will definitely be granted. In case any person does not obey this order, he shall be beheaded or enslaved according to the status of his caste. Those who come will be rewarded in the manner mentioned above. Bitalab-holding Brahmans have been deputed there to recruit you on Jhara basis. Come here along with them by all means.

Bhatra Suti 4, 1849
(August 1792)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 214-215.

(This order was sent on the same date also to Kaski (8,000 houses), Nuwakot (6,000 houses);

Tanahu (8,000 houses) and Parbat (8,000 houses).

Conti...

2. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Bitalap and Talap-holding Brahmans of Pathardanda, Basantapur, etc.

We have sent an order directing the Thakuris, Khasas, Magars and Gurungs of Kaski, with 8,000 houses, to come here quickly on Jhara basis along with their weapons, since a war has started with Tibet. You are hereby ordered to bring all persons who can serve as soldiers among the 8,000 households before us on Jhara basis as quickly as possible. Otherwise, you shall be punished.

Bhadra Sudi 4, 1849

(August 1792)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 215-216.

D. Facilities For Conscripts

1. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the hunters (Sikari) of the following villages:

Luhukot

Likhut

Machhigaun

Bosan

Tekar

Malta

Budunchuli.

As long as you are employed in our (military) campaign, we grant you exemption from different levies and labor obligations (Ashar-Dasain, Saune-Fagu, Amali levies, Beth, Begar, Doko-Boko, etc). All of you shall accompany Bhanu Thapa. Anybody who does not do so and goes elsewhere shall be deemed to have committed an offense.

Shrawan Sudi 7, 1849

(July 1792)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 209-210.

2. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the hunters (Sikari) accompanying Bhanu Thapa.

Today, we are engaged in war. In case you go to the front, render diligent service and thereby please us, we shall restore the Kipat

Contd...

lands deducted from your holdings, or grant rewards or Jagir assignments. Assemble as soon as you see this order and accompany Bhanu Thapa.

Shrawan Sudi 7, 1849

(July 1792)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 210.

Depopulation Of Raikar Lands In Eastern Tarai

• From King Girban,

To Shakti Ballabh Pathya.

Send a list of those persons who have allured ryots cultivating Mal (i.e. revenue-yielding Raikar) lands to their Birta, Bandha, Jagir or Kalabanjar lands, thereby causing loss of revenue from Mal lands in Bara and Parsa districts.

Jestha Sudi 6, 1862

(May 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 536-537.

• From King Girban,

To Jagirdars, Birta owners and Amalidars reclaiming Kalabanjar lands in Bara and Parsa districts.

Settle only ryots from Moglan (i.e. India) on your Jagir, Birta and Kalabanjar lands. In case any person settles ryots from Mal lands on his lands, he shall be held liable to compensate the loss of revenue on Mal lands. Nobody shall be allowed to reclaim his lands by depopulating Mal lands. In case any person contravenes this order, he shall be punished.

Jestha Sudi 6, 1862

(May 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 537.

(Similar orders were issued on the same date for Saptari and Mahottari also).

Contd...

3. From King Garban,

To the Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mandars, Mokadams and Jetharaiyats of Morang.

We have received reports that since Dasharath Khatri has diverted (ryots) cultivating Mal lands to reclaim his Kalabanjar lands, you have sustained a loss of Rs 6,000 and that this has put all of you to hardship. We hereby depute an Adalat to visit that area and investigate irregularities. After the Dittah (of the Adalat) reaches there, represent all your hardships and grievances through him. We shall then punish any person who is found to have caused loss of revenue on Mal lands. Remain on your lands with assurance and continue to discharge revenue collection functions.

Jestha Sudi 6, 1862
(May 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 538.

Proposal For East-West Highway, 1949

Government Notification

(Condensed)

Although it is essential to construct a road from the Mechi river in the east to the Mahakali river in the west, the government cannot undertake this project all at once through its own resources. Accordingly, it has been decided that permission should be given to anybody who offers to construct any section of this road and operate motor services thereon. This notification is therefore published for the information of the public.

(From the Gorkhapatra of Aswin 14, 2006 (approx. September 30, 1949).

(S.B. Maharjan).