

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: December 31, 1972.

REGMI RESEARCH SERIES

Commulative Index, Year 4, January-December 1972,

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: January 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 1,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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### Notes On The History Of Morang District-III

On Baisakh Badi 1, 1853 (April 1796), Subba Dhaukal Singh was appointed as chief district administrator of Morang, succeeding Zorawar Khawas. The following regulations were then issued in his name:-

To Subba Dhaukal Singh,

We hereby promulgated the following administrative regulations (Sawal) for the district of Morang with headquarters at Vijayapur. We shall approve all actions taken by you in accordance with these regulations:-

1. In case we grant lands as Birta or Jagir to any person after the year 1853 (1796 A.D.), we shall grant remission (in the stipulated amount) every year to the extent of the first year's income on the basis of a statement signed by the recipient.
2. In the event of invasion from any quarter, if the military company stationed there is not adequate to repel such invasion, recruit additional troops and defend the territory. Report the matter to us. After the invasion is repulsed, pay salaries to such troops and dismiss them. The necessary expenses shall be remitted.
3. Expiation for offenses committed in that area shall be granted through local Pandits.
4. In case any person is guilty of theft, murder, cow slaughter or rebellion, the case shall be heard in the court. The convicted person shall be punished with death or enslavement according to the nature of the offense. The matter shall then be reported to us.
5. Land allotment Pattas and the rates of taxes thereon as confirmed through royal order should be retained.
6. Visiting Englishmen, Nawabs and Rajas and Wakils, Princes and respectable persons from Dharma shall be accorded due hospitality. Reasonable expenses incurred for such purposes will be debited (from the stipulated amount).
7. Escheats and buried treasure shall be appropriated up to Rs 100. The excess shall be transmitted to the palace and one-sixth thereof shall accrue to you.
8. Half of rhinoceros' horn and ivory found there shall be transmitted to the palace.

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9. The Amil shall dismiss any Chaudhari, Kanugoye, Mokaddam, Sairdar or Mahaldar who does not comply with his orders and does not supply provisions.
10. Former Subbas and their agents (Amala, Bahidar) shall be allowed to collect arrears of revenue until the year 1852 (1795 A.D.), after checking the accounts with Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams and ryots.
11. Remissions in the stipulated amount for Birte lands granted to Keshav Jha in 1852 (1795 A.D.) shall be granted on the basis of records submitted by the appropriate Chaudharis and Kanugoyes.
12. Assessment records relating to the Gadimubarak levy shall be submitted expeditiously. Remissions have been granted at the rates of 1 anna or  $\frac{1}{2}$  anna per bigha and collections shall therefore be made accordingly. The levy shall not be collected from tenants (Adhiyars) in case it has already been realized from landowners (Maliks).
13. Remission had been granted to Zorawar for the emoluments of Mokaddam at the rate of 1.25 Kattha of land. The figure has now been fixed at 0.75 Kattha (15 dhurs) as in other areas. Remissions to Mokaddam shall be granted accordingly. The total amount thus remitted shall be deducted from the stipulated amount every year.
14. We shall supply gunpowder and cannon-balls from here. Purchase 10,000 flints there. While handing over charge, entrust reserves of such ammunition maintained at different forts to the Amil and obtain a receipt. Remissions shall be granted accordingly.

Beisakh Badi 1, 1853 (April 1796),  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, pp. 100-103.

#### Notes

The regulations make it clear that Subba Dhaukal Singh had been appointed as an Ijaradar, or revenue farmer, although a copy of the letter of appointment is not available. It cannot be known, therefore, what amount of revenue he had stipulated to pay.

The references to Malik and Adhiyar are interesting. Malik was a term used in India to denote "proprietors" or Zamindars. According to Irfan

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Habib,<sup>1</sup> "The synonym for Zamindar used more often than any other Malik.  
 In some documents, a Zamindar is called Malik."<sup>2</sup>

In Adhiyar, in the adjoining district of Purnea in India, was a tenant.  
 According to Francis Buchanan:<sup>3</sup>

A man who has stock sufficient to keep a plough, but has no land and cultivates that of others for a share of the crop, is here also (i.e. Purnea) called Adhiyar, and is much on the same footing as in Dinajpur and Rongopur. In general, however, their reward is higher, as they do not reap the share of the crop that goes to the proprietor of the land; or if they do, are paid for their trouble. They either, however, furnish the seed, or if they borrow it as almost always happens, they repay it with interest at the rate of 100 per cent. They pay all other expenses of cultivation, and take a half of the crop. Their condition is very generally admitted to be better than that of hired servants or daily laborers. They are chiefly employed by the high castes, by tradesmen who hire land, and by the proprietors who reserve land to cultivate land on their own account.

The regulations thus mention Zamindars, Adhiyar tenants and one other class of cultivators -- those who held land allotment certificates, or Patta. The latter category possibly included small cultivators who were allotted waste lands for cultivation, and were thus distinct from the traditional landowning community represented by the Zamindars. The following observations of B.H. Baden-Powell with regard to such Patta-holders may be of interest in this context.<sup>4</sup>

But for the bulk of the raiyats (leaving aside Zamindars and holders of independent estates), many of whom were old "resident" village landholders, nothing was thought of but to require that each should get a 'Pottah' (Patta) specifying the area, as well as the terms and conditions of his holding.

1. Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System Of Mughal India, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963, p. 111.
2. Ibid, pp. 128-129.
3. Francis Buchanan, Purnea Report, Patna: Bihar And Orissa Research Society, 1928, p. 443.
4. B.H. Baden-Powell, A Short Account Of The Land Revenue And Its Administration In British India; With a Sketch of The Land Tenures, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, p. 163.

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Gold Imports From Tibet-II

1. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah<sup>1</sup>

To Haridev Pandit.

Greetings. If the Tibetans are prepared to deliver the gold immediately without making anything with it, make an offer of 18 Mahendramalis. But do so only if they allow it to be tested by crushing or melting. Merchants have come here from India (Madhesh) with money. We intend to mint coins this time. Accordingly, make an offer of as much as Rs 18. We on our part will not mix any impurity. The Tibetans may agree today. Ascertain this well. But finish the work soon. You will understand everything from Shrinandu's letter. What more to wise people ?

Monday, Chaitra Sudi 2,  
Madi, capital of Nuwakot.

2. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Haridev Pandit.

Greetings. All is well here and we wish the same there. This will make us feel very happy. The news here is good.

Go immediately and finalize the matter early. We have granted ("Bato Ko 3" -- unclear). Bring gold quickly with the money which is lying at Kuti. Procure additional gold soon from Tibet. Do everything quickly. Do not make any delay. Be quick. What more to wise people ?

Thursday, Shrawan Badi 13,  
Capital of Nuwakot.

Notes

These four letters were sent by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Haridev Pandit, his envoy in Tibet. Calculations reveal that the first 3 letters were sent in 1813 Vikrama (1756 A.D.) and the fourth letter in 1814 (1757 A.D.). These letters show that King Prithvi Narayan Shah was in a hurry to remit money to Tibet and procure gold from there.

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<sup>1</sup> Nayaraj Pant (et. al.), Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakash, n.d., Part III, pp. 969-972.

Contd...



14 or 15 years had passed since Prithvi Narayan Shah had started moving towards the east. But his gains had still not been significant. Accordingly, with the objective of occupying Nepal Valley, Prithvi Narayan Shah tried to impose an economic blockade on it. This necessitated the recruitment of additional troops, for which money was required. Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, appears to have been in a hurry to remit money to Tibet and procure gold from there so as to make profits and increase his influence.

Merchants from India (Madhesh) had then come to Nuwakot to purchase gold. Prithvi Narayan Shah planned to exchange gold procured from Tibet with the silver that they had brought, or to mint coins for circulation in Tibet. He was in a hurry because he was afraid lest the Indian merchants should go back. He was therefore prepared even to pay the price of Rs 18 per tola. The total amount required to buy 15,000 tolas of gold was Rs 270,000. This was not an insignificant amount at that time. Haridev Pandit was therefore instructed to be very careful in examining the weight and purity of the gold.

The later Malla Kings of Nepal Valley, because of their weak financial condition, minted silver coins with copper or other alloy. Large quantities of these debased coins had reached Tibet. This practice encouraged counterfeiting, which would have led to an increase in prices and thus hardships for the people. Prithvi Narayan Shah, therefore, followed the policy of minting pure coins. This shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah had already anticipated a deterioration in relations with Tibet over the issue of debased coins.

These letters show that Prithvi Narayan Shah's coins had started circulating not only in Kuti but elsewhere in Tibet as well.

Life-Long Pledge Of Chhowang Panjor Dhewa, Nuba Dhewa, Fudjo Rayten, Siehhi-tundo and Si Banju To King Prithvi Narayan Shah.<sup>2</sup>

We hereby confirm the price of gold as fixed by Rinjin Chhibo Lama last year. We shall not charge more or less. In the future, the price of gold shall not be fixed here. Gold against the money sent by you will be supplied the very next day, or within four days.

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2. Ibid, pp. 956-959.

If the price of gold is reduced, or payment held up, may the evil eyes of Shri Kamini, Shri Bhairavi, Shri Lamaju, Shri Simbhu Chhetra and Shri Baudha fall on us. If the price of gold is confirmed at the rate previously fixed by the Lama, and if payment is not held up, may their gracious eyes fall on us. If the price of gold is increased or reduced, may we incur the sin of demolishing the monasteries of Shri Baudha and Shri Simbhu Chhetra.

This agreement has been signed for gold in Kuti. As regards gold and silver from outside Kuti, these shall be melted (?).

Friday, Poush Sudi 14, 1812 Vikrama.

#### Notes

This pledge was signed in favor of Prithvi Narayan Shah by the Tibetan authorities of the Kuti region in 1812 Vikrama (1755 A.D.). This indicates how Prithvi Narayan Shah was trying to strengthen his financial position. He always tried to consolidate his administrative and economic hold in the territories he had conquered. He wanted to develop trade with Tibet and other countries as this would bring in profit and enrich his subjects. It is easier to trade with one's own coins. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore minted his own silver coins, and, like the Malla Kings, tried to introduce them for circulation in Tibet.

The letter shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah finalized an agreement regarding the price of gold with the Tibetan Lama in 1811 Vikrama (1754 A.D.) and then obtained this pledge from some Tibetan authorities.

We do not know when Prithvi Narayan Shah first minted coins. A large number of his coins dated the Shaka year 1676 (1811 Vikrama or 1754 A.D.) have been discovered. This letter shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah had started trying to introduce his coins for circulation in Tibet during the very year.

It was difficult to mint silver coins, since silver was not mined in Nepal. The letters written by Prithvi Narayan Shah to Heridev Pandit show how he procured silver for purposes of minting.

This pledge related to gold only inside Kuti. This shows that Prithvi Narayan Shah's coins at that time circulated only in Kuti, not throughout Tibet.

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Baburam Acharya writes:<sup>3</sup>

Large quantities of gold entered into the principality of Kantipur during the period of 175 years (1641-1715 A.D.) from King Pratap Malla to King Bhaskar Malla. This gold was used to gild the roofs of temples and statues of Kings and queens made of copper mined in the territories of the principality of Lalitpur. In 1746 A.D., Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied the route leading from Kathmandu to Khasa through Kuti and gave it to the King of Bhaktapur. Along with the traders of Bhaktapur, he started trading in gold procured from Kuti. For this, Prithvi Narayan Shah used the coins of Bhaktapur and obtained the help of the Sanyasi disciples of Kamal Ban and Kashmiri Muslim merchants. By 1754, Prithvi Narayan Shah had occupied Sindhupalchok, Kabhrepalanchok and Dolekha also. He thus controlled the gold trade that passed through these areas and appointed Haridev Pandit, trade agent of the King of Bhaktapur, as his own agent. Prithvi Narayan Shah meanwhile minted his coins with pure silver, as he realized that trade could not go on satisfactorily with the debased coins of King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur. Even then, the authorities of Kuti did not permit trade in gold, because Chinese Ambans had been stationed in Lhasa since 1716 A.D. These Ambans did not interfere in the administration of the Dalai Lama of Tibet, but only gave him appropriate advice. On their advice, the government of the Dalai Lama had imposed restrictions on the export of gold to Tibet. This resulted in a progressive decline in Nepal's gold imports since the time of King Jagajjaya Malla of Kantipur. Until that time, coins minted by the King of Kantipur used to circulate in Tibet. But trade in general had started declining because these coins were debased. In 1757 A.D., after the first battle of Kirtipur, the Kings of Kantipur and Gorkha forgot their mutual hostility and signed a commercial treaty stipulating that they would both mint only pure silver coins and conduct trade jointly. But soon Jaya Prakash Malla violated this treaty and created a situation in which no reconciliation was possible.

After King Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered the principality of Kantipur in 1768 A.D., he withdrew Kantipur's debased coins and introduced pure silver coins. He planned to mint coins with inscriptions in the Tibetan script for circulation in that country, on the ground that Kantipur had already been conquered by him and so the use of its coins in Tibet should stop. For this, Prithvi Narayan Shah required pure silver. The Mughal coins of that period were of pure silver. After Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered territories in the Tarai, he introduced his pure silver coins there, withdrew Mughal coins

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3. Baburam Acharya, Shri 5 Bademaharajadhiraj Prithvinarayan Shah (The Great King Prithvi Narayan Shah), Kathmandu: His Majesty's Press Secretariat, Royal Palace, 2026 (1969), Part 4, pp. 689-691.

which used to circulate there and converted them into Nepali coins at the Kathmandu Mint. He thus attempted to introduce a uniform system of coinage in all parts of the Kingdom. But the influx of Mughal coins through the Tarai exceeded minting requirements, and so Prithvi Narayan Shah wanted to use these Mughal coins for minting coins for Tibet with inscriptions in the Tibetan script. He therefore appears to have decided to send a delegation under Raj. Giri to Tibet with these proposals. But various obstacles stood in the way of gold imports from Tibet. Before the Raj Giri delegation could leave Nuwakot, Prithvi Narayan Shah died.

It does not appear that gold procured from Kuti was meant to be stored in the treasury. The objective was to make profits by reselling this gold to foreign merchants. But since these profits too were credited to the account of the treasury, gold imports from Tibet were viewed as a source of revenue.

(Concluded)

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Harisimhadeva<sup>1</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

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There is evidence that Harisimhadeva, King of Mithila and a descendant of Nanyadeva, entered into Nepal from Simraungadh around the beginning of the fourteenth century. Sthiti Malla and his Malla successors have described themselves as descendants of Harisimhadeva of the Karnata dynasty. Harisimhadeva, therefore, occupies a leading place in the history of Nepal.

We have already described how Nanyadeva established his Kingdom in Simraungadh in 1097 A.D. His successors ruled over Mithila for more than two centuries with Simraungadh as their capital. They then suffered a Muslim invasion. The Malla successors of Jayasthiti Malla, who claimed to belong to the Karnata dynasty, have mentioned the successors of Nanyadeva in their Vamshavalis. These names are not very important for the history of Nepal during this period. But we mention them because they occur in Nepali writings.

Different versions of the names of Nanyadeva's successors are as follows:-

| <u>Pratap Malla's<br/>Inscription</u> | <u>Muditakuvalayashwa</u> | <u>Kirkpatrick</u> | <u>Hamilton</u> |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Nanyadeva                          | Nanyadeva                 | Nanyadeva          | Nanyadeva       |
| 2. Gangadeva                          | Gangadeva                 | Kanakadeva         | Gangadeva       |
| 3. Nrisimha                           | Narasimhadeva             | Ramasimha          | Narasimha       |
| 4. Ramasimha                          | Bhavasimhadeva            | Bhadasimha         | Ramasimha       |
| 5. Shaktisimha                        | ...                       | Karnasimha         | Shaktisimha     |
| 6. Bhupalesimha                       | Karnasimha                | Harisimha          | Harasimha       |
| 7. Harisimha                          | Harisimha                 | ...                | ...             |

1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter 5: "Harisimhadeva", pp. 54-68.

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It is not necessary to dwell on the successors of Nanyadeva because this relates to the history of Mithila. According to the drama "Muditakuvalayashwa", Karma Simha was the father of Harisimhadeva. According to the inscription of Pratap Malla, Harisimhadeva's father was named Bhupalasimha. On the other hand, Hamilton has given his name as Shakta (Shakti?). In view of these different versions of the name of Harisimhadeva's father, it appears that the Malla Kings of Kathmandu Valley claimed dynastic links with Mithila in order to prove their own ancient origin. Whatever may be the case, it is possible that the relationship between the Malla Kings of Kathmandu Valley and the dynasty of Harisimha Deva was a very distant one.

By the time of Harisimhadeva, Muslim domination had already been established in India. According to Indian history, Ghiyasuddin Tughlak Shah conquered Mithila on his way back after invading Bengal. As soon as he reached Delhi, he was murdered in the beginning of 1325 A.D. This shows that he conquered Tirhut or Mithila in 1324 A.D. There is evidence that Harisimhadeva left Simraungadh and entered into the hill regions in the same year. This is proved by a verse which occurs in the Vamshavalis of both Nepal and Mithila with slight variations. According to this verse, Harisimhadeva left Simraungadh in 1245 Shaka, or 1323 A.D. Since the month when he did so was Poush, it is possible that the year 1324 A.D. had already commenced. According to another verse current in Mithila, Harisimhadeva entered into the hill region or into Nepal on the 10th day of the bright half of the moon in the month of Poush in 1248 Shaka. It may be that the last figure, 8, is really 5. Alternatively, it is possible that after being defeated by the Muslims in 1324 A.D., Harisimhadeva lived in hiding for some years in the hill areas north of Simraungadh, waiting for a favorable opportunity to get his Kingdom back. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand the discrepancy between the two dates, 1245 and 1248 Shaka. According to Nepali Vamshavalis, Harisimhadeva entered into Nepal in 444 Nepal Era (1245 Shaka, 1323 or 1324 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

In his Hanumandhoka inscription, Pratap Malla has described how Harisimhadeva came to Ashmanagar or Panauti after leaving Simraungadh, and that he came to Nepal from there.<sup>3</sup> A similar account is contained in the Pashupati inscription of the year 778 Nepal era of Pratap Malla. However, according to the Itihas Samsodhan (No. 7-39), Harisimhadeva fled from Simraungadh to Dolakha, where he died.<sup>4</sup>

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2. Wright, p. 175.

3. Sanskrit Sandesh, Year 1, No. 2.

Harisimhadeva's entry into Nepal during the beginning of the 11th century recalls the similar entry of other Kshatriya Princes from India into the western hill regions of Nepal during the same period, or 1 or 2 centuries earlier for similar reasons. The entry of a number of Indian Princes, including Harisimhadeva, into Nepal is an important event in history. They did not come here with aggressive intentions. The people of Nepal Valley or of western Nepal did not regard their arrival as an invasion. Even before this, Buddhist Bhikshu and scholars had entered into Nepal along with their valuable manuscripts during the initial invasions of the Muslims. The number of such refugees was small in western Nepal, but quite large in Nepal Valley. The local people heartily welcomed these Bhikshus and scholars. The new immigrants who came in after a few centuries received a similar affectionate treatment. This gives evidence of the large heart of the Nepali people. The doors of this country were always open for culture and civilization. Everybody who came there was accorded a very warm hospitality. This is a very bright chapter in the history of Nepal. One important consequence of this generous attitude of the Nepali people was that the immigrants and the local people exchanged each other's religion, language and culture and soon became one. No differences remained between them. The Nepali nation became strong, talented and prosperous. It became capable of safeguarding its independence for long, even though the flame may have been dim. The people of Nepal should never forget this glorious chapter in their history.

Harisimhadeva thus entered into Nepal after he sustained a defeat at the hands of the Muslims. His visit should not be regarded as an invasion. He was not an aggressor. He entered into Nepal to protect himself from aggressors, with faith in the goodwill of the local people. We should regard his visit to Nepal from this viewpoint. Only then can we make a proper evaluation of his arrival. We shall later discuss how he or his successors ruled in Bhadgaun or some adjoining area, how they attained a respectful place in Nepal, and why the Malla Kings of Kathmandu Valley traced their origin from his dynasty.

According to a popular legend of Mithila, Harisimhadeva, after being defeated by the Muslims, went to his preceptor, Pandit Kameshwar Thakur, for advice. At that time, Kameshwar Thakur was living in the village of Sugauna. Harisimhadeva asked him where the Sanatana religion would remain safe, and cows and Brahmans would be protected even during the Kali age. Kameshwar Thakur moved his hand towards the north. According to this advice Harisimhadeva entered into Nepal. This legend sheds considerable light on the reasons why Harisimhadeva came into Nepal. It also gives evidence of his real status as a refugee.

Contd...



We have already seen how the internal strife in Nepal helped Harisimhadava to remain here. One consequence of Harisimhadava's entry into Nepal was that the cult of Tulajadevi spread here. After Harisimhadava brought this goddess to Nepal, the royal family of Nepal adopted her as their tutelary deity. They continued to do so until the 18th century, irrespective of whether they remained united or divided. After the division of Nepal Valley, the Kings of Kathmandu too constructed a temple of the goddess and made arrangements to have religious functions performed there. It was easy for Harisimhadava to become popular in Nepal because he had brought goddess Tulajadevi here. Later Kings too obtained the help of the goddess in their political maneuvers and duped their religious-minded subjects. It is possible that Tulajadevi was not a goddess of the people. Her temple was constructed within the precincts of the royal palace. She was the tutelary deity of the King himself. Religious functions at the temple too were performed in secret. It is therefore possible that Tulajadevi was not a goddess of the people but one of the royal dynasty.

The Vamshavalis mention a number of castes who accompanied Harisimhadava to Nepal. These were Brahman, Bhandel, Achar, Jaishi, Vaidya, Rajaka and Khadgi. In other words, this shows that these castes entered into Nepal from Mithila. These castes still exist in Nepal in some form or other. There are no Rajakas or Dhobis (washermen) in the eastern or western hill areas. It is possible that in Nepal too, as in the hill areas, there were no Dhobis until the 14th century, and that this caste appeared only with Harisimhadava. This shows that public life in Nepal had acquired civic characteristics a long time ago.

Chandeshwar, a Minister of Harisimhadava, has written a work entitled Krityachintamani. In this, he has described himself as a conqueror of the Kings of Nepal, who had made religious gifts on the banks of the Bagvati river. This may mean that before Harisimhadava had entered into Nepal in 1326 A.D., his Minister, Chandeshwar, had come here. Despite his claims of having conquered the Kings of Nepal and made religious gifts on the banks of the Bagvati river, however, it is not possible to believe that he visited Nepal as a conqueror at a time when his King, Harisimhadava, was apprehending an invasion from the Muslims. We will be unable to understand the truth in case we regard the visit of Chandeshwar or Harisimhadava, or other persons from Mithila before them, as aggressors or conquerors. We must therefore regard these events from another viewpoint.

Muslim conquerors had already started conquering different parts of Nepal in the twelfth century. Around the beginning of this century, Muhammad Khilji, son of Bakhtiyar, had already conquered Bengal. The later Muslim rulers of Bengal did not want to remain under Delhi. They therefore declared themselves independent. The Sultans of Delhi did not like this and therefore used to invade Bengal. Ordinary Hindu subjects naturally had to undergo

Contd...



religion, it was natural for the religious-minded people of Nepal to offer him sympathy and assistance. In fact, Harisimhadeva was able to establish his authority over Bhadgaun without any fight. Goddess Tulajadevi, an image of whom he had brought along with him, naturally attracted the devotion of the religious-minded people of Nepal. As a result, no particular opposition was offered to Harisimhadeva.

It appears that Harisimhadeva was not able to stay long in Nepal. The internal conflict which had started after the death of Rudra Malla came to an end in 1337 A.D., and Ari Malla had assumed the entire authority of the State. Since Ari Malla was the sole King of the whole of Nepal, Harisimhadeva must already have died. This view is supported by the fact that no reference to Harisimhadeva is available during the reign of Ari Malla. Nor did Harisimhadeva go back to Mithila, because after he left Simraungadh the Emperor of Delhi granted the Kingdom of Mithila to Kameshwar Thakur, who established the Sugana dynasty there.

The Vamshavalis contain a list of Kings said to have been descendants of Harisimhadeva. The list is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

|                    |          |                   |          |
|--------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| 1. Harisimhadeva   | 28 years | 2. Matisimhadeva  | 15 years |
| 3. Shaktisimhadeva | 22 years | 4. Shyamsimhadeva | 15 years |

We shall now discuss who these Kings were and what was their relationship with Harisimhadeva. Available evidence indicates that these Kings belonged to the Vardhana family. Matisimha of the Vamshavalis is none else than Madanarama, who has been mentioned in the Itambahal and Pashupati inscriptions. It is difficult to say why his name was mentioned incorrectly in the Vamshavalis. Since the name of the first King was Harisimha, and that of the third King Shaktisimha, it is possible that the name of Madanarama was given as Matisimha.

The total period of the reign of these Kings, according to the Vamshavalis, is 80 years. We have already cited evidence to show that Harisimhadeva entered into Nepal in 1326 A.D. This means that the total period of their reign extended from 1326 A.D. to 1406 A.D. But we have already seen that during the period from 1337 A.D. to circa 1380 A.D., Ari Malla, Raj Malla and Arjun Malla were Kings of Nepal Mandala. We are thus faced with the question of where the above-mentioned Kings reigned.

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4. Wright, pp. 179-180.



According to the manuscript Guhyakatantra<sup>5</sup>, it appears that Shaktisimha the King of Palanchok, which is situated to the east of Bhadgaun, in 525 Nepal Era (1405 A.D.). According to the Vamshavali of Wright (p. 180), Shaktisimhadeva moved to Palanchok after abdicating in favor of Shyamasimhadeva. But how did Shaktisimha become King of Palanchok? We have already seen that Jayasimharama Vardhana had helped Sthiti Malla, successor of Arjuna Malla, in his revolt against the latter. It is possible that Sthiti Malla, as soon as he became King, appointed Jayasimharama as Mahasamanta of Bhadgaun and other areas situated to the east. The common people naturally regarded this as a division of the Kingdom. The colophon of a manuscript entitled Pancharaksha<sup>6</sup> mentions two Kingdoms in Nepala Mandala in the year 507 Nepal Era.

It is possible that this division took place as soon as Sthiti Malla became King, because the main factor contributing to his success was the assistance provided by Jayasimharama. It is therefore very possible that Jayasimharama was given full authority in the eastern areas. But since Jayasimharama was Prime Minister (Mahamantri), and since he had to live in Kathmandu near the King, his brother, Mandanarama, became the actual ruler of Bhadgaun.

So far the situation was in line with the traditional system followed in Nepal. We know that during the seventh and eighth centuries, Mahasamantas were more powerful than the Kings. But it is surprising that the center of administration shifted from Bhadgaun to Palanchok. In 1405 A.D., Shaktisimha was King of Palanchok. It is clear that he had become King of this area much before this date. It appears that Madanarama died soon or one or two years after the death of Sthiti Malla. It is possible that Shaktisimha shifted to Palanchok during this time and became an independent King.

The history of the King dynasty of China contains some account of these so-called descendants of Harisimhadeva. According to the Chinese account: "The Kings of Nepal are Buddhist Bhikshu. In 1384 A.D., Emperor Hung Bu of China sent an envoy to Nepal with a message (Kharita). The King of Nepal called Madana Lomo, subsequently sent a mission to China with a golden image of the Buddha, 5 horses and other presents. This mission reached the capital of China in 1387 A.D. Three years later, another mission visited China from Nepal. The Chinese Emperor, Yung Lo, then sent an envoy to Nepal. At that time, Sha Go Sim Di was King of Nepal. Again, in 1418 A.D. Yung Lo sent a eunuch to Nepal."

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5. Catalog, Part II, p. 70.

6. Catalog, Part II, pp. 78-79.

The Ming emperors of China describe the Kings of Nepal as Buddhist Brikshus after the practice followed in Tibet.

The political relations which Emperor Hung Bu established in 1384 A.D. with Nepal came to an end after his death in 1402 A.D. This relationship had been established by Madanarama. Subsequently, Sthiti Malla increased his influence, and naturally he did not like this relationship. Since it was not considered proper to maintain relations with China as Mahasamanta of Bhadgaun, it was natural for Madanarama's son to establish an independent Kingdom in Palanchok and seek to maintain independent relations with China. This seems to have occurred after the death of Sthiti Malla, even though it is not possible to ascertain the exact date.

Sthiti Malla was succeeded by his son, Dharma Malla. Jayasimharama was Prime Minister also of Dharma Malla. Shaktisimha then began to rule independently in Palanchok and conduct correspondence with China. According to our Vamshavalis too, Shaktisimhadeva ruled in Palanchok and conducted correspondence with China. The Vamshavalis also state that China sent a seal with the name of Shaktisimha inscribed on it, and also conferred on him the title of Lamo.<sup>7</sup> When the envoys of Yung Lo arrived in Nepal, we know from Chinese sources that Sha Go Sim Di, or Shaktisimhadeva, was King of Nepal.

According to the Vamshavali of Wright, it was in the Chinese year 535 that Shaktisimhadeva received a seal inscribed with his name and the title of Lamo from China. But a different system of calculating the date was followed in China at that time. 535 is thus the Nepal year, and not the Chinese year. The author of the Vamshavali mistakenly regarded this as the Chinese year, since he was confused by the grant of a Chinese title to Shaktisimhadeva. Shaktisimhadeva thus received the seal and the title from China in 1515 A.D.

It appears that Dharma Malla adopted a policy of indifference towards the newly-established Kingdom of Palanchok. Shaktisimha naturally did not have the strength to invade Nepal. His claim in his correspondence with China that he was King of Nepal; and the seal and the title received by him from China, did not have any impact on the politics of Nepal. Dharma,

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7. Wright, p. 180.

Malla continued to rule his Kingdom. In the end, the King ~~Shakti-~~ Shaktisimha disappeared. His relationship with China could not safeguard his independent existence.<sup>8</sup>

The title "Lamo" is the Chinese form of "Rama". Jayasimha's father was named Ramavardhana. It is possible that the term "Rama" was borrowed from his name. But it may also be Raya, as mentioned in the Guhyakatantra.

It is thus clear that the Kings who have been described as descendants of Harisimhadeva in the Vamshavalis were actually not so. The goodwill displayed by China towards Nepal during this period resembles that displayed by the Tang Emperors. It did not have any political significance.

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8. According to the Vamshavalis, Shaktisimha was succeeded by his son, Shyamasimhadeva. During his reign, in Bhadra 528 Nepal Era (1408 A.D.) a big earthquake occurred in Nepal. The temple of Machhendranath and many other buildings collapsed, and a large number of people were killed. But it is not true that Shyamasimha was King in 1408. We have already proved that Shaktisimha was ruling until long afterwards. This is the reason why we have said that the Kingdom of Palanchok disappeared after the death of Shaktisimha.

Privileges And Obligations Of Chudaryas<sup>x</sup>

1. From King,

To the Dware of Chhoprak.

During the time of our father's sister, regulations regarding the supply of glass bangles under the Walak levy had been promulgated. We hereby reconfirm these regulations in this year. Utilize the Jagir assignments mentioned below and supply glass bangles in the prescribed installments to the government. In case anybody tries to harass you, show this order and he shall be punished accordingly.

Particulars Of Jagir Assignments

| <u>Particulars</u>  | <u>Jagir Khet<br/>Lands<br/>(In Muris)</u> | <u>Glass Bangles To Be Supplied</u> |                |             |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
|   |  | <u>Tij festival</u>                 | <u>Dashain</u> | <u>Fagu</u> |
| 1. Newly-reclaimed<br><u>Khet lands in Lami-<br/>tari, Jagir of<br/>Shankhare of<br/>Rayapani</u> | 120  | 60                                  | 60             | 60          |
| <u>Jhingate (lands),<br/>Jagir of Agi Moni</u>  | 80   | 40                                  | 60             | 60          |
| <u>Jhingate (lands),<br/>Jagir of the Sanyasi<br/>of Gaikhur</u>                                  | 40   | 30                                  | 30             | 30          |
| <u>Jhingate (lands),<br/>Jagir of Lale of<br/>Ehimpur</u>   | 40   | 30                                  | 30             | 30          |
| <u>Jhingate (lands),<br/>Jagir of Fenimi Sanu<br/>Shankhare</u>                                   | 40   | 30                                  | 30             | 30          |

<sup>x</sup> Chudaryas are a Muslim community of makers of glass bangles in some districts of the western hill region of Nepal.

Contd...

|   |     |     |     |     |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Khet lands in Daragaun, Jagir of Metajya of Tikagaun. | 40  | 30  | 30  | 30  |
| Mehelbote homestead (document damaged)                | -   | 10  | 10  | 10  |
| Khet lands in Harmi                                   | 30  | 30  | 30  | 30  |
| Total   | 390 | 260 | 260 | 260 |

Kartik Badi 12, 1838  
(October 1781)  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 618-619.

2. From Kaji Kulaman Singh Basnyat.

Greetings to the Huddas and soldiers deputed to exact Jhara services from Mukhiya Sadhu (?) of Churyadagaun.

The Churadyas of Churadyagaun have come here to complain that Jhara services are being exacted from them, whereas this had never been done previously. If Jhara services had never been exacted from them previously, do not do so now.

Sunday, Poush Badi 10, 1883 (December 1826)  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, p. 186.

3. From Kaji Balanarasingh Kanwar,

Greetings to the Huddas and soldiers deputed to exact Jhara services in Churyadagaun.

It appears that Jhara services have never been exacted from the Churyadas of that area on the ground that they are foreigners (Desi). It also appears that former Bhardars have issued orders to this effect. If Jhara services had never been exacted from them previously, do not do so now.

Tuesday, Poush Sudi 1, 1885 (December 1828)  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, p. 186.

Contd...

4. From Prime Minister Jung Bahadur,

To Baroti and other Churyadas of Churyadagaun in Dullu,

We have submitted the following petition: "Jhara and Begar services had never been exacted in Churyadagaun in the past. An order to this effect had been issued by your father also. Now we Churyadas are being harassed for Jhara and Begar services."

Your petition has been represented to us. It appears that an order exempting you from Jhara and Begar obligations had been issued previously also. We too hereby exempt you from these obligations.

Friday, Kartik Sudi 2, 1920 (October 1863)  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, p. 190.

5. From Lt. Colonel Buddhiman Singh Basnyat.

To the Huddas and soldiers deputed to collect the Rasad levy in the division (Dara) of Majhkhand.

The Churyadas of Churyadagaun will transport (supplies collected under the) Rasad levy here. We shall then utilize the services of the ryots of Surkhet to transport these supplies there. Send here the rice they have with them. Make arrangements for the supply of rice from each village as elsewhere.

Marga Badi 8, 1923 (November 1866)  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, p. 190.

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(S.B.M.)

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu; February 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 2,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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The Muslim Invasion of Nepal<sup>x</sup>

By Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

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The Muslims entered into India in the beginning of the eighth century. However, this did not have a significant impact on the history of India. The Muslim conquest of Sind was only an episode in Indian history. The invasion launched by Mahmud of Ghazni in the beginning of the eleventh century acquainted India with the consequences of a Muslim conquest. Muslim rule had already been established in India in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It gave rise to a number of consequences. One of these consequences was that thousands of Hindus came to Nepal from the plains of northern India in order to safeguard their religion. They came into different parts of the modern Kingdom of Nepal. As a result of this influx, Nepali history changed its course. Nepal Valley too could not escape the repercussions of this influx. It was natural for many people to come here from Bihar and Bengal. These people also brought along with them the perverted form of Tantrism prevalent in those areas. Harisimhadewa of Simraungadh had entered into Nepal along with his tutelary deity, in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Even such ancient places in the Himalayan region as Kashmir, Kangra, and Kumaun did not escape the invasion of Muslims. However, the Muslims did not pay much attention to Nepal. The Kingdom of Nepal Valley was poor in comparison to the Kingdoms of India. Moreover, the routes were difficult. Because of these reasons, no prominent Muslim conqueror invaded Nepal. The religious life of Nepal continued as usual until the end of the thirteenth century.

Around the middle of the fourteenth century, a Muslim ruler of Bengal invaded Nepal, destroyed a number of well-known temples and created much panic in Nepal. This event may have been a major one for Nepal. But it was very ordinary from the viewpoint of Indian history. Accordingly, the Muslim historians of this period have not made any reference to this invasion. Moreover, this invasion was nothing more than a raid. As such, even the people of Nepal forgot it after some time. It is doubtful whether people belonging to the hill areas outside of Kathmandu Valley ever knew that such an invasion

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<sup>x</sup>Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter VI: "Nepal Mathi Musalmanko Akraman." (The Muslim Invasion of Nepal), pp. 68-72.

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had taken place. This event came to light for the first time in 1956. Before this, the general impression in both India and Nepal was that the Muslims had never invaded Nepal. A verse composed by Motiram Bhatta, according to which Nepal had always remained free from Muslim invasion, was cited as evidence in support of this view.

The Muslim invasion is not mentioned even in the ordinary Vamshavalis of Nepal. Only the Gopal Vamshavali has made some reference to it. According to this Vamshavali, as translated by Yogi Narahari Nath, "Sultan Shamsudin entered into Nepal from the east. He broke the image of Shri Pashupati into three pieces. He set fire to all the three towns of Nepal. Panic prevailed among the people. Bhaktapur underwent considerable suffering on Marga Sudi 9, 407."

Let us first discuss who Sultan Shamsudin was. Even while Mohammed Tughlak (1325-1351 A.D.) was alive, Bengal had already become free from the Sultans of Delhi. It was at this time that Shamsudin had become ruler of Bengal. In 1345 A.D., he declared himself independent. He died in 1357 A.D. There is evidence that he invaded Tirhut from Bengal. But nowhere in India history is there any account of his invasion of Nepal. It is therefore possible that he invaded Nepal during his invasion of Tirhut.

Yogi Narahari Nath has translated the Gopal Vamshavali account to mean that Sultan Shamsudin invaded Nepal from the east. In my opinion, it may be more correct to translate this passage to mean that the Sultan belonged to the east (Bengal). It is possible that Sultan Shamsuddin entered into Nepal through the eastern route which had been previously followed by Harisimhadeva. However, in Nepal he was known as the King of the eastern areas, or Bengal.

Rajadeva was King of Nepal when the invasion took place. He had become King in Shraavan 467 Nepal era. The Vamshavalis do not describe what measures he took to check the invasion. It is possible that he was not able to offer any significant resistance.

Evidence regarding the Muslim invasion is contained, in addition to the Gopal Vamshavali, also in some inscriptions of Nepal. Three of these inscriptions have been discovered at the Pashupati temple, and others at Buddhist shrines. The Aghok Chaitya, located to the west of the Pintha Bihar in Patan, had been destroyed by Sultan Shamsuddin. This is proved by an inscription installed by Mahapatra Meghapal Varma, who renovated the Chaitya, in Chaitra 477 Nepal era (1357 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> This inscription confirms the Gopal Vamshavali account that Sultan Shamsuddin set fire to the three towns of Nepal.

2. Sanskrit Sandesh, Year 1, Nos. 10-12.

Another inscription, of the time of Arjuna Malla, bearing the date 492 Nepal era (1372 A.D.) has been discovered at Swayambhunath.<sup>3</sup> This inscription describes how Sultan Shamsuddin demolished the Swayambhu shrine and set fire to it. It also mentions the date of this incident. According to it, the invasion took place on Thursday, Marga Sudi 10, 740 Nepal era (1350 A.D.). This version is confirmed by the Gopal Vamshavali, according to which the people of Bhaktapur had to undergo considerable suffering on Marga Sudi 9, 470 Nepal era.

Peace was restored in Nepal only after the invaders went back after indulging in such vandalism. It does not appear that they stayed long in Nepal. Possibly, they left before the local people had time to offer organized resistance.

After the invaders left, the people of Nepal gradually started renovating their demolished temples. The Ashok Chaitya was repaired in Chaitra 477 Nepal era (1357 A.D.). In Baisakh, 480 Nepal era (1360 A.D.) Jayasimhrama reinstalled the image of Pashupati. The shrine of Swayambhunath was repaired in Ashwin 492 Nepal era (1372 A.D.).

There is no evidence that this invasion had any significant impact on Nepal. The people of Nepal only witnessed an ordinary incident the like of which was going on at several places in India. The invasion thus had no special impact on the ordinary life of the people. It must therefore be regarded as an ordinary incident in the history of Nepal.

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3. Ibid.

Notes On The History Of Morang District-IV

1. Complaint Of Ryots Of Morang Regarding Unlawful Increase In Revenue Assessment

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Subba Zorawar Khawas.

The ryots (of Morang district) have come here with the following complaint: "Ijaras had been issued for each village in Morang district, according to which any loss or gain in revenue during the 3-year period from 1847 to 1849 (1790 to 1792 A.D.) would belong to the ryots. Accordingly, we ryots had undertaken to bear liability for any such loss or gain. However, during the third year, the amount of revenue due from each village was unjustly increased."

Ascertain whether or not injustice has been committed in this regard in the district and submit a report to us.

Monday, Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (October 1794).  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 414.

2. Renovation Of Perquisites Of Mandars

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To all the Mandars of Morang district.

In 1850 (1793 A.D.), Kaji Bam Shah and Kaji Jagjit Pande had made a revenue settlement in that district. It appears they had confiscated your perquisites in the form of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kathas (of land).

We hereby restore to you these perquisites. With due assurance, promote land reclamation and settlement. Utilize your tax-free lands after paying a reasonable amount as Salami.

Monday, Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (October 1794).  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 415.

3. Emigration Of Ryots From Jhapa

(a) From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Dayaram Chaudhari and Mandars and ryots of Rajgadhi in Jhapa.

We have received reports that because of the oppression of the Amil, you have relinquished your lands and are now staying in India (Moglan).

Contd...

On receiving reports about the condition of the country, we have changed the Amil. We have also made arrangements regarding the issuance of land allotment Pattas. You are good ryots of our country. With due assurance, come back and reoccupy your holdings and make arrangements for land reclamation and revenue collection.

Monday, Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (October 1794).  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 415-416.

(b) From King Rana Bahadur Shah,  
To Aiman Chaudhari, Kharung Chaudhari, Deunath Mandar and ryots.

We have received reports that because of the oppression of the Amil, you have relinquished your lands and are now staying in India (Moglan). On receiving reports regarding the condition of the country, we have changed the Amil. We have also made arrangements regarding land allotment Pattas. You are good ryots of our country. With due assurance, come back and reoccupy your lands and make arrangements for land reclamation and revenue collection.

Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (October 1794).  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 416.

#### 4. Appointment Of Dayaram As Chaudhari

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Dayaram Chaudhari.

We hereby appoint you as Chaudhari for the entire Parganna of Hari-chandgadhi in Morang district with effect from the year 1851 (1794 A.D.) under Bnyad tenure. With due loyalty and faithfulness, prepare accurate tax assessment records (Janabandi) along with the Munsiff and transmit revenues in accordance with these records to the Potakhana office. At the end of the year, submit accounts of revenue and expenditure and obtain clearance. Appropriate one-tenth (of the total area) as Nankar. Collect taxes in accordance with the prescribed schedules (Raibandi) and appropriate your Nisaf share, while transmitting the Salami fee to the Potakhana office. Maximize the revenues of the government and keep the ryots happy. With loyalty, promote land reclamation and settlement. In case you promote settlement, your Bnyad appointment will be confirmed. Otherwise, it will not be confirmed.

Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (October 1794).  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 477.

Contd...

## 5. Collection Of Arrears Of Revenue

(a) From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Subba Dhaukal Singh.

The statement of arrears of revenue in Morang submitted and the man sent by Ranamardan reached here simultaneously. The contents of your letter and his report are completely different. You have written: "Arrears from the ryots have been ...<sup>x</sup> Chaudharis, Mokaddams and Mahaldars have been handed over to Ranamardan's agent." But Ranamardan's agent, as well as the personnel of the Teradal Company, have reported that two companies were sent to stop these Chaudharis and Mokaddams and bring them back. Such evasion of responsibility is leading to the loss of revenue amounting to Rs 70,000 or Rs 80,000 in the territory itself or at the hands of Amils and Bahidars. Accordingly, have your Fouzdar and Peshkar collect the arrears willingly stipulated by you and make disbursements as directed. We have deputed from here 8 Jamadars, ... and soldiers to ascertain the reasons for your dispute with the Chaudharis and Mokaddams of Bijuli Padhya, as well as to collect the arrears not stipulated by you. Place the services of one unit (Patti) of Jamadars and soldiers of the company stationed there at their disposal and let them make collections.

Magh Sudi 14, 1853 (January 1797).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 23, pp.269-270.

(b) From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Subba Dhaukal Singh.

You have compiled tax assessment records (Jammabandi) for the year 1852 Vikrama (1795 A.D.). You have handed over defaulting ryots, Chaudhars and Mandars to the agent (Ambala) of Ranamardan, and granted clearance to those who have signed bonds. Since bonds constitute evidence, those signed by defaulters whom you have granted clearance are sent herewith. Collect revenues from assesseees who have the means to make payment. Arrears due from assesseees from whom you cannot make collections shall be handed over to the new Subba. Come here with the receipts. In case you do not do so, the amount shall fall on your head.

Sunday, Falgun Badi 11, 1854 (February 1798).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 23, p. 291.

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<sup>x</sup>The official copy used for this translation has been damaged by insects and several words are missing.

Contd...



(c) From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Chaudharis, Mandars, Sairdars, Jethareiyats, ryots, Mahaldars and others of Morang district, with headquarters in Vijayapur.

In this district, you have held up the payment of a considerable amount of revenue due for the period from 1850 to 1852 (1793-1795 A.D.). In case the agent (Ambala) of Subba Ranamardan comes there to collect the arrears, pay whatever you have. Stipulate payment of the balance to the new Subba. So far we have tolerated (non-payment of revenue), bearing it in mind that you are our ryots. As soon as you receive this order, present yourself before the agent of Ranamardan, submit a statement of the arrears and complete payment. In case anybody behaves dishonestly in this matter and holds up payment, he shall be punished.

Sunday, Falgun Badi 11, 1854 (February 1798).  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 23, p. 291.

(d) From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Subba Parbhu and Subba Dasharath Khatri.

You had gone there after stipulating that you would accept liability for arrears of revenue in Morang. Subba Dhaukal Singh too has gone there to obtain bonds (from defaulters) in respect to such arrears. Ranamardan's agent has gone there for the same purpose. We have deputed an officer (Dittha) to insure that these agents do not quarrel among each other. Accept as arrears (the figure) in respect to which the outgoing agents obtain bonds, and which are regarded as actual by the Dittha. Issue receipt. In case you involve yourself in quarrels, so that the arrears cannot be collected, we shall collect the money from you, as it belongs to us.

Falgun Badi 11, 1854 (February 1798).  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 292.

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Gunpowder Factories In Nepal  
1799 A.D.

1. Pyuthan

(a) From King Girbana,

To Karbir Rana (of Pyuthan).

Find out how many villages had been assigned there previously for manufacturing gunpowder. Double the number of such villages now, and arrange for the manufacture of two pathis of gunpowder everyday. Maintain the local fort and headquarters carefully. Continue to manufacture bows and arrows. Do not create any disturbances or encroachment in the border areas from your side.

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 29.

(b) From King Girbana,

To Subba Karbir Rana of Pyuthan.

We had previously sent you an order directing that.... pathis of gunpowder should be manufactured there every day. But this quantity is not sufficient. Accordingly, utilize the sum of Rs 1080 collected as Darshan-Bhet from 4 companies to purchase sulphur and saltpeter, and make arrangements for the manufacture of 2 pathis of gunpowder every day. We shall every year depute officials to ascertain whether or not this quantity of gunpowder is being manufactured. The Amali who is appointed there shall procure sulphur and saltpeter every year and operate the gunpowder factory. Maintain stocks of gunpowder. In case the Amali does not comply with these instructions, he shall be punished with loss of life and property. The expenses incurred in manufacturing gunpowder shall be debited from the amount stipulated for payment under the contract. In case there are salt-peter deposits in that area, locate them and extract the saltpeter.

Magh Sudi 3, 1856 (January 1800).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 82.

Contd...

1. District

From State Office,

To Secretary and Director of J., - Office of Calicut.

Out of the amount of revenue stipulated from this territory for the year 1876 (1877-78,) payable to the collector and collector's work to 1876, out of the amount of revenue stipulated from District No. 1, 1877 (1878) payable to the collector and collector's work to 1878 and also amount payable to the collector of 1 police of panchayat every day, the collector and collector's officials to maintain control on the quantity of panchayat to be manufactured. The full and is specified there shall produce collector and collector every year and report to the panchayat factory. District No. 1 panchayat, in case the collector does not comply with these instructions, he shall be punished with loss of life and property. The collector's liability in manufacturing panchayat shall be cleared from the amount stipulated for payment under the contract. In case there are collector's deposits in this area, he shall also not exceed the stipulation.

From Act 1, 1876 (January 1876).  
Legal Secretary, Calicut, Vol. 26, no. 1205.

2. District

(-) From State Office,

To Secretary and Director of J., - Office of Calicut.

The 1876 factory is attached to the factory. It shall be the duty of the collector and collector's officials to maintain the 1876 factory and collector's work to 1876, out of the amount of revenue stipulated from District No. 1, 1877 (1878) payable to the collector and collector's work to 1878 and also amount payable to the collector of 1 police of panchayat every day, the collector and collector's officials to maintain control on the quantity of panchayat to be manufactured. The full and is specified there shall produce collector and collector every year and report to the panchayat factory. District No. 1 panchayat, in case the collector does not comply with these instructions, he shall be punished with loss of life and property. The collector's liability in manufacturing panchayat shall be cleared from the amount stipulated for payment under the contract. In case there are collector's deposits in this area, he shall also not exceed the stipulation.

From Act 1, 1876.  
Legal Secretary, Calicut, Vol. 26, no. 27.



(b) From King Girbana,

To Subba Gardan Khawas and Subba Dashrath Khatri.

We had previously sent you an order directing that ... pathis of gunpowder should be manufactured in Vijayapur every day. But this quantity is not sufficient. Accordingly, purchase sulphur and saltpeter worth Rs ... and start manufacturing gunpowder quickly. Out of the amount of revenue stipulated from that territory from Baisakh Badi 1, 1857 (April 1800), purchase sulphur and saltpeter worth Rs 11,880, and make arrangements for the manufacture of 20 pathis of gunpowder every day. We shall every year depute officials to ascertain whether or not this quantity of gunpowder is being manufactured. The Amali who is appointed there shall procure sulphur and saltpeter every year and operate the gunpowder factory. Maintain stocks of gunpowder. In case the Amali does not comply with these instructions, he shall be punished with loss of life and property. The expenses incurred in manufacturing gunpowder shall be debited from the amount stipulated for payment under the contract. In case there are saltpeter deposits in that area, locate them and extract the saltpeter.

Math Sudi 3, 1856 (January 1800).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 79.

#### 4. Doti

From King Girbana,

To Subba Loknath Pande of Doti.

We had previously sent you an order directing that ... pathis of gunpowder should be manufactured in Kumaun every day. But this quantity is not sufficient. Accordingly, purchase sulphur and saltpeter worth Rs ... and start manufacturing gunpowder quickly. Out of the amount of Darshanbhat revenue collected from 7 companies, purchase sulphur and saltpeter worth Rs 2,160, and make arrangements for the manufacture of 4 pathis of gunpowder every day. We shall every year depute officials to ascertain whether or not this quantity of gunpowder is being manufactured. The Amali who is appointed there shall procure sulphur and saltpeter every year and operate the gunpowder factory. Maintain stocks of gunpowder. In case the Amali does not comply with these instructions, he shall be punished with loss of life and property. The expenses incurred in manufacturing gunpowder shall be debited from the amount stipulated for payment under the contract. In case there are saltpeter deposits in that area, locate them and extract the saltpeter.

Magh Sudi 3, 1856 (January 1800).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 80-81.

Contd...

5. Majhkirat

From King Girbana,

To Subba Jayant Shahi of Majhkirat.

Your territory is situated on the border. It is therefore essential to establish a gunpowder factory there. Purchase sulphur and saltpeter from India (Madhesh) worth Rs 1,080½ at local prices from the amount of revenue stipulated from Baisakh Badi 1, 1857 (1800 A.D.). Manufacture 2 pathis of gunpowder every day. Treat the matter as urgent. We shall every year depute officials to ascertain whether or not this quantity of gunpowder is being manufactured. The Amali who is appointed there shall procure sulphur and saltpeter every year and operate the gunpowder factory. Maintain stocks of gunpowder. In case the Amali does not comply with these instructions, he shall be punished with loss of life and property. The expenses incurred in manufacturing gunpowder shall be debited from the amount stipulated for payment under the contract. In case there are saltpeter deposits in that area, locate them and extract the saltpeter.

Magh Sudi 3, 1856 (January 1800).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol 24, p. 81-82.

6. Kumaun

(a) From King Girbana,

To Subba Ajav Khawas (of Kumaun).

Find out how many villages had been assigned there previously for the manufacture of gunpowder and double the number now to manufacture 10 pathis of gunpowder every day. Look after the local forts and headquarters properly. Sent messengers to different areas both inside the country and outside and collect information. Assign a suitable village to meet the requirements of the magazine and place it under the jurisdiction of the Sardars. Do not create any disturbances or encroachment in the border areas from your side.

Poush Sudi 5, 1856.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 30-31.

Contd...

(b) From King Girbana,

To Subba Ajav Khawas.

We had previously sent you an order directing that ... pathis of gunpowder should be manufactured in Kumaun every day. But this quantity is not sufficient. Accordingly, purchase sulphur and saltpeter worth Rs ... and start manufacturing gunpowder quickly. Out of the amount of revenue stipulated from that territory from Baisakh Badi 1, 1857 (April 1800), purchase sulphur and saltpeter worth Rs 12,420, and make arrangements for the manufacture of 21 pathis of gunpowder every day. We shall every year depute officials to ascertain whether or not this quantity of gunpowder is being manufactured. The Amali who is appointed there shall procure sulphur and saltpeter every year and operate the gunpowder factory. Maintain stocks of gunpowder. In case the Amali does not comply with these instructions, he shall be punished with loss of life and property. The expenses incurred in manufacturing gunpowder shall be debited from the amount stipulated for payment under the contract. In case there are saltpeter deposits in that area, locate them and extract the saltpeter.

Magh Sudi 3, 1856 (January 1800).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 78.

#### 7. Purchase Of Saltpeter

(a) From King Girbana,

To Dinanath Upadhyaya, Subba of Saptari and Mahottari.

We hereby sanction Rs 5,000 from the revenue stipulated by you for the year 1857 (1800 A.D.) from that district for the purchase of sulphur required for gunpowder factories in Kantipur and Nuwakot. Purchase the sulphur at rates current in India (Madhesh) and have it delivered at Ritaura. The expenditure shall be debited while auditing the accounts.

Chaitra Badi 14, 1856 (March ~~1857~~ 1799)  
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 210-211.

(A similar order was sent on the same day to the Subba of Bara and Parsa for the purchase of sulphur worth Rs 500).

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Revaluation Of Bandha Lands

Bandha referred to lands which were mortgaged by the chief of the western hill districts to their subjects against payments in money. During 1852-53 Vikrama (1795-96 A.D.), the government of Nepal made arrangements to reduce the size of such mortgaged lands, obviously in consideration of the current level of prices. The area of land which the Bandha-holder was permitted to retain was fixed at a rate based on the grade. The following example will make this clear:-

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Chintamani Padhya Poudyal.

Formerly, when the Raja of Tanahu was still on the throne, he obtained Rs 120 from you and granted 40 muris of paddy-land, including the Mulpani-Khet of 30 muris at Bandipur and the Chhatiwani-Khet of 10 muris at Naubis in addition to the attached homestead and other lands. A royal order indicating the boundaries was issued accordingly for this Bandha grant. You had so far been utilizing these lands. In 1852 Vikrama (1795 A.D.), officers (Tharthote) were deputed to scrutinize Bandha land grants made under the royal seal in areas west of the Chape and Mersyangdi rivers. They made a study of the average rates prevalent there and determined the lands to be of Chahar grade. They therefore fixed the rate at Rs 6 per muri of lands. Accordingly, a surplus of 20 muris was calculated in the grant on the basis of the old royal order. This surplus is hereby taken away and appropriated by the government. The officers have granted what should be granted, taken away what should be taken away and fixed (new) boundaries. In consideration of the previous payment of Rs 120, we hereby confirm as Bandha part of the Mulpani-Khet to the east amounting to 20 muris, along with the lands attached thereto. Utilize these lands with due assurance. We shall take back the lands whenever we pay the money back.

Ashadh Sudi 2, 1853 (June 1796).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 23, p. 7.

The following table contains a partial list of royal orders issued on the same day revaluating Bandha lands in Tanahu and elsewhere in the western hill region. Fractions have been ignored in respect to both amounts of money and area of land.

Contd...

| Money Paid | Area of<br>Bandha Hold-<br>ing | Grade of Land<br>Now Determined | Rate Per Muri<br>of Land Now<br>Fixed | Total Surplus<br>Area Confis-<br>cated          |
|------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Rs         | (In muris)                     |                                 | Rs                                    | (In muris)                                      |
| 150        | 48                             | Doyam                           | 8                                     | 30  |
| 400        | 80                             | Abal                            | 9                                     | 36  |
| 117        | 30                             | Abal                            | 9                                     | 17  |
| 950        | 200                            | Sim                             | 7                                     | 84  |
| 200        | 80                             | Abal                            | 8                                     | 55  |
| 226        | 80                             | Doyam                           | 8                                     | 51  |
| 4,066      | 1,040                          | Sim                             | 7                                     | 459   |
| 1,128      | 292                            | Doyam                           | 8                                     | 150   |
| 50         | 20                             | Sim                             | 7                                     | 12  |
| 1,316      | Homestead land                 | -                               | -                                     | Area needing 8<br>muris of seeds for<br>sowing. |
| 403        | 170                            | Doyam                           | 8                                     | 119   |
| 1,878      | 570                            | Doyam                           | 8                                     | 335   |
| 3,073      | 790                            | Doyam                           | 8                                     | 405   |
| 121        | 40                             | Chahar                          | 6                                     | 19  |
| 720        | 180                            | Abal                            | 9                                     | 100   |
| 60         | 30                             | Chahar                          | 6                                     | 20  |
| 445        | 113.3                          | Chahar                          | 6                                     | 37  |
| 423        | 80                             | Doyam                           | 8                                     | 27  |
| 962        | 180                            | Chahar (?)                      | 8                                     | 59  |

Contd...

|         |       |     |       |   |     |
|---------|-------|-----|-------|---|-----|
| Lamjung | 1,001 | 200 | Abal  | 9 | 88  |
| ,,      | 435   | 80  | Sim   | 8 | 28  |
| ,,      | 641   | 120 | Abal  | 9 | 48  |
| ,,      | 471   | 90  | Sim   | 7 | 22  |
| ,,      | 724   | 180 | Doyam | 8 | 88  |
| ,,      | 216   | 40  | Abal  | 9 | 16  |
| ,,      | 301   | 57  | Sim   | 7 | 14  |
| ,,      | 1,679 | 60  | Sim   | 7 | 36  |
| ,,      | 1,501 | 350 | Doyam | 8 | 162 |
| ,,      | 574   | 120 | Sim   | 7 | 38  |

Regmi Research Collections,  
Vol. 23, pp. 1-23.

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Rana Bahadur Shah's Arrival In Banaras<sup>x</sup>

1. Secret Consultation 26th June, 1800, No. 70

Intelligence received from Benares dated 28th May, 1800

Received 4th June, 1800 --

Yesterday Rajah Run Bahadur Shah, Rajah of Nipaul, with Bulbudder Sah and Kudirp, a person of rank, four equipages of females and 50 men, arrived at Benares. The circumstances that occasioned the Rajah's flight from Nipaul are these -- He wanted to resume his seat on the Musnud of Nipaul. But the ministers, the Cauzee, the Rauny, etc. observed to him that he had voluntarily abdicated the Government in favour of another, and that his resumption of it was inadmissible. This incensed the Rajah greatly against the officers of Government, and he gave orders for beating some and putting others to death. They and the body of the people have in consequence of all this denounced him as a mad man and declared that he ought to be confined, the Rajah hearing of this quitted Nipaul and repaired to Benares.

Secret Consultation 26 June 1800, No. 71

Translation of an Arzee from Boidinaut Sing of Banillee to Mr. Revell,

Custom Master at Manglee, and received by that Gentleman the 22nd May 1800

In the preceding year, Rajah Run Bahadur Shah Rajah of Nipaul, about 17 years of age, having abdicated his Government nominated his son as his successor to the Raj and assumed the habit of a Mendicant, reserving to himself the whole authority and power.

A short time subsequent to his abdication he sentenced several innocent persons to death and also barbarously blinded others by pouring hot oil into their eyes, and Mutilated others by cutting off their ears and noses; such are the excesses which he carried on for a twelve month.

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<sup>x</sup>Source: A Transcription of The Documents Contained In Reel One of The Microfilms Obtained From The Archives Of India And Preserved In The Tribhuwan University Library, Kirtipur.  
Prepared By: Ludwig F. Stiller, S.J., 1971, pp. 1-6.

Contd...

The consequence is that several of the Principal People and of the lower class of Inhabitants of Nipaul have quitted that country and taken up their Residence at Benares, and at the foot of

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pp.2

the hills. The Principal officers have leagued with the present Rajah (an infant) and the Rannee and having gained over the army to their interests have intimated to the former Rajah that he had abdicated the Raj and appointed his son to succeed him, that their Submission and obedience was alone due to the Person at the head of the Raj; that his conduct had been marked with violence and cruelty and that they would not acknowledge his authority. The Former Rajah being consequently greatly incensed summoned that part of the army which continued attached to His Interest and prepare to commence hostilities, and Military preparations are in fact carrying on by both Parties; and hostilities are daily expected; Should the Former Rajah prove victorious the Nobility will put him to death, and again should victory incline to the other party the present Rajah will be thrown into Confinement; In short the utmost animosity Subsists

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pp.3

between the Parties and it is generally reported among the Subjects of Nipaul that if the Company's government should wish to obtain possession of the country, it might be effected with the greatest facility during these commotions; a Person came to me one day and observed that if the Company's Government would place Confidence in him, he would take such measures with respect to the Road and the assistance which an army would require that the Company's Forces might march with ease and safety, for purpose, to the Capital of Nipaul.

A True Translation

N.B. Edmunston

3. Secret Consultation, 26th June, 1800, No. 85

The Governor General

Secret Department

The Governor General informs the Board that the Rajah of Napaul, having been compelled, apparently in consequence of the revolt of his

Contd...

principal Chiefs, to take refuge in the Honble Company's territories, has lately arrived at Benares. The Governor General on being apprized of this occurrence, directed Mr. Vanderheyden his Agent at Benares, to treat the Rajah of Napaul with the most distinguished attention

(pp. 2)

and Honor.

The Governor General conceiving that this event may lead to the improvement of the connection already subsisting between the two Governments, and being of opinion that it is extremely desirable, with a view in particular to Commercial advantages, to Cultivate that connection by any practicable means, His Lordship thinks it will be expedient to appoint a person to attend the Rajah, at Benares, in order to enable his Lordship to avail himself of any incidents which may arise, favorable to the British interests at the Court

(pp. 3)

of Napaul. His Lordship therefore proposes that Captain W.D. Knox, who accompanied Lieutenant Colonel Kirkpatrick, in the Embassy of the latter, to Napaul, in the year 1792, be appointed to that situation and that the following Letter of instructions be accordingly sent to him.

The Governor General proposes, that Captain Knox's Salary be fixed at 1500 Rupees p. month, and that he be allowed to charge upon Honor for such additional Servants and extra Expenses, as the nature of his Employment may render necessary.

Secret Consultation, 26th June, 1800, No. 86

Captain Knox

Sir,

1. I have the honor, by direction of the most Noble the Governor General in Council to inform you that his Lordship thinking it proper to depute a person to attend the Rajah of Nepaul (who has lately taken refuge in the Honble Company's territories) has been pleased to Select you for this purpose.

2. You will therefore proceed with all convenient expedition to Benares where the Rajah at present resides. The Agent of the Governor General at Benares has been apprized of your appointment.

...

Contd...

3. I have the honor to enclose two Letters from the most Noble the Governor General: one of them to the Rajah of Nepaul, and the other to Gujrauje Misser, the Gooro, or Spiritual Guide of the Rajah -- These Letters (of which copies (pp. 3) and translations are enclosed for your information) are in answer to letters lately received by his Lordship from those persons.

4. You are to deliver these letters in person; and you will take this occasion to give the Rajah of Nepaul such verbal assurances, on the part of the Governor General, of the friendly disposition of the Company's Government towards him, as shall correspond with the Sentiments entertained in his (pp. 4) Lordship's Letters.

5. The Governor General is not in possession of any accurate, authentic details relative to the late transactions in Nepaul, or the causes of the Rajah's flight from there. His Lordship is of opinion that the interests of the British Government do not permit the Governor General to remain an indifferent Spectator of such events in a State bordering, to so wide an extent, on the possessions of the Company (pp. 5)

and of his Excellency the Vizier, and with which our political as well as Commercial relations are of some magnitude. But until he shall have obtained a clear insight into the actual State of affairs in Nepaul, and have ascertained the respective views and dispositions of the exiled Prince and of the ruling power in that Country, His Lordship will not be enabled to decide definitely on the measures

(pp. 6) which it may be expedient to pursue in order to improve and consolidate the connexion already subsisting between the two Governments,

6. You will therefore endeavor to procure a full and faithful account of the dissensions which have for some time past agitated the Kingdom of Nepaul and you will transmit the same to the Governor General as soon as possible.

7. You will receive

(pp. 7)

with readiness and attention whatever communication or proposals the Rajah of Nepaul may be desirous of conveying through you to the Governor General; but you are to abstain from giving the Rajah any encouragement to expect that the Company will assist in reestablishing his authority by force, untill you shall receive express instructions to that effect.

Contd...

8. If the Rajah should signify a desire to  
(pp. 8)

employ the mediation of the British Government with the ruling power in Nepal for the purpose of accomplishing his peaceable restoration to his Kingdom, you are authorized to receive proposals from him to that effect: and to open immediately a correspondence with the principal officers of the actual Government in Nepal, in order to discover their temper and to ascertain the terms upon which they would be willing, under the guarantee of the British Government, to readmit the Rajah.

(pp. 9)

9. It is not improbable that the Chiefs of Nepal may manifest an early desire of establishing a correspondence with you, In this case you will meet their advances and endeavor to engage them to submit their differences with the Rajah to the arbitration of the British Government.

10. The primary object of the Governor General in Council, is, to be instrumental, by his mediation, in the reestablishment of the Rajah's authority:

(pp. 10)

and by this Service to conciliate the Gratitude of that Prince and to obtain from him in return, such concessions as should be effectually calculated to improve and secure the Commercial Intercourse of the Two Countries. Hithert little or no advantage has resulted to either State from the Commercial Treaty concluded between them in 1792: the Jealousy or the unenlightened Views of the Government of Nepal having in a great measure counteracted the objects of

(pp. 11)

that arrangement.

11. But perhaps the restoration of the Rajah through the interposition of the British Government is not the sole means by which the objects stated in the preceding Paragraph may be accomplished. If this measure should appear either impracticable or inexpedient, the Views of the Governor General may still be attainable by taking proper advantage of the inquietude which the honorable

(pp. 12)

reception given to the Rajah of Nepal, and his Residence under the protection of the Company is likely to excite in the Chiefs of that Country,

Contd...

12. The Governor General thinks it unnecessary to enter into any further explanation of his Views with regard to Nepaul until the information which he has required or until fresh circumstances shall enable his Lordship to furnish you with more distinct and detailed Instructions. The directions

(pp. 13)

contained in the foregoing Paragraphs will suffice for your Guidance in the present stages of your mission.

13. The Governor General has been pleased to fix your Salary (which is to commence from this date) at 1500 Sicca Rupees per Month; besides which you will be allowed to charge on honor for such additional Servants, and Extra Expenses as the nature of your Employment may render necessary.

14. The Collector of

(pp. 14)

Benares will be authorized to advance to you any sum not exceeding three Months Salary towards defraying your Expenses.

23rd June, 1800

I have the honor, etc.

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(S.B.M.)



Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: March 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 3,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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Imposition Of Fines On Gurungs And Lamas, 1810 A.D.

From King Girban,

To Gurungs and Lamas in the region situated west<sup>x</sup> of the Trishul-Ganga river

You had requested a royal charter confirming your stipulation to provide men from every household on Jhara basis to accompany Kaji Nayan Singh Thapa to Kangra, revere Brahmans and refrain from taking the flesh of dead cattle in case you were granted exemption from the obligation to supply hides and skins to the Megjin (magazine). (The late King Ran Bahadur) had issued a charter accordingly.

Fines have now been imposed on persons who have acted in violation of this charter. We hereby promulgate these regulations for collecting such fines. The proceeds of collection shall be transmitted to us through Ditta Bishram Khatri.

1. No fines shall be imposed on persons who have acted in accordance with the provisions of the charter granted in 1862 (1805 A.D.), revere Brahmans and do not take the flesh of dead cattle.
2. Fines shall be imposed on persons who violate these provisions, do not revere Brahmans, take the flesh of dead cattle and do not supply hides and skins to the Megjin. Issue orders to the effect that Brahmans shall be revered in the future, and that the flesh of dead cattle shall not be used as food.
3. Fines shall be imposed on persons who use the flesh of dead cattle as food but revere Brahmans. Issue an order to the effect that those who revere Brahmans shall not take the flesh of dead cattle.
4. Impose fines at the following rates on persons who violate the provisions of the charter of 1862 (1805 A.D.), and declare that in the future too they will not revere Brahmans and will take the flesh of dead cattle. Issue an order to the effect that they have been classified as Praja and shall be under obligation to supply hides and skins to the Megjin.

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<sup>x</sup>The same regulations were promulgated for the region situated east of the Trishuli river also on the same date. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 36, pp. 696-697.

| <u>Class of House-hold</u> | <u>Rate of Fine</u> |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| Abal                       | Rs 5                |
| Doyam                      | Rs 3½               |
| Sim                        | Rs 2½               |
| Chahar                     | Rs 1½               |

5. We hereby sanction the following expenditure on the salaries of the employees deputed for this purpose. Such expenditure shall be met from the income which accrues from (these fines).

|                          |        |
|--------------------------|--------|
| 1 Tahasildar (Collector) | Rs 50  |
| 1 Tahabildar (Cashier)   | Rs 35  |
| 1 Bahidar (Clerk)        | Rs 35  |
| 6 Pyadas (Peons)         | Rs 150 |

Poush Badi 12, 1867  
(December 1810)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 38, pp. 699-700.

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Purification Ceremonies Of Tamangs And Bhotes,  
1810 A.D.

From King Girban,

To Tamangs and Bhotes in the region situated east<sup>x</sup> of the Trishul-Ganga river.

We have received reports that some of you, Tamangs and Bhotes, employ Lama (priests) to perform purification (ceremonies) at births and deaths, while others (perform the purification ceremonies yourself), without employing a Lama (priest). Fines shall be imposed on those who observe two customs (thiti) in the same caste (jat). We hereby promulgate regulations for the collection of these fines. The proceeds of collection shall be transmitted to us through Dittha Bishram Khatri,

1. Fines shall not be imposed on those who perform purification (ceremonies) at births and deaths by employing a Lama.
2. Fines shall be imposed at the following rates on those who perform purification (ceremonies) themselves at births and deaths, without employing a Lama. Issue orders to the effect that they shall employ a Lama to perform purification (ceremonies) at births and deaths.

| <u>Class Of Household</u> | <u>Rate of Fine</u> |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| Abal                      | Rs 3                |
| Doyam                     | Rs 2                |
| Sim                       | Rs 1½               |
| Chahar                    | Rs 1                |

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<sup>x</sup>The same regulations were promulgated for the region situated west of the Trishuli river also on the same date. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 38, pp. 700-702.

Contd...

3. We hereby sanction the following expenditure on the salaries of the employees deputed for this purpose. Such expenditure shall be met from the income which accrues (from these fines).

|                          |     |        |
|--------------------------|-----|--------|
| 1 Tahasildar (Collector) | ... | Rs 50  |
| 1 Tahabildar (Cashier)   | ... | Rs 35  |
| 1 Bahidar (Clerk)        | ... | Rs 35  |
| 5 Pyadas (Peons)         | ... | Rs 135 |

Poush Badi 12, 1867

(December, 1810)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 38, pp. 697-698

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Inspection Of Nepal-India Borders, 1810 A.D.

From King Girban,

To the Darogas, Rauts, Mahouts, Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Jethraiyats and ryots of all districts where elephant offices (Hattisar) have been established.

We have deputed Ram Bux Singh to collect information relating to the boundaries. Provide him with all such information that you may have in your knowledge.

We have ordered that not a single inch (Bilast) of the territory which has remained under our occupation and where we have been collecting revenue shall be vacated, and that lands which are under our unauthorized occupation shall not be retained. In case attempts are made from India (Moglan) to occupy lands which are under our lawful occupation, and force is used, use force to repulse (such aggression). In case you vacate a single inch of the territory under our occupation, you shall be held to have committed a serious crime.

Marga Sudi 1, 1867

(November 1810)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 38, p. 645.

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List Of Presents Sent To Chinese General, 1792 A.D.

List of presents sent to Tung Thwang (Chinese General) on Aswin Sudi 19, 1849 Vikrama (September 1792) through Krishnananda Padhya and Mahidhar Jaisi.

|   |     |  |
|---|-----|--|
| <u>Masino</u> rice of Nuwakot                   | ... | 20 muris                               |
| White <u>Tauli</u> rice                         | ... | 40 ,,                                  |
| <u>Hakuwa</u> rice                              | ... | 40 ,,                                  |
| Crushed rice (of <u>Masino</u> rice of Nuwakot) | ... | 5 ,,                                   |
| Crushed rice (coarse)                           | ... | 5 ,,                                   |
| Cardamom (wated with sugar)                     | ... | 6 dharnis                              |
| <u>Raksi</u> (liquor)                           | ... | 3 muris                                |
| Gourds, snake-gourds, cucumbers, etc            | ... | 50 loads                               |
| <u>Laddu</u> and other sweetmeats               | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Ghyampa</u> ) |
| Other ( <u>Darbes</u> ) sweetmeats              | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Handi</u> )   |
| Mango jelly                                     | ... | 1 jar ( <u>ghada</u> )                 |
| Tamarind jelly                                  | ... | 1 jar ( <u>matia</u> )                 |
| Gelding goats                                   | ... | 11                                     |
| <u>Mas</u> lentils                              | ... | 15 muris                               |
| Rock salt                                       | ... | 30 dharnis                             |
| Turmeric powder                                 | ... | 10 pathis                              |
| Cumin seed                                      | ... | 10 pathis                              |

|  |     |     |  |
|--|-----|-----|--|
| Cinnamon                               | ... | ... | 2 dharnis                              |
| Saffron                                | ... | ... | 4 ,,                                   |
| Almond                                 | ... | ... | 5 ,,                                   |
| Sugar lumps (batasa)                   | ... | ... | 5 ,,                                   |
| Garlic                                 | ... | ... | 30 ,,                                  |
| Sweetmeats                             | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Ghyampa</u> ) |
| <u>Ainthe</u> sweetmeats               | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Handi</u> )   |
| Milk cakes ( <u>Khiuni</u> )           | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Handi</u> )   |
| Myrobalan jelly                        | ... | ... | 2 jars ( <u>ghada</u> )                |
| Pickled mango                          | ... | ... | 1 ,, ,,                                |
| <u>Bari</u> made of <u>Lapsi</u> fruit | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Handi</u> )   |
| Wild boar                              | ... | ... | 2                                      |
| Male buffaloes                         | ... | ... | 55                                     |
| <u>Rahar</u> lentils                   | ... | ... | 10 pathis                              |
| Ghee                                   | ... | ... | 50 dharnis                             |
| Asafoetida                             | ... | ... | 5 ,,                                   |
| Black pepper                           | ... | ... | 5 ,,                                   |
| Small cardamom                         | ... | ... | 3 ,,                                   |
| Coconut                                | ... | ... | 100 ,,                                 |
| Dates ( <u>Chhohara</u> )              | ... | ... | 7 ,,                                   |

Contd...

|                                |     |     |   |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|---|
| Sugar                          | ... | ... | ... (?)                                 |
| Curd                           | ... | ... | 500 earthen pots<br>( <u>Kahatara</u> ) |
| Duck's eggs                    | ... | ... | 200                                     |
| <u>Jeri</u> sweetmeats         | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Ghyampa</u> )  |
| <u>Sanapatibhog</u> sweetmeats | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Handi</u> )    |
| <u>Gulsakar</u> jelly          | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Handi</u> )    |
| Pineapple jelly                | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Ghada</u> )    |
| Jam of rose leaves             | ... | ... | 1 earthen vessel<br>( <u>Matia</u> )    |
| Pigs                           | ... | ... | 25                                      |

Regmi Research Collections,  
Vol. 25, p. 206.

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Sthiti Malla And His Sons<sup>1</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

\*\*\*\*\*

Opinion is divided sharply on the question of which dynasty Sthiti Malla actually belonged to. A list of his predecessors as given in the Vamshawali is given below: According to the Vamshawali, Sthiti Malla was born in the Malla dynasty which had fled to Tirhut after the invasion of Nanyadeva. Shyamsimhadeva, a descendant of Harisimhadeva, had no son. He had given his daughter in marriage to Jayabhadra Malla, who thereby became his heir-apparent. Jayabhadra Malla, belonged to the Malla dynasty referred to above. He was succeeded by the following Kings:

- |                   |                               |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Naga Malla     | 2. Jayajagat Malla            |
| 3. Nagendra Malla | 4. Ugra Malla                 |
| 5. Ashok Malla    | 6. Sthiti Malla. <sup>2</sup> |

Jyoti Malla, a descendant of Sthiti Malla, has written a drama entitled Muditakuwalayashwa, which lists his predecessors as follows:-

- |                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Harisimhadeva | 2. Ballarasimha |
| 3. Deva Malla    | 4. Naga Malla   |
| 5. Ashok Malla   | 6. Sthiti Malla |

Thus, while the Vamshawali describes Sthiti Malla as the descendant of a princess of the dynasty of Harisimhadeva, Jyoti Malla seeks to prove that Sthiti Malla directly descended from the son of Harisimhadeva.

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter VII: "Sthiti Malla Tath: Unka Chhoraharu." (Sthiti Malla and His Sons), pp. 73-88.

2. Daniel Wright, p. 181.

Contd...

Pratap Malla, Jyoti Malla and other Malla Kings who ruled over divided Nepal during the seventeenth century appear to have tried to write their own Vamshawalis. Jyoti Malla wrote a Vamshawali in which the list of his predecessors began with Nanyadeva, and in which he claimed himself as belonging to the Karnata dynasty. On the other hand, Pratap Malla in his two stone inscriptions, has attempted to trace the origin of his dynasty to Ramachandra and claimed to be a descendant of Nanyadeva.<sup>3</sup>

A study of the above two lists would show that there is nothing in common between them, except that they give the same name of Sthiti Malla's father.

Pratap Malla and Jyoti Malla were well-known Kings and scholars of divided Nepal. They liked to prove that their dynasty was very ancient and best known. This probably explains why both of them have written spurious Vamshawalis, claiming themselves to be the descendants of Nanyadeva.

The Vamshawali describes Sthiti Malla as the descendant of a princess of a royal family belonging to the Karnata dynasty in order to stress the point that he had become King. But this story too does not seem to be reliable. A stone-inscription dating back to 533 Nepal era (January 1413), belonging to Jyoti Malla, second son of Sthiti Malla, has been discovered at the temple of Pashupatinath.<sup>4</sup> In this stone inscription, Jyoti Malla has not indicated that he had connections of any kind with the Karnata dynasty. He simply says that he belonged to the Surya and the Raghu dynasties, and that he was the second son born to Sthiti Malla from Rajalladevi.

On the basis of the above-mentioned evidence, it may be assumed that Sthiti Malla had no connection whatsoever with the Karnata dynasty, and that his descendants had arbitrarily attempted to prove themselves to be the descendants of that dynasty. Nor can they be regarded as the descendant of those Kings of Nepal who held the title of Malla. Sthiti Malla had become King of Nepal after deposing Arjun Malla, the last King in the Malla dynasty through a conspiracy, for the Vamshawalis do not indicate that he had any relationship with Arjun Malla.

However, one puzzling point is that Pratap Malla has not even referred to the name of Sthiti Malla in any of the two genealogies which he had recorded in his stone inscription.<sup>5</sup> In one stone inscription, located near the Hanuman Dhoka Palace, he has given the name of Yaksha Malla as his predecessor, who, according to him, was born in Harisimhadeva's dynasty.

3. Bhagawan Lal Indraji, Nos. 18 and 19.

4. Bhagawan Lal Indraji, No. 16.

5. Bhagawan Lal Indraji, No. 18.

In the other stone scription,<sup>6</sup> located at Pashupati, however, he has described Yaksha Malla as the son of Harisimhadeva. It is worth noting why Pratap Malla should have omitted the name of his own illustrious predecessor in his own Vamshawali. It is possible that he had made such an omission in order to prove that there had been no greater King than him in his dynasty, or far fear lest the mention of Sthiti Malla should create the impression among the people that Sthiti Malla had been a great King in that dynasty.

The question then arises as to which dynasty Sthiti Malla really belonged to. A close study would seem to show that he belonged to a Kshetriya community of Nepal whose members had "Malla" as their surname. Though he did not belong to a royal dynasty, he probably came of an influential family. He was born presumably in a family of noblemen. The rule of the real Malla dynasty appears to have been ushered in during his period. By the real Malla dynasty we mean those Kshatriyas who held the surname of Malla. They are numerous in modern Nepal also.

Sthiti Malla was married to Rajalladevi, daughter of the daughter of King Rudra Malla of Nepal. He thereby occupied a top position among the prominent persons of Nepal. It was undoubtedly by virtue of this marriage that he had been able to have access to the politics of Nepal. Contemporary records indicate that Sthiti Malla was very proud of being the husband of Rajalladevi. In Manavanyayashashtra, written in 500 Nepal era (1380 A.D.), that is, some time before Sthiti Malla's ascension to the throne of Nepal, the author deals in detail with the matrimonial relationship between Sthiti Malla and Rajalladevi. The play entitled Bhairavanda, which was enacted on the occasion of the wedding of Dharma Malla, the first son of Sthiti Malla, also depicts the happy conjugal relationship between Sthiti Malla and Rajalladevi. Several other examples can be cited to prove this. Bendall has speculated that Sthiti Malla had obtained his right to rule the country only by virtue of his marriage with Rajalladevi. It was actually Rajalladevi who had the birthright to rule over the country, and this was why she got precedence in these manuscripts.

There is no reason to disagree with this view if Sthiti Malla had ascended the throne immediately after his marriage with Rajalladevi in 474 Nepal era (1354 A.D.). Rudra Malla, maternal grandfather of Rajalladevi, had also made Ari Malla King and ruled the country jointly with him. This shows that Rudra Malla also did not have sole authority in the State. When the Kings who ruled after Ananta Malla died childless, there was a tussle among their relatives for the throne. Rudra Malla had put an end to that tussle by placing Ari Malla on the throne. He was without a son when he died in 1326 A.D. It was during this year that Harisimhadeva invaded Nepal. There had been an invasion from Aditya Malla also before that year

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6. Bhagawan Lal Indrajī, No. 19.



Taking advantage of this invasion, different political factions in Nepal started conspiring for power with the daughter of Rudra Malla as their leader. For some time, they engaged themselves in civil war. Finally, in 1337 A.D., Ari Malla established his supremacy, defeating all these political factions. Ari Malla was succeeded by Rajadeva, whose successor was Arjuna Malla. It does not appear logical to assume that Rajalladevi was the direct heir to the throne. For one thing, she was the daughter of the daughter of Rudra Malla. Secondly, three Kings had already ruled Nepal after the death of Rudra Malla.

A full account of the life of Sthiti Malla is still not available. However, available evidence indicates that he had originally been an ordinary person and had later attained an eminent position through his own merits. Sthiti Malla began to enjoy a more exalted and dignified position consequent to his marriage with Rajalladevi. Since his marriage with Rajalladevi had proved to be the cause of his good fortune, contemporary writings must have prominently referred to her name along with his.

It is possible that Sthiti Malla received princely honors after his marriage with Rajalladevi. In 1372 A.D., he was Mahasamanta of Kathmandu during the reign of Arjun Malla, who had ascended the throne some time before 1363, succeeding Rajadeva, his father. Arjun Malla was probably a weak King, who depended much on Sthiti Malla for carrying on the affairs of the State. Having occupied a top position in Nepal for a long time, Sthiti Malla had become very powerful. Convinced that Arjun Malla was a weak King, Sthiti Malla started conspiring against him. In a work entitled Haravanyayashashtra, written in 50 Nepal era (1380 A.D.), Bhadgaun is described as Sthiti Malla's Kingdom. This indicates that Arjun Malla might have transferred Sthiti Malla from Kathmandu as Mahasamanta of Bhadgaun. Available evidence indicates that within a short time thereafter, a revolt erupted against Arjuna Malla, who was subsequently either forced to flee or was killed. Sthiti Malla thereupon ascended the throne and the people too gladly accepted him as King.

In this context, it is necessary to know the condition of Nepal during the rule of Sthiti Malla. The Newar community at that time was divided into four groups. Those engaged in agriculture were known as Jyapus, while those whose occupation was trade were called Udas. The other Newars, who had connections with the royal family, had direct hands in the management of the affairs of the State, or possessed extensive land-holdings, were called Malla, Thakuri, Mulami and Bharo. The most respected among the four groups of Newars were Bauddha Acharyas, who performed priestly functions for Jyapus and Udasas. They followed the Vajrayana Tantra cult, in which meat and wine were freely consumed by all. Traditional religious practices were also followed. Caste discriminations were confined to the upper cases.

Contd...

After the emergence of Muslim rule in India, Hindus from north India migrated to the hill regions during the 12th or 13th century. Those who migrated to the western areas reached a sparsely-populated region, while those who reached Nepal Valley arrived in a region which was populous and had a developed culture. The majority of those who thus migrated to Nepal belonged to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. According to the Vamshawali, people belonging to the Brahman, Bhandel, Achar, Jaisi, Vaidya and Rajaka castes had accompanied Harisimhadeva to Nepal. Naturally, the exodus of people belonging to different castes from the Tarai into a small area gave rise to social and economic disparities. In the social sphere, it created matrimonial problems, which posed the question of determining the social status of the offspring. In the economic field, a competition ensued between the immigrants and local artisans, thereby hampering the development of architecture in many ways.

The immigrants from Madhesh (i.e. India) entered into Nepal with the intention not to return home in view of the political situation prevailing there. They had brought with them their skills and talents. It was therefore natural for the Newar community who had a passion for knowledge, and were skilled artisans themselves, to develop affectionate relations with the immigrants. There was considerable scope for benefit to the Newars as a result of their contacts with the immigrants.

Sthiti Malla gave top priority to the task of solving the social and economic problems created by the influx of outsiders into Nepal. He formulated new regulations for this purpose, for which he became famous in the history of Nepal.

Full particulars of the regulations or arrangements made by Sthiti Malla are not available. However, on the basis of the Vamshawali, it is possible to ascertain the following facts.

Sthiti Malla had consulted five scholars which he had invited from north India to formulate his new regulations. They were Kirtinath Upadhyaya, Kanyakuhja, Raghunath Jha Maithili, Shree Nath Bhatta, Mahi Nath Bhatta and Ram Nath Jha. All social reforms were introduced by Sthiti Malla in accordance with their advice. The very names of these scholars suggest that the reforms undertaken by him were based on the principles of Hindu religion. No thought was given to the adverse effect of these reforms on the Buddhist community. Hindu laws were actually imposed on the Buddhist.

In ancient India, artisans were a class in themselves. It has been discovered that in big cities artisans were even divided into different classes which lived in different localities. The basis of class division was their skills, not caste status as is the case with the Hindus. People were possibly divided along similar lines during the Lichchhavi rule in

Contd...



were made for punishment in the form of fines. Accordingly, Sthiti Malla introduced an elaborate penal code providing for fines and gradually made improvements in it.

Sthiti Malla also introduced agrarian reforms. According to a school of thought current in ancient India, all rights on lands belonged to the King. Accordingly, in Nepal, nobody was then entitled to dispose of Birta land or house obtained by him from the King. But Sthiti Malla enforced regulations permitting transactions in such lands and houses. Even though reforms were effected in the agrarian field in this manner, the authority wielded by the King in a feudal set-up was further consolidated. This is apparent from the regulation under which people belonging to all the four communities were required to accompany the dead body of a King in the funeral procession, as well as from the provision that Dipaka Raga should be played on that occasion. Similarly, the Kaha (musical instrument) was required to be played during the funeral rites of persons belonging to the upper class.

In ancient times, Nepal Valley was predominantly agricultural, but the development of commerce led to its gradual urbanization and the construction of big houses. It was therefore necessary to regulate the construction of houses in urban areas. Rules were accordingly framed classifying houses into 3 categories according to their location in lanes, streets or towns. Houses situated in towns possibly meant those located in city squares.

However, rules stipulating the requirements regarding the measurement of residential sites are not clear. According to these rules, the breadth of the site of a class 1 house was 85 haths, and that of class 2 and class 3 houses 95 haths and 101 haths respectively. The possible reason for prescribing the smallest site for houses situated in the center or square of towns was that the square was narrow and it was necessary to permit the construction of as many small buildings as possible. Similarly, the provision for the construction of bigger houses the other classes in streets and lanes respectively cannot be regarded as surprising.

Lands too were classified into four grades, each of which was measured in terms of ropani of different sizes. A ropani of land of the first grade measured 95 haths, of the second grade 109 haths, of the third grade 112 haths, and of the fourth class 125 haths. It would have been appropriate to adopt the same unit of measurement for lands of all grades, while grading them according to their productivity. But arrangements to measure different grades of lands according to different units enabled professional land surveyors to make the most of the situation. It is possible that these regulations were framed in consultation with members of Nepal's professional surveyor caste, the Bhandel.

Contd...

Previously, the rod used for measuring lands was of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  haths long, but its length was reduced by Sthiti Malla to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  haths. This arrangement was probably aimed at augmenting revenue, even though it involved considerable hardships for the people. It is clear that land prices had gone up during Sthiti Malla's time. Since the rod was of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  haths, the question arose as to whose hand (hath) should be made the basis for measuring land. To settle this question once for all, the hand of the reigning King was adopted as the basis. This system of measurement is still in vogue in Nepal. It is not known whether or not Sthiti Malla had introduced this practice.

At the time Sthiti Malla ruled in Nepal, nearly two centuries had passed since the establishment of the feudal regime of Muslims in India. The people of Nepal must have by then been acquainted with the nature of the feudal rule of the Muslims. It appears that Sthiti Malla had evolved a feudal system along the lines prevailing in India.

According to Kirkpatrick, who gives the name of Sthiti Malla as Jet Malla, Sthiti Malla had given away Jagirs to soldiers. This meant that persons granted Jagirs by the State were required to supply soldiers in the prescribed number whenever they were ordered to do so. Sthiti Malla had also distributed lands among his subjects and waived the land tax in the case of all those who were in arrears before his assumption of power. In this manner, he created a class of Birta land owners. As these people owed their affluence to Sthiti Malla, they were naturally loyal to him. It was necessary for Sthiti Malla to distribute lands among the nobility in this manner. In the conspiracy hatched by him against Arjun Malla, the nobility had sided with him in the hope of some rewards. Sthiti Malla was afraid that they might turn against him in case they were not given rewards for their collaboration.

According to Kirkpatrick, Sthiti Malla, at the close of his reign, expanded the town of Bhadgaun, where he resided.

Sthiti Malla's reign was otherwise uneventful. That is why historical records do not contain detailed reference to his rule.

According to the Vamshawali, the idol of Rama, seen at Ramghat on the bank of the Bagmati river, was installed by Sthiti Malla. On May 12, 1392 (512 Nepal era), he built the temple of Kumbheshwar and also a tank called Kumbhatirtha at Patan. Images of several gods and goddesses had been discovered in the course of digging for the construction of the tank. Sthiti Malla had these images installed in different parts of the town. The Vamshawali mentions that the idol of Unmatta Bhairav, now located at the temple of Pashupatinath, had been installed by Sthiti Malla. It is not clear how far this claim is correct. Doubts in this regard have arisen because the assertion made in the Vamshawali that the idol had been installed in 542 Nepal era (1122 A.D.) has been found to be inaccurate.





Patan, refers to, Kirti Malla as Maharajadhiraja Parameshwara Paramabhataraksya. Documents dated 521 Nepal era (1401 A.D.) and 522 Nepal era (1402 A.D.), mentioning all the three sons of Sthiti Malla, have also been discovered. The fact that Sthiti Malla had conferred the title of King (Maharajadhiraja) on all of his sons during his reign itself is very significant, as it points to the eventual disintegration of the Kingdom.

A document of 523 Nepal era (1403 A.D.) mentions the name of Dharma Malla only, but it calls him Yuvaraja (Crown Prince). Jayasimharama's stone inscription at Pashupati mentioned above also refers to Dharma Malla as "Rajadhiraja Parameshwara Paramabhataraka Yuvaraja Shree Jaya Dharma Malla". Although Dharma Malla was vested with the title of "Rajadhiraja Parameshwara Paramabhataraka", he was usually called Yuvaraja. This shows that he had obtained the title of Yuvaraja while his father was still alive.

Bondall has cited a document dated Ashadh 532 Nepal era (1421 A.D.), according to which only Jyoti Malla had become King. This is confirmed by a stone inscription dated Magh 14, 533 Nepal era (January 1413 A.D.), which was installed by Jyoti Malla at Pashupati. According to this stone inscription, Jyoti Malla was the only Maharajadhiraja at that time. It may therefore be presumed that Dharma Malla had died around 1411 A.D. He probably had no son or daughter, and consequently might have been succeeded by Jyoti Malla, his brother. Alternatively, it might not have been difficult for Jyoti Malla to become King after the death of Dharma Malla, notwithstanding the presence of the latter's son, since all the three brothers had been proclaimed as Kings during the life-time of their father, Sthiti Malla.

The stone inscription referred to above also sheds some light on Jyoti Malla. In it, he mentions the names of his parents (Sthiti Malla and Rajalladavi), of his elder and younger brothers (Dharma Malla and Kirti Malla) and of his queen (Sansaradevi). He also mentions the name of Jeevaraksha, his daughter and of Bhairava, his son-in-law. The stone inscription then refers to Yaksha Malla, who is cited as having once relieved the people of Bhadgaun from famine. These references suggest that Yaksha Malla had been vested with powers to administer Bhadgaun during the reign of his father. Yaksha Malla and Jayanta appear to be the first and second sons of Jyoti Malla, the first being his heir. Jayalaxmi was Yaksha Malla's wife. It seems that Yaksha Malla was the heir-apparent.

The stone inscription also indicates that Jyoti Malla had equal faith in Buddhism and Hinduism. It puts on record the fact that he had rebuilt the dilapidated Chaitya of Swayambhu and installed an idol of Dharmadhatu-bagishwara.

Contd...



Bendall cites a work bearing the date of 547 Nepal era (1426-27 A.D.), written during the rule of Jyoti Malla. A document confirming that he had died shortly thereafter and been succeeded by Yaksha Malla has been discovered. It was written in Ashadh 1350 Shaka era (548 Nepal era or 1428 A.D.).

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Revenue Collection In Bhirkot, 1797 A.D.

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Birya Rokaya.

We hereby appoint you as Subba with jurisdiction over the Aridaman company, succeeding Shatrusal. Collect revenues from the following sources from the entire territory of Bhirkot. Khet lands throughout the principality and other lands attached thereto, homestead taxes (Ghargani), taxes on Pakho lands (Serma), taxes on Chhap land grants (Mahasul) etc. Do not collect revenues from Birta, Bandha, Fakirana and Guthi lands of temples and roadside shelters, fees payable to the religious authority (Dharma-dhiker), buried treasure (Kalyandhan), Saunefagu levies, Walak levies, Panchakhat fines, falcons, mines, miscellaneous merchandise (Kirana), buffaloes, cotton, Chaudhari levies, wax and levies collected from Jogis and Sanyasis. With the revenue collected by you, pay the salaries of Subedars, Jamadars, Magars, Adjutants, Kotes, Hawaldars, Ambaldars, Huddedars, privates, etc and transmit Rs ... as stipulated to the treasury (Khajana) every year. Submit accounts at the end of every year and obtain clearance. Maintain not less than 210 musket-bearing troops. Enjoy this as your Jagir. With the Khet lands, villages and Khuwa lands of that territory, meet expenses on the emoluments of the army and transmit the stipulated amount every year. If Khet lands prove insufficient, reclaim waste lands and meet expenses on emoluments. Do not trouble the palace with matters concerning such emoluments. If you impose new taxes, indulge in oppression and harass the subjects, and if we receive any complaint, we shall hear both sides, obtain a confession and award appropriate punishment to the guilty person. With these emoluments, maintain watch over the military headquarters (Gaunda) assigned to you and undertake construction works. Like other companies, remain in constant attendance during wars and other emergencies and hunting expeditions and also perform duties as guards or sentries.

Ashadh Badi, 1854 (June 1797)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, pp. 495-496.

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(S.B.M.)

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: April 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 4,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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Kumaun Documents-11. Appointment Of Nar Shah As Subba

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Nar Shah.

We hereby appoint you as Subba on Amanat basis over the plains, hill and Himalayan territories of Kumaun, to succeed Jog Narayan Malla, with effect from 1849 Vikrama (1792 A.D.).

Collect all revenues in these territories, including Mal (land tax), Sair (customs and other duties), Jalkar (tax on fish and other river products), Bankar (tax on forest products), Kusahi-Bisahi (tax on Birta lands), Maryc-Aputali (escheat property), Panchakhat (fines levied on persons guilty of the five great offenses relating to bribery, smuggling, murder, cow slaughter and assault resulting in bloodshed), Danda-Kunda (judicial fines), Bihadani (levy on marriages), Sagaudha (levy on such communal facilities as pastures and sources of water), Khani (mines), Walak (homestead levies), Kachho (iron, copper or other ore) and Sirto (tribute from feudatory chiefs, sometimes also homestead levies).

Transmit the proceeds of revenue collection every year to the treasury (Khajana). Submit accounts and obtain clearance.

Your emoluments as Subba shall consist of one-sixteenth of all revenue collected there, in addition to an assignment of 1,700 muris of paddy lands as Jagir. Make (revenue) on other paddy lands and homesites.

We hereby place the Bhawani Bux Company under your jurisdiction. The lands allotted to this company through royal order in Bandipur are withdrawn, and its emoluments have been fixed at the same rates as for the old company.

With due assurance, enjoy your perquisites as Subba and discharge the prescribed functions.

Poush Sudi 2, 1849

(December 1792)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 234-235.

Contd...

## 2. Appointment Of Ajav Khawas As Subba

Royal order providing assurance to the respectable people, revenue functionaries and Kamins of Kumaun.

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To the Kamins of Chyudi.

On receiving reports that Subba Naru Shah had greatly oppressed the ryots of Kumaun, we have dismissed him from service and appointed Ajav Khawas as Subba of Kumaun.

Represent your weal and woe to (Subba Ajav Khawas). Do not indulge in revolt or treason. We have instructed Subba (Ajav Khawas) that those who do so shall be beheaded or enslaved, and that those who are loyal to us shall be rewarded.

We have received reports that military personnel (Tilanga, Dhalet) visit the villages and forcibly collect provisions (Baikar) without making any payment. You need not supply such free provisions to those who come to you without a written order from the Subba.

Bring back those who have gone abroad and let them resettle here.

Shrawan Badi 8, 1851

(July 1794)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 183.

## 3. Exodus Of Ryots From Kumaun

(a) Appeal to Jagat Bisht To Return To Kumaun

From Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Jagat Bisht.

After Kumaun came under our occupation, the local Amils oppressed the country and its inhabitants. Accordingly, you have, out of fear, left your hearth and home and gone abroad. This has been reported to us by Subba Prabal Rana. You had proved true to the salt of the former King of that country and acted as a loyal servant. By the grace of God, that territory has now come under our occupation. We require you as our servant. On receiving this royal order, come back to your hearth and home along with your relatives and kinsmen. Prove true to your salt as well as to your throne. Remain in constant attendance to perform the functions allotted to you from the Subba.

If you had, willfully or otherwise, committed any offense during the time of the former King, we hereby grant you pardon as well as succor.

With due assurance, be loyal to us and remain in constant attendance at our service. In case you have any hardship or grievance, report it through the Subba. We shall redress it..

Falgun Sudi 15, 1852

(March 1796)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 312.

(b) Appeal To Bahadur Jung To Return To Kumaun

From King Rana Bahadur,

To Bahadur Jung.

Formerly, you had, out of loyalty and affection for the former King of this country, served him. This is what a loyal person should do. You are a respectable person of Kumaun. You are a servant for us too. By the grace of God, that territory has now come under our occupation. As a servant, you had served (your former King) loyally. A respectable person should be loyal to the throne, not to any individual. Kumaun is your home. Accordingly, as soon as you see this royal order, come back to Kumaun along with your relatives and kinsmen. We hereby grant you pardon for any offense you may have committed, willfully or otherwise. With due assurance, be loyal to us and to our throne and remain in constant attendance to perform the functions allotted through our Subba in Kumaun. We hereby provide you with succor. In case you have any hardship or grievance, represent it to us through the Subba. We shall redress it.

Falgun Sudi 14, 1852

(March 1796)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 313.

(c) Appeal To Jimidars To Return To Kumaun

From King Rana Bahadur,

To Dhamis, Budhas, Panchas and Juwaris.

You are Jimidars of the State (Dhunga) of Kumaun. Whatever you may have done in the past, in the future remain in attendance before the Subba of Kumaun in the same manner as you used to owe allegiance to the State of Kumaun yesterday, and make necessary arrangements. Represent

Contd...

your hardships and grievances before the Subba, and we shall redress them. In case you commit any irregularity, you shall be awarded punishment.

Falgun Sudi 15, 1852  
(March 1796)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 314.

#### 4. Appointment Of Bam Shah As Administrator

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Chautariya Bamba Shah.

You have submitted the following petition to us:-

If the post of Subba in Kumaun is abolished and arrangements are made on Amanat basis, the interests of Your Majesty (Khamind) will be served, and the expenses due on the army here fully met. Moreover, it will be possible to transmit funds to the treasury (Tosakhana).

We have heard your petition. We have accordingly dismissed Prabal Rana from the post of Subba and summoned him here.

We hereby appoint you to report on conditions (in Kumaun) and look after administrative affairs there. Do whatever is in our interest and will bring credit to you. Keep the ryots satisfied. Take action to insure that no complaint is received and the country is stabilized. Credit or discredit will belong to you. Understand this, and act accordingly.

Magh Badi 14, 1853  
(January 1297)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 353.

#### 5. Replacement Of Subba Rudravir Shah

From King Girban,

To Subba Rudravir Shah.

We have appointed Rana Kesar Pande as Subba to look after administrative affairs in Kumaun for 1860 Vikrama (1803-4 A.D.). We have deputed.

Contd...



Gaj Kesar Pande there. Give him instructions regarding administrative affairs (in Kumaun). Hand over to him the supplies and equipment procured for the action in Garh(wal) and obtain a receipt from him. Come here with the balance of revenue collections due for the year 1859 Vikrama (1802-3 A.D.).

Appointments and dismissals are a routine affair. If you come before us, we shall provide you with livelihood. You have been dismissed now, but you will be reappointed in due course. Dispose of all matters relating to the year 1859 Vikrama (1802-3 A.D.) and come here soon.

- Chaitra Sudi 15, 1859  
 (April 1803)  
 Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 378.

#### 6. Collection Of Salami Levy

From King Girban,

To Budhas, Sayanas, Kamins and Pradhans throughout the territory of Kumaun.

We have received reports that you have shifted the burden of the Salamis levy imposed on you after our conquest of that territory to Chuni ryots. Ryots are storehouses without locks. You must pay the amount of the Salami yourself. In the future, anybody who collects the Salami levy from the ryots shall be liable to punishment.

Ashadh Badi 9, 1860  
 (June 1803)  
 Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 383.

#### 7. Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa Deputed To Kumaun

(a) Order To Dafadari Ramkrishna Joshi

From King Girban,

To Dafadari Ramkrishna Joshi.

We have deputed Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa to scrutinize particulars of revenue collected after that territory came under our authority, inquire into charges of oppression, provide assurance to the ryots, allot lands as Jagir to the Kajis and (military) companies, and thus make comprehensive inquiries (Sarbarakam Janchnu).

Contd...



We have appointed you in that territory. Complete your own work and join him (Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa). Have statements recorded accurately, without affection or favoritism, and records (Dafdar) thus prepared. In case you listen to anybody, indulge in maneuvers (Prapancha), receive bribes and suppress (information), and in case we receive reports to this effect from any source, and we are able to obtain a confession from you, we shall award you punishment according to your caste. In case you have accurate statements recorded, and discharge your functions promptly according to the regulations, we shall grant you rewards (Rijh) and confirm you in your post. We have issued instructions to this effect to him (Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa). In case you do not furnish accurate particulars, and this is revealed from any source, it may not be good for you.

Jestha Sudi 5, 1862

(May 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 523.

(b) Order To Other Local Functionaries

From King Girban,

To the Fouzdars, Kamins, Budhas, Sayanas and Pradhans of Kali-Kumaun.

We have deputed Kaji Ritudhwaj to conduct comprehensive inquiries (Sarbarakam Janchnu) in that area. Give accurate replies to his questions and also inform him what you know about the past, in such a way that these may be found correct on subsequent investigation. We have issued orders that punishment shall be awarded, including physical punishment, to anybody who colludes with others and takes bribes or suppresses information relating to any matter or source of revenue, or delays any action. Understand this and provide true information.

Jestha Sudi 5, 1862

(May 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 521-522.

(c) Salaries Of Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa And Other Officials

From King Girban,

To Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa and Haridatta Jha.

With the revenue collected through you from actual sources (Waje Rakam), we hereby sanction salaries and allowances (Bali Bhatta Kharcha)

Contd...

follows. Expenses shall be debited on the basis of receipts with scrutinizing documents relating to revenue collections made by you.

Allowance (Bhatta) to Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa ... Rs 600.

To Kharidar Haridatta Jha:

In lieu of 1100 muris of  
Khet lands ... Rs 275

Cash emoluments (Khuwa) ... Rs 200

In lieu of 200 muris of  
Manachamal Khet lands ... Rs 50

Allowance ... Rs 60

Total ... Rs 585

Allowance to Subba Bijay Singh ... Rs 200

Allowance to Bichari Jaya  
Narayan Padhya:

In lieu of 600 muris  
of Khet lands ... Rs 150

Cash emoluments ... Rs 200

Allowance ... Rs 45

Total ... Rs 395

Allowance to Bichari Ramu  
Rana (as mentioned above) ... Rs 395

... to Bichari Jivan Padhya ... Rs 395

... to Bichari Ram Narayan Jha ... Rs 395

Allowance to clerk (Lekhnya)  
Bhavadatta Jaisi:

In lieu of Khet lands  
and cash emoluments ... Rs 125

Allowance ... Rs 33

Total ... Rs 158

Salaries (Talab) and perquisites (Dasturat) of 7 persons including Mukhiya Bhitundas of clerks (Kayasth) and Nausindas to be disbursed according to their qualifications (Sorkhat).

Allowances:

|                |     |     |        |
|----------------|-----|-----|--------|
| To Bhitundas   | ... | ... | Rs 60  |
| To 6 Nausindas | ... | ... | Rs 180 |

Saturday, Jestha Sudi 12, 1862

(June 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 524-525.

(d) Appointment Of Jivan Padhya As Bichari

From King Girban,

To Jivan Padhya.

We hereby appoint you as Bichari to conduct inquiries in Kumaun. Hear and dispose of cases relating to lands and caste in such a way that justice is assured according to traditional custom. Do not indulge in injustice, favoritism or bribery. Appropriate the following emoluments and the customary perquisites:-

Rs 150 in lieu of 600 muris of paddy lands.

Rs 200 as Khuwa (cash emoluments).

Jestha Sudi 11, 1862

(June 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 539.

(e) Passport To Kaji Ritudhwaj Thapa And Other Officials

From King Girban,

To all collectors of Jagat duties in the regions situated between the Bishnumati river in the east and the Kali river in the west.

Contd...

Kaji Ritudhwaj, Kharidar Haradatta Pandit, along with Bicharis, Kayasts and Dongols, have been deputed to Kumaun. Examine the persons accompanying them and let them proceed. Make a list of these persons.

Jestha Sudi 14, 1862

(June 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 539.

#### 8. Land Surveys In Kumaun

From King Girban,

To Lachhiman Puri.

We hereby sanction Rs 315 from the Tusal revenues for 14 surveyors (Dongols) who have been deputed to conduct surveys in Kumaun, at the rate of 2 annas each per day for a period of 6 months. The expenditure shall be debited while scrutinizing the accounts.

Jestha Sudi, 1862

(May 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, pp. 14-15.

#### 9. Establishment Of Kathmandu-Kumaun Hulak Line

From King Girban,

To Amalidars, Birta owners, Brahmans, Sanyasis, Jogis, etc in Sataun.

We have established Hulak services from Kathmandu to Kumaun. Appoint 8 Hulakis in each post at intervals of 1 kosh from among the Birta owners, Jogis, Sanyasis, etc. of your area. The Amalis shall keep them in constant readiness day and night. Birta owners and others (as mentioned above) shall remain there accordingly. Make arrangements for the transportation of mail both ways without the slightest delay.

Exemption from Jhara obligations of other categories has been granted to Hulaki porters. Make the above-mentioned arrangements expeditiously. Any person who does not do so will be awarded punishment.

Tuesday, Baisakh Badi 7, 1861

(April 1804)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 468.

Contd...

(Similar orders were sent on the same date to Amalidars in Pyuthan, Dailekh, Lamjung, Argha, Kumaun, Doti, Salyan, Bhirkot, Nuwakot, Garaun, Kaski, Gulmi and other areas).

10. Confirmation Of Birta Grant In Kumaun

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Dwitiya Saraswati Bhat.

The Raja of Kumaun, Baj Bahadur Chand, had granted paddy fields and homesteads in Barhamandal, Tirkhot, Bipalo-Uchyur and Jajut as Kush Birta Bitalab through a copper plate inscription, making these (lands and homesteads) fully exempt from all taxes and levies. (Sarba-Anka-Maf). The descendants of Dwitiya Saraswati Bhat handed over this copper plate inscription to Balam Bhatta Payagudya. We hereby confirm this copper plate inscription in favor of Balam Bhatta Payagudya. With due assurance, utilize (these lands and homesteads) as Bitalab Birta and bless us.

Aswin Sudi 9, 1848

(September 1791)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 68-69.

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## Yaksha Malla And The Division Of Nepal<sup>1</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

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### Yaksha Malla And The Disintegration Of State

Yaksha Malla ascended the throne after the death of his father, Jyoti Malla, in 549 Nepal era (1428-29 A.D.). A Sanskrit work written in 1350 Shaka era (1428 A.D.) proved that Yaksha Malla had become King by that year. It states that it has been written in "a country ruled by the great King Yaksha Malla." Jyoti Malla's stone inscription found at Pashupati too indicates that Yaksha Malla ruled over Bhadgaon even during the reign of his father. It describes him as a person who had a charming personality and who had saved the inhabitants of Bhadgaon from a famine. It might therefore be presumed that Yaksha Malla was in charge of the administration of Bhadgaon while he was yet Crown Prince,

A manuscript entitled Narapatijayacharya, written around 1536 Shaka era (1614-15 A.D.) on the order of Jagajjyoti Malla, a descendant of Yaksha Malla, and King of Bhadgaon, contains an account of the Kings who ruled after Yaksha Malla. The account describes him as a victorious King who had conquered Mithila, visited Magadh and Gaya and left no enemy behind in Nepal after having defeated the Kings of the hill states. Yaksha Malla is also said in the same account to have brought under his control areas extending to Banga Desha in the east, to the Ganga river in the south, and as far to the north as can be covered in 7 days,

This account of Yaksha Malla's conquests appears to be exaggerated. Which was the Kingdom that Yaksha Malla is supposed to have conquered in the Mithila area? Perhaps he had occupied Simraungadh. This area might have been annexed to Mithila after Harisimhadewa fled to Nepal. It would not therefore be surprising if Nepal had reasserted its authority over Simraungadh during the reign of Yaksha Malla.

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter VIII: "Yaksha Malla Tatha Rajyavibhajan." (Yaksha Malla and The Division of The Kingdom), pp. 89-93.

Nepal's contacts with Banga Desha could not have been possible except through the Morang area. This leads us to presume that Yaksha Malla had probably conquered Morang as well. As for the claim that the southern borders of Yaksha Malla's Kingdom had extended to the Ganga, it seems to be only symbolic. It is claimed that Yaksha Malla had defeated the Gorkhali Kings of the western hill areas. But there is no evidence that he had vanquished Dravya Shah's dynasty as well, for Dravya Shah had founded his Kingdom in 1559 A.D., that is, long before Yaksha Malla's death. It is possible that Yaksha Malla might have defeated that King who ruled Gorkha before Dravya Shah. Regarding the claim that Yaksha Malla had extended his control as far to the north as can be covered in 7 days, it probably refers to some of his conquests in the hill areas.

According to a stone inscription dated 573 Nepal era (1153 A.D.), Yaksha Malla had built a wall and camps around Bhadgaun.<sup>2</sup> Military barracks and arms depots were also constructed within the walled town. People belonging to all castes were forced to contribute volunteer labor for the construction of this wall. It may therefore be assumed that the wall had been constructed hurriedly for ensuring the security of Bhadgaun. However, this is a pure speculation, for no other Vamshavali mentions the wall.

No historical account is available of the Kings of Nuwakot, nor is it known to what extent their Kingdom had expanded. But there is evidence that Ratna Malla, son of Yaksha Malla, had fought a war with a Bains Thakuri King of Nuwakot. In this war, the Nuwakot King was defeated and his territory was annexed by Ratna Malla. This leads us to assume that the Thakuri Kings of Nuwakot had enmity towards Nepal. It is also possible that to the east of Nepal as well, the Kiratis might have become stronger under the leadership of the same Thakuri Kings and brought pressure to bear on Nepal.

The Vamshavalis does not contain detailed references to other events which occurred during the rule of Yaksha Malla. The important event occurring during his rule was the encouragement he gave to Newars by inducting them into the temple of Pashupatinath as Bhandares. Previously, Brahmans brought from India had total control of the affairs of the temple. Although Yaksha Malla did not dare end their monopoly, he appointed a number of the residents of Patan and Kathmandu as Bhandares at the greatest temple of Nepal.

The temple of Minanath was built during the rule of Yaksha Malla. The temple of Dattatroya at Bhadgaun was constructed by Yaksha Malla and his son, Rajalla Malla.

2. Wright, pp. 188-89.



A stone inscription dated 491 Nepal era (1371 A.D.), discovered at the temple of Pashupatinath, indicates that Yaksha Malla had 6 sons. It names them as Raya Malla, Ratna Malla, Rana Malla, Rama Malla, Ari Malla and Purna Malla, in that order. Of them, only three sons, Raya Malla, Ratna Malla and Rana Malla, are well-known from the historical viewpoint. This seems to explain why the Vamshavalis tell that Yaksha Malla had three sons.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Vamshavalis, Yaksha Malla had sought to abdicate in favor of his eldest son, Raya Malla, after he became old. But the nobles, so the Vamshavalis state, disliked Raya Malla because he was an intemperate person. They wanted Ratna Malla, the second son of Yaksha Malla, to ascend the throne instead. They at first succeeded in preventing Raya Malla from succeeding his father. This account tends to confirm the view that Raya Malla and Ratna Malla were in conflict with each other during the last days of Yaksha Malla's rule, and that his nobles had been divided into two factions. After the death of Yaksha Malla, the faction supporting Ratna Malla sought to have him enthroned. But in the end their traditional sense of loyalty to the King asserted itself, and Raya Malla finally ascended the throne of Nepal. According to the Vamshavalis, Ratna Malla then shifted to Patan, where he lived for some time and later became King of Kathmandu.

After the death of Yaksha Malla, Ratna Malla and Rana Malla were probably appointed as Governors of Patan and Banepa respectively. They later started ruling as independent Kings, as Raya Malla had proved himself to be an incompetent King and become unable to assert his authority over them.

Before concluding this chapter on Yaksha Malla, it is necessary to ascertain the year in which he died. According to Wright, Yaksha Malla died in 592 Nepal era (1472 A.D.). A few other Vamshavalis too support this view. But Hitopadesh, a work written in 594 Nepal era (1474 A.D.) shows that Yaksha Malla was alive in that year. A Vamshavali in the author's possession mentions 602 Nepal era (1482 A.D.) as the year of Yaksha Malla's death. 1482 A.D. should therefore be regarded as the most probable year of his death.

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3. The assumption that Yaksha Malla had three sons is strengthened also by the work entitled Narapatijayacharya. However, further research is needed to corroborate this point.

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The Sithi Fighting

Daniel Wright writes:<sup>1</sup> "This (Siti-Jatra) takes place on the 21st of Jesh, on the banks of the Vishnumati, between Kathmandu and Simbhunath. After feasting, the people divide into two parties and have a match at stone-throwing. Formerly this used to be a serious matter, and any one who was knocked down, and fell into the hands of the opposite party, was sacrificed to the goddess Kankeshwari, who has a temple near the place. Now-a-days, however, the stone-throwing is confined to children."

Prime Minister Jung Bahadur enacted the following law<sup>2</sup> banning this practice:-

1. In the future, nobody shall engage himself in the Sithi-Jujh in the three towns of Nepal Valley. If any person does so after the enforcement of this law, he shall be fined with Rs 2½. In case he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned according to law.
2. (Formerly, people) used to fight at temples (Deumado) and river-banks (Ghatwor) in the east, west, south and north, with bows and arrows, swords, khukuris, stones, brick-bats and slings. In the future, after the promulgation of (this) order, in case anybody engages himself in this fight, he shall be fined with Rs 2½. In case he does not pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned for 15 days.

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1. Daniel Wright, History of Nepal, Calcutta: Ranjan Gupta, 1966 (Third Indian Edition), p. 24.
2. Ministry of Law and Justice, "Sithi Jujh Ko" (On the Sithi Fighting). Shri 5 Surendra Bikram Shahdevka Shasan Kalma Baneko Muluki Ain. (Legal Code Enacted During The Reign of King Surendra Bikram Shah Dev), Kathmandu: the Ministry, 2022 (1965), p. 256.

Politics And Culture In The Lichchhavi Period<sup>x</sup>

By

Baturam Acharya.

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In circa in 540 A.D., there was a revolution in Nepal, and the Abhiras introduced a dictatorial regime after dethroning Vasantadeva, grandson of Manadeva, and installing a Lichchhavi prince on the throne. In circa 550 A.D. Amshuvarma, successor of the Mahasamanta of Deupatan, Rupavarma, was born. The inscriptions of 39 Samvat installed by Amshuvarma at Deupatan, of 69 Samvat installed by Narendradeva at Yangal Tole, and of 159 Samvat installed by Jayadeva at Rashupati prove that this was a Lichchhavi dynasty. It is possible that Rupavarma assumed sovereign powers after removing the Abhiras and installing Shivadeva on the throne.

Two different types of inscriptions of Amshuvarma are found. In some, he is shown to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Lichchhavi King Shivadeva as well as Mahasamanta. This makes him like Jang Bahadur during the reign of King Surendra Bikram. In others, he is said to be wielding sovereign powers with even the crown on his head, thus replacing the lawful King, Shivadeva. In reality, Amshuvarma inherited the title of Mahasamanta in 584 A.D. and in 606 A.D. he assumed the Crown and gradually took over power. But Shivadeva was honored with the title of Bhattaraka or Maharaja, and like Tushyamitra Sunga, he remained satisfied with the designation of Senapati (Commander-in-Chief) for a couple of years. But in some coins of Amshuvarma himself, as well as in a later inscription, he is designated as Maharajadhiraja. This shows that he had adopted this title in his later years. It is possible that with the adoption of the title of "Maharajadhiraja" by Harshavardhana in North India, Amshuvarma too followed suit.

<sup>x</sup> Baburam Acharya, "Lichchhavi Kalin Rajaniti Samskriti" (Politics and Culture In The Lichchhavi Period). In: Tribhuvan Vishwavidyalaya Samskritik Parishad: Nepal. (A Collection of Articles on Nepali History and Culture), 2023 (1966).

An unprecedented event happened in the history of Nepal, when Amshuvarma became Mahasamanta of Rupavarma. In those times, passes in the central Himalayas were snowbound. Tibetans could come down to Kashmir only through the banks of the river Sindhu, and to Assam through the banks of the Brahmaputra. It is possible that the Tibetans who had come to Assam had heard about the existence of Nepal. At that time, the barbarous people of Tibet were deeply affected with nationalistic feelings and a new and powerful Kingdom was formed with Srong Tsan Gampo as ruler. In 585 A.D., at the time of Srong Tsan Gampo, the Tibetans cleared the Kerung pass and came to the Kingdom of Nepal. It was natural for the Nepali people to feel surprised when they saw the physical features, dress and language of the Tibetans. One year before the arrival of the Tibetans, Amshuvarma had taken over power in his hands. He welcomed the strange Tibetans. It is also possible that he sent Nepalis to get information about the Tibetans.

After the opening of the pass of Kerung on the banks of Trishuli river, the eastern pass on the banks of the Arun-Koshi, and the western pass on the banks of the Kali-Gandaki were used frequently. To look after these passes, Amshuvarma had to take over the Kirat and Magar regions of the Arun-Koshi and the Kali-Gandaki respectively. In this way, the boundaries of the country expanded. As if echoing the enthusiasm of the Tibetans, the Newars of Nepal, under the leadership of Amshuvarma, were successful in creating a bigger Kingdom from the Nepal of the ancient times. So Amshuvarma has a special position in the emergence of Nepal.

In 606 A.D., Harshavardhana, after conquering of the Kingdom of Maukhari, began a new era. In the same manner, Amshuvarma, ending dyarchy, put on the royal crown and introduced a new era. This indicates his independent nature. But no dispute arose between him and Srong Tsan Gampo or Harshavardhana during his life time. Amicable relations with neighbouring countries and progress inside the country indicate his efficiency as a ruler.

Two different eras are used in the inscriptions of Amshuvarma. Bhagawan Lal and others baselessly maintain that Nepal was under Harshavardhana at that time. Sylvain Levi and others similarly maintain that the era used by Amshuvarma is the Tibetan era beginning 595 A.D. Maintaining that the small Kingdom of Nepal could not have remained independent at that time, Bhagawan Lal writes that Amshuvarma was under the suzerainty of Harshavardhana, while Levi unsuccessfully tries to make him a political representative of Srong Tsan Gampo. But according to the inscription at Bhansar Hiti, Amshuvarma was proud of his unbending and independent nature. There is an indirect challenge to Harshavardhana and Srong Tsan Gampo in the assertion of his independent status. Stone inscriptions installed after Amshuvarma inform us of the removal of Udayadeva, the son of Amshuvarma, from the throne and the ascension of Jishnu Gupta to throne. If Nepal had been under Harshavardhana or Srong Tsan Gampo, any revolution of this nature would have been impossible.



The marriage of Strong Tsan Gampo with Bhrikuti, the daughter of Amshuvarma, is not even hinted at anywhere in the inscriptions of this period. But on the authority of the Tibetan Puranas, this event has been popularly accepted to be true. In the Tibetan Puranas, it is said that Srong Tsan Gampo had authorized Thonmi (the Tibetan representative) to negotiate his marriage with Bhrikuti. Shivadeva was King of Nepal at that time. It was natural for the ambitious King to link himself closely with Amshuvarma who thought it more useful to have relations with a powerful neighbor and sent his daughter Bhrikuti to Tibet for marriage. This indicates him to be a man of vision. The next year, Srong Tsan Gampo married a Chinese princess. The Nepalis thus came to know about the vast area and civilization of China. Amshuvarma and the people of Nepal were then filled with pleasure and enthusiasm. Because of her role in the propagation of Buddhism, the Nepali princess is even now honored in Tibet as Haritatora. Shivadeva's capacity of envisioning the future has made Tibet indebted to Nepal for ever for its culture.

Amshuvarma was equally proficient in warfare and the scriptures. His period is one of peace, prosperity and progress. He is even now honored in Nepali history. Many inscriptions of his time have been found and are still being found. But these inscriptions are historically unreliable. The travelogue of Yuan Chwang who visited Nepal 17 years after Amshuvarma's death shows his merits in true light. Yungang Chwang writes: "Until recent times, there was a King named Amshuvarma in Nepal. He was known for his talent and his grace. He used to respect learned men and had written a book of grammar in Sanskrit."

Amshuvarma had made Shivadeva a king only in name. But he used to show due respect to Shivadeva. Even after putting on the Crown, Amshuvarma used to address Shivadeva as "Bhattarakapada". His policy was to make the villages of Nepal autonomous, even though the country was a small one. In those times, there were only two villages in Bhaktapur. These are the modern Tulachhe and Golmadi. In 595 A.D. Amshuvarma installed an inscription according to which revenue collectors should visit these villages to collect only three taxes. Judicial authority was vested on the Pradhana of the village. An inscription at Khopasi that except for the yearly levy of a certain amount of Kamero (white earth) for the royal palace (for Kailasakuta Bhavana), the power to collect different taxes should be exercised by the village headmen. This shows that Amshuvarma had granted local powers to the cultured Newar citizens of different villages. The administration was thus decentralized.

In one of the several coins of Amshuvarma, we find the imprint of a cow with a calf on the obverse, and the word "Kamadahi", and on the reverse the word "Vaishrava" with the figure of the King. These imprints

indicate that Amshuvarma was "prosperous like Kubera" and was a foster-father to his people like a Kamadhenu cow tending her calf. Copper coins of two types were minted during the reign of King Manadeva, 100 years before Amshuvarma. No coin of the intervening period has been found. This clearly indicates that there was economic disorder in the country. But the profusion of copper "Pana" coins and even of "Purana" silver coins minted by Amshuvarma decisively proves that during his period there was development of trade and sculpture as well as economic prosperity in the country.

According to the accounts of Yuan Chwang, Buddhism and the Puranic religion were equally popular in Nepal at that time. There were Buddhist monasteries and other temples in Nepal. Only the cultured Newars had adopted formal religion, while the Kiratis had no religion. Amshuvarma had not adopted Buddhism. He was a follower of the Shaiva Tantric school and belonged to the Pashupati sect. So he was a great devotee of Shiva. But he used to show due respect to the two most popular religions prevalent in the country. The stone-inscription of Handigaun informs us that he had made equal donations to Pashupati, Changunarayan, Guptavihara, Manvihara, Rajavihara, Kharthurikavihara and Madhyamavihara. Among the religious centers mentioned in the inscriptions, most are Buddhist monasteries. This shows that Buddhism, although not the state religion, was very popular.

Only a short time before Amshuvarma, Tantrism had been introduced in Nepal. The worship of Avalokiteshwara is indicative of the introduction of Buddhist Tantrism. The oldest figure of Avalokiteshwara found in Nepal is located at Lagan Tole, and this was sculpted only a few years before the reign of Amshuvarma, as indicated in the stone inscription lying near the figure. Amshuvarma had presented his daughter Bhrikuti images of Bodhisattwa and Tara. It has been proved that the image of Pashupati, of the Shaiva Tantric school, was installed in 572 A.D. This is the starting point of the Pashupati era. The figure of Bhagawati had already been installed at Palanchok during the period of Amshuvarma. This shows that the Shakti cult too had already penetrated into the country. When Tantric cults evolved out of the Puranic religion, the worship of Shakti became more and more popular and the Shaiva Tantric and Vaishanava Tantric schools became equally popular. The Puranic religion had given importance to Brahmans and Kshyatrias only, while the Shakti cult gave equal importance to the Shudras. This shows that during the period of Amshuvarma the social atmosphere of Nepal became more and more liberal.

Contd...

There was no division of castes among the Buddhists. Followers of the Puranic religion had adopted different Tantric cults, but caste distinctions were retained by them. However, marriages might have been possible between people of different faiths. The cultured Newars followed either the Puranic or Buddhistic religion of the Aryans, but divorce and widow-marriage, which are prohibited by Arya tradition, were popular with them. Such differences between the Lichchhavis of Northern India and of Nepal were due to ties with the Kiratas.

Sanskrit was the literary language during the period of Amshuvarma. The language of the stone inscriptions in this period is pure Sanskrit. Amshuvarma himself was a scholar in Sanskrit, but this language was used only by the cultured people, so literature could not be popular among the common people. The vivid description of the Kailashakuta Bhawana at the time of Amshuvarma's grandson, Narendradeva, by the Chinese envoy highlights the developed state of the arts. The Chinese traveller has described the murals seen by him on the walls of Nepali houses. The descriptions of Narendradeva's dress show the hall-mark of fashion during this period.

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Procurement Of Muskets In Bhadgaun

From King Girban,

To Subedar Dalasur Khawas and Ijaradar Vidya.

Purchase muskets (Patharkala Laskar Banduk) from all households of Brahmins, soldiers and traders who possess them throughout the territory of Bhadgaun. Offer a price of one rupee more than the price prevailing in the market. Submit a report to us regarding the number of muskets you are able to collect. We shall then remit funds and procure the muskets.

Bhadra Sudi 6, 1862

(September 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 6, p. 389.

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Arrangements For Management Of Machchhindranath Temple

From King Girban,

We have received reports that the management of the Machchhindranath temple is not being conducted smoothly, and its property is not being looked after properly, because a new person has been appointed as Biset. We therefore reinstate the following persons as Biset, (whose families have been functioning in this capacity) from ancient times: Ratan Budha of Ilalaku and Shiva Narsing of Kwalaku. Together with Bhaju Narsing Tusu of Taudhyal as Dittha, we hereby appoint these three persons as caretakers (Chitaidar) of (the temple of) Sri Machchhindranath and its treasury, responsible for the management of the homesteads, Khet lands, forests, Bari lands, villages, etc. owned by it.

Do not covet the grains, ornaments and other property (of the temple). In case you do so, or conceal or misappropriate it, may the curse of Sri Machchhindranath fall on you. Appropriate the customary emoluments (Khangi) allocated for all the three persons, which are as follows: 12 muris of rice, 25 muris of paddy and 12 muris of wheat. Have 12 assistants (Kacha Biset) remain in constant attendance and give them the customary emoluments, which are as follows: 24 muris of rice, 25 muris of paddy and 12 muris of wheat. Retain those who remain in constant attendance and dismiss those who neglect their duties. Bhardars, Amalidars and revenue collectors (Rakamidar) shall not create any trouble on lands belonging to the god. Do not have Khet lands cultivated through the use of force, or appropriate crops. If force is used, report the matter to us.

Perform religious functions at the temple according to the customary rites. Deposit surplus revenue to the treasury. Your life and property shall be forfeited or you may be impaled, if the revenues of the temple are defalcated or any greed or sin committed in this regard. Understand this, preserve your integrity (dharma), perform functions at the temple and wish victory to us. Enjoy (your positions) from generation to generation. Any person who violates these regulations (Thiti) shall incur the five great sins (Panchamahapataka).

Bhadra Sudi 7, 1862

(September 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol.6, pp. 394-6.

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(S.B.M.)

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: May 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 5,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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Compulsory Labor Regulations, 1816

From King Girban,

To Dittha Balabhadra Padhya, Subedar Narasing Basnyat, Najiki Chandrabir Khawas, Bishram Khawas, Dat Khawas and Balu Padhya.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations regarding the exaction of Jhara (compulsory and unpaid) labor from members of all the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes in areas situated west of the Trishuli river and east of the Seti river. Act according to these regulations without making the slightest delay.

1. Previously, a royal order had been sent to the local authorities, landowners and other persons<sup>x</sup> of all the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes in these areas to go to the military headquarters (Gaunda) on Jhara basis. Among those who had not already done so, send all male persons between 15 and 60 years of age to Makwanpur on Jhara basis.
2. Persons who go to the front (Muhuda) on Jhara basis from different areas shall be awarded severe punishment according to their caste status if they do not enroll themselves in the attendance records maintained by the officials (Bhardar).
3. Issue orders to the effect that members of castes who can be recruited in the army shall come along with five weapons, others with bows, arrows, hoes, axes and other digging or cutting tools and members of untouchable castes (Paunipat) with appropriate weapons, and that everybody shall bring provisions sufficient to meet his requirements for two months.
4. Upadhyaya Brahmans who have not been employed as mail-carriers (Hulaki) shall be employed to impress Jhara labor. They shall be so deputed along with the Dittha of Jhara laborers. Jhara laborers who go to Makwanpur shall first register their names at the Itachapli office.

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<sup>x</sup> "Thum thumha ambali dwarya Jethabudha, mukhiya, Gaunkuriya, Talapya, Bitapya, Chhap-Chhapyali, Kipatiya..."

5. Those who work diligently as ordered by the officials at the front shall be granted Jagirs and other emoluments (Bali Kharcha) as well as rewards (rijh). Issue general notice to this effect.

Falgun Sudi 5, 1872

(February 1816)

Regmi Research Collections (Misc.).

This order was issued for the following areas also on the same date:-

- (1) From Sanga and Sindhu to the Dudhkoshi river.
- (2) Bhadgaun and villages and hill areas under its customary jurisdiction.
- (3) Kathmandou and do.
- (4) Patan and do.

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History Of Bhadgaun<sup>1</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali,

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Determining Chronological Order Of Bhadgaun

Jagajjyotirmalla, who ruled over Bhadgaun early in the seventeenth century, had written a book entitled Narapatijayacharcha (Swarodayadipika) in 1536 Shaka era (1614 A.D.). In it, he has given an account of his dynasty beginning from Yaksha Malla. It names the Kings of Bhadgaun who ruled after Yaksha Malla as follows:-

- |                |                    |                     |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Raya Malla  | 2. Bhuwana Malla   | 3. Prana Malla      |
| 4. Bipra Malla | 5. Trailokya Malla | 6. Jagajjyoti Malla |

A drama entitled Muditakuvalayaswa, composed by Jagajjyoti Malla in 1628 A.D., also gives a list of the Kings of Bhadgaun starting from Nanyadeva. The names of the Kings who ruled after Yaksha Malla, as mentioned in this list, correspond to the list mentioned above.

A manuscript of Geetagevinda, written in 616 Nepal era (1496 A.D.), mentions that it was written during the rule of Raya Malla. No other definite date relating to Raya Malla has been found.

According to the Vamshavalis, Bhuwana Malla, son of Raya Malla, was also known as Subarna Malla. However, no written record concerning Bhuwana Malla's rule is available, and so no definite dates are known. The only event mentioned in the Vamshavalis is that a famine had broken out during his rule around 633 Nepal era (1513 A.D.). No information regarding the

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter IX: "Bhadgaun Ko Itihas Ka Kalanirnaya" (Chronology of Bhadgaun), pp. 94-100.

Contd...

year of Bhuwana Malla's death is available. However, it is known that his death was followed by a brief period of dual rule by Jita Malla and Prana Malla.<sup>2</sup>

Bendall has referred to a stone inscription dated 644 Nepal era (1524 A.D.), which was discovered at Thaiba village. This inscription too proves that Jita Malla and Prana Malla jointly ruled over Bhadgaun. The preface to Khanda-Khadyatika indicates that this joint rule lasted until 654 Nepal era (1534 A.D.). A work entitled Dravyanirnayanama Nighantu tells us that Prana Malla had become the sole King in 658 Nepal era (1538 A.D.). Another manuscript too reveals that Prana Malla ruled during 665 Nepal era (1545 A.D.).

Prana Malla was succeeded by Bipra Malla, who was also known as Bishwa Malla. No manuscript mentioning the date of any event occurring during his rule is available.

Bipra Malla or Bishwa Malla was succeeded by his son, Trailokya Malla, who was also called Tribhuwana Malla. Bendall has cited a stone inscription dated 692 Nepal era (1572), installed by Bipra Malla, which he says he had seen at Balachhe Tol in Bhadgaun. He has also referred to another stone inscription of 705-6 Nepal era (1585-86 A.D.), seen by him at Thimi.

Jagajjyoti Malla became King after Trailokya Malla or Tribhuwan Malla. Many inscriptions and manuscripts mentioning dates of events which occurred during his reign have been discovered. The most among them is the copper inscription located at the Taleju Temple in Bhadgaun. It is dated 731 Nepal era (1611 A.D.), which may have been the year of Trailokya Malla's accession to the throne. Narapatijayacharya was written in 1936 Shaka era (1614 A.D.) by Vamshamani Sharma on the order of Jagajjyoti Malla. Stotrasarasangraha was written by Jagajjyoti Malla himself in 746 Nepal era (1626 A.D.). Sangeetabhaskara was another book written by Bangamani (Vamshamani ?) in 751 Nepal era (1631 A.D.) on the order of Jagajjyoti Malla.

- 
2. Lalit Jang Sijapati has cited a stone inscription dated 642 Nepal era, installed at the Mahalaxmi waterspout in Bhadgaun. It contains the words "during the reign of Rana Malla, Bira Malla and Jita Malla." Hence it can be assumed that a joint rule prevailed in Bhadgaun even before Prana Malla joined it. It is also worth noting that the Vamshavalis describe Bhuwana Malla as having ruled over the country after dividing it into equal villages.

Contd...



751 Nepal era (1631 A.D.) was the last year of Jagajjyoti Malla's rule. This is substantiated by the discovery of a coin dated 752 Nepal era (1632 A.D.) and bearing the name of Jagatprakasha, his son. 752 Nepal era (1632 A.D.) was probably the first year of Jagatprakasha's rule.

The Vamshavalis generally refer to Naresha Malla's rule during the interregnum between Jagajjyoti Malla and Jagatprakasha Malla. But the evidence cited above does not prove this. The fact that Jagajjyoti Malla had been succeeded immediately by Jagatprakasha Malla itself constitutes evidence that no King by the name of Naresha Malla had ruled at that time in Bhadgaun. It is necessary to ascertain why Naresha Malla's name is generally referred to in most of the Vamshavalis. A stone inscription dated 769 Nepal era (1649 A.D.), installed by Pratapa Malla at Hanumandhoka, contains a sentence<sup>3</sup> which is primarily responsible for the erroneous impression that one Naresha Malla had ruled over Bhadgaun. This sentence has been interpreted to mean that Naresha Malla was a King of Bhaktagrama. But the actual surcastic meaning of the phrase Bhaktagrama-naresha Mallanripati is "Malla, the King of Bhaktagrama." The Malla Kings are thus depicted here as Kings of just a village. It deliberately omits the name of any King of Bhadgaun, for it was felt that to mention the name of any King would be inconsistent with the personal dignity of the author.

Jagatprakasha Malla's rule started in 752 Nepal era (1632 A.D.). He appears to have had a long reign. A coin dated 783 Nepal era (1663 A.D.), shows that Jagatprakasha Malla was alive until that year. One of the stone inscriptions of 787 Nepal era (1667 A.D.), belonging to Jagatprakasha Malla has been cited by Balachandra Sharma in Adikavi Bhanubhakta. A drama entitled Madan Charita, composed by Jagatprakasha Malla in 790 Nepal era (1670 A.D.), has been discovered. He must have died sometime after 790 Nepal era.

The exact year in which Jitamitra Malla, had succeeded Jagatprakasha Malla, his father, is not known. It is probable that he had become King before 802 Nepal era (1682 A.D.). Manuscripts written by him until 816 Nepal era (1696 A.D.) are available.

Coins bearing the name of Bhupatindra Malla, son of Jagatprakasha Malla, and minted in 816 Nepal era (1696 A.D.), have been discovered. Several manuscripts written during his reign have also been found. The

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3. "Bhaktagramanaresha Mallanripatirdwantebhamenambhia".

last of these was a drama entitled Vidyavulapa, which was written by him in 841 Nepal era (1721 A.D.). The first coin minted in 842 Nepal era (1722 A.D.), that is, during the reign of his son, Ranajit Malla, has been discovered.

Chronology

|  |     |  |
|--|-----|--|
| 1. Raya Malla  | ... | 616 Nepal era (1496 A.D.)                |
| 2. Bhuwana Malla                                       | ... | 633 ,, ,, (1513)                         |
| 3. Joint rule of Rana Malla, Bira Malla and Jita Malla | ... | 642 ,, ,, (1522)                         |
| 4. Dyarchy of Jita Malla and Prana Malla               | ... | 644 ,, ,, (1524 A.D.)                    |
| 5. Prana Malla   | ... | 658 ,, ,, (1542 A.D.)<br>(665-1545 A.D.) |
| 6. Vipra Malla or Vishwa Malla                         | ... | 1572 Nepal era (1585-86 A.D.)            |
| 7. Trailokya Malla alias Tribhuwana Malla              | ... | x            x            x              |
| 8. Jagajjyoti Malla                                    | ... | 731-751 Nepal Era (1611-31 A.D.)         |
| 9. Jagatprakasha Malla                                 | ... | 752-800 Nepal era (1632-80 A.D.)         |
| 10. Jitamitra Malla                                    | ... | 802-816 Nepal era (1682-96 A.D.)         |
| 11. Bhupatindra Malla                                  | ... | 816-842 Nepal era (1696-1722 A.D.)       |
| 12. Ranajit Malla                                      | ... | 842-889 Nepal era (1722-69 A.D.).        |

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Kumaun Documents-II1. Ijara Grant To Ranakesar Pande and Gajakesar Pande For Revenue Collection

From King Girban,

To Subba Ranakesar Pande and Gajakesar Pande.

We hereby grant you an Ijara for the collection of all revenues, including the following, in the plains, hills and Himalayan territories of Kumaun, replacing Hastadal Shah and Rudravir Shah, for a 3-year period from Baisakh Badi 1, 1860 to Chaitra Sudi 15, 1862 (April 1803 to 1806):

Mal (land tax), Sair (customs and other duties), Jalkar (tax on fish and other river products), Bankar (tax on forest products), Kusahi-Bisahi (tax on Birta lands), minting of coins, one-fourth of proceeds from the sale of elephants, Maryo-apatuli (escheat property), Panchakhat (fines levied on persons guilty of the five great offenses relating to bribery, smuggling, murder, cow slaughter and assault resulting in bloodshed), Danda-Kunda (judicial fines), Bihadani (levy on marriages), Sagaudha (levy on such communal facilities as pastures and sources of water), Khani (mines), Walak (homestead levies), Ughauni Paghauni (miscellaneous taxes and levies), Kachho (iron, copper or other ore) and Sirto (tribute from feudatory chiefs, sometimes also homestead levies).

Disburse the monthly salaries of the personnel of 7 companies, as well as the allowances and perquisites (Mamuli Kharcha) to the personnel of the companies, including auxiliaries (Saguta) and the Sardars stationed there, as disbursed by Hastadal Shah and Rudravir Shah heretofore.

In addition, transmit Rs 14,001 every year, making a total amount of Rs 42,003 during the 3-year period, to the Toshakhana treasury according to the prescribed installments and obtain clearance.

For granting (Jagir land) assignments to the troops, reclaim one thum and 8 khets of land.

With due assurance, administer the territory and remain devoted to our service. Act according to the regulations and transmit the stipulated amount. Appropriate whatever surplus amount is left.

Ashadh Badi 9, 1860

(June 1803)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 20, p. 90.

Contd...

2. Kumaun Administrative Regulations, 1803 A.D.

From King Girban,

To Subba Ranakesar Pande.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations so that you may go to Kumaun and act in such a manner as to strengthen the State and make it prosperous, promote our interests, bring credit to you, make the country populous and facilitate the collection of revenue. Go to that territory and act as follows:-

1. Provide succor and assurance to the ryots of different villages who have fled and make the country populous.
2. Hold consultations with and keep Dafdaris, Budhas, Sayanas, Kamins, Pradhans Parsaris and ryots satisfied. Make the territory populous in this manner and collect revenue.
3. In case (the inhabitants of) Byas and other areas in the Himalayan (Bhot) regions do not pay their taxes, and murder the officials deputed there to collect revenue, send troops there and kill those who do so, but do not enslave members of their families. Punish the ryots, bring them under your control, and thus collect revenue. We hereby direct that though appointments and dismissals are made on Baisakh Badi 1 all over the country, these shall be made on Aswin Sudi 1 in Tamakhani and Byas-Bhot.
4. Pay monthly salaries to the personnel of 7 companies at the same rates as had been paid by Hastadal Shah and Rudravir Shah. Dismiss those Subedars and Jamadars who do not obey orders and commit lapses in their official duties, and promote their subordinate sword-bearing (Tarbariya) officials to the vacant posts. Give appropriate rewards to those who are diligent and perform meritorious work.
5. If Jagirdars and the personnel of 4 companies who receive appointments here reach there within 7 months and assume their duties, take action according to the existing rules. But if such persons remain here of their own accord because of any reason, dismiss them. Pay salaries from the amount of Rs 14,000.00 to those who are stationed in Kumaun; we shall remit the expenses. In case they leave (Kathmandu) but make a delay on the way and do not reach (Kumaun); dismiss them. (Their) Jagir assignments shall be granted to those who are stationed in Kumaun.

Contd...

6. In case Birta, Guthi or Jagir land grants are made (in ~~Kumaun~~) after your appointment is confirmed, or additional Bhardars or troops are deputed from here according to need, other than those currently stationed there, the allowances paid to them, and revenue accruing from lands so granted as Birta, Guthi or Jagir, shall be remitted from the stipulated amount of Rs 14,000.
7. Repair and construct both new and old forts (gadhi, kila), bridges (sanghu) and palaces. The expenses incurred therein shall be scrutinized and remitted from the proceeds of the sale of elephants.
8. Confirm lands granted as Birta to Brahmans in the areas situated west of the Bheri river by lawful (tikait) Kings during their reign in case (the beneficiaries) have been in continued possession thereof without any dispute. In case it is proved that (such Birta lands) had been granted by other persons, or are being occupied forcibly, obtain a confession and confiscate and utilize such lands. Report the matter to us. In case we send a royal order (Lalmohar) granting the land (to the possessor), give him possession.
9. In case any person obtains a royal order without the advice of the Subba in any matter relating to Kumaun, such order shall be complied with if it does not reduce revenue, is not inconsistent with the rules and is appropriate. In case such order is not appropriate, keep the royal order in your possession and comply with it. Report the matter to us in detail.
10. In case any Sardar, Subedar or other person commits mistakes in any matter, thereby causing a loss in revenue, such loss shall be recovered from him.
11. During 1857 and 1858 (1800 and 1801 A.D.), four annas (in the rupee) had been collected in addition to the amount paid in 1848 (1791 A.D.). The country has been ruined since this irregular levy (kacha) has been made permanent (Paka). Accordingly, make collections at the rates prevalent during the period from 1848 to 1856 (1791 to 1799 A.D.). Military personnel shall appropriate (their emoluments) at the same rates.
12. Capture elephants through shares and Khedah operations. Retain those that are suitable for use as Fanait (?) and sell the rest. Transmit the amount of the sales proceeds in excess of Rs 14,000 to us. Expenses incurred on the monthly salaries of mahouts and feed for the elephants shall be met from this amount (of Rs 14,000). During the first year,

Contd...

meet these expenses yourself; in subsequent years, do so from the sales proceeds of elephants. The Subba shall appropriate the fees due to the Daroga (of elephants).

13. Transmit to us the proceeds of the Darshan-Bhet levy collected from the personnel of the 7 companies in excess of Rs 14,000.
14. In the event of war or natural calamity, we shall grant remission for reasonable expenses.
15. Repair and maintain forts and fortresses in areas west of the Bheri river. Keep the troops satisfied. Ascertain the hardships and grievances of the people and maintain order. We hereby grant you authority to dismiss any person who commits any mistake in affairs of State, after reporting the matter to us.
16. In case any soldier stationed in Kumaun, or any other person in that territory, commits any offense, obtain a confession from him according to the rules of the Court (Kachahari) and sentence him to death, loss of caste or exile, according to the nature of the offense. In case any person commits any sin out of ignorance, have him undergo expiation according to the scriptures. We shall confirm such action.

Ashadh Badi 9, 1860

(June 1803)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 20, pp. 91-94.

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The Cultural Heritage of Nepal<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

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The origin of civilization in Nepal probably dates back to six or seven hundred years prior to the commencement of the Vikrama era. While there is no record to establish how extensive was the territory of ancient Nepal, there is no doubt that its center was Kathmandu Valley and that its original inhabitants were the Kirats. The foundation of Nepali nationalism was already laid in the ancient age, when a group of Kirati inhabitants of this valley felt the impact of the Aryan civilization which had penetrated into Nepal from India. References to Nepal are found even in ancient Indian literature. Kautilya's Arthashastra as well as the Mula-barvastibadaviya, referring to Nepal, say that "sandwiched between Tibet and India, Nepal is famous for trade in wool." These references also establish the fact that Nepal's relations with India are age-old and also that the impact of the Indian culture had begun to be felt on Nepali culture from ancient times.

The Christian era had hardly started when the Lichchhavis, who were of Indian Aryan stock, migrated to Nepal and integrated themselves with the Kirats, the original inhabitants. In course of time, they became rulers of Nepal. They had arrived in Nepal in very small numbers, and so adopted all the social customs, manners and rules of the Kiratis. From this fusion of Kirat and Aryan culture emerged a distinct and separate culture. It was a refined and polished form of Aryan culture. Thereafter the Aryans of India began to call these Lichchhavis aliens on the ground that they had mixed themselves with the "non-Aryans" of Nepal. As a result, the Nepalis felt determined to remain culturally aloof from India, despite geographical contiguity.

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya "Nepal Ko Sanskritik Parampara" (The Cultural Heritage of Nepal), Gorkhapatra, Bhadra 15, 2020 (August 31, 1963).

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It is surprising how the snowbound routes of the Himalayas were opened up as early as the medieval age. At this time, King Srong Btsan Gambo of Tibet was expanding his empire and Mahasamant Amsuvarma was all in all in Nepal. When the snow-covered routes of Himalayas were opened up, Nepal, which had so far been maintaining relations with one side only, now had the opportunity to turn to another side as well. Now the Nepalis began to travel not only to Tibet but also to China. As a result of the establishment of contact between Nepal and Tibet, the Nepali and Tibetan cultures began to influence each other. First the Nepalis propagated their civilization and culture in Tibet and then the Tibetan propagated Buddhism among the inhabitants of the northern areas of Nepal. Constituting thus a bridge between the Tibetan and Indian cultures, it was natural for the Nepali culture to feel the impact of the Tibetan culture as well. The Nepali culture too underwent a revolutionary change under the impact of the Tibetan culture. Subsequently, the art, dress, manners, etc in Nepal too underwent modifications. However, the heritage of the Nepali culture remained intact.

The rise of the Tantrik sect both within the Hindu religion and Buddhism is an important event of the medieval period. The Pashupat sect emerged in Nepal during this period. Both these sects had originated from India. But mutual exchanges continued between the Shaiva Tantrik and the Buddhist Tantriks in Nepal. Later Bhairav, Tara and other deities belonging to the Buddhist Tantrik sect were adopted by the Shaiv Tantrik sect as well. Similarly, the Buddha Tantrik sect adopted Matsyendra Nath, belonging to the Shaiv Tantrik sect, worshipping it by the name of Avalokiteshwar. This fact also illustrates the cultural synthesis that exists between Hinduism and Buddhism in Nepal.

Till the medieval age, art constituted the basic element of the Nepali culture. This is the reason why the Nepalis were recognized mainly as artists by the Indians and Tibetans at that time. Nepali culture then felt the impact of another culture which led to changes in its very form. This new culture flowed from the west to the east.

At the time when the Lichchhavis had established their rule in Nepal, some Khasas shepherds of Aryan stock, had settled in western Nepal and established the independent state of "Kartipur" which consisted of the present western region of Nepal, Kumaun and Garhwal. In spite of inaccessible hills and forests as well as the obstacle created by the powerful Lichchhavis of Nepal, who tried to prevent the Khasas from advancing to the east, they somehow succeeded in reaching the eastern region of Nepal. Later the boundary of their state extended to Mustang in the hills as well as to the Tarai. Their state which was established on the basis of their distinct culture, survived till the end of the medieval period.

During the fourteenth century, many Indians started migrating to western Nepal to escape the Moghul rule in India. As they did not come to Nepal willingly or in a single big group, they could not propagate their language and culture in Nepal and had therefore to adopt the culture of the original inhabitants. However, the local culture, e.g. Khasa culture, too was affected by the culture of these new-comers. The Khasa culture felt the impact of the Indian culture. The manners and customs of the local inhabitants began to be influenced by Indian customs and usages. As a result, the Khasa culture too underwent a change in course of time. This mixed culture spread all over the Gandaki and Kirat regions. Gradually it assumed a martial character.

King Prithvi Narayan Shah did not respect the Newari culture alone. He also aimed at bringing about a fusion in all the various cultures existing in Nepal and thereby bringing about cultural unity in the country. It was on the strength of this cultural unity that Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors were able to build modern Nepal.

Therefore it is clear that the present Nepali culture was built through fusion and harmony among the various races and cultures in different stages. Today the entire Nepalis are bound by a single culture and this is the culture that sustains the national unity among them.

#### The Mudad-Bhyadni Payment

From King Girban,

To Ghilungya Dhewa.

Your wife was killed by the Mostangi by sorcery (Jadu). The Mostangi has confessed his guilt and paid a fine. It has been represented to the palace that formerly, during the reign of the Kings of Jumla, in case anybody committed murder by sorcery, payment called Mudad-Bhyadni should be collected from him. Accordingly, as is the custom, we hereby permit you to collect the perquisites which the Mostangi Dhewa used to collect in the Legu-Khola area of Chharka in consideration of his crime in murdering your wife, and appropriate the proceeds as Mudad-Bhyadni. With due assurance, collect and appropriate these payments in the customary manner and remain constantly at our service.

Falgun Badi 30, 1867

(February 1811)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 38, pp. 737-738.

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King Prithvi Narayan Shah's Letters  
To Ramakrishna Kunwar Rana<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

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In 1937 Vikrama (1880 A.D.), Subba Buddhiman Singh, while working for Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh, made an index of 15 letters written by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Ramakrishna Rana and retained a copy for himself. It is possible that the index only contained summaries of the letters. 20 years ago, I was able to get a copy of this index from Subba Buddhiman Singh's nephew, Dittha Shyam Raj Wanta of Khanchok, Gorkha. Three letters summarized in this index are as follows:-

1. When Kalu Pande was killed in Kirtipur, I had felt disheartened, thinking that I had not been able to conquer the three towns of Nepal. This has now been accomplished through the force of your wisdom and your sword. Were I to give you anything for this achievement, not even half of this Kingdom would be sufficient. I hereby grant you Simbhu and the adjoining areas, as well as Dhulikhel to be enjoyed from generation to generation. I felt very grieved when your younger brother was killed in Timal. I now depend upon you to invade the Kirat region.

Kirtipur,

Wednesday, Aswin Badi 5..

2. We are pleased to receive your letter informing us that you have defeated the enemy, who had entered into Majhuwa, Kulum, and Mahadingla-Pauwa. You have also informed us of the number of those

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, "Aitihāsik Patra Sankhya 2, 3, ra 4: Shri 5 Prithvi-narayanshabata Ramakrishna Kunwar Rana Lai Lekhoka." (Historical Letters Nos. 2, 3 and 4 written by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Ramakrishna Kunwar Rana). Purushartha (Nepali, Monthly), Year I, No. 2, Magh 2006 (January 1950), pp. 52-53.

Contd...

killed and those wounded in the battle. The other day, we had despatched 21 jars of gunpowder and 5,000 shots. Now we are again sending you 20 jars of gunpowder, 6,825 shots,<sup>x</sup> 750 pieces of steel and 900 flints. Distribute the same.

Kantipur,

Sunday, Magh Badi 5.

(This letter was addressed to Amar Singh Thapa).

3. We have learnt from your letter that you have invaded the Kirat region and killed 400 or 500 enemies. You have done very well. I am very pleased with you. In view of your performance in conquering Nepal and the Kirat region, you are hereby designated as chief among the Sardars. In recognition of your work, I have sent 22 suits of clothes as a reward. Wear them. Suits have been sent to other Sardars and Subbas as well. Peruse the list of recipients and distribute the suits accordingly. 25 guns have also been sent to you.

Kantipur,

Falgun Badi 9.

### Explanation

These letters do not mention the Vikrama year when they were written. However, it was on Bhadra 13, 1829 Vikrama (August 29, 1772) that Ramakrishna Kunwar had crossed the Dudhakoshi river to invade King Karna Sen's Kingdom of Chaudandi, which comprised the Kirat region and Saptari. It can therefore be assumed that these letters were written in 1829 Vikrama (1772 A.D.). In the first letter, Prithvinarayan Shah praises the wisdom and valor displayed by Ramakrishna Rana during his occupation of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, which together comprise Nepal Valley. It also expresses condolence over the death of one of Ramakrishna Kunwar's brothers in the Timal battle. An index of a letter, sent by King Rana Bahadur Shah in 1843 Vikrama (1786 A.D.) to Jayakrishna Kunwar, another brother of Ramakrishna Kunwar, has been discovered. This, as also the account of the defeat inflicted by Ramakrishna Kunwar on the army of Makwanpur on Ashwin 8, 1819 Vikrama (1762 A.D.), proves that another of his brothers had been killed in the Timal battle. The name of Ramakrishna Kunwar's brother killed in Timal had not yet been, ascertained, much less of the account of his bravery.

<sup>x</sup>The words "Tola 45" occur after "shots". The meaning is not clear.



The second letter shows that Gorkhali troops had fought at various places in the Majhkirat region. It also shows that they had used flint muskets in these battles. The letter refers to the grant of clothes as a reward to 22 Bhardars and officers who had fought gallantly in these battles. The first among them was Ramakrishna Kunwar. Second in order of seniority was Sardar Amar Singh Thapa. Among the recipients of the clothes were Class III Officers. They were Shiva Narayan Khatri, Ranashur Bisht and Dalapati Khawas. The remaining 17 persons might have been Subedars and Jamadars.

It was not without purpose that Prithvi Narayan Shah had deputed Ramakrishna Kunwar to occupy Karna Sen's Kingdom. Karna Sen had been trying to help the English to occupy Nepal. Prithvi Narayan Shah had sent Ramakrishna Kunwar to invade Karna Sen's Kingdom primarily with the aim of thwarting him in that attempt. Ramakrishna Kunwar, a religious-minded person, offered to lead this fight, with the objective of eradicating all vices which had been spread in the country at that time by foreigners.

Prithvi Narayan Shah used to confer the title of Sardar to military commanders. The emoluments of a Sardar consisted of 8,000 muris of Khet lands, which fetched, on an average, an income of 2,000 muris of paddy annually. The powers of a Sardar at that time were not less than those of the generals of today. Commanders or Sardars worked for the prosperity of their country through the training acquired by them in the country itself.

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Chronology Of Shah Kings

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali<sup>x</sup>

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In an introduction to Gorkha Vamshavali, Yogi Naraharinath gave the total period of the reign of 10 Shah Kings, from Dravya Shah to Narabhupal Shah, as 182 years and 7 months. The breakdown is as follows:-

| <u>Name of King</u> | <u>Regnal Years</u> |             | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|
|                     | <u>Shaka</u>        | <u>A.D.</u> |              |
| 1. Dravya Shah      | 1481-92             | 1559-70     | 11 years     |
| 2. Purandar Shah    | 1492-1527           | 1570-1605   | 35 years     |
| 3. Chhatra Shah     | 1527-28             | 1605-6      | 7 months     |
| 4. Rama Shah        | 1528-55             | 1606-33     | 27 years     |
| 5. Dambar Shah      | 1555-64             | 1633-42     | 9 years      |
| 6. Krishna Shah     | 1564-75             | 1642-53     | 11 years     |
| 7. Rudra Shah       | 1575-91             | 1653-69     | 16 years     |
| 8. Prithvipati Shah | 1591-1638           | 1669-1716   | 47 years     |
| 9. Birabhadra Shah  | 0                   | 0           | 0            |
| 10. Narabhupal Shah | 1638-64             | 1716-42     | 26 years     |

<sup>x</sup>"Shah Vamshaka Kehi Rajaharuka Rajyakalka Vishayama Vichar" (Thoughts On The Regnal Years Of Some Kings Of The Shah Dynasty). Ancient Nepal, No. 9, October 1969, pp. 33-35.

Contd...

This makes a total period of 182 years and 7 months.

Recent findings make it necessary to revise this traditional chronology. According to a document published by Yogi Naraharinath in Itihasa Prakasha (Book I, p. 40), King Rama Shah had established a monastery in Shrawan 1558 Shaka (1636 A.D.), thus disproving the Vamshavalis' claim that he reigned only until 1555 Shaka (1633 A.D.). We may now conclude that King Rama Shah reigned until 1558 Shaka (1636 A.D.).

The regnal years of the four Kings who succeeded King Rama Shah were as follows according to Hodgson and Wright:-

|    | <u>Name of King</u> | <u>Hodgson</u> | <u>Wright</u> |
|----|---------------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1. | Dambar Shah         | 9              | 9             |
| 2. | Krishna Shah        | 16             | 11            |
| 3. | Rudra Shah          | 11             | 16            |
| 4. | Prithvipati Shah    | 47             | 47            |

The Aitihasik Patra Sangraha (A Collection Of Historical Letters) contains a bond signed by Rudra Shah, father of Prithvipati Shah, in Jestha 1730 Vikrama (1673 A.D.), (Part II, pp. 10-15). This shows that Rudra Shah was alive in that year. Narabhupal Shah died in 1742 A.D. The interval between these two dates is 69 years. The Vamshavalis are agreed that Narabhupal Shah reigned for 26 years. This means that Prithvipati Shah reigned for 43 years. Since the general view is that Krishna Shah reigned for 16 years, Rudra Shah must have reigned for 12 years.

A more accurate chronology of these 10 Kings would therefore be as follows:-

|    | <u>Name of King</u> | <u>Regnal Years</u> |             | <u>Total</u> |
|----|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|
|    |                     | <u>Shaka</u>        | <u>A.D.</u> |              |
| 1. | Dravya Shah         | 1481-92             | 1559-70     | 11 years     |
| 2. | Purandar Shah       | 1492-1527           | 1570-1605   | 35 years     |
| 3. | Chhatra Shah        | 1527-28             | 1605-6      | 7 months     |

Contd...

|       |                  |                               |           |           |
|-------|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 4.    | Rama Shah        | 1528-58                       | 1606-36   | 30 years  |
| 5.    | Dambar Shah      | 1558-67                       | 1636-45   | 9 ,,      |
| 6.    | Krishna Shah     | 1567-83                       | 1645-61   | 16 ,,     |
| 7.    | Rudra Shah       | 1583-95                       | 1661-73   | 12 ,,     |
| 8.    | Prithvipati Shah | 1595-1638                     | 1673-1716 | 43 ,,     |
| 9.    | Birabhadra Shah  | 0                             | 0         | 0         |
| 10.   | Narabhupal Shah  | 1636-64                       | 1716-42   | 26 years. |
|       |                  | <hr/>                         |           |           |
| Total |                  | <u>182 years and 7 months</u> |           |           |

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Jogis In Doti And Achham

From King Rajendra,

To Machhindranath Jogi.

Formerly, the King of Doti has appointed you as Pir of Jogis in Joroyal, Lulan and Bogtan areas of Doti district. You have been occupying this position since then, and so had received confirmation from the district administrators (Mukhtiyar, Bhardar). We do confirm (your appointment as Pir) accordingly. With due assurance, appropriate the perquisites of Pir and perform daily and ceremonial religious functions at the temple of Bhairava in Joroyal with income accruing from lands which had been previously assigned (to this temple) as Guthi. Wish victory to us.

Jestha Sudi 9, 1895

(May 1838)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol.-9, pp. 583-584.

Contd...

From King Rajendra,

To Vijayanath Jogi.

Your Gosain preceptors have operated Guthi functions for five generations since the time of the Kings of Pyuthan at the temple of Samsaranatha at Bane-Dare, Simikot in the Pyuthan area. Jogis occupying households in the 7 thans (temple areas) and 27 forts in Pyuthan, which has a total of 11,000 houses, have been worshipping at the temple of Samsaranatha from the beginning. We hereby confirm the cash offerings (Bheti) and payments (Dastur) for incense and lamps which (Jogis) have so far been collecting in different areas of both the hill and the Tarai (Madhes) regions (of Pyuthan) and lands endowed as Guthi, as well as lands of different categories occupied by Jogis, and place all these under your jurisdiction. With the income accruing from lands of different categories occupied by Jogis, as well as of 102 muris of khet lands as listed below, perform daily and ceremonial functions at the temple of Samsaranatha in the customary manner. Wish victory to us and appropriate the surplus.

(Particulars of khet lands follow).

Jestha Sudi 9, 1895

(May 1838)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 9, pp. 587-588.

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(S.B.M.)

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: June 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 6,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal.

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Guthi Legislation In The 1866 Legal  
Code<sup>x</sup>

Section 1

Ranganath Pandit, who was both Guru and Mukhtiyar, and who had lived in Kashi for 30 or 40 years, had himself gone there, purchased lands at a cost of Rs 100,000 or Rs 150,000 and constructed Shiva temples and rest-houses. But (other persons) put locks on (these temples and rest-houses). The English government did not award any punishment (to the person) who had sold lands in such an irregular manner.

Shri 5 Bada Maharaj Rana Bahadur Sah, while he was still King, had endowed lands for a Sadavarta Guthi to perform regular and ceremonial religious functions at the temple of Shri Kedara and to feed pilgrims. But the English confiscated these lands. Our government (Shri 5 Sarkar) then sent a memorandum to the English Resident asking why (the English) had confiscated lands which had been endowed for religious purposes. But the Resident replied: "You can do what you like on lands situated in your territory. We can do what we like on ours."

Guru Vijaya Raj Pandit, with religious motives, gave Rs 10,000 to the English in Kashi and made them stipulate to pay interest at the rate of 5%. Later, (the English) paid interest at the rate of only 4%. The rate will soon be (further reduced to) 3%, and the principal amount too will not be repaid.

If one's sons die and no heirs are left, our law entitles daughters, if any, to inherit the property. But in a foreign country, daughters will not be allowed to inherit such property, on the ground that there are no heirs. Nor can our King (Shri 5 Maharaj) acquire this property as escheat.

Accordingly, supply loans and exchange currency notes as required for purposes of trade, but do not maintain surplus (funds) and collect interest (in foreign territory).

We have our own country, a Hindu Kingdom, where the law prescribed that cows shall not be slaughtered, nor women and Brahmans sentenced to capital punishment; a holy land where the Himalayas (Himavat-Khanda), the Basuki-Kshetra, the Arya-Tirtha, the refulgent (Jyotirmaya) Shri-Pashupati-Linge and the Shri-Guhyeshwari Pitha are located. In this Kali age, this is the only country where Hindus rule.

In the future, any person who intends to construct a Shiva temple at a rest-house, or to make a Sadavarta or other Guthi endowment, shall do so at a holy place inside the Kingdom itself. Nobody, from the King to a ryot,

Contd...'



shall construct Shiva temples or rest-houses, or make Sadavarta or other Guthi endowments, in a foreign land.

In case (Shiva temples and rest-houses) are constructed inside the Kingdom, minor repairs can be undertaken by (the donor's) descendants themselves, and the country will appear beautiful and prosperous.

Disease will disappear from a country where many religious acts are performed, nor will famine occur there. If monuments are built in one's own country, its artisans will become skilled, and poor people, who get wages, will earn their livelihood. There will be no drain of wealth to foreign countries. If Sadavartas are established in one's own country, its blind, crippled, lame and old people, one's own descendants or those of one's friends and relatives, guests, visitors, helpless and indigent people from foreign countries and those who come to this country in search of livelihood will be maintained. The ancestors and descendants up to the seventh generation of a person who establishes a Sadavarta will get salvation. In case land ritually gifted with grains of barley and sesame and Kusha grass in the hand is eroded by a stream, the same religious merit will accrue from the stream. If the stream again changes its course, the land remains there.

In case foolish kings or evil-minded ministers confiscate the land, the religious merit (obtained from the land endowment) will accrue from them. The land too may be restored if (the person who made the endowment) or his descendant is able to please the King or ministers.

This law has been enacted in the light of the (teachings of the) scriptures, the tenets of moral conduct and the experience of the world.

In the future, construct temples, rest-houses, road-side shelters, bridges, ferries, water-spouts, wells, tanks, roads, orchards, platforms under trees etc. and establish Guthis and Sadavartas, only in one's own country. Kings and ministers shall not permit these to be constructed or established in a foreign country declaring that the person who does so harms the world, the people and the State. They shall grant suitable waste Raikar lands in such a manner as not to create difficulties for owners of adjoining lands, to persons who construct or establish these in the country itself.

Foolish kings and evil-minded ministers who damage temples, rest-houses, road-side shelters, bridges, water-spouts, tanks, roads, wells, orchards, etc. constructed by others, or who confiscate Guthis endowed by others, block their way to heaven and pave their way to hell. They make themselves objects of ridicule in the world. Incapable of tolerating the religious merit acquired by good people, they act against the public interest. Such people will sink in sin.

Contd...

Section 2

In case any person has endowed lands for a Sadavarta to feed poor people and mendicants, or a Guthi to perform regular and ceremonial religious functions, and in case he himself or his descendants are convicted of murder or treason, he shall be sentenced to capital punishment for murder, or his property shall be confiscated if so appropriate, or if he is convicted of rape, punishment shall be awarded according to law. But (the land endowed by him as) Guthi shall not be confiscated. The religious performances shall be performed in the customary manner, and the Guthi shall not be confiscated. If any person issues an order confiscating it, he shall incur the sin accruing therefrom. He shall be regarded to have violated the entire legal code.

Section 3

In case any person has endowed his Birta lands as Guthi after constructing rest-houses, road-side shelters, bridges, water spouts or temples, and in case these are damaged or collapse, and his descendants are not capable of renovating them, and any other person offers to do so, or to construct a new one at the same site, he shall be allowed to do so. But he cannot get Guthi lands endowed with purchased Birta lands. The descendants of the person who made the Guthi endowment shall be entitled to preserve the religious act of their ancestor and appropriate the surplus whether or not they are able to renovate (the damaged rest-houses, road-side shelters, etc.). (But) they shall not be entitled to sell these. Any person who sells such (Guthi endowments) shall be fined with an amount equal to one year's produce on the land. In case he cannot pay the fine, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

Section 4

In case any person endows land as Guthi with the permission of the government after constructing rest-houses, road-side shelters, bridges, water spouts or temples, and in case these are damaged or collapse later, and he himself or his descendants renovates them, they shall be entitled to appropriate (the surplus income) subject to the continued performance of the Guthi function. In case they cannot do so, and another person does so at the same site, he shall operate the Guthi himself. The descendants of the Guthiyar who had originally constructed these (rest-houses, road-side shelters, etc.) shall not be entitled to utilize the lands, which had been endowed as Guthi with the permission of the government.

Contd...

Section 5

No payment or other fees shall be collected on cases pertaining to lands endowed as Raj Guthi through a ritual gift by reigning kings and queens from the time of King Dravya Shah of Gorkha, even if such cases have been disposed of by government offices or courts. In case such payments or fees have already been collected, these shall be transmitted to the appropriate Guthi and used to make ornaments in the name of the government for the deity to whom the Guthi has been endowed. Particulars of the income which has been used to make such ornaments shall be incorporated into the records. Government offices or courts shall not appropriate such income on the plea that they have collected it.

Section 6

In case any person claims Raj Guthi, Raj Math (State monastery) or Raj Sadavarta as his own, and in case his claim is not found valid, he shall be fined with than amount equal to one year's produce on that land. In case he is unable to pay the fine, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

Section 7

In case any person claims lands purchased and endowed by his ancestors, or by himself, for a Guthi or Sadavarta, as his own, and in case the claim is not found valid, he shall be punished with a fine equal to one year's produce on the land. In case he is unable to pay the fine, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

Section 8

In case the ancestors of any person had endowed their Birta lands as Guthi offer constructing rest-houses, roadside shelters, bridges, or water spouts, and in case another person has been able to appropriate the produce of land, claiming to be Guthiyar or forcibly, so that the actual descendant of the person, who had endowed the Guthi has not been able to appropriate the produce, the latter shall be entitled thereto. In case the person who had done so by force has been performing the stipulated Guthi functions, he shall be punished with a fine amounting to the produce on the land for one year. Otherwise, the total amount of the produce appropriated by him by force shall be recovered from him and a fine of an equal amount shall be imposed. In case he is unable to pay, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment at the rate of one month for every Rs 5. The land shall be restored to the descendant of the person who had made Guthi endowment. No other person shall be entitled to such Guthi lands.

Contd...

Section 9

In case any land which has been endowed by any person as Guthi to maintain a rest-house or road-side shelter is given on rent, the proceeds thereof shall be utilized for the repair of such rest-house, temple or other Guthi building, and the balance, if any, shall be collected by the descendants of the person who had constructed the same, and utilized for the functions of the Guthi. In case the rent is appropriated by another person, and in case the descendants of the person constructing such rest-house or temple file a complaint to this effect, the total amount of rent so misappropriated shall be recovered from that person and he shall be punished with a fine of an equal amount. One-fourth of the fine imposed in this manner shall be collected from the winning party, and the Guthi endowment shall be restored to the descendants of the person who had made it.

Section 10

In case the ancestor of any person, with religious or philanthropic motives, has endowed lands as Guthi through a ritual gift made with grains of barely and sesame and Kusha grass in his hand, for the maintenance of temples, rest-houses, road-side shelters, bridges, ghats, water-spouts, etc., or for the performance of daily or ceremonial functions, or Sadavarta functions, or the observance of death anniversaries, and affixed his signature on documents testifying to such gift,

and in case the descendants of such ancestors are of evil temperament and addicted to gambling or the use of narcotics, and have no occupation, and thus are unable to earn their livelihood,

they, along with members of their families, shall be entitled to get necessary food and clothing from the Guthi or Sadavarta endowed by their ancestors. But they shall not be permitted to discontinue the prescribed daily and ceremonial religious functions and spend (the Guthi income) as they like.

In case they sell or mortgage (the Guthi lands), the transaction shall be invalid. No creditor shall have any claim on such lands. Nor shall such lands be confiscated even for treason and other offenses.

Section 11

Any person may, if he so wishes, evict tenants cultivating the land endowed by his ancestors as Guthi and reside on or cultivate the land personally stipulating that he will carry on the prescribed religious functions with the rent, while appropriating the cultivator's share of

the produce for himself. Tenants may be evicted in this manner during the period from the Tika (Dashain) to the Sithi festival in Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley), and from Tika to the Shripanchami festival in the hill region. Tenants shall not be evicted during any other season. In case any tenant is evicted at any other time, a fine equal to the value of one year's produce on the land shall be imposed. In case any tenant who has been evicted during the prescribed season falsely complains of having been evicted during the off-season, he shall be punished with a fine not exceeding Rs 2.50, or in default imprisoned at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

### Section 12

Religious functions shall be performed, and priests and other functionaries shall be appointed or dismissed, by the legitimate son of parents or ancestors who had made the Guthi endowment. If there is no legitimate son, this shall be done by an illegitimate son, or, in case no illegitimate son exists, by a daughter if the ancestral property has been gifted to her. Otherwise, (such functions) shall be discharged by the descendants of the same grandfather. If such relatives too do not exist, this shall be made by a daughter even if no deed has been executed in her favor. As long as (such sons, daughters or relatives) exist, (the Guthi) shall not belong to distant relatives by whom property may have been inherited. These functions shall be performed by distant relatives only in case relatives of the categories mentioned above are not available.

### Section 13

Sadavarta and other Guthis endowed for the performance of religious functions or the observance of death anniversaries by the ancestor of any person belonging to any of the four castes and thirty-six sub-castes, or by himself personally, cannot be gifted or donated. Such Guthis shall belong to the descendants of the same grandfather, if any.

If such descendants do not exist, or if they refuse to accept Guthi (obligations) when (the ancestral property) has fallen in inheritance to a daughter, or if parents die and their (property) accrues according to law to daughters and sons of daughters, they shall be entitled only to perform the religious functions previously performed by their father on the Guthi endowed by their ancestor and appropriate only the share (of the surplus income) previously appropriated by him; such (surplus income) cannot be appropriated by relatives to whom (the property of the deceased person) accrues.

Contd...



Section 14

In case (foodstuffs) which should be distributed daily according to the copper or stone inscription, royal order or gift deed of the Guthi are not so distributed even when people come and ask for it, or in case the quantity mentioned thereon is reduced, and functionaries and Guthiyars other than the donor and his descendants are held guilty, but are proved to have misappropriated only 1 or 2 muthis, a fine of Rs 5 shall be imposed, and they shall be dismissed from their position.

Section 15

In case there has been encroachment on Raikar lands from Raj Guthi or Raj Sadavarta lands, or lands endowed by the common people as Guthi or Sadavarta, the area so encroached upon shall be restored to Raikar, and the offending Guthiyar shall be punished with a fine amounting to the produce thereof during one year. The Guthi or Sadavarta lands shall be confirmed in favor of the institution to which it belongs; no deduction shall be made therefrom.

Section 16

In case existing Guthi lands are sold with the objective of replacing them by new lands, this shall be permitted only if the income (of the Guthi) remains the same. Such land transactions shall be regarded as valid. If existing Guthi lands are sold, but new lands are not purchased, and the sole proceeds are misappropriated, the existing Guthi lands shall be restored, and the amount paid for such lands (by the purchaser) shall be recovered from the seller.

In case he is not able to repay, a fine amounting to the produce on the land for one year shall be imposed on him, and the deed of sale shall be converted into an unsecured loan bond. In case he does not repay the amount, he shall be imprisoned at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

Section 17

If the land endowed by the ancestor of any person is sold by a descendant of the Guthiyar and purchased by any other person, and if a perusal of the gift-deed or other document or stone inscription relating to the Guthi reveals that (the land) is Guthi, the transaction shall be invalidated.

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The Guthi shall be confirmed for the (continued) performance of the prescribed religious function. The amount obtained by the seller shall be converted into an unsecured loan, and the purchaser shall be asked to deal with him. Guthi lands shall not be seized even if any arrears of payment are due to the government or any transaction relating to private individual is involved.

If the purchaser was aware that the land was Guthi, both he and the seller shall each be punished with a fine amounting to the produce thereof during one year. In case the fine is not paid, they shall be imprisoned at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

#### Section 18

In case any person who has no arrears of payment due or loans repayable to the government or to private individuals has purchased lands with his wealth and endowed such lands or his Birta lands as Guthi, and subsequently, he accumulates arrears of payment or loans due to the government or to private individuals, neither the government nor creditors shall be entitled to seize the land. The Guthi endowment shall remain valid.

Neither the government nor private individuals shall be entitled to seize it. The arrears of payment or loans shall be recovered from other property. If no such property exists, the (arrears of payment or loans) shall be converted into an unsecured loan.

#### Section 19

In case any person has arrears of payments due or loans repayable to the government or to private individuals, and thereafter makes a Guthi endowment, such Guthi shall be considered to have been endowed with the object of defrauding the government and creditors. It shall not be held valid. The government or private creditors shall be entitled to recover their dues from the lands endowed as Guthi or collect cash in repayment.

Even if a gift deed has been executed or a copper inscription installed, it shall be invalid and shall therefore be cancelled by government offices and courts.

#### Section 20

In case a debtor falsely represents Guthi land as Birta and uses it to pay off his creditor, or sells it, such action shall not be held valid. The land shall be restored to the Guthi and the bond shall be destroyed.

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The amount paid by the creditor shall be recovered from the house, lands and other property of the offender. In case (the debtor) is unable to refund the amount (in this manner), it shall be converted into an unsecured loan and a fine equal to one year's produce on the land shall be imposed on him.

In case he is able to pay neither the amount of the loan nor the fine, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

#### Section 21

In case anybody sells or mortgages Guthi land representing it as Birta, the appropriate government office or court shall destroy the bond and restore the land to the Guthi according to law. The Guthi shall then be handed over to the lawful heirs and relatives, if any, or else the government shall make necessary arrangements to insure the continued performance of the prescribed religious functions.

The purchaser shall not get (the Guthi). He shall be removed, and an honest and religious-minded person shall be chosen to perform the prescribed religious functions.

#### Section 22

Any person who sells Guthi land, representing it to be Birta, shall be fined with an amount equivalent to one year's produce on the land. In case he is not able to pay the fine, he shall be imprisoned at the rate of Rs 5 per month. He shall be released after he completes the term of imprisonment at this rate.

#### Section 23

In case any person has purchased Guthi land as Birta, even though aware that it is Guthi, he shall not be entitled to claim refundment of the money paid by him.

#### Section 24

In case any person mortgages land which is Birta according to available documentary evidence, but later claims that the land is Guthi, he shall be deemed to have committed perjury. The mortgagee shall be given possession of the land after scrutinizing the bond and the signatures therein. The (mortgager) shall be fined with an amount equal to the value of the transaction for having committed fraud. In case he is not able to pay the fine, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment at the rate of one month for every Rs 5.

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Section 25

Lands endowed as pasture shall be confirmed on the basis of documentary evidence if lands purchased with the donor's money or his ancestral Birta lands have been used for this purpose. If the lands had been purchased, the pasture shall be confirmed after scrutinizing the deed of sale and purchase.

If the pasture had been endowed with lands obtained from the government, it shall be confirmed after scrutinizing the royal order or copper inscription, or else the copy of the royal order maintained at the Chyangra-Kausi Office. If a stone inscription has been installed on the pasture, confirmation shall be granted accordingly. Pastures of these categories shall be confirmed if the person who receives a grant of them subsequently continues to use them as such.

If any person has received any of these categories of pastures as Birta, and if the pastures are found to have been cultivated by another person, the chief of the court shall issue orders to let it revert to waste. The Prime Minister shall grant other lands in exchange.

If the chief of the court does not scrutinize the relevant documents relating to such pasture lands, he shall incur sin. If the Prime Minister does not give other lands in exchange for those which are allowed to revert to waste in this manner, he shall incur sin.

Law governing Guthis endowed by the government with the words "Anybody (who takes away lands) granted by him or by others", as well as Birta endowed as Guthi by common people

Section 26

In case an ancestor has endowed his Birta lands as Guthi to finance the construction and repair of temples, rest-houses, road-side shelters, bridges, water-spouts, tanks, wells and roads, or to run charity-kitchens, or supply food, water or sherbet, or the performance of rituals on death anniversaries, or regular and ceremonial religious functions, or the chanting of prayers,

has inscribed on copper stone or palm-leaf or affixed his signature on a document specifying the lands the income accruing from which are to be utilized for the performance of the religious or Sadavarta functions specified therein, and has made a ritual donation (of the land to any person), enjoining on him to perform the prescribed functions and appropriate (the surplus) on a charitable basis,

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and in case he has fulfilled any one of the following ~~five~~ conditions:  
 \* Witnessed by (1) God or (2) Man, or put the words : (3) "Any person who confiscates (this endowment) shall incur the five great sins", (4) the verse "Any person) who confiscates land) granted by himself or by others ..." or (5) "I hereby gift (this land) to you, use it from generation to generatio;"

then the author of the endowment or his descendants shall not be entitled to claim that they will perform the prescribed functions and appropriate (the surplus) themselves. Nor shall they be entitled to dismiss (the Guthiyar) and give (the land endowed as Guthi) to another person.

Neither the government nor its offices or courts shall dispossess (the Guthiyar) of such Guthis and give possession thereof to the descendants of the author of the endowment or to any other person. The beneficiary of the ritual gift and his descendants shall be entitled to appropriate the foodstuffs offered in the course of religious ceremonies and the surplus income subject to the performance of the prescribed functions. Such Birte lands shall be regarded as Guthi.

Members of the undivided family of the beneficiary of the ritual gift shall be entitled to appropriate (food offerings and surplus income) by rotation according to law without dividing (the Guthi lands), subject to the performance of the functions specified in the copper, palm leaf or stone inscription or document.

In case the beneficiary of the ritual gift or his descendants sell or mortgage (the Guthi land endowed), or appropriate (the surplus) without performing the prescribed functions, thus committing a breach of acts of religious merit, an unsecured loan bond shall be made to be executed in favor of the purchaser or mortgagee, and the Guthi shall be operated only by those among the beneficiaries of the ritual gift and their brothers, sons and descendants who have not sold or mortgaged (the Guthi land endowed) and have continued to perform the prescribed religious functions. Those who have sold or mortgaged (the Guthi land endowed), or appropriated (the surplus) without performing the prescribed religious functions, and their descendants shall not be entitled to appropriate (the surplus).

Even in case the beneficiary dies without leaving any heirs, the descendants of the author of the Guthi endowment shall not be entitled to operate it or give it to others. Since the Guthi endowment has been made through a ritual gift, it shall be regarded as a Raj Guthi, and the government shall make arrangements for the performance of the prescribed functions through the Guthi Kachahari Office.

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In case a Birta which has been endowed as Guthi in this manner is granted to another person through royal order or the order of the Prime Minister or any government office or court while the descendants of the beneficiary are still living, this is an unjust action and therefore the royal order granting the land to another person shall be cancelled, and other orders destroyed, and the land shall be restored to the descendants of the (original) beneficiary.

In case any person claims such lands, a fine amounting to 2½% of one year's produce thereof shall be imposed on him.

Law governing Guthis endowed by the government as well as by other chiefs, common people, etc., after appointing priests and Guthiyars and prescribing the functions which should be performed

### Section 27

In case an ancestor has endowed his Birta lands as Guthi to finance the construction and repair of temples, rest-houses, road-side shelters, bridges, water-spouts, tanks, wells and roads, or to run charity kitchens, or supply food, water or sherbet, or the performance of rituals on death anniversaries, or regular and ceremonial religious functions, or the chanting of prayers, and has appointed functionaries for this purpose, and in case such functionaries, or priests and Guthiyars, do not function properly, and the Guthiyars misappropriate the income obtained from the Guthi lands, or sell or mortgage (such lands), or withhold disbursements on the prescribed functions and bequeath (the Guthi property) as inheritance to their descendants, and the priests do not perform the prescribed daily or ceremonial religious functions in the prescribed manner, the descendant of the ancestor (who has made the Guthi endowment) and his co-parceners may determine the amount of the claim according to law and have (the offender) punished accordingly.

He may replace them by others on the ground that their performance has not been satisfactory, or he may dismiss them even if they have not committed any offense. He may also undertake to perform the prescribed functions himself, since the Guthi had been endowed by his ancestor, and appropriate the surplus himself, on condition that he does so along with his co-parceners by rotation. But they shall not be permitted to divide the lands and the obligation to perform the stipulated functions among themselves.

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It shall lie at the discretion of the legal heirs of the ancestor who had made the Guthi endowment whether to dismiss functionaries, priests and Guthiyars who do not perform the prescribed functions and have such functions performed by their own family, or to appoint other functionaries. However, no person who violates the religious functions stipulated under the Guthi, or sells or mortgages (the lands endowed), or his descendants, shall be entitled to appropriate (the surplus income of the Guthi). (Such surplus income) shall be appropriated only by those who perform the stipulated religious functions and do not sell the lands, as well as by their descendants, subject to the continued performance of the prescribed Guthi functions.

(Functionaries, priests and Guthiyars) in such Sadavartas and other Duniya Guthis shall not be appointed or dismissed through royal order or the orders of the Prime Minister or of any court. Even if such an order has been issued, it shall not be valid. Royal orders or the orders of the Prime Minister, even if made unwisely or unjustly, shall be cancelled and handed over to the descendants (of the ancestor who had made the Guthi endowment), while other orders shall be destroyed.

It shall lie at the discretion of the descendants of the ancestor who had made the Guthi endowment whether to perform the stipulated functions themselves or appoint others for this purpose. They themselves know how to uphold the acts of religious merit done by their ancestors.

In case the functionaries, priests and Guthiyars of such lands submit petition praying for reinstatement, a fine amounting to  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the income which each is entitled to appropriate from the lands shall be imposed on him.

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Bhadgaun<sup>1</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

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Raya Malla ascended the throne after the death of his father in 602 Nepal era (1482 A.D.). It is not known how many years he actually ruled. But it does not appear that his rule had lasted long. No evidence is available that he ruled beyond 616 Nepal era (1436 A.D.).

Raya Malla was succeeded by his son, Subarna Malla. According to the Vamshavalis, in 633 Nepal era (1513 A.D.) Bhadgaun had been overtaken by a severe famine, which compelled its inhabitants to emigrate.

It is now known that Rana Malla, the third son of Yaksha Malla, had established an independent Kingdom of his own in Banopa. A drama entitled, "Pandava Vijaya", written by him, has been discovered. It names his wife as Nathalla Devi and his son as Vijaya Malla. According to the Vamshavali, the State of Banepa merged into Bhadgaun during the rule of Bhuwan Malla. Rana Malla had probably died during this period. Rana Malla's son being a minor, it was not difficult for Bhuwana Malla to annex Banepa.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Vamshavalis, Bhuwana Malla had started the custom of staging the Navadurga dance known as Ikhupyakhan in Bhadgaun, in imitation of the various dances introduced in Kathmandu. The Mahalaxmi dance at Bode was also introduced by him. Amara Malla had first introduced religious dances in Kathmandu.

Bhuwana Malla's rule was followed by a dyarchy of brothers. The Vamshavalis refer to the fact that Bhuwana Malla had divided the villages of Bhadgaun into two equal parts. This leads us to assume that the country had been divided evenly between two brothers. If this was actually the case, the strength of Bhadgaun must have declined as a result of this partition. We cannot rule out the possibility that the dyarchy that prevailed in Bhadgaun must have started during the rule of Bhuwana Malla himself.

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1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Kathmandu Valley); Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962), Chapter X: "Bhadgaun Ko Itihas" (History of Bhadgaun), pp.100-112.

2. According to Kirkpatrick, however, Banepa had been annexed to Bhaktapur during the reign of Vishwa Malla.

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According to the Vamshavalis, Bhuwana Malla (or Subarna Malla) was succeeded by Prana Malla. This has been said also by Jagajjyoti Malla. However, lapidary evidence shows that Prana Malla had, before ruling the country singly, administered it jointly with his brothers. In 642 Nepal era (1522 A.D.), Bhadgaun was ruled jointly by Rana Malla, Bira Malla and Jita Malla. Thus the name of Prana Malla, who had become King at a later stage, does not figure in the list of Kings who had ruled the country jointly. Records show that the dyarchy of Jita Malla and Prana Malla lasted from 1524 A.D. to 1534 A.D. There is evidence that Prana Malla had become the sole King of Bhadgaun in 1538 A.D.

None of the Vamshavalis contains any reference to dyarchy. Even then, it is indisputable that there existed a dyarchy in Bhadgaun at this time. The absence of any reference to the dyarchy is probably explained by the fact that it had not been recognized as legitimate at that time. If this was not the case, there was no reason why the very fact of dyarchy should have been ignored. It is an ancient convention of Nepal to make the eldest son of any King his heir apparent. If, in spite of this time-honored system, the Crown Prince had shared his powers with his brothers, this only points to his weakness. The joint rule of Bhadgaun can be compared to the triarchy of the three sons of Sthiti Malla, which lasted for a short time in the early sixth century according to the Nepal era. The joint rule of Bhadgaun suffered from weakness in the same way as the triarchy of Sthiti Malla's sons. Surya Malla, King of Kathmandu, had detached Sankhu from Bhadgaun. It is possible that this development took place during the period when the power of Bhadgaun had begun to decline as a result of the joint rule.

It is not definitely known when the exclusive rule of Prana Malla ceased and when his successor, Bipra Malla (or Bishwa Malla) ascended the throne. Probably, Bishwa Malla too was a weak King. According to the Vamshavalis, he had installed the images of four Narayanas at Pashupati with the permission of the King of Kathmandu. At that time, there was no restriction on any religious function being performed by persons belonging to one State in another State. Even then, Bishwa Malla asked for some favors from a hostile state to perform a religious function. This indicates nothing but his weakness. The Vamshavalis also refer to the fact that during the rule of Bishwa Malla, a Kanaujia Brahman of Indrachok had installed an image of Narayana which had been brought from the Vishnumati river, when the temple of Ichangu Narayana was destroyed by landslides. It is not known in which year Bishwa Malla's rule came to an end.

Bishwa Malla was succeeded by Trailokya Malla or Tribhuwana Malla. Bendall has cited a stone-inscription dated 692 Nepal era (1572 A.D.), which he says he had seen at Olachhe Tol, in Bhadgaun. But there is evidence to show that Trailokya Malla had become King much earlier. According to

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Wright, before building the temple of Taleju in 1563 A.D. Mahendra Malla, King of Kathmandu, used to visit King Trailokya Malla of Bhadgaun and worship Goddess Tulaja. This leads one to assume that Trailokya Malla had become King in or before 1563 A.D. Kirkpatrick writes that the King of Kathmandu had captured Banepa, Chunko, Sanga and Kuti from Bhadgaun. The loss of Kuti, which lies on the route to Tibet, was very damaging for Bhadgaun and a big gain for Kathmandu. Mahendra Malla's occupation of Banepa and Sanga, the main routes to Kuti, also contributed much to the prosperity of Kathmandu. It was Mahendra Malla who first minted silver coins (mohur). Mohur coins must have become necessary as a result of the development of trade with Tibet. This account indicates that the decline of Bhadgaun, which had started during the rule of Raya Malla, reached its climax during Trailokya Malla's rule. Although a weak King, Trailokya Malla is believed to have ruled for 30 years.

Trailokya Malla was succeeded by Jagajjyoti Malla. Jagajjyoti Malla was not only a scholar in his own right, but also the patron of learned men. He and the scholars enjoying his patronage have written scores of books on music, dancing, astrology, etc. The well-known Bisket festival of Bhadgaun was started by Jagajjyoti Malla. As in the case of the Indrajatra festival, which is observed in Kathmandu, a pole is erected in the course of the observance of the Bisket festival, which is dedicated to God Adi Bhairava. According to the Vamshavali, Jagajjyoti Malla had introduced this festival at Thimi also. The Vamshavalis also state that the timber used for the construction of the chariot of Bhairava used to be procured from the forests of Pashupati with the permission of the King of Kathmandu.

A strange development which took place during the rule of Jagajjyoti Malla is mentioned in the Vamshavalis. It is said that a grain of maize was found in a heap of black gram procured from the eastern regions. The inhabitants of Bhadgaun regarded this grain as an ominous portent, and therefore held religious functions and prayers to ward off its evil influence. The grain was sent back to its place of origin. In this context, it is interesting to note that the Newars of Kathmandu Valley naturally did not like to consume maize, because they produced paddy in abundance. The belief that maize is inferior to paddy still persists among some people. To subsist on maize is still considered to be a sign of poverty.

Jagajjyoti Malla died in 751 Nepal era (1631 A.D.). He was succeeded by Jagatprakash Malla. The discovery of Mohur coins bearing the name of Jagatprakash Malla and dated 752 Nepal era (1632 A.D.) indicates that he had minted coins immediately after ascending the throne of Bhadgaun. At about the time Jagatprakash Malla ascended the throne, Siddhinarasimha Malla had established an independent Kingdom in Patan. In 760 Nepal era (1640 A.D.), Pratap Malla became King of Kathmandu after imprisoning his

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Father, Laxminarasimha Malla. Bhadgaun had ceased to be strong politically after the establishment of an independent Kingdom in Kathmandu by Ratna Malla. It had in a way become a satellite of Kathmandu. Following the emergence of an independent state in Patan as a result of a civil war in Kathmandu, it was natural for Jagatprakash Malla to try to free Bhadgaun as well from the stranglehold of Kathmandu. But Pratap Malla took a serious view of Jagat Malla's revolt at a time when Patan had seceded from Kathmandu. He developed a sense of hatred for Jagatprakash Malla. Another reason for his hatred of Jagatprakash Malla was that the latter was no less learned than he was. Pratap Malla was indeed jealous of Jagatprakash Malla's superiority in the field of learning. That is why he used the word "Bhaktagrama" (a village called Bhakta), to express his contempt for Bhadgaun. Bhaktagrama later corrupted to Bhadgaun. In his stone-inscription, Jagatprakash Malla did not even mention the name of Jagatprakash Malla. A Jesuite priest named Grueber, who visited Kathmandu in 1665 A.D. during the rule of Pratap Malla, writes that there existed two separate Kingdoms inside Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley), Kathmandu and Patan. This indicates that Pratap Malla had even kept Grueber ignorant of the existence of Bhadgaun at that time.

In his stone-inscription of 769 Nepal era (1649 A.D.), located near Hanuman Dhoka, Pratap Malla proudly claims that the Malla King of Bhaktagrama had presented him with an elephant. Soon after ascending the throne Pratap Malla had fought a war with Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan. In this war, Jagatprakash Malla had sided with Siddhinarasimha Malla. But soon Pratap Malla and Siddhinarasimha Malla reached a settlement, so that Jagatprakash Malla was isolated. It was probably at this time that Jagatprakash Malla had presented an elephant to Pratap Malla as a token of his apology for the mistake committed by him.

After the death of Siddhinarasimha Malla, Srinivasa Malla became King of Patan in 1657 A.D. According to the Vamshavalis, in 778 Nepal era (1659 A.D.), Bhadgaun and Patan entered into an alliance and jointly fought a war against Kathmandu. The Vamshavalis mention that Pratap Malla had established friendly relations with Shrinivasa Malla after this war. At the time Pratap Malla had made peace with Shrinivasa Malla, Jagatprakash Malla accepted every dictate of Shrinivasa Malla. To what length Jagatprakash Malla had gone in flattering Shrinivasa Malla is clear from a drama entitled Malaya-gandhini, in which he describes himself as one who has sought shelter from King Shrinivasa Malla. But his flattery was of no avail. Pratap Malla finally succeeded in winning over Shrinivasa Malla to his side, with the result that Jagatprakash Malla had to face the combined onslaught of Kathmandu and Patan. In the end, Jagatprakash Malla had to pay tributes in the form of elephants and money to both Pratap Malla and Shrinivasa Malla, who then forgave him.

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3. Wright, p. 244.



A Mohur coin of 783 Nepal era (1633 A.D.), minted during the rule of Jitamitra Malla, son of Jagatprakash Malla, has been discovered. Since Jagatprakash Malla was alive during that year, it may be supposed that he had handed over power to his son Jitamitra Malla after his defeat at the hands of the Kings of Kathmandu and Patan. He probably spent his remaining days in seclusion. A drama entitled Madancharita, composed by Jagatprakash Malla around 760 Nepal era (1660 A.D.), confirms that he had abdicated in favor of his son. Jagatprakash Malla devoted the rest of his life to religious functions. In about 782 Nepal era (1660 A.D.), he built a sacred platform called Vimalasneha. In 787 Nepal era (1667 A.D.), he erected a pillar bearing the effigy of Garuda in front of the Narayanchok temple. Like Pratap Malla of Kathmandu, Jagatprakash Malla was fond of inscribing his verses on temples constructed by himself. In addition to these temples and pillars, Jagatprakash Malla is said in the Vamshavalis to have built two palaces, one at Nakhachhe and the other at Golakwatha. The exact year in which Jagatprakash Malla died is not known, He died probably some time after 790 Nepal era (1670 A.D.).

Jagatprakash Malla was succeeded by Jitamitra Malla. Manuscripts mentioning his name, and dated 802 Nepal era (1682 A.D.), are available. According to these manuscripts, Jitamitra Malla had the title of Sumati (which literally means a wise man). He did not take sides in the conflict that ensued between Kathmandu and Patan after the death of Pratap Malla. As such, his rule was peaceful. This explains the title of Sumati that was given to Jitamitra Malla.

Jitamitra Malla is believed to have died in or just before 816 Nepal era (1696 A.D.), because a Mohur coin bearing the name of his son, Bhupatindra Malla, and minted during the same year, has been discovered. A large number of Bhupatindra Malla's coins circulated in Tibet. However, it is not certain that this was the first Nepali coin circulating in Tibet. The people of Tibet called this coin Angiragupa, i.e., a coin bearing the number 6. This was so because it contained the figure of 6 in the year 816 Nepal era. Ranajita Malla, son of Bhupatindra Malla, also transmitted a large number of Mohur coins for circulation in Tibet. The coins were black in color. These were called Nag Tang (i.e. black coins).

The silver Mohur coins which were sent to Tibet from Nepal (i.e. from Kathmandu and Bhadgaun) were not pure. After conquering Nepal Valley in 1768 A.D., Prithvinarayana Shah started minting pure silver coins. He did not agree to exchange his pure silver coins for the impure silver coins circulating in Tibet. This led to disputes with Tibet. He had regular correspondence with Tibet in this regard. But he died soon. The disputes between Nepal and Tibet over the circulation of Nepali Mohurs resulted in a war between the two countries during the rule of King Rana Bahadur Shah.

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In Old Saxon see (106) J.E.,<sup>10</sup> Wuppertal hills with a 2-story settlement near the palace. A translation of the stone-inscription located at that settlement is given in Wright's book. According to this stone-inscription, the construction of a wall had failed to insure adequate supply of water from the spring. The stone-inscription mentions two regulations regarding the supply of water, in the second part the people of the area were required to contribute voluntarily labor for the construction of a dam to insure the maintenance of the water system, then they contributed such labor, they were granted a token as certificate. They were allowed to use the water of the well for irrigating their trees after they produced their taxes. Persons who failed to produce their taxes were fined with 1 denar. Water was required to be distributed without regard to status. In view the character of the wall failed to distribute water on the basis of surplus and without any discrimination, he was fined with 1 denar, that system of water supply is significant. The basis of the provision for a fine of 1 denar or 2 denars cannot be understood unless we have a knowledge of the economic condition of the contemporary period. The burden of the fine must naturally vary from very high at that time, though it may be insignificant by present standards.

Stone-tower walls were generally constructed by building construction. The 2-storied palace of Wuppertal was constructed by this, according to the Chronicle, one of the windows of the palace was given glass, this inscription that glass had been used for the first time in Saxon during the time of Wuppertal hills. The well-known 2-story temple at Wuppertal was also built by this, according to the Chronicle, it had constructed a number of other temples as well.

In Old Saxon see (111) A.E., Wuppertal hills provision a wall to the temple of Wuppertal (Wuppertal), town of Wuppertal (Wuppertal) during the time of his son Wuppertal hills, which were cited to the Chronicle see (117) A.E. and a substantial one. The well-known hills are also cited after the Chronicle see (117) A.E., being the fact which was valuable, one of the descriptions of the walls is very important. One side of this wall contains the words "and the first Wuppertal hills here." On the other side, we read "which is now the Wuppertal hills." The Chronicle also cited (111) A.E., therefore it was on this day that he had constructed the stone of the temple of Wuppertal. It appears to have been a provision during the time of hills and was also cited to the Chronicle which is unnecessary and unnecessary based on the fact that provision mentioned. It would not therefore be surprising if the construction of Wuppertal hills had been allowed on the condition of the construction of Wuppertal hills. There could be no other condition when the wall side of Wuppertal hills's construction or it had mentioned in Wuppertal hills.

<sup>10</sup> Wright, pp. 110-111.



Ranajita Malla, the last ruler of Bhadgaun, had a long rule. He ruled over Bhadgaun for 46 years, from 842 Nepal era (1722 A.D.) to 1768 A.D. Prithvi Narayan Shah started his campaign of conquering Nepal Valley from 1742 A.D. However, his attention was directed towards the conquest of Kathmandu and Patan only because he maintained a kind of cordial relationship with Ranajita Malla. For this reason, Ranajita Malla remained aloof from every war fought against Prithvi Narayan Shah. He was only interested to keep his own position secure. According to the Vamshavalis, Biranarasimha Malla, heir apparent of Ranajita Malla, had also entered into bonds of friendship with Prithvi Narayan Shah during his childhood. This probably explains why he had refrained from any overt act of hostility towards Prithvinarayan Shah. He must have either extended assistance to Prithvi Narayan Shah or remained neutral for reasons of expediency in the latter's prolonged campaigns. Prithvi Narayan Shah invaded Bhadgaun only 8 months after his conquest of Kathmandu and Patan. Both King Jayaprakash Malla of Kathmandu and King Tejanarasimha Malla of Patan fled to Bhadgaun and sought asylum with Ranajita Malla. But even after defeating Bhadgaun, Prithvi Narayan Shah entertained cordial feelings towards Ranajit Malla and allowed him to spend the rest of his life at Varanasi when he expressed a desire to do so. Ranajita Malla died at Varanasi.

Before ending this chapter, we may discuss the role played by Bhadgaun in the politics of divided Nepal. From 1482 A.D., the year when Nepal Valley was divided, to 1631 A.D., i.e. until Jagatprakash Malla's accession to the throne, Bhadgaun remained under the domination of Kathmandu. Bhadgaun had no courage to rise against Kathmandu's overlordship. It was Jagatprakash Malla who first attempted to liberate Bhadgaun from Kathmandu's hegemony. However, his attempt failed, as Shrinivasa Malla, son of Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan, followed a policy of maintaining amicable relations with Kathmandu. In this context, the title of "Sumati" conferred on Jitamitra Malla, the successor of Jagatprakash Malla, is significant. From the viewpoint of Kathmandu, he was certainly a wise man, because he did not embark upon a policy of belligerence as his father did. It would not be surprising that Jitamitra Malla had received the title of "Sumati" from Kathmandu.

Ultimately Bhadgaun was compelled to maintain amicable relations with Prithvi Narayan Shah in order to strengthen its own position. Bhadgaun did not offer any kind of support to Kathmandu in its protracted resistance to Prithvi Narayan Shah's invasion, nor did it come forward to aid Patan. Finally, Bhadgaun was taken over by Prithvi Narayan Shah and Ranajita Malla had to go into exile at Varanasi.

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(S.B.M.)

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: July 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 7,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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The Political Unification of Nepal<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah ascended the throne of Gorkha in 1743 A.D. His father, Narabhupal Shah, had made an attempt at intervention when the three Kingdoms of Nepal Valley were quarrelling among themselves. However, these attempts proved abortive because the internal situation of Gorkha was not satisfactory. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore realized the need to set his own house in order first. He also felt it necessary to study at first hand the situation prevailing in India as well as the strength of the Chaubisi Kingdoms. Hence during the very year of his accession to the throne, he left for Kashi (i.e. Varanasi) on the pretext of pilgrimage. Pilgrims from all-over India visited Kashi, as it was not only a center of pilgrimage for Hindus but was also situated close to the States of Bengal and Oudh. While in Kashi, one could then easily acquaint oneself not only with the political situation in Bengal and Bihar, but also with the conditions and systems prevalent in India as a whole. Accordingly, Prithvi Narayan Shah left for Kashi soon after winter had set in, travelling through Chitoun and Patna. At Varanasi, he met a Naga mendicant, who was renowned as a saint endowed with supernatural powers. Prithvi Narayan Shah desired to gain enlightenment from the mendicant and so revealed his desire to him. The Naga mendicant then gave Prithvi Narayan Shah a sword, telling him that his desires would be fulfilled. Prithvi Narayan Shah was greatly pleased at this. /the banks of the Gomati river on his way

King Hari Shah of Jajarkot too had gone to Kashi at that time. Prithvi Narayan Shah met him there. The two Kings vowed to maintain mutual friendship. After studying the situation in the course of his short stay at Kashi, Prithvi Narayan Shah left for home. Before departing from Kashi, he purchased some muskets and other weapons. When he reached the back home, along with his retinue, the Moghul Nawab's guards who were responsible for the collection of duties attempted to search him. Prithvi Narayan Shah, fearing that the arms in his possession would be discovered, killed the guards and reached Butaul through Gorakhpur with the help of the Naga mendicant. In Butaul, he

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepal Ko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Brief Account of Nepal), Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 1966, Chapter II "Nepal Ko Ekikaran Ko Prarambha." (The Beginning of The Political Unification Of Nepal), pp. 10-16.

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met King Gandharva Sen of Palpa, who was his maternal uncle. From Palpa, he proceeded to Tanahu, Lamjung, and other Chaubisi states situated along the Kali-Gandaki river, before returning to Gorkha in the last week of March. During this journey, he studied the situation of Tanahu, Lamjung and other areas situated along the Kali-Gandaki river.

On his return to Gorkha, Prithvi Narayan Shah thought it necessary to reorganize the Bhardari and make provisions for the appointment of ministers. Chandraprabha, his eldest step-mother, advised him to appoint Kalu Pande, son of Bhim Raj Pande, as minister. Prithvi Narayan Shah agreed to do so on the condition that the public, as well as the rulers of the Chaubisi states, also concurred with the move. As Kalu Pande had the support of all, Prithvi Narayan Shah appointed him as Kaji. According to the rules, he had already conferred the title of Chautariya to his youngest brother, Mahoddamkirti Shah. After completing the organization of the Bharadari, he reorganized his army, and then made arrangements for the supply of rations etc. to his troops.

Prithvi Narayan Shah then started preparations for invading Nuwakot. The Nuwakot area was predominantly inhabited by the Khas and Magar communities. But the chief administrator sent to this area from Kathmandu was a Newar. He was therefore unable to make proper administrative arrangements in Nuwakot. Consequently, the King of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakash Malla's predecessor, had had to appoint Kashiram Thapa of Palanchok as chief administrator of Nuwakot. Kashiram Thapa was dismissed by Jaya Prakash Malla for disobedience and replaced by Kaji Jayanta Rana, who had been expelled from Gorkha. The appointment of a man who had knowledge of all the secrets of Gorkha posed difficulties before Prithvi Narayan Shah. He therefore tried his best to win over Jayanta Rana. These efforts proved futile, however. Prithvi Narayan Shah completed his preparations, by the end of the rainy season in 1744 A.D., for the invasion of Nuwakot. As a ruse, he ordered his troops to move in the guise of peasants sent to reclaim waste lands in Khinchet. On the auspicious occasion of the Indra Jatra festival, he mobilized his troops and landed in Nuwakot crossing the Trishuli river. On September 26, 1744, he attacked the forces of Jayanta Rana, who had set up a fortress at the top of the Mahanandal hill.

In the meantime, Jayanta Rana had gone to Kathmandu to bring Jaya Prakash Malla. But because of the Indra Jatra festival, he was stranded in Kathmandu. In his absence, the battle was taken charge of by his son, Shankhamani Rana. But he was defeated and killed. A few days later, Jayanta Rana reached Belkot alone and started mobilizing his troops. However, Prithvi Narayan Shah personally came forward and attacked them. When the military situation deteriorated, Kalu Pande followed Prithvi Narayan Shah and handled the situation carefully. He finally captured Jayanta Rana and took him to Nuwakot. There Jayanta Rana was flayed alive and died. At that time, rebels were punished in this manner in the Chaubisi states.

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During this period, the French in India were recruiting Indians in their army and attacking the states of the Indian Kings with their support. The English followed suit. They were also succeeding in their game of divide and rule among the Indians. This explains why no Gorkhali soldier dared join the enemy and fight against his own government for 70 years after King Prithvi Narayan Shah had inflicted such severe punishment on Jayanta Rana.

Prithvi Narayan Shah entertained no personal malice towards Jayanta Rana. After Jayanta Rana was killed, Prithvi Narayan Shah allotted lands to his children to enable them to maintain their livelihood.

Subsequently, the Gorkha troops easily reached Patibhanjyang and then occupied the whole of Nuwakot.

Jaya Prakash was not a man to lose heart soon. He summoned Ranabhim Thapa, cousin of Kashi Ram Thapa of Palanchok, his erstwhile opponent, and with his help, sought to recapture Nuwakot. But Ranabhim Thapa was found to be a weak man. Jaya Prakash therefore invited Kashiram Thapa to come back to Kathmandu. Kashiram Thapa did not come directly to Kathmandu out of fear of Jaya Prakash. However, he mobilized his troops and marched towards Nuwakot from Palanchok. In March, on hearing of Kashiram Thapa's advance towards Nuwakot, the Gorkhali troops advanced towards him and encircled his troops. Kashiram Thapa fled back to the east. The Gorkhali troops chased them up to Thapagaun and drove them out of Nuwakot. Kashiram Thapa, who thus suffered a defeat, returned to Palanchok.

Jaya Prakash Malla again insisted that Kashiram Thapa should come to Kathmandu. Finally, Kashiram Thapa came to Kathmandu and stayed at the Pashupati temple. Jaya Prakash personally went to Chabahil to bring him. When Kashiram Thapa arrived at Chabahil along with presents, including jackfruit and other fruits to have an audience with Jaya Prakash, the latter had him beheaded along with six other courtiers to quench the long-simmering fire of revenge in his heart. After murdering Kashiram Thapa, He returned to Kathmandu. He also ordered the beheading of Dati Pradhan, his younger brother, Taudhik, fled to Lalitpur, where he took shelter with King Rajya Prakash.

On hearing of the murder of Kashiram Thapa in Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan Shah summoned his brother, Parashuram Thapa, to Nuwakot. He advised Parashuram Thapa to take revenge for his elder brother's murder. He also proposed that the forces of Gorkha and Bhaktapur should jointly occupy Sankhu and Changu, and that Bhaktapur should be granted two villages, while Gorkha should retain other occupied areas. Parashuram Thapa accepted this proposal and persuaded King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur also to do so.

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Having thus won over Bhaktapur to his side, Prithvi Narayan Shah, accompanied by Shivaram Simha Basnyat, his commander, marched towards Kathmandu along with his troops. First, he occupied Naldungadhi, which was under the occupation of Kathmandu. Then he proceeded to Bhaktapur and met Ranajit Malla. Shivaram Simha took over Changu village, which was predominantly inhabited by Khasas. Jaya Prakash personally took over the command of his troops as he had no commander, and fought back the Gorkha troops. However, he was defeated. He took to his heels and returned to the Kathmandu palace. Taking advantage of the rapid advance of the Gorkhali troops, Taudhik, who had taken asylum in Lalitpur, hatched a conspiracy in collusion with Rajya Prakash. Accordingly, in mid-September, during the Dashain festival, the troops of Lalitpur encircled the palace in Kathmandu, captured Jaya Prakash and took him to Lalitpur. His son, Jyoti Prakash, was installed in the throne of Kathmandu. Later, Taudhik sent a message to Parashuram Thapa, which stated: "I have already taken revenge for the murder of your brother. If even then you continue to take sides with the Gorkhals, how can we save Bhaktapur?" Having received this message, Parashuram Thapa ceased to render active support to the Gorkhals. He did not cooperate with Shivaram Simha Thapa when the latter was attacked by the troops of Taudhik with the support of Lalitpur and Kathmandu. Consequently, Parashuram Thapa had to turn back to Nuwakot via Sankhu. But as he was encamping at Sangachok along with his troops, he was attacked by Taudhik's troops. The Gorkhali forces disintegrated. Parashuram Singh himself was killed. Meanwhile, Prithvi Narayan Shah was staying in Bhaktapur. Immediately on receiving the news of the defeat of Gorkhali troops at Sangachok, he proceeded towards Naldum. On the way, he met Parashuram Thapa and went up to Mahadev Pokhari, which was within the jurisdiction of Bhaktapur. He then returned. Although he was defeated at Sangachok, Prithvi Narayan Shah consoled himself, for Naldum was still under Gorkhali control. He was distressed only over the death of Shivaram Singha Basnyat.

In the course of the capture of Naldum, Gorkhali troops had also occupied the Sindhupalchok and Dolakha areas. However, the occupation of these areas militated against the treaty concluded by Prithvi Narayan Shah with the King of Lamjung. Such violation of the treaty could mean inviting the King of Lamjung to invade Gorkha and thereby endangering the Gorkhali control of Nuwakot. Hence Prithvi Narayan Shah handed over both the Sindhupalchok and Dolakha areas to King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur, an ally of Lamjung. It was then that Ranajit Malla and Jaya Prakash Malla began to treat each other as enemies. Prithvi Narayan persuaded King Ranajit Malla to protect the Kabhrepalanchok area, which was under the control of Bhaktapur. He posted some Gorkhali troops at Mahadev Pokhari Gadhi and, after spending some more days in Bhaktapur, returned to Nuwakot. The Sindhupalchok and Dolakha areas went to Ranajit Malla. He appropriated revenues from these

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two areas for himself. However, in view of the cordial relations existing between Gorkha and Bhaktapur, the Gorkhalis were allowed to move freely from the Sindhupalchok area to Khasa, situated on the border between Tibet and Dolakha. The farsighted Prithvi Narayan Shah made these arrangements so that there might be no difficulty for him in reoccupying those areas eventually.

The southern border of Nuwakot across the Trishuli stretched to Kumhari-danda. To the further south of the Trishuli river lay two extensive river valleys along the Kolpu and Mahesh rivers. Between these two valleys was located a long hill, which started from the western border of Kathmandu Valley, bending westwards to Trishuli. The settlement on this hill, together with the two large river valleys, was known as Lamidanda, which was then under the control of Lalitpur. After completing administrative arrangements in Nuwakot, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent a contingent of troops under the command of Kalu Pande to occupy Lamidanda. Seeing that he would not be able to defend this area through his own troops, King Rajya Prakash of Lalitpur sent a letter to Kalu Pande through one of his ministers. The letter implored Kalu Pande not to occupy Lamidanda. Negotiations for a treaty ensued. Finally in August 1747, Kalu Pande took over Lamidanda without a fight, on the condition that the subjects of Lalitpur would be allowed to gather fodder there.

With the annexation of the Nuwakot and Lamidanda areas, the territory of Gorkha nearly doubled. In the meantime, Jaya Prakash Malla was living a life of seclusion. He had later started staying at the temple of Guhyeshwari. Taking advantage of Jaya Prakash Malla's absence, Prithvi Narayan Shah consolidated administrative arrangements in the areas occupied by him. For 3 years the administration of Kathmandu was run by Jaya Laxmi, mother of infant King Jyoti Prakash Malla. During this period, hooligans were appointed as ministers. They occupied a powerful position in the administration. Jaya Laxmi herself had begun to indulge in immoral activities, so that the people of Kathmandu had had to call in Jaya Prakash Malla. With the help of his subjects, Jaya Prakash Malla eliminated all his opponents, and, on April 30, 1750, he returned to the palace. However, he conducted the administration of the country for some time as regent for Jyoti Prakash Malla, instead of becoming King himself. It was only in 1753 that he renamed Jyoti Prakash Malla as Jyotirmalla and proclaimed him as Crown Prince, while himself becoming King again. Thereafter, Jaya Prakash Malla started building up his military strength with the help of Nagarkotis brought from Kangra with the aim of recapturing Nuwakot, Sindhu-Palchoki and Dolakha.

Chronology Of Kathmandu<sup>x</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

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| <u>Inscription No. 1</u> | <u>Inscription No. 2</u> | <u>Inscription No. 3</u> | <u>Inscription No. 4</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Ratna Malla           | Ratna Malla              | Ratna Malla              | Ratna Malla              |
| 2. Surya Malla           | Surya Malla              | Surya Malla              | -                        |
| 3. Amar Malla            | Amar Malla               | Narendra Malla           | Amar Malla               |
| 4. Mahendra Malla        | Mahendra Malla           | Mahendra Malla           | Mahendra                 |
| 5. Shiva Simha           | Shiva Simha              | Shiva Simha              | Shiva Simha<br>Malla     |
| 6. Harihara Simha        | Harihara Simha           | Harihara Simha           | Harihara<br>Simha        |
| 7. Laxminrisimha         | Laxminrisimha            | Laxminarasimha           | Laxminrisimha            |
| 8. Pratap Malla          | Pratap Malla             | Pratap Malla             | Pratap Malla             |
| 9. -                     | -                        | -                        | Nripendra<br>Malla       |
| 10. -                    | -                        | -                        | Parthivendra<br>Malla.   |

Apart from the genealogies contained in Vamshavalis, Pratap Malla, the well-known King of Kathmandu, and his grandson, Parthivendra Malla, have given their genealogy in 4 stone-inscriptions, which are listed below:

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<sup>x</sup>Surya Bikram Gnyawali: Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, Vol. 9 (1962), Chapter XI: "Kathmandu Ka Itihaso Kalanirnaya" (Chronology of Kathmandu) pp. 112-120.

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1. Pratap Malla's stone-inscription of Jestha, 762 Nepal era (May 1643) at the temple of Taleju (Sanskrit Sandesh, Year I, No. 2).
2. Pratap Malla's stone-inscription of Falgun 769 Nepal era (February 1649) at the Hanuman Dhoka Palace (Bhagavan Lal Indraji, No. 18; Sanskrit Sandesh, Year I, No. 3).
3. Pratap Malla's stone-inscription of Magh 777 Nepal era (January 1657) at the Pashupatinath temple.
4. Parthivendra Malla's stone-inscription of Marga 799 Nepal era (November 1679) at the Pashupatinath temple.

In Pratap Malla's three stone-inscriptions, there exists only one inconsistency. In his stone-inscription at the Pashupatinath temple, he names Narendra Malla as the successor of Surya Malla, while in his other two inscriptions, he gives the name of Amar Malla. However, in view of the fact that Pratap Malla mentions the name of Amar Malla in two inscriptions, while mentioning that of Narendra Malla only once, it may be assumed that Narendra Malla was another name of Amar Malla.<sup>x</sup>

However, Parthivendra Malla's stone-inscription of 1679 presents some difficulties. It mentions Amar Malla as the son of Ratna Malla, and does not even refer to the name of Surya Malla, who is mentioned in other stone-inscriptions as the actual successor of Ratna Malla. This is indeed surprising. However, in the absence of further evidence it is difficult to express a definite opinion in this matter.

According to the Vamshavalis, Mahendra Malla was succeeded by Sadashiva Malla, who was later dethroned and replaced by his brother Shivasimha. But none of the lists given above mentions the name of Sadashiva Malla. Perhaps this might have been due to the prevailing practice of not mentioning the name of a deposed King. Even then, Shivasimha was succeeded by his own son and there was hardly any need to write Sadashiva Malla's name.

A gold inscription dated Ashadh 632 Nepal era (June 1512) discovered at Maru Sattal in Kathmandu describes Ratna Malla as the King of Nepal.

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<sup>x</sup>Lalit Jung Sijapati, author of "Some Famous Kings of Greater Gorkha" (Vishal Gorkha Ka Kehi Prasiddha Rajahar), also expresses the same opinion.

This proves that Ratna Malla had ruled over Nepal at least till 1512 A.D. Two other authentic dates linked to his rule are specified in the Vamshavalis. The Vamshavalis tell us that Ratna Malla had defeated the Thakuri King of Nuwakot in 611 Nepal era (1491), and that in Magh 621 Nepal era (1502), he had established the temple of Tulaja. These accounts indicate that Ratna Malla had become King of Kathmandu long before 1491 A.D.

No authentic date regarding the rule of Surya Malla, successor of Ratna Malla, is available yet. There is also lack of chronological details regarding the rule of Amar Malla (or Narendra Malla), son of Surya Malla. Bendal has cited a manuscript written in Shraavan 671 Nepal era (July 1552). This book definitely proves that he had ascended to throne in 1552 A.D. Lalit Jung Sijapati has referred to the stone-inscriptions of Amar Malla installed during the period from 649 Nepal era (1529) to 680 Nepal era (1560). A manuscript, said to be a copy of the original Geeta-Bhashya (commentary on the Geeta), prepared at the instance of Mukunda Sharma, a Minister of Amar Malla, refers to the Laxman Sen era, which many scholars say had been started in 119 or 1120 A.D. On the basis of the Laxman Sen era referred to in this work, it is possible to establish that it had been written around 1554 A.D.

Amar Malla (or Narendra Malla) was succeeded by Mahendra Malla. A manuscript dated Shrawan 686 Nepal era (1566 A.D.), which refers to Mahendra Malla, has been cited by Bendall. According to the Vamshavalis, Mahendra Malla had installed the idol of Taleju in Magh 684 Nepal era (1564). Amar Malla's stone-inscriptions until 680 Nepal era only are available. This indicates that the minimum gap between Amar Malla and Mahendra is 4 years only.

Mahendra Malla was succeeded by Sadashiva, his son. Bendall has cited a definite date linked to Sadashiva. That date is 696 Nepal era (1575-76). According to Oldfield, the Mahabauddha shrine was built in 705 Nepal era (1585) during Sadashiva Malla's rule.

Sadashiva Malla was succeeded by Shiva Simha, his brother. A number of his works have been discovered. Copies of the stone-inscriptions dated Magh 714 (January 1594) and Baisakh 715 Nepal era (April 1595), both discovered at the Swayambhunath shrine, have been published in Sanskrit Sandesh<sup>x</sup>. Bendall has also cited a stone-inscription of 720 Nepal era (1600), located near the temple of Narayan at Lagan Tole. According to Brahma Shamsheer, Shivasimha had built the temple of Degutale in Patan in 755 Nepal era (1692 Vikram era or 1635 A.D.). But it is hard to express definite opinions about this date, as there exists a wide gap between it and the dates mentioned above.

<sup>x</sup>Sanskrit Sandesh, Year 2, Nos. 4-6.

Shivasimha was succeeded by his son, Laxmi Narasimha. On ascending to throne, he minted coins in his name. But these coins do not mention the year in which they had been minted. These coins therefore do not help to determine the period of his rule. A facsimile of Laxmi Narasimha's stone-inscription of Ashadh 761 Nepal era (1641), written in the Nepali language, has been published in Itihas Prakash (Vol. 1, p. 61). The first coins bearing the name of his son, Pratap Malla, have been discovered. These were minted in 761 Nepal era. This shows that Laxmi Narasimha Malla's rule had formally ended in 761 Nepal era (1641), although one stone-inscription suggests that Pratap Malla had become King in 760 Nepal era (1640).

A number of authentic proofs such as coins, books and stone-inscriptions connected with the rule of Pratap Malla have been discovered. On the basis of this evidence, it may be assumed that Pratap Malla had a long rule. A manuscript entitled Puja Kalpalata, written in 789 Nepal era (1669) states that Pratap Malla's rule had been very stable. From this, it may be inferred that his rule had been free from internal weakness as well as from external threat, even though he had become old. A silver coin minted in 789 Nepal era (1669), bearing the name of his son, Chakravartindra Malla, has been discovered. But it is not clear whether the coin had been minted in the name of Chakravartindra Malla on the order of his father, or whether he had become an independent King himself. According to the Vamshavali, Pratap Malla had been succeeded by Nripendra Malla. Coins of 795 Nepal era (1675), bearing the name of Nripendra Malla, have been discovered. These coins, however, are believed to have been minted in his name after he ascended the throne following the death of Pratap Malla. It may therefore be presumed that the death of Pratap Malla occurred in 794 Nepal era (1674). This view is corroborated also by accounts given in some Vamshavalis.

On the other hand, Wright writes that Pratap Malla had died in 809 Nepal era (1689 A.D.). According to one Vamshavali in the possession of the author, the year of his death was 797 Nepal era (1677). According to the Vamshavali, Pratap Malla had enthroned his sons by turns and minted coins in their names when he was still alive. This may explain the reason for the wide gap between the two years mentioned above. It is probably on the basis of this account that a number of historians have included the reign of Nripendra Malla and Parthivendra Malla, who succeeded Pratap Malla, in the total period of the latter's rule. Any way, the Vamshavalis not only contain conflicting accounts regarding the probable year of Pratap Malla's death, but also fail to give details of the rule of Nripendra Malla and Parthivendra Malla.

A copy of the stone-inscription of Marga 7986 Nepal era (November 1678) has been published in Sanskrit Sandesh. It indicates that Nripendra Malla's rule had been a very short one. He had probably ruled till the end of the eighth century Nepal era. Silver coins bearing the name of Parthivendra Malla

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and dated 800 Nepal era (1680) have been discovered. Parthivendra Malla too does not appear to have ruled long. A coin of his son, Bhupalendra Malla, which was minted in 812 Nepal era (1692) proved that Parthivendra Malla had died before that year. The Vamshavalis do not contain any reference to the year in which Parthivendra Malla had died, nor is any other documentary evidence available in this regard. Wright mentions 809 Nepal era (1689) as the year of Pratap Malla's death. As such, it may be presumed that he had probably died during this year.

A stone-inscription of Kartik 810 Nepal era (October 1689), mentioning the name of Bhupalendra Malla, son of Parthivendra Malla, has been found. This stone-inscription, installed by Riddhilaxmi Devi, mother of Bhupalendra Malla, proves that he had become King in 1690 A.D. A copy of the copper-inscription of 818 Nepal era (1698 A.D.), installed at the main gate of Patan has been published in Sanskrit Sandesh. It mentions the names of 3 contemporary Kings, among whom was Bhupalendra Malla. This shows that he had been King of Kathmandu till 1698 A.D. He appears to have died some time after that year. The definite year of his death is not known, but it is presumed to be 818 Nepal era (1698). A coin (Suki) bearing the name of his son Bhaskar Malla and dated 818 Nepal era (1698) has been discovered.

Bhaskar Malla ruled for a long time. He was also the King of Patan. He assumed the name of Mahindra Singh after becoming King of Patan. He died in 842 Nepal era (1722). A coin of the same year, bearing the name of his successor, Jagajjaya Malla, has been discovered. Jagajjaya Malla died around 854 Nepal era (1734 A.D.). This is proved by the coin of Prakash Malla, dated 856 Nepal era (1736). Prakash Malla, the last King of Kathmandu was defeated by Prithvinarayan Shah in 1768.

#### List of Malla Kings

|                                    | <u>Nepal Era</u> | <u>A.D.</u> |
|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| 1. Ratna Malla                     | 611 or 621       | 1491-1501   |
| 2. Surya Malla                     | 632              | 1512        |
| 3. Amar Malla or<br>Narendra Malla | 671              | 1512        |
| 4. Mahendra Malla                  | 686              | 1567        |
| 5. Sadashiva Malla                 | 696              | 1575-85     |

Contd...



|                        |         |           |
|------------------------|---------|-----------|
| 6. Shivasimha          | 714-720 | 1596-1600 |
| 7. Laxmi Narasimha     | 761     | 1642      |
| 8. Pratap Malla        | 761-795 | 1642-1675 |
| 9. Nripendra Malla     | 795-800 | 1675-1680 |
| 10. Parthivendra Malla | 800-818 | 1680-1698 |
| 11. Bhaskar Malla      | 818-842 | 1698-1722 |
| 12. Jagajjaya Malla    | 842-856 | 1722-36   |
| 13. Prakash Malla      | 856-888 | 1736-1768 |

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Treaty Signed By King Jaya Prakash Malla Of  
Kantipur In Favor Of King Prithvi Narayan Shah<sup>x</sup>

I hereby sign this pledge in favor of King Prithvi Narayan Shah Dev.

Coins shall be minted in both Kathmandu and Gorkha. No impurity shall be mixed in rupee coins. Both mints shall use the same alloy. The coins of Gorkha shall be accepted by Kathmandu, and vice-versa.

Coins and goods shall be sent to Tibet in equal amounts or quantities. Envoys (wakil) of both Kathmandu and Gorkha shall be stationed in Tibet. Both envoys shall seal consignments of goods and despatch the same.

Goods exported or imported without the consent of both envoys shall be confiscated. Half of the goods confiscated by Kathmandu shall be handed over to Gorkha, and vice-versa.

In case coins minted by Kathmandu are not accepted by anyone in Gorkha, he shall be punished. In case anyone in Kathmandu does not accept the coins minted in Gorkha, he shall be punished. Merchants coming through Patan shall be looted, and their possessions shall be confiscated.

An envoy (wakil) of Gorkha shall be stationed in Kathmandu, and vice-versa. Consignments of goods shall be opened and inspected with the permission of the Wakil. Trade with Tibet shall be conducted through Nuwakot. Such goods brought from Gorkha as are declared shall not be confiscated by Kathmandu. Only smuggled goods shall be confiscated. Goods brought from Kathmandu shall not be confiscated by Gorkha if they are declared, but if such goods are smuggled, these shall be confiscated.

Gold and silver brought from Tibet shall be shared (by Kathmandu and Gorkha) equally. Coins brought from the plains (Madhesh) shall also be shared equally.

Patan shall be taken over by Gorkha, while Kathmandu shall be assisted to take over Naldum. When Patan is occupied by Gorkha, Kathmandu shall support such occupation. In the event that Kathmandu occupies Patan, it shall hand Patan over to Gorkha. Gorkha shall have precedence over Kathmandu in this matter.

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<sup>x</sup>Naya Raj Pant et. al, Sri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah). Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d. pp. 973-977.

May adherence to this treaty promote religion. In case any side violates this treaty, may the five great sins fall upon him.

Tuesday, Poush Badi 8, 1814  
(December 1758).

Explanation:-

This pledge was signed by King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur on Poush 23, 1814 (January 6, 1758) in favor of King Prithvi Narayan Shah. It sheds much light on the political and economic conditions prevailing at that time. The salient features of this document are as follows:-

- (1) Both Kathmandu and Gorkha agreed to mint pure silver coins of uniform mold and the coins of one Kingdom circulated in the territory of the other.
- (2) Both sides agreed to remit money and export goods to Tibet on a fifty-fifty basis, station each other's Wakis there, arrange for the export of goods under the supervision of such Wakis and share the gold procured from Tibet equally.
- (3) Both sides agreed to conduct trade with Tibet through Nuwakot.
- (4) Kathmandu and Gorkha agreed to maintain Wakis in each other's territory and develop trade with each other.
- (5) Both sides agreed to share coins received from Madhesh (India) equally.
- (6) The two sides agreed that Kantipur should accept Gorkha's occupation of Patan. They also agreed that if Kantipur itself occupies Patan, it should eventually hand Patan over to Gorkha. They agreed, in addition, that merchandise brought from Patan should be confiscated.
- (7) Gorkha agreed to hand over Naldum to Kathmandu.

On Jestha 19, 1814 Vikrama (June 3, 1757) that is 7 months before the conclusion of this treaty, Prithvinarayan Shah had, for the first time, invaded Kirtipur. At that time, Kantipur, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur all considered Gorkha to be their common enemy. The Kings of these three Kingdoms therefore sent their troops to defend Kirtipur. The Gorkhalis sustained a humiliating defeat in the battle of Kirtipur. Jaya Prakash

Contd...

also had played a key role in the defeat of Gorkha in this battle. He had personally taken part in the Kirtipur battle. However, Kirtipur was a part of the territory of Lalitpur, and so Jaya Prakash Malla did not derive any direct benefit from this battle notwithstanding his victory.

The throne of Lalitpur at that time was occupied by Rajya Prakash, who was Jaya Prakash Malla's own brother. Rajya Prakash had rebelled against Jaya Prakash and fled from Kantipur and later became King of Lalitpur. Hence the two brothers were never on good terms with each other. Jaya Prakash was always planning to harm Lalitpur.

Having lost much of its territory extending from Nuwakot to Naldum, Kantipur was suffering considerable losses at that time. Its financial condition was deteriorating on account of the dislocation of its trade with Tibet resulting from the loss of these territories. It was therefore natural that Jaya Prakash Malla should have sought to find out means to improve the situation.

Prithvi Narayan, who was then trying to advance farther to the east, wanted to have a foothold in Kathmandu Valley by any means. He won over some people in Kathmandu Valley, and, with their help, kept himself abreast of developments in all the three kingdoms comprising it. Given chance, he was prepared to resort to any political maneuver.

Jaya Prakash Malla may have concluded this treaty with Prithvi Narayan Shah at a time when he was very angry over the conduct of Lalitpur. This is substantiated also from the letter he had written to Kalu Pande in 1813 Vikrama (1756), in which he had said he intended to fight against Bhadgaun, not against Patan. Jaya Prakash too indulged frequently in diplomatic maneuvers.

The conclusion of such a treaty with Prithvi Narayan Shah was not specially advantageous to Jaya Prakash Malla. However, he thought it to be in his interests to do so because it might pave the way for trade relations with Tibet and the western principalities including Gorkha, thereby bringing economic benefits to his Kingdom. In addition, he thought that the treaty would enable him to recover Naldum and settle scores with Lalitpur.

To Prithvi Narayan Shah, however, the treaty was particularly advantageous from both the political and economic viewpoints. It helped him much in his long-standing efforts to strengthen the economic position of his Kingdom. The provision made in the treaty for Kathmandu's support for Gorkha's occupation of Patan constituted a political gain for Prithvi Narayan Shah.

It is not known whether the treaty was ever enforced, or how long it remained in force. Anyway, the treaty reveals the political acumen of Prithvi Narayan Shah, who succeeded in winning over one of his bitter foes, and persuading him to sign it.

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Guthi Land Endowments By Sen Kings Of Vijayapur

1. From King Hari Narayan Sen,

(Royal Titles).

We hereby endow the following 2 villages (mouja) of Wolgaon and Majhigaon in the Nongaon area of the riparian region (ghat) of Morang for propitiating Goddess Pindeshwari.

The Jangam Gosain shall take charge of these lands, reclaim and cultivate them and use the produce thereof to perform religious functions at the Pindeshwari temple as well as at the monastery.

Falgun Badi 14, 1786

Vijayapur

(March 1730 A.D.)

Regmi Research Collections,

Vol. I, p. 454.

Attested By:

Dewan Pratap Singh Rai.

2. From King Hari Narayan Sen,

(Royal Titles).

We hereby endow the village of Dumariya in the Bariyarpur revenue division (tappa) of Morang to Goddess Pindeshwari. We also hereby entrust charge of this endowment to Mahant Tilanayak Saiva of the same village.

Consider (this village) to be under your charge and promote reclamation and settlement. Use the produce thereof to meet the requirements of the Pindeshwari temple and bless us.

Jestha Sudi 4, 1786

Vijayapur

(June 1729 A.D.)

Regmi Research Collections,

Vol. I, p. 457.

Attested By:

Dewan Pratap Singh Rai.

## 3. From King Hari Narayan Sen,

(Royal Titles).

We hereby endow (the village of) Guabari in the Chawkibari area for performing religious ceremonies at the temple of Pindeshwari.

The Jangam Gosain shall take charge of this village, and reclaim and cultivate it. He shall use the produce thereof to perform religious ceremonies and offer lamps at the temple.

Magh Badi 5, 1785  
Vijayapur  
(January 1729 A.D.)  
Regmi Research Collections,  
Vol. I, p. 456.

Attested By:

Dewan Pratap Singh Rai.

## 4. From King Kamadatta Sen,

(Royal Titles).

We hereby endow the village (mouja) of Goarpara in Morang as Birta for financing religious functions at the temple (asthan) of ...

With due assurance, reclaim and cultivate this village, regarding it as Bitalab exempt from all taxes and levies (Sarba Anka Abwab). Utilize the produce thereof for offering incense, lamps and eatables at the temple. Pray for our prosperity, and serve and propitiate (the god).

Ashadh Badi 1610 Bikrama  
Vijayapur  
(June 1753 A.D.)  
Regmi Research Collections,  
Vol. I, p. 453.

Attested By:

Dewan Sirikantha Rai.

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Management Of Guthi Lands In Dolakha, 1759<sup>x</sup>

From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Dhana Datta, Ratuabir Sim and Simdev Thakur.

You are hereby entrusted with the responsibility of looking after the following Khet lands endowed as Guthi as follows:-

25 muris of Khet lands known as Dhulpu endowed as Guthi to Shri Narayana.

25 muris of Khet lands known as Guthibu endowed as Guthi to Shri Bhairava.

12 muris of Khet lands known as Khoj endowed as Guthi to Shri Bhimasena.

We hereby make a donation (Bakas) of these lands to you. Dhanadatta and Ratna Sim shall look after (these lands) and construct temples, rest-houses and roadside shelters.

Wednesday,  
Jestha Sudi 4, 1816 (Jestha 19, 1758)  
June 1, 1759).

Explanation:

Prithvi Narayan had adopted the policy of confirming Guthi land endowments made for the maintenance of temples, rest-houses and roadside shelters. This letter shows that he had confirmed the Guthi lands belonging to the temple of Dolakha Narayan after his conquest of Dolakha. It gives an idea of the policy followed by Prithvi Narayan Shah towards land endowments.

Prithvi Narayan Shah was finding it hard to conquer Kirtipur. He could not weaken Kirtipur from within with the help of local agents. That was the reason why he had had to use force to conquer Kirtipur. He had the nose of several people of Kirtipur cut off in order to teach them a lesson and insure that they did not revolt later. But in spite of what the people of Kirtipur had done, Prithvi Narayan Shah had, on conquering Kirtipur, made Guthi endowments for the performance of religious functions at local temples.

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<sup>x</sup>Naya Raj Pant, op. cit., pp. 981-983.

Contd...

This shows the policy followed by King Prithvi Narayan Shah for consolidating his hold on conquered territories.

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Land Grants By King Prithvi Narayan Shah

1. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,<sup>x</sup>

To Indramani Jaishi.

We hereby grant you the following lands belonging to you as Bandha-Bitalap-Bakas:-

| <u>Designation of Land</u> | <u>Area</u> |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| Furanu-Sero ...            | 60 muris    |
| Arubote ...                | 120 muris   |
| Nibuwabote ...             | 80 muris    |
| Tallo-Arubote ...          | 80 muris    |
| Upallo-Barrabote ...       | 20 muris    |
| Gahiri-Khet ...            | 60 muris    |
| Khola-Khet ...             | 110 muris   |
| Dhabya-Katuwa ...          | 20 muris    |

A tract of uneven land situated at a high altitude occupied by Punya Darbug.

Hillside land situated between two streams below your homestead.

A tract of uneven land and a pond situated above your homestead.

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<sup>x</sup>Ibid, pp. 983-985.

These lands have been granted to you along with the attached homesteads, Pakho and other lands, as well as the Simle and Dumari hills, the Nasingtar-Pakho lands and the high lands used to raise seedings.

The Umra shall have no jurisdiction over the holding of Indramani.

We have received Rs 2,950 (from Indramani Jaishi). Whenever we shall repay this money, we shall resume the lands.

Sunday, Jestha Sudi 4, 1817 (Jestha 9, 1817)  
(May 12, 1760).

Explanation:

In 1817 Vikrama (1760 A.D.), Prithvi Narayan Shah had received an amount of Rs 2950.00 from Indramani Jaishi. According to this document, he granted tax exemptions to Indramani Jaishi on both his old and new lands. It is not known who Indramani Jaishi was, or where he lived. But it may be surmised that he was a wealthy person with extensive land holding. This explains why he was able to pay a sum of Rs 2950.00 to Prithvi Narayan Shah for having his old lands confirmed, purchasing new lands and having them exempted from taxation.

Prithvi Narayan Shah always needed money to finance his military campaigns. He had to devise various means for collecting money. At that time, sale and mortgage of land were important sources of revenue. Numerous documents issued by Kings in consideration of payments made in the course of such transactions have been discovered. Prithvi Narayan Shah too appears to have issued the above document to Indramani Jaishi after receiving money from him to meet his needs.

2. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,<sup>x</sup>

We have accepted a present of Rs 125 from Birabhadra Khajanchi in consideration of the purchase of Birta lands at Manthali from a Khas. We hereby confirm the lands as Birta and grant exemption (from taxes). Utilize the lands with due assurance.

Jestha 1821  
(May 1764).

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<sup>x</sup>Ibid, pp. 1002-1003.

Explanation:

Prithvi Narayan Shah issued this document confirming Birta lands in Manthali after receiving a sum of Rs 125.00 in Jestha 1821 Vikrama. Manthali is situated on the banks of the Tamakoshi river to the south of Dolakha district.

When a Kingdom changed hands, the rights of people over their lands were not considered secure unless these were confirmed by the new ruler. It was therefore natural for a landowner to try to have his lands confirmed by the new King. King Prithvi Narayan Shah used to confirm the lands of some people without any charge and of others on payment of fees, taking the situation into consideration. He confiscated the lands of those who opposed him. He had taken the situation into account while issuing this document confirming Birta lands in Manthali.

This document mentions only the year and the month, not the date. It is therefore not possible to calculate the exact date on which it was written.

\*\*\*\*\*:

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: August 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 8,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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The Campaign Of Political Unification<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

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For the rulers of Tanahu, Lamidanda was as strategically located as Nuwakot was for Gorkha. During the regime of King Kamarajadatta Sen, Tanahu had occupied a small area named Jogimara in the Lamidanda region. His son, King Trivikrama Sen, was a contemporary of Prithvi Narayan Shah. He was feeling perturbed over the conquest of Lamidanda by the Gorkhalis. However, Prithvi Narayan Shah made no attempt to occupy Jogimara. He had set up an army outpost at Deurali for the defense of that area. Prithvi Narayan Shah wanted to occupy the fort of Dahachok, gateway to Kathmandu Valley, which belonged to Lalitpur, and was protected by Lalitpur's army. But King Trivikrama Sen always made efforts to resist him. By chance, a concubine of Prithvi Narayan Shah, whom he had brought from Bhaktapur, was suffering from tuberculosis. Since she wished to pass the last days of her life in Kashi, he sent her there via Devghat. Trivikrama Sen, who was in Jogimara, opened the palanquin, looked at her and then let the palanquin pass. When Prithvi Narayan Shah heard this news, he became furious, but controlled himself, and sent Narayan Pandit, nephew of the teacher of Narbhupal Shah, to the palace of King Trivikrama Sen to summon him by any means to discuss affairs of state at Jyamirghat, situated on the left bank of the Marsyangdi river in Gorkha. His army, which was hiding there in disguise, arrested Trivikrama Sen, who was then imprisoned in the palace. At this, the rulers of Kathmandu, Lamjung and Kaski became furious with Prithvi Narayan Shah. Prithvi Narayan Shah then released Trivikrama Sen lest the situation should become more critical. Trivikrama Sen, who was badly humiliated, returned to Tanahu after his release (1753 A.D.).

Prithvi Narayan Shah sent a small force, led by Kaji Tula Ram Pande, to occupy Dahachok fort without caring for this incident. On the same occasion, Jaya Prakash Malla sent a force under the command of Kaji Chikuti Maske and occupied the forts of Naldum and Mahadevpokhari. The defenders of Naldum, Chautara Jahangir Shah and Sardar Mannu Shahi, escaped. Najiki

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepal Ko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 2022 (1966). Chapter III: "Ekikaran Karyama Sangharsha" (The Campaign of Unification), pp. 17-23.



Devarshi Upadhyaya, defender of Mahadevpokhari fort, was killed in the battle, while Umrao Ashajit Bhandari escaped. Most of the troops of both forts were killed (1754 A.D.). Although Prithvi Narayan Shah felt distressed when he heard this news, he was not discouraged. The troops led by Tula Ram Pande occupied Dahachok fort and drove out the defenders belonging to Lalitpur (1754 A.D.).

When the army of Jaya Prakash Malla occupied the forts of Naldum and Mahadevpokhari, King Ranajit Malla felt very frightened. Jayaprakash Malla, was then prepared to reoccupy Nuwakot. But Prithvi Narayan Shah was not at all frustrated. He sent a force led by Kalu Pande, reoccupied the forts of Naldum and Mahadevpokhari, killed the Nagarkoti troops there or drove them out. (August 1, 1754). Tula Ram Pande reached Dolakha via Sindhupalchok to occupy it. Dolakha was occupied by the Gorkhalis without bloodshed.

There was now open opposition between the King of Lamjung and Prithvi Narayan Shah, Prithvi Narayan Shah then broke the treaty with Lamjung and said to Ranajit Malla, "Since you are not capable of holding Sindhupalchok and Dolakha, I will keep them under my control. I will also protect your territory, Kabhrepalanchok, which has remained under your control for a long time and for this, I will retain the fort of Mahadevpokhari." Ranjit Malla agreed to this proposal. (1754 A.D.).

Prithvi Narayan Shah knew that the King of Lamjung was planning to invade Gorkha with the help of the Kings of Tanahu, Kaski and Parbat. Generally, the Kings of Lamjung and Parbat used to raid Kaski jointly and thus harass King Siddhi Narayan Shah. Therefore, Prithvi Narayan Shah, with the intention of dividing them, and winning over the King of Kaski to his side, sent an envoy to Kaski. But when a man from Kaski came to Mahadevpokhari and told Prithvi Narayan Shah that the King of Kaski was not likely to be won over, he left for Nuwakot after bidding good-bye to King Ranajit Malla. When he arrived in Nuwakot, he was informed that the army of the Chaubisi Kingdoms, including Lamjung, had attacked the fort of Siranchok belonging to Gorkha during the last week of May and occupied it. The army led by Kalu Pande there fled to Gorkha, and Prithvi Narayan Shah also reached there subsequently. Kaji Rana Rudra Shahi, who had been deputed to protect Gorkha, was reorganizing the forces of Gorkha. When Kalu Pande reached there, the Gorkhali army invaded Siranchok. The battle continued all the day long, and many senior officers of both sides were killed, and their soldiers suffered heavy casualties. In the end, the Gorkhalis secured a victory and Kalu Pande captured some of the senior officers of the enemy and brought them to Gorkha. The troops of the Chaubisi Kingdoms, who were pursued had been driven by the Gorkhalis, fell into the Chepe river and were drowned, since boats were not available. This decisive battle proved that the Kingdom of Gorkha could not be defeated even through the combined efforts of the Chaubisi Kingdoms.

Contd...

After gaining victory over Siranchok, Prithvi Narayan Shah engaged himself in administrative reforms for one year. During this time, there were intrigues between King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu and Minister Kali Das of Lalitpur. Prithvi Narayan Shah deputed Kalu Pande with troops to occupy the territories of Lalitpur. Kalu Pande moved from Chitlang and occupied Pharping without a fight. He stopped in Pharping when he was requested by King Jaya Prakash not to move towards Lalitpur, but to fight with Bhaktapur. After Pharping was occupied, the Kingdom of Gorkha extended to Kulekhani, Ipa and Malta, and the southern border of Gorkha adjoined the northern border of Makwanpur.

Towards the end of September, a secret agent of Jayaprakash Malla killed Minister Kalidas at his residence. Due to this shock, King Rajya Prakash Malla also (of Lalitpur) died. Towards the beginning of October, the ministers enthroned a young Thakuri, Bishwajit Malla, who had been brought up at the royal palace. (1756 A.D.).

Prithvi Narayan Shah then planned to infiltrate into the interior areas of Lalitpur via Dahachok. For this, it was necessary to occupy Kirtipur, the main settlement of this area. In the course of discussions with generals and advisors, Hari Bamshe Upadhyaya, who was in charge of Dahachok fort advised that it was not the appropriate time to invade Kirtipur, for the people of Kathmandu Valley were united, although there was a split among the 3 rulers. Kalu Pande also expressed the same opinion. But some of the courtiers advised Prithvi Narayan Shah to invade Kirtipur, realizing that this was what he wanted to do. The discussions were prolonged. When King Jaya Prakash received information about the plan of Prithvi Narayan Shah, he grasped the opportunity to organize his youthful subjects, and so did Bishwajit Malla of Lalitpur. In Bhaktapur, King Ranajit Malla had no desire to follow his neighbors. But the youths of Bhaktapur were determined (to resist the invasion of Prithvi Narayan Shah). In Nuwakot, preparations were made for the invasion of Kirtipur. But Kalu Pande remained firm in his opinion to the last. But when Prithvi Narayan Shah told him: "You are afraid of being killed", he was touched to the quick and joined the troops with Prithvi Narayan Shah. Prithvi Narayan Shah arrived in Dahachok with 1,200 troops and shifted his camp to Jhamsikhel on the day preceding the date of attack. The inhabitants of Kirtipur closed the gates of the town. The news of the arrival of the Gorkhali troops in Kirtipur spread very fast in all the 3 capitals of Kathmandu Valley and the adjoining villages. From the next morning, the youths of all three Kingdoms started gathering at the respective capitals. The battle started immediately after King Jaya Prakash Malla arrived in Kirtipur, leading the youths of Kathmandu, at 10:00 A.M. The youths of Kirtipur also joined them. In the afternoon, King Bishwajit Malla along with the youths of Lalitpur, arrived there. But King Ranajit Malla did not come. His generals, along with the youths of Bhaktapur, joined the allied troops, whose number was approximately 3,000.

A fierce battle started. The Malla troops did not have good weapons, nor were they properly trained. Although they outnumbered the Gorkhalis, the latter pressed hard under the command of an able general. In the meantime, an arrow of the enemy hit Kalu Pande, and he fell down. The Malla troops showered arrows on him and thus killed him. A brave and capable soldier thus passed away. The Gorkhali troops felt discouraged and began to disperse. Dusk was approaching. Prithvi Narayan Shah witnessed the battle from a distance. He ordered his army to return, since he did not expect to secure victory. The Gorkhali troops returned to Dahachok following Prithvi Narayan Shah in the night. The tired Malla troops could not chase the Gorkhalis. The Malla troops also incurred no less loss. Half of the troops of both sides were killed in this battle. King Jaya Prakash had ordered that the wounded soldiers should be taken back. The next day, Prithvi Narayan Shah was shocked to see his wounded soldiers. The death of Kalu Pande had caused an incurable wound in his heart. Approximately one month after this battle on June 23, General Robert Clive of the East India Company laid the foundation of British rule over India by securing victory over the battle of Plassey.

The Buddhist traders of Kathmandu had been amassing money by conducting trade in goods from Tibet as well as those reaching Tibet from Bihar and Bengal. Both the traders and the King of Kathmandu derived benefit from this trade, for it yielded a large sum of money as customs revenue. The passes of Kuti and Kerung were thin under Kathmandu. But both the traders and the King of Kathmandu were deprived of these profits when these passes were occupied by Bhaktapur. When the King of Bhaktapur occupied the pass of Kuti, he was able to monopolize trade with Tibet. He was thus able to construct a huge palace with the customs revenue of seven years. Prithvi Narayan Shah also had tried to conduct such trade via Kerung, but he was not successful, since the Gorkhalis were not skilled in trade. He could not even make profit by stationing a consul in Khasa, when he occupied Sindhupalchok and Dolakha, to purchase gold that came from Tibet and sell it to Indian traders. Therefore, he felt it necessary to obtain cooperation from the Buddhist Newar traders of Kathmandu for Jaya Prakash Malla and Bishwajit Malla had quarrelled with each other after the battle of Kirtipur, and King Ranajit Malla too did not have good relations with Kathmandu. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore proposed to Jaya Prakash Malla that the routes of both Kuti and Kerung should remain open, that the traders of Gorkha and Kathmandu should conduct trade with Tibet jointly and share the profits equally, that both should station consuls in Lhasa for this purpose, and that Gorkha should appoint a consul in Kathmandu, and Kathmandu in Nuwakot, thus maintaining cordial relations between them. Jaya Prakash Malla agreed to these proposals and a treaty was concluded accordingly (January 3, 1758). Jaya Prakash Malla, who had become furious with Bishwajit Malla, proposed that Prithvi Narayan Shah should

Contd...

take over the Kingdom of Lalitpur, and return Sindhupalchok and Dolakha to Kathmandu. Prithvi Narayan Shah reluctantly incorporated this proposal in the treaty, as he wanted to conduct trade (with Tibet).

Kaji Tula Ram Pande, consul of Prithvi Narayan Shah, arrived in Kathmandu. But there were several difficulties and time passed. Tula Ram Pande was, in fact, deputed to spread the influence of Gorkha in Kathmandu, and he was busy doing so. Jaya Prakash Malla, who did not notice any possibility of conducting trade, and regarded the stay of Tula Ram Pande as only a means to spread the Gorkhali influence, detained him on the charge of being a spy and beheaded two of his assistants. Tula Ram Pande then fled from Kathmandu and reached Nuwakot to report the matter to Prithvi Narayan Shah (April, 1759).

Prithvi Narayan Shah became annoyed by the betrayal of Jaya Prakash Malla. He occupied a fort of Kathmandu on the Shivapuri hill, situated on the border between Kathmandu and Nuwakot, in order to break relations between the King and the people of Kathmandu. (July 1759). Prithvi Narayan Shah's relationship of ritual father with King Ranajit Malla was also broken, for Ranajit Malla had fought against him in the battle of Kirtipur. Prithvi Narayan Shah then withdrew the Gorkhali troops stationed at the fort of Mahadovpokhari. Ranajit Malla had appointed Parashu Ram Thapa, an opponent of Prithvi Narayan Shah, as general. He renovated the forts of Kabhre and Palanchok and stationed the troops of Bhaktapur in both forts. Prithvi Narayan Shah then sent troops led by Bhim Simha Thapa, "Tiger of Siranchok," to occupy both of these forts. Bhim Simha Thapa attacked the fort of Palanchok, but was killed. His colleague, Ramkrishna Kunwar, led the Gorkhali troops and occupied the fort (January 1760). The defenders of Kabhre fort (belonging to Bhaktapur) fled from there after hearing the occupation of Palanchok by the Gorkhalis. Thus, both forts were occupied by the army led by Ramkrishna Kunwar, who then became the administrator of that area and settled in Bhanwarkot.

When King Bishwajit Malla of Lalitpur was killed by the husband of a woman whom he had seduced, the Pradhans invited King Jaya Prakash Malla and crowned him King (October 1760). Since King Bishwajit Malla was killed inside the old royal palace, it was considered inauspicious and a new palace with one courtyard was constructed for King Jaya Prakash Malla. But the ministers of Lalitpur used to exercise all powers themselves and have the King perform religious ceremonies only. When Jaya Prakash Malla tried to interfere in the affairs of the state, conflict ensued and a minister named Binkhuwal Dhan dethroned him and made Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur King of Lalitpur also (May 1762).

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Letter From King Prithvi Narayan Shah To Ramakrishna Kunwar Rana

(Summary).

On Wednesday, Magh 2 (January 15), the troops of the Hakim (i.e. Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal) besieged Makwanpur. But the siege affected Daduwa-Thana only. Our communications with other outposts continue.

We have received reports that the Nawab's troops have reached Harina-Madhi. It is now necessary for us to attack. Impress the services of all inhabitants of your area on Jhara basis and remain ready. Proceed to the place directed by us later.

Magh Sudi 1,

Explanation

This letter was written by King Prithvi Narayan Shah to Ramakrishna Kunwar on Magh 5, 1819 (January 18, 1763). It refers to the attack of the troops of Mir Kasim on Makwanpur.

After King Prithvi Narayan Shah's occupation of Dolakha and nearby areas, it became easier for him to encircle Nepal (i.e., Kathmandu) Valley from the western, northern and eastern directions. To besiege the valley from the southern direction, it was necessary to occupy Makwanpur. King Hemakarna Sen of Makwanpur, who was the father-in-law of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, had died in 1816 Vikrama. King Prithvi Narayan Shah was not on good terms with Digbandhan Sen, his wife's elder brother. Digbandhan Sen had actually joined the enemy camp. Therefore, on Bhadra 8, 1819 Vikrama, the Gorkhali troops invaded Makwanpur. They scored victory in this battle. On Ashwin 22, i.e. 45 days after the defeat of Makwanpur, the Gorkhalis took over Hariharpur, situated to the south of Makwanpur.

Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal was seeking to occupy as much territory as possible. He sent troops to attack Makwanpur on hearing that it had been occupied by King Prithvi Narayan Shah. When he was informed that the troops of Mir Kasim had besieged Makwanpur, Prithvi Narayan Shah wrote this letter, directing Ramakrishna Kunwar to remain ready to resist the invasion.

On Magh 10, 1819 Vikrama, i.e. 5 days after this letter was written, Gorkhali troops made a lightning attack on the troops of Mir Kasim, who thereupon fled. Among the Gorkhali nobles spearheading this attack was Ramakrishna Kunwar Rana.

Contd...

The Gorkhalis had been fighting continually for 20 years. But this was the first time that they had had to fight against a large foreign army. Having defeated the enemy in this battle as well, the Gorkhalis were able to derive double advantage. In the first place, they were able to seize weapons in large quantities, and secondly, their prestige went up, both at home and abroad.

Source: Naya Raj Pant et. al., Sri 5 Prithvinarayan Shah Ko Upadesh (Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah). Lalitpur: Jagadamba Prakashan, n.d. pp. 986-988.

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King Prithvi Narayan Shah's Letters To Nilakantha Joshi

1. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Nilakantha Joshi.

We hereby grant you exemption from (the obligation to provide) Jhara (labor).

Friday, Chaitra Badi 9, 1815  
(March 1758).

. From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Nilakantha Joshi.

Greetings. All is well here and we want the same there. This will give us great pleasure.

We have received your letter and noted its contents.

We hereby grant you exemption from payment of Kusahi-Bisahi levies. We have sent the royal order in this regard to the Chautara and the Kaji. Utilize the Birta lands owned by you. What more to learned people.

The oral message communicated by the bearer of this letter is confirmed.

Contd...



### Explanation

These two letters were written by Prithvi Narayan Shah to Nilakantha Joshi. In the first letter, the Vikrama year 1815 is mentioned, while the second one does not mention any date. It has been calculated that the second letter was written in 1816 Vikrama. The two letters are given side by side here, since the contents of both are similar.

Nilakantha Joshi was a resident of Bhaktapur. The above letters indicate that Prithvi Narayan Shah had managed to look after his interests in the Bhaktapur area with the help of Nilakantha Joshi. Prithvi Narayan Shah followed the policy of bestowing favors on those who joined him. Accordingly, he had granted Nilakantha Joshi exemption from Jhara and the Kusahi-Bisahi levy, and allowed him to retain his Birta lands.

Jhara meant unpaid labor contributed by the people on a compulsory basis to meet the special requirements of the government, particularly during war. This system continued for a long time. It was physically arduous to work under this system. Hence Prithvi Narayan Shah used to grant exemption from Jhara to persons, particularly, Brahmans, who rendered special services. Later, all Upadhyaya Brahmans were exempted from Jhara. This is proved by contemporary documents. One of them which refers to the construction of a fort in Butaul during the Anglo-Nepal war, is given below:-

From His Majesty ...

To people belonging to all the 4 castes and 36 sub-castes residing in areas west of the Marsyangdi river:-

"Colonel Ujir Singh Thapa has been ordered to construct a fort in Butaul. All Amalis other than Upadhyaya Brahmans, belonging to all the 4 castes and 36 sub-castes, shall reach Butaul by Poush 5, carrying with them axes and spades, Khukris and other tools, as well as 4 months' rations, and work as directed by Colonel (Ujir Singh Thapa) promptly. Any one who fails to contribute Jhara labor, or any Amali who fails to supply Jhara laborers, shall be punished."

There are scores of cases in which Prithvi Narayan Shah had bestowed favors as part of statecraft. However, he carefully evaluated the performance of those upon whom he intended to bestow favors. This is substantiated also by the above two letters written by Prithvi Narayan Shah to Nilakantha Joshi. He had exempted Nilakantha Joshi from the Kusahi-Bisahi levy and confirmed his Birta holdings only one year after granting exemption from the obligation to contribute Jhara labor.

Source: Ibid, pp. 978-981.

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Property Transactions In Kathmandu,1794

(Royal orders confirming these transactions issued on Monday, Kartik Badi 5, 1851 (November 1794)).

1. Madhav Sing Udas, of Ngat Tol in Kathmandu, sold 16 ropanis of Khet lands in Dhalpodol. Balakrishna Newar, also of Ngat Tol, purchased the same for Rs 328. Baksauni fee: Rs 4.
2. Jaya Bhakta Sing, Bhuwan Pati, Dharma Pati and Ratna Pati, brothers of Tamagu Tol in Kathmandu, sold 4 ropanis of Khet lands called Helswat, as well as 2 ropanis of lands in ... These lands were purchased by ... for Rs 72/8. Baksauni fee: Rs 1/4.
3. Narayan, Balabhadra, Bhajudhan, Dhanju, Balakrishnadhan, brothers, of Nagal Tol Brahmapuri in Kathmandu town, sold 19 ropanis of Khet lands in Khijol to Dharma Singh of Ekul-Bahal, Ngat Tol, for Rs 343/8. Baksauni fee: Rs 4/12.
4. Jium Sing Jyapu of Pude-Bahal Tol in Kathmandu town, is childless: One-sixth of the value of (his lands) was therefore offered to the government, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ropanis of Khet lands were purchased by Dhananjaya of Kwabahal Tol for Rs 12. Baksauni: Rs -/10.
5. Gandharva Sing Newar of Chaswadol, Makhan Tol, in Kathmandu town, sold 2.12 ropanis of Khet lands in Dhubahal for Rs 90/8. These lands were purchased by Rajendra Newar of Saiva Tol. Baksauni fee: Rs -/8 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 453-454.

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Land Reclamation In The Eastern Hill Region, 1799

## 1. From King Grban,

To Prithvidhar Padhya and Siddhikarna Padhya Ghimire.

We hereby grant you authority to reclaim waste and virgin lands, as well as to construct and operate irrigation channels, in the Syamban and adjoining areas across the Arun river. Settle people on the lands thus reclaimed and irrigated. Submit an annual statements of the total area of rice fields thus reclaimed, after an initial period of ... years. We hereby decree that such lands shall be utilized subject to local customs, and that eviction shall not be made as long as (rents are paid) on Adhiya basis as in the rest of the country. In case you do not construct irrigation channels or reclaim rice lands, you shall be held guilty. With due assurance, enjoy the lands after an initial period (of tax exemption).

Poush Sudi 5, 1856  
(January 1800).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 33.

(Such orders were issued on the same date also to Bharath Padhya for the Mawa area east of the Arun river, and to Balabhadra Padhya in the Yangsok area on the banks of the Tamor river).

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Dullu-Dailekh, 1798-18021. Appointment Of Subedar

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Abhiman Karki.

We hereby appoint you as Subedar, (with jurisdiction over) 159 personnel, including 125 musket-bearing troops, who have been newly-recruited under the Jwaladal Company at Simta (Dara) in Dullu-Dailekh.

(Revenues) from the three Bhansars (monopolies and revenue collection contra cts), Panchakhat fines, Mandali levies, Saunefagu and Kalyandhan (buried treasure), as well as from lead, copper and cinnabar (Sobhita) mines, are hereby reserved.

Contd...

With revenues collected from Khuwa villages and Raikar Khet lands throughout the territory of Simta, provide land assignments and pay salaries at the following rates to military personnel.

Do not increase rates of taxation in that territory. Procure ryots from different areas and promote settlement there. Construct irrigation channels where possible, and reclaim rice-fields. After fields are reclaimed in this manner, assign them to the military. Keep the soldiers satisfied. Do not represent complaints relating to land assignments to the palace. Along with other companies, guard the military headquarters (Gaunda) assigned to you. Insure the regular attendance of the soldiers under your command in the course of royal tours, hunting expeditious and war, as well as in sentry duties, parades, etc. Enjoy this position as your Jagir. Any person who exchanges, accepts or gives away the good muskets of the company shall be punished.

List Of Personnel And Land Assignments

| <u>Designation</u> | <u>Number</u> | <u>Land Assignment</u><br>(Column left blank). |
|--------------------|---------------|--|
| Subedar            | 1             |  |
| Jamadar            | 4             |  |
| Major              | 1             |  |
| Kote               | 1             |  |
| Adjutant           | 1             |  |
| Front ensign       | 1             |  |
| Rear ensign        | 1             |  |
| Hawaldar           | 8             |  |
| Soldiers           | 109           |  |
| Pipa-Jamadar       | 1             |  |
| Pipa (porters)     | 16            |  |
| Drummer            | 1             |  |

Contd...

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| Tasya    | 2 |
| Marfya   | 2 |
| Bheriwal | 2 |

(Incomplete)

Shrawan Badi 3, 1855

(June 1798).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 663-664.

## 2. Excessive Taxation And Depopulation

From King Girban,

To the Subba and Subedars stationed in ... Dullu.

You have collected taxes in excess of the rates prescribed by the Chautariya on ... lands situated along main routes, with the result that these have all become depopulated. It has become difficult even to find lodgings for troops. Accordingly, you shall be held guilty if you do not observe the arrangements mentioned in the royal order.

Construct roads every year in the territories under your jurisdiction. At all places where there exist rest-houses (Pouwa), assign 20 muris of rice lands each. Construct rest-houses where there are none.

Aswin Sudi 15, 1859

(September 1802).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 619.

## 3. Judicial Customs And Taxation

(1) From King Girban,

To the ryots of Simta-Dara in Dullu-Dailekh.

You have represented to us that regulations have not been enacted for you.

Accordingly, with effect from the year 1859 (Vikrama) (1802 A.D.), we confirm existing arrangements as follows:-

Contd...

A house-hold with one Hal (one yoke of oxen) shall pay Rs 1/-.

A house-hold with only one ox shall pay 8 annas.

A Kodale holding shall pay 4 annas.

Every household shall supply 2 annas of ghee and oil as Serma and Saunofagu.

For Chak-Chakui (adultery not involving persons of high caste) offenses, there shall be no enslavement.

Rates of Chak-Chakui fines shall be as follows:-

|               |     |        |
|---------------|-----|--------|
| Khas          | ... | Rs 10  |
| Kami, Sarki   | ... | Rs 7   |
| Damai         | ... | Rs 5/4 |
| Bhagi, Khatri | ... | Rs 5   |

A Chak (adulterer) who elopes (with the woman) shall be fined Rs 30. Half of this amount shall be appropriated by the Amali, and the other half by the aggrieved husband.

Unpaid portorage services shall be provided for governmental requirements, as well as for sick people, but not for other purposes.

The Amali shall summon both the plaintiff and the defendant and give them a hearing. He shall not impose punishment or collect fees (Jitauri) from the winning side on an ex-parte basis.

Goats and other provisions (Mejwani) shall not be collected from every village. Only one goat shall be obtained where necessary.

We hereby promulgate these regulations. Comply with them with due assurance.

Ashadh Badi 12, 1859  
(June 1802).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 551.

Contd...



(2) From King Girban,

To the Amalis of Dullu and Dailekh.

The following arrangements, introduced by Cheutariya Bam Shah in Dullu and Dailekh, shall be followed:-

A household with one yoke of oxen of high quality (Upallo) shall pay Rs 1/8.

A household with one yoke of oxen of low quality (Tallo) shall pay Rs 1/-.

A Kodale holding of superior grade (Upallo) shall pay 8 annas.

A Kodale holding of inferior grade (Tallo) shall pay 4 annas.

Saunefagu levy shall be collected at the rate of 1 anna from every household.

In case a Khas woman elopes with a man of lower caste, Rs 15 shall be obtained (from him). The woman shall not be taken back (by the husband). In case she has eloped with a man of equivalent caste, only Rs 5 shall be taken, not more.

No punishment shall be awarded if (a girl) elopes with a man of equivalent caste without performing the rites of marriage.

We hereby confirm these arrangements. In case any person acts in contravention of these arrangements and causes depopulation, he shall be punished.

Shrawan Badi 1, 1859

(July 1802).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 559.

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An Inscription Of Aditya Malla, 1321 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

By

Mohan Prasad Khanal..

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At Rigaon situated in the Atharasaya-Khola area at the foot of the Larke-Himal in Gorkhas district, there is a well-known monastery (Gumba) called Taghbai. According to the local Lamas, this monastery is 1,000 years old, and it had a rich collection of antiques.

Under the 1959 Nepal-China Boundary Agreement, the Taghbai monastery was included in Chinese territory. Following this agreement, the Chinese have taken away the antiques in the possession of the monastery.

Before the conclusion of the Nepal-China Boundary Agreement, areas stretching up to 30 miles to the north of the monastery were located in Nepali territory. Most of the land endowments made in favor of the monastery are now situated in Chinese territory.

Some of such lands are located also at Samdugaon within the Lailoyo Village Panchayat in Gorkha district. Hence a small monastery has been built there. Some ancient idols and historical materials have been brought from the Taghbai monastery and kept at Samdugaon. These include a copper plate inscription issued by King Aditya Malla of the Karnali region in favor of the Taghbai monastery. The inscription is written in an old form of the Nepali language as well as in the Tibetan language. A translation of the inscription is given below:-

The pious King Aditya Malla hereby issues the following order to ministers, district administrators, soldiers deputed to the eastern region, and to all the subjects of the country.

Nobody shall cause any suffering to Lamas residing in the Taghbai and other subordinate monasteries who perform religious functions according to the scriptures. They shall be permitted to carry on their religious functions from generation to generation. Nobody shall expel them or deprive them of anything.

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1. "Vikram Samvat 1378 Ko Karnali Pradeshka Raja Adityamalla Ko Abhilekh--  
1." (An Inscription of King Aditya Malla of The Karnali Region Dated  
1321 A.D.). Samiksha Weekly, July 24, 1972.

Contd...

Future Kings and subjects too shall not expel these Lamas, who have been traditionally performing religious functions, or deprive them of anything.

Any one who does not comply with this order shall be punished with a fine of Sun Sang (?) and rigorous physical torture shall be inflicted on him.

The King has issued this order on the Dashami day in the month of Shravana of the Year of the Rat for the information of all.

Aditya Malla was the son of Jitari Malla. Like his forefathers, Aditya Malla gradually expanded his kingdom. His forefathers had extended his dominions to the north-western region. But none of them, except Jitari Malla, had been able to expand eastward.

In 1344 Vikrama, Jitari Malla first invaded Kathmandu Valley. A fierce battle broke out near the Swayambhu hills, in which about 800 Khas troops of Jitari Malla were killed. Notwithstanding the heavy casualties suffered by him, Jitari Malla continued to advance, so that all the inhabitants of Kathmandu Valley were forced to take shelter in forest forts, concealing all available stocks of foodgrains. Unable to get any food, Jitari Malla returned to his country along with his troops.

14 months later, Jitari Malla again invaded Kathmandu Valley. This attack was more ferocious than the first one. The Khas troops set several villages on fire in order to occupy forts. Jitari Malla then performed religious ceremonies at famous temples in the Valley and returned home.

In 1346 Vikrama, that is, exactly one year later, Jitari Malla attacked Kathmandu Valley for the third time. However, the author of the Gopal Vamshawali is silent on how Jitari Malla fared in this attack. It may be presumed that this expedition was as successful as his earlier ones.

1346 Vikrama is the last known date relating to Jitari Malla's rule. An inscription installed by Srinatha Raut, a contemporary of King Aditya Malla, 10 years later, proves that Aditya Malla had succeeded Jitari Malla.

However, in pp. 27-29 of Karnali Pradesh, Dhanavajra Bajracharya has a different story to tell. He writes:

Contd...

"Who succeeded Jitari Malla ? The pillar-inscription of Prithvi Malla is somewhat vague about the time of succession. It sheds light mainly on the genealogy of two brothers. But the inscription shows that Jitari Malla had been succeeded by his nephew, Ripu Malla, for it puts the name of Ripu Malla after Aditya Malla in order of precedence. The only point of doubt concerns the date of Ripu Malla's rule. The known year relating to Ripu Malla's rule is 1369 Vikrama. This was the year during which he had visited Kathmandu Valley. This is also confirmed by the inscription discovered at Niglihawa. It is therefore definite that Ripu Malla had been ruling during that year. But a small inscription dated 1356 Vikrama, discovered at the temple of Jwalaji in Dullu, describes Aditya Malla as King ... .. Aditya Malla had invaded Kathmandu Valley in 1384 Vikrama. Hence there is no room for doubt that Aditya Malla had been ruling during that year. The apparent conclusion to be drawn from this is that Jitari Malla's son and nephew had ruled separately. ... The above-mentioned inscription of 1356 Vikrama does not belong to Aditya Malla, but was installed by Srinatha Raut, a servant of Aditya Malla. He thus might have referred to his master as "Raja" (King), even though Ripu Malla was the reigning King."

But having said all this, Dhanavajra Bajracharya, also states, "Any way, I feel this is a matter on which historians must conduct further research." He has thus adopted a vague and evasive stand.

In Karnali Loka Sanskriti (Vol. I), Satya Mohan Joshi makes a similar claim, and adds, "These inscriptions show that Ripu Malla had faith in Buddhism, and also that he had expanded his dominions." ... It is not clear who succeeded Ripu Malla. The fact that Sangrama Malla's name is inscribed along with that of his father, Ripu Malla, in the Ashoka Pillar at Lumbini indicates that Ripu Malla had either sent his son on an inspection tour or taken him along with him on pilgrimage. However, no account is available to show that Sangrama Malla actually succeeded Ripu Malla. On the other hand, the Gopal Vamshawali substantiates the view that Ripu Malla was succeeded by Aditya Malla, who was the second son of Jitari Malla, his elder uncle. It appears that King Aditya Malla was junior to Ripu Malla."

Satya Mohan Joshi thus tries to give color to his book by citing some interesting facts such as those mentioned above. When Satya Mohan Joshi, who had conducted historical researches at different places in the Karnali Zone himself writes such things, the points referred to by Dhanavajra Vajracharya, who tries to write the history of the Karnali region in Kathmandu on the basis of a cursory study of the materials collected and published by others with difficulty, are not at all surprising.

Now let me give an account of the rule of King Aditya Malla and Ripu Malla.

Contd...

Aditya Malla probably became King at any time between 1346 and 1356 Vikrama after the death of Jitari Malla. Like his father, Aditya Malla had territorial ambitions. But Ripu Malla, who was the son of his uncle, assisted him considerably in running the affairs of the State. This is the reason why in 1369 Vikrama King Aditya Malla had despatched some Khas troops to Kathmandu Valley under the command of Ripu Malla and his son Sangrama Malla. But it appears that this army returned home through Lumbini without putting up any fight in Kathmandu Valley.

While returning from Kathmandu Valley, Ripu Malla paid a pilgrimage to Lumbini, birthplace of the Buddha, and left some of his inscriptions there. The author of the Gopal Vamshavali describes Ripu Malla as a Khas King. The inscription at Kapilavastu contains the words "Long Live Ripu Malla, 1234 Vikrama" while the Ashoka Pillar bears the words "Long Live Ripu Malla, victory to Sangrama Malla." (Itihās Prakash, Vol. 2, Book 1, p. 81). One book entitled Abhisamayalankar, discovered at a Tibetan monastery, refers to him as "Rajrajeshwar Lokeshwar Ripu Malla." (Potech, Medieval Nepal, pp. 108-9).

All these writings create the impression that Ripu Malla was actually King. But Aditya Malla, not Ripu Malla, was the actual reigning King. There is no doubt about this.

A close study of the history of Kathmandu Valley would show that close relatives of the King, who rendered cooperation to him in running the affairs of the State, were treated as if they were Kings and given royal titles.

For example, the references made to Bira Malla in a document in the possession of the National Library create the impression that he was the real King of Bhaktapur during 624 Samvat. But there is no dispute over the fact that Bhuwana Malla and not Bira Malla was the real reigning King of Bhaktapur at that time, a fact which is confirmed by the inscription found at Changu.

A stone inscription cited in (D.R. Regmi's) Medieval Nepal, Vol. 3, p. 95, proves that Bira Malla was married during the reign of King Bhuwana Malla. It is a different matter if one is to regard Bira Malla as King only because the inscription addresses him by royal titles. Of course, the inscription of 1580 Vikrama, discovered at Dhalachhe Tole in Bhaktapur, contains the words, "the Kingdom of Rana Malla, Bhima Malla and Jita Malla."

Contd...



This creates the impression that Bhaktapur was ruled jointly by these three persons. But the actual position is that Bhaktapur was ruled by Raya Malla, Bhuwana Malla and Prana Malla, in that order.

Yet another example is the treaty concluded by the Kings of Bhaktapur, Kantipur and Lalitpur in 1605 Vikrama. It mentions the names of Bira Malla, Narendra Malla, Krishna Malla, Kalyana Malla, Prabhu Malla, Govinda Malla and Prana Malla, along with their royal titles. Of them, Narendra Malla and Prana Malla, were the actual Kings of Bhaktapur and Kantipur respectively, while the rest were members of the royal families of Kathmandu and Patan.

Similarly, Ripu Malla was not a real King himself. He was thought to be a King only because he was also vested with a few royal titles. Moreover, Ripu Malla's inscriptions of 1369 and 1370 Vikrama do not offer any evidence to show that he had really become King.

On the other hand, conclusive evidence is available to show that Aditya Malla was the real King. King Prithvi Malla's gold plate inscription of 1413 Vikrama states that his predecessors, King Aditya Malla and King Punya Malla, had made a ritual gift of lands on the auspicious occasions of solar and lunar eclipses.

Misunderstanding has arisen about Aditya Malla because of the failure to study properly the available evidence about him. Inscriptions dealing with the 28 years long rule (1356-1384 Vikrama) of Aditya Malla have been discovered. Of these inscriptions, the one dated 1378 Vikrama as cited in the beginning of this article, should help to dispel the wrong notions about Aditya Malla. This copper plate inscription was issued by King Aditya Malla of the Karnali region in favor of the Lamas of the Taghbal monastery in 1378 Vikrama (1321 A.D.). It was during that year that his troops invaded Kathmandu Valley.

As this inscription also refers to the ministers and officers assigned to the eastern front, it appears that Aditya Malla was making efforts to occupy territories situated in the eastern region. According to the Gopal Vamshavali, he had occupied Nuwakot after some time. This is an indication that the Karnali empire stretched upto Gorkha, across the Trishuli (modern Dhading district).

Anyway, this copper plate inscription is of considerable importance in the history not only of the Nepali language but also of the Karnali region.

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A STUDY IN NEPALI ECONOMIC HISTORY

1768-1846

By

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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Published in the Bibliotheca Himalayica Series by Manjusri Publishing House, Kumar Gallery, 11 Sundar Nagar Market, New Delhi, 1971. 235 pp. Library ed: Rs 39.00; Deluxe ed: Rs 54.00 (Indian currency).

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- Chapter VI: Forced Labor And Slavery.
- Chapter VII: Revenue Administration: Impact On Agrarian Conditions.
- Chapter VIII: General Economic Policies And Programs.
- Chapter IX: Economic Developments After The Nepal-British War.
- Chapter X: A Retrospect.

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: September 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 9,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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General Bhimsen Thapa And The Samar  
Jung Company<sup>x</sup>

By Baburam Acharya.

Companies of Gorkhali troops had begun to be created along the lines of British Companies after the emergence of Prithvi Narayan Shah's rule in Nepal. In the beginning, the troops of Prithvi Narayan Shah were armed mainly with bows and arrows. However, he always carried a Khukuri, which has since remained the national weapon of Nepal. Archers continued to be retained in the Gorkhali army from the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah up to the Prime Ministership of Bahadur Shah. With the increase in the number of companies, however, the strength of archers in the army gradually diminished. By the end of Bahadur Shah's Premiership, the number of companies had reached about 100. The discipline under which the soldiers of these companies remained had been admired also by Captain Kirkpatrick, who had then arrived in Kathmandu as the first British Resident in Nepal. He was also impressed by the sturdy build and rosy cheeks of these soldiers. Their uniform consisted of a shirt, trousers and a turban, all black in color, with a white waist-band. Their uniforms were made of indigenous homespun cloth. The shoes worn by them were also locally manufactured as well as the leather belt and Toshdan to be wrapped around the waist. Even guns were manufactured in Nepal. But cannon, which were not manufactured in Nepal, were purchased, that too with great difficulty, from mechanics in India. No person other than officers and privates was permitted to use belts, Toshdan and turbans.

In 1796, King Rana Bahadur Shah established a company of troops known as Samar Jung Company, to take up sentry duties inside the Royal Palace. He provided the officers and men of this company with higher salaries and allowances than those paid to those belonging to other companies. As the officers and men of the Samar Jung Company were invested with Chapras, (a special badge), they were called Chaprasis. This badge, which was round-shaped, also contained the name of King Rana Bahadur Shah. The Chapras used by privates was made of silver, while that of Subedar was gold-plated. The Chapras provided to Sardars was made of pure gold. This badge was tucked to a leather band, and worn on the chest.

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<sup>x</sup>"Janeral Bhim Sen Thapa Ko Parakram Ra Unle Samarjang Kampani Lai Diyeko Danda." Arati (Nepali, Weekly), Baisakh, 2024 (April, 1967).

Contd...

When King Rana Bahadur Shah abdicated in favor of Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah, the strength of the Samar Jung Company was increased. Therefore, the badges worn by some of the personnel of this company also contained the name of King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah.

Among the Bhardars appointed in the Royal Palace after the return of Rana Bahadur Shah from his exile at Benaras were two Wakis, 4 Chautariyas, and 5 Kajis. Bhimsen Thapa was the most powerful among these courtiers. Since Swami Rana Bahadur Shah was virtually under his influence, and since King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah was then a minor, Bhimsen Thapa wielded virtually unchallenged authority. For 21 months after May, 1804, Bhimsen Thapa held sway all over the Kingdom of Nepal, which then extended from Sikkim and Darjeeling in the east to the Shatarudra river in the west.

In 1806, Bhimsen Thapa had the Swami Maharaj appointed as Mukhtiyar (Prime Minister) of King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah as part of a plot to engineer a massacre of all of his opponents. Swami Rana Bahadur Shah too gladly accepted the Prime Ministership. After having persuaded Rana Bahadur Shah to come back to Kathmandu from Benaras, Bhimsen Thapa sought the secret assistance of the British Political Agent in Nepal in an attempt to eliminate Kaji Damodar Pande and others, thereby usurping all powers for himself. These men were finally assassinated on March 13, 1804. Bhimsen Thapa then put the Senior Queen of Rana Bahadur Shah behind bars. One year later, Bhimsen Thapa had the eyes removed of three well-known members of the Shah family -- Bhimarudra Shah, Bhimpratap Shah and Birabhadra Shah -- with the sole intention of taking away from them a magnificent palace then located in the vicinity of Tundikhel in Kathmandu, as well as the large farm they owned along the banks of the Bagmati river. Having blinded these three innocent people, Bhimsen Thapa imprisoned them in a remote village in the Gandaki region, and then began to use the palace as his private residence, renaming it as "Jarneli Bag."

In March, 1805, Bhimsen Thapa poured poisoned milk into the eyes of Kulachandra Shah, nephew of King Prithvi Narayan Shah, who was then only 10 years old, with the aim of taking over his house at Indrachok, which Bhimsen Thapa wanted to offer as a reward to Pandit Ranga Nath, his colleague. Kulachandra Shah was then imprisoned.

As pointed out earlier, Bhimsen Thapa had managed to get Swami Rana Bahadur Shah appointed as Mukhtiyar on February 26, 1806, as part of a plot to organize the great Bhandarkhal massacre. On April 24, 1806, at 9:00 P.M., while the court was in session at the residence of Kaji Tribhuvan Khawas, Chautariya Sher Bahadur assassinated the Swami Maharaj under the very nose of Bhimsen Thapa and other courtiers. The great massacre that occurred at Bhandarkhal and at Bishnumati as a result of this assassination was too horrible to be described here.

A few days before the Bhandarkhal massacre, the Swami Maharaj, who was then 30 years old, had, on the insistence of Bhimsen Thapa, married a 12-year old girl named Tripurasundari. This girl was made Regent and Queen Mother of Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah, who was then 9 years of age.

Immediately after the assassination of Swami Rana Bahadur Shah, Tripurasundari was given the title of Queen Lalita Tripurasundari, and silver coins bearing her name were issued.

With the Bhandarkhal massacre, the Council of Bhardars at the Royal Palace ceased to function, and the entire reins of administration passed into the hands of Bhimsen Thapa. Since Lalita Tripurasundari herself was a minor, though being Regent, Bhimsen Thapa assigned the Samar Jung Company to guard the Royal Palace. Bakhtwar Singh Thapa, his younger brother, was appointed as Commander of this Company. The troops of this company were posted inside the camp of the Royal Palace itself,

Bhimsen Thapa had despatched a contingent of troops commanded by Kaji Amar Singh Thapa to attack Kangra. But these troops could not capture that area even after three years of fighting, and, instead, received a severe beating at the hands of Ranjit Singh's troops, so that they were compelled to retreat from the Satarundra river. It was probably to forget the shock of this defeat that Bhimsen Thapa appropriated for himself the title of General and had his name and title inscribed in all official correspondence.

As King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah and Queen Lalita Tripurasundari grew up, Kaji Bakhtwar Singh Thapa, who had assumed the responsibility of protecting them, begun to enjoy their confidence. In the meantime, the British Government of India, whom Bhimsen Thapa regarded as a reliable friend, launched an invasion of Nepal. Bhimsen Thapa only cared for pomp and show. The law and order situation was fast deteriorating all over the country. Bhardars and the other government servants looked only after their selfish interests, and in the process, the State Treasury had become virtually empty. That is why Nepal had had to face a defeat in the war with British India, and been compelled to sign the Treaty of Sugauli. Kaji Bakhtwar Singh Thapa himself had to kneel down before Sir David Ochterlony at the latter's Hitaura camp and hand over the original copy of the treaty ratified by Nepal. Under the terms of the treaty, Nepal had to relinquish possession not only of the entire area across the Mahakali river and the hill regions of Sikkim and Darjeeling in the east, but also of the plains running from the Churia range to Saptari district in return for an annual subsidy of Rs 200,000.00. Nonetheless, Bhimsen Thapa subsequently ventured to inform the Chinese representatives in Lhasa of an imminent aggression by British troops against Tibet. The Chinese Emperor then despatched Sai

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According to reports from the returned British pilot, Col. Taylor says, in arriving in Hanoi, learned Chinese agents to direct for Keller, William Dunn, master, and not himself or Moore, but was Colonel Rowley's agent from the command of Sir Edward Harbord, who had just arrived in Hanoi from (Peking incident). Another thing they had a meeting with Col Taylor for at Hanoi, in the course of which he sought Chinese assistance against the British, but he was told that they had already signed a peace treaty with the British, which thing they had done in return compensation.

The British Government had anticipated that the British would receive of the 100,000,000 would be paid for territory to the government, but in the meantime destroyed by it. Chinese they had deliberately allowed our own's ability to ignore, so he found that such an arrangement should lead to increased trade between British territory and the British territory, thereby affecting his own interests. In the meantime of some other way of obtaining this money.

As you see, the Green Tanka Harem had not obtained the age of 14 years. However, King they had gained the confidence of both the King and the Queen, which, it was the custom to hand their power to a King when he obtained the age of 16 years. The Chinese they still retained full power, though he had lost a considerable portion of the territory of South in the war. King Green Tanka Harem had naturally did not like this, without King they was unwilling the attempt to force Chinese they out himself from the Kingdom. Lalla Trisambhadi, a woman, was the cause of opposition to be retained in the hands of British they. She had wanted her to be expelled to Nepal land.

The queen of Green Tanka Harem had, who had also was of age, had been to feel herself of continuing under the constant surveillance of Government, their authorities. They therefore naturally accepted another such form. In the midst of such a conflicting political situation, a serious religious epidemic occurred in Kathmandu, King Green Tanka Harem had eventually fell a victim to this plague, because they had Lalla Trisambhadi had took the confined in a room inside the Royal Palace itself, and they would a British or an Indian doctor to visit her. As it was, the British doctor could not possibly brought one from India. But like we can see, and finally King Green Tanka Harem had died on December 24, 1771, the age, September Marie had, was then only 3 years old according to tradition. The Green Harem should have been married to the King of the South of the father, Chinese they had Lalla Trisambhadi had her spouse of Green Tanka Harem had was to a liaison with another King they. Hence, on the advice of French some time, he persuaded the British queen, Lalla Trisambhadi, to induce a peace, even though the scriptures prohibited a widow with second children.



from doing so. But he did not succeed in eliminating the ~~Junior~~ Queen, Gorakshya Rajyalaxmi, mother of the infant Prince Rajendra Bikram Shah. But it is significant that she too died on the fourteenth day of the death of her husband. People who had known the cruel temperament of Bhimsen Thapa therefore naturally made a lot of adverse comments about him, although no one could rule out the possibility that she might have died due to natural causes. In any case, the death of both the King and his two Queens shattered all the hopes of Bakhtwar Singh Thapa.

Since the Junior Queen had died soon after the official mourning period of 13 days had ended, the coronation of Rajendra Bikram Shah had to be postponed for another 13 days.

Meanwhile, Lord Moira, Governor General of India, had drawn up a plan to annex the Kingdom of Poona. He thought it necessary to placate the Nepal government in order to insure the smooth execution of this ambitious plan. Accordingly, he instructed Sir Gardner to inform Nepal of the intention of the British Governor General to restore to Nepal six occupied districts from Saptari to Parsa, as well as four Tappas (sub-divisions) of Butaul and Sheoraj districts in the Tarai region. He urged on Bhimsen Thapa to arrange for the presence of the King as early as possible in a ceremony to be held for the purpose. Bhimsen Thapa therefore thought it unnecessary to wait for 13 full days for the coronation ceremony. So, on the sixth day of the mourning, Bhimsen Thapa arranged the coronation of Rajendra Bikram Shah, and held a State ceremony, at which the message conveying the British Governor General's proposal to hand back some of the lost Tarai areas to Nepal, and the royal message accepting the British offer, were read out. The British had offered to return only part of the occupied Tarai territory to Nepal, and not Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur districts, which had already been sold by them to the Nawab of Oudh. But Bhimsen Thapa wisely agreed to accept the offer, thinking that something was better than nothing. It would definitely not have been wise on his part if he had refused to accept the offer and instead opposed a power which could not be defeated.

Some historians of Nepal have argued that Bhimsen Thapa had made major efforts to oust the British power from Asia. They have portrayed him as a nationalist and a patriot. The British had invaded Nepal without any provocations in order to facilitate British settlement on the Barha-Thakurai area, seize the Tarai region of Nepal and open up a route to Tibet for direct trade with that country. In these circumstances, no self-respecting Nepali could have permitted the loss of any part of Nepal without putting up a fight against the British. That is why Bhimsen Thapa too was relentlessly waging a war against the British until Nepal was totally defeated. He had even made abortive attempts to bring Ranajit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, and Daulat Rao Scindia of Gwalior, over to his side during

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this war. These rulers, while not wishing the defeat of the Gorkhali troops, did not want to commit themselves to a losing side, and therefore rejected Bhimsen Thapa's overtures. Although Bhimsen Thapa had sent messengers several times to Lhasa to inform the representative of the Chinese emperor of a British plan to attack Tibet after overrunning Nepal, and to solicit Chinese assistance in the war with Britain, there is no evidence to suggest that he had entered into similar correspondence with the other countries of Asia as well before or after the war with British India.

Although no one can say that Bhimsen Thapa was not a nationalist, or that he did not want to defend his country, yet he placed his personal interests above those of the nation. While the territory of the Kingdom was diminishing as a result of defeats, he continued to acquire more and more big Birta lands for his family. The British in India had already pointed to the need for a Legal Code to insure the progress of the country, yet Bhimsen Thapa remained silent in the matter. He did not open a single public school or a dispensary even in Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, not to speak of other districts.

Now let us turn back to the position of Kaji Bakhtwar Singh Thapa. After the death of King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah and his two wives, there was none left but his mother to look after his welfare. After the end of the war with the British, Bhimsen Thapa began to suspect that Bakhtwar Singh Thapa had joined the ranks of his enemies. He was therefore awaiting for an opportunity to punish his younger brother. After accepting the proposal of the British Governor General for the return of the Tarai territory to Nepal, Bhimsen Thapa paid greater attention to the issue of bringing Bakhtwar Singh Thapa to his knees. Bakhtwar Singh Thapa had still not demanded his share of the ancestral property from his elder brother, and was living in the same undivided family. However, in response to the pleas of his mother, Bhimsen Thapa contented himself with awarding a light punishment to Bakhtwar Singh Thapa. He dismissed and imprisoned Bakhtwar Singh Thapa in Nuwakot. Owing to his antipathy towards Bakhtwar Singh Thapa, Bhimsen Thapa could not but view with disfavor the Samar Jung Company which the former had commanded. So he punished the personnel of this company too. Some of them were assigned the duty of guarding jails, instead of the Royal Palace. Some were employed in the task of supervising the construction of roads in which ordinary convicts were engaged. It thus became the duty of the officers and soldiers of this company to be constantly in the company of convicts. Men of all other companies were given a weekly holiday on Saturdays, but the Samar Jung Company was denied this privilege. Even its flag, known as "Devata" was not spared, and was treated in an indignant manner. The flag-bearers who were called Nishans, used to raise the flag above their shoulders, and install it on the ground when necessary.

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Bhimson Thapa enforced rules requiring the flag of this company to be carried on the shoulders in a low position, instead of being raised, and to be thrown on the ground as occasion demands.

Although these rules were merely oral orders, and not written ones, officers and men of the Samar Jung Company who were familiar with the cruel temperament of Bhimson Thapa could not disobey them. These rules were strictly followed even by the Rana rulers and remained in force till democracy was proclaimed in Nepal.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Mustang Rajya<sup>x</sup>

From Kaji Shiv Narayan Khatri and Sardar Prabal Rana to Wangyal Dorje, Raja of Mustang.

We hereby confirm your old territories situated east of Bandarphatka and bounded in the north by the Bhortu-Khola, the Taraha-Khola, the Laghu-Khola and Chharkagaun, which had been annexed by Jumla but granted to you by royal order. Enjoy it faithfully and remain engaged in service. As regard some areas which are still left, we shall represent the matter to the government and (restore) them to you.

Kartik Sudi 1, 1846,  
 Chhinasim.

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<sup>x</sup>(Yogi Naraharinath: Sandhipatra Sangraha (A Collection of Treaties and Documents), p. 55. Also see Regmi Research Series, Year 2, No. 4; April 1, 1970, p. 99.

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Fouzdars And Munsiffs In Saptari And Mahottari

(Abstract Translations)

1. Regulations For Fouzdars In Saptari And Mahottari

(These regulations were issued in the name of Fouzdars Abhaya Singh Khawas and Garbhu Khawas).

1. Essential expenditure incurred from Mal-Wajbi collection shall be approved.
2. Expenditure incurred on respectable persons who visit the area from anywhere, but not relatives of the Amil, shall be approved.
3. Complaints against the Amil made by Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams and ryots shall be disposed of after hearing both sides.
4. Expenditure incurred on the maintenance of forts and the procurement of ammunition shall be approved.
5. Impartial persons shall be appointed as Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams, etc. The government shall issue orders in any matter for Saptari-Mahottari district only in consultation with the Fouzdar.
6. Reasonable expenditure incurred on the construction of irrigation facilities for promoting cultivation shall be approved.
7. The Fouzdars and the Munsiff shall discharge the functions pertaining to their appropriate offices.
8. Expenditure incurred in recruiting additional troops in the event of aggression shall be approved.
9. Appointment or confirmation of Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams, Mandars, etc. shall be made by the government. Salami and other payments collected from them shall be transmitted to the government. Expenditure in granting them rewards shall be approved.
10. Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Mokaddams and ryots who have fled to the Moglan shall be persuaded to come back. Partial remission may be made in arrears of revenue due from them.

Contd...

11. Tax concessions granted for promoting reclamation and ~~settlement~~ settlement of waste lands shall be approved. Bhatta payments made to settlers shall be approved if repayable within one year.

Magh Sudi 4, 1837.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 596.

2A. Regulations For Munsiff In Saptari And Mahottari

(These regulations were issued in the name of Munsiffs Manik Raj Khawas and Biru Padya).

1. Jammabandi records shall be prepared in consultation with the Fouzdar, not otherwise.
2. If the Fouzdar accepts any suggestion which will increase revenue, this is good. If not, the government will approve the Jammabandi prepared by the Munsiff.
3. The Fouzdar shall appoint or dismiss Chaudharis, Kanugoyes, Sairdars, etc. only in consultation with the Munsiff.
4. Land revenue (Wajbi), fines on persons guilty of rape with minor girls (Singarhat), Farruwat and other revenues shall be transmitted in consultation with the Munsiff.
5. In case the Amil has fixed land revenue at a low rate on lands which are being cultivated every year, such lands may be measured if revenue will thereby increase.
6. Complaints against the Munsiff shall be disposed after hearing both sides.
7. The Fouzdar shall discharge the functions pertaining to his office, and the Munsiff to his.

Ashadh Sudi 15, 1838.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 608.

Contd...

23. Regulations For Munsiff In Saptari And Mahottari

(These regulations were issued in the name of Munsiff Mani Raj Khawas).

1. Tax exemptions granted to ryots for 2 or 3 years for the reclamation of waste lands shall be approved.
2. Chaudharis, Kanugoyas and Mokaddams who do not comply with reasonable orders to reclaim waste lands shall be dismissed in consultation with the Fouzdar. Other persons who can undertake such reclamation shall be appointed to replace them.
3. Any person who creates obstruction in the demarcation of Jagir, Birta, Nankar, Ijara and Khalisa moujas shall be punished.
4. Compalints shall be disposed of only after hearing both sides.

Falgun Sudi 1, 1838.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p .635.

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Kumaun Administrative Regulations

(Abstract Translation)

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(These regulations were issued in the name of Naru Shah, who replaced Jog Narayan Malla as Subba of Kumaun on Amanat basis).

1. Salaries shall be paid to the troops regularly. In case Subedars or Jamadars commit any offence, reports shall be submitted to us. The Subba shall be responsible for appointment or dismissal, and for punishment or grant of favors, as necessary.
2. Additional troops shall be recruited for repulsing external aggression. After the invasion is repulsed, such troops shall be dismissed. Remission shall be granted for expenses incurred in recruiting such additional troops.
3. Expenses incurred for sending gifts to foreign countries shall be remitted. Gifts received shall be submitted to us.
4. Peshkars and other local functionaries shall be given appropriate monthly salaries. The Munsiff shall prepare tax assessment records. Expenses incurred for repairing forts, and palaces, and for manufacturing gunpowder shall be remitted.
5. Remission shall be granted for expenses incurred during the Dashain and Fagu festivals, repairing office buildings and granting rewards.
6. Appropriate arrangements shall be made for mines. Copper coins shall be minted. Weights and measures shall be stamped. Revenue accruing therefrom shall be utilized for necessary expenses.
7. Birta and Fakirana land grants made only by reigning Kings shall be confirmed on payment of the prescribed Salami. Birta and Fakirana lands granted by others shall be confiscated and the matter reported to us.
8. The people of Kumaun shall obey the orders of the Subba. Punishments for disobedience shall be imposed by Panchas. In the event of revolt, the guilty person shall be beheaded or exiled according to his caste status, but the members of his family shall not be enslaved.

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9. Expiation shall be granted to persons associated with guilty persons by the Dharmadhikar in consultation with the Subba.
10. Monthly reports with details of foreign correspondence and of news shall be sent.
11. Details of previous and current revenue assessments shall be sent and a suitable assessment will then be prescribed.
12. It is the system in Kumaun to grant Jimidari holdings on block (Gol) basis. This system shall be discontinued. Taxes shall be collected according to systems prevalent in other parts of the country. Trustworthy persons shall be given Jagir authority and deputed to local forts by turns.
13. Salaries shall be paid to troops (Tilanga) in the form of land assignments if they so desire, or else in cash on a monthly basis. Holdings shall not be divided for assignment of Jagirs according to the prescribed amount in cash. Allowances (Bhatta-Kharcha) shall be paid to troops every six months.

Poush Sudi 2, 1849.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 25, p. 271.

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Kusahi-Bisahi Tax Regulations In Western  
Nepal

(Abstract Translation)

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(These regulations were issued in the name of Hari Datta Upadhyaya and other officers deputed to collect Kusahi-Bisahi tax in areas between the Kali-Modi and Bheri rivers).

1. In case the money of a Praja has been put in the lands of a Brahman, a Salami amounting to 6% of such amount shall be collected from the Praja and Kusahi-Bisahi from the Brahman who alienated the land, which shall then be given to the Praja.
2. In case boundaries have been mentioned on Birta lands ritually gifted to Brahmans by former Kings, the Brahmans shall be granted possession thereof. In case the boundaries have not been mentioned, the grant shall be confiscated.
3. In Parbat, Bisahi shall be collected on Birta lands of Brahmans and on lands granted under the royal seal (Mohariya) at Rs 12 per 20 muris of land. The rate shall be Rs 9 per 20 muris of land in Pyuthan.
4. On Jiuni lands of widows, only half of the Bisahi shall be collected.
5. (Payment of salaries to officials sent to collect Kusahi-Bisahi levy).
6. In case Brahmans say that they cannot retain the land on payment of Bisahi-Kusahi, it shall be taken over after making the Brahmans sign a deed of relinquishment. (This means that Brahman retained land on payment of Kusahi-Bisahi).
7. Laskari rupees shall be accepted at the rate of 14 annas each:-

|                       |     |        |            |
|-----------------------|-----|--------|------------|
| New copper pitchers   | ... | Rs 3   | per dharni |
| New copper utensils   | ... | Rs 2-8 | ,,         |
| Scrapbrass and copper | ... | Rs 2   | ,,         |
| Lead                  | ... | Rs 1-8 | ,,         |

Contd...

|                        |     |                     |
|------------------------|-----|---------------------|
| Copper ingots (Guth)   | ... | Rs 1-8              |
| High-grade gold        | ... | Rs 12 per tola      |
| Medium grade gold      | ... | Rs 10 ,,            |
| Low grade gold         | ... | Rs 8 ,,             |
| High grade silver      | ... | Rs 1 ,,             |
| Coins minted this year | ... | Rs 1 per 60 coins ? |

8. In case Brahmans have obtained lands of soldiers as Birta, Rs 20 shall be collected per 20 muris of lands.
9. In case soldiers have put their money in the lands of Brahmans, the lands shall be confiscated. In case the Brahmans offer to pay the money if they are given back the lands, they shall be told to make payment at the palace. Particulars of the land and of the amount shall be sent.
10. In case Brahmans have put their money in the Birta lands of soldiers, Bisahi-Kusahi shall be collected there. The Brahmans shall obtain a Bandha grant from the government.

Shrawan Badi 30, 1844.

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 678.

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Conquest Of Makwanpur And Economic  
Blockade Of Kathmandu Valley<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

During the third quarter of the 18th century, the British were playing havoc in the politics of North India. Clive had collected half of the sum promised by Jafar Ali Khan, whom he had set up as a puppet after the Battle of Plassey, and given him a time-limit of 3 years for the payment of the other half, since the latter had not enough money at his Murshidabad Treasury. In addition, Jafar Ali Khan had exempted the British East Company as also every individual British trader from payment of customs duty on all types of goods, including salt and tobacco, so that they might make money. On the other hand, indigenous traders were obliged to pay all such levies. As a result, the British became wealthier, while the local traders and artisans became poorer. In view of this, Kasim Ali, son-in-law of Jafar Ali Khan, thought of driving out the British merchants from Bengal. After three and a half years, Clive collected the remaining half of the stipulated amount from Jafar Ali and returned to England, carrying with him a huge fortune which he squandered there. For this, he acquired notoriety in his home country.

The new Governor of Calcutta sought a new Nawab who could replace Jafar Ali Khan. Accordingly, he made Kasim Ali Khan Nawab on condition that he would offer extensive lands and money to the company, besides a bribe amounting to thousands of rupees for himself (October 1760). Kasim Ali Khan curtailed his household expenditure and paid the promised sum to the British within the stipulated time-limit. He then shifted his capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr, as the former had turned into a den of corruption.

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<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepal Ko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Brief Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 1966. Chapter IV: "Makwanpurma Adhikar Ra Malla Rajyahaaruma Arthik Nakabendi" (Conquest of Makwanpur And Economic Blockade of Malla Kingdoms). pp. 24-28.

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At Monghyr, Kasim Ali established a factory for the manufacture of guns and cannon on the European model, and appointed an European named Gregory, whom he called by the name of Gurga Khan, as commander. He began imparting military training to his troops under the supervision of this European. When Kasim Ali Khan tried to recover arrears of revenue from the landowners of North Bihar, this created a sensation there, which spread to Makwanpur. By that time, Hemakarna Sen, father-in-law of Prithvi Narayan Shah, had died and been succeeded by his only son, Digbandhan Sen. Digbandhan Sen had been attracted towards Kasim Ali and developed ill-feelings for Prithvi Narayan Shah since the time of the marriage. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore decided to wipe out Makwanpur as a Kingdom (1762 A.D.).

Trained Gorkhali soldiers were ready to fulfill any combat duty. It was only necessary to reorganize the Bharadari system. Chautariya Mahoddam Shah was there to assist Prithvi Narayan Shah in this task. In view of the expansion of his dominions, Prithvi Narayan Shah appointed another of his brothers, Dalamardan Shah, as Junior Chautariya. In the vacant post of Minister arising from the death of Kalu Pande, his son, Bansha Raj Pande, was appointed. At that time, there was also a vacancy in the post of commander (Senapati), which had been occupied by Sardar Shivaram Simha. His second son, Kahar Simha Basnyat, who was brother-in-law of Bamsha Raj Pande, was appointed by Prithvi Narayan Shah as Commander-in-Chief. Prithvi Narayan Shah awarded him the title of Bakshi, which was one rank above Sardar.

Under the supervision of the youthful Minister and the Commander-in-Chief, preparations were made for war. King Digbandhan Sen of Makwanpur received news of these preparations. He too raised an army composed of Khas and Magar troops inhabiting Timal, which was situated in the hill region of his Kingdom, and of Bhuiyars, who inhabited the plains.

Prithvi Narayan Shah personally commanded the invading troops from Dehachok. One day before the prescribed auspicious moment, the Gorkhali troops encamped near Makwanpur. They launched their invasion of Makwanpur early in the morning of the auspicious day. The battle lasted 10 hours. The Makwanpur army was defeated, and nearly 1,000 of its men were killed. Digbandhan Sen fled to Hariharpur along with his family. The Gorkhali troops then captured the fort and palace of Makwanpur (August 1762).

The Gorkhali troops based in Palanchok, which were commanded by Ramakrishna Kunwar, had also started from Bhemarkot to invade Makwanpur. They reached Makwanpur, capturing Timalkot and Sindhuligadhi situated on the way. By the time the Gorkhali troops had converged on Hariharpur, Digbandhan Sen had fled to a foreign country along with his family (October 1762).

Contd...



A small contingent of Gorkhali troops remained in Makwanpur under the command of a Sardar in order to defend it, while the main body went to Dahachok to give an account of the conquest of Makwanpur to Prithvi Narayan Shah, who was staying there at that time. Ramakrishna Kunwar too returned to Palanchok along with his troops. At this time, Nawab Kasim Ali, accompanied by Gurga Khan, had reached Makhaniya, situated in Bettiah. Digbandhan Sen, who too had reached there, requested Kasim Ali Khan to drive out the Gorkhalis from Makwanpur. Kasim Ali thereupon ordered Gurga Khan to invade Makwanpur, thinking that he could thereby secure a valuable territory for himself. He sent about 2,000 troops to Makwanpur. They occupied not only Harna-Madi but also one of the three forts built by the Gorkhalis to defend Makwanpur fort. On receiving news of this invasion, Prithvi Narayan Shah instructed Bamsha Raj Pande and Kahar Simha Basnyat, as well as Ramakrishna Kunwar to move to Makwanpur along with their troops. The combined army drove out the enemy out of one of the posts occupied by them and then attacked Harna-Madi. The Muslim army suffered about 1,700 casualties in this battle and Gurga Khan ran away, leaving two pieces of cannon and hundreds of guns behind (January 1763).

King Prithvi Narayan Shah was so elated at hearing the news of this victory that he himself went to Makwanpur. The Muslim troops of Kesim Ali Khan had large stocks of arms and ammunition, but they were not trained in the art of warfare. This was the main cause of the defeat inflicted upon them by the Gorkhali troops. The Muslim troops had not dared attack Makwanpur fort even during their 8 days of occupation of Harna-Madi. This was taken as a sign of weakness by the Gorkhali troops.

Digbandhan Sen was staying at Khundaghat near Hariharpur along with his family, waiting for the outcome of the battle of Makwanpur. Subsequently, along with his mother and sister, he fled to India when he learnt that the Muslim troops had suffered a defeat and that Prithvi Narayan Shah had reached Makwanpur with his retinue. However, his wife and children were captured (by the Gorkhalis). Finally, Digbandhan Sen, out of sheer frustration, surrendered before Prithvi Narayan Shah. Along with the rest of his family, he was detained in Gorkha.

After conquering Makwanpur, Prithvi Narayan Shah devoted himself to efforts to impose an economic blockade on all the three capitals of the Malla Kings within Kathmandu Valley and the adjoining Newar settlements. All routes leading to Kathmandu from all areas, except seven Newar settlements including Dhulikhel, situated within the State of Bhaktapur, had been closed. When Prithvi Narayan Shah sent troops to occupy these settlements as well, Ranajit Malla quit Lalitpur. The Ministers of Lalitpur then enthroned Jaya Prakash Malla for the second time (June 1763). The Gorkhali

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troops then attacked Dhulikhel. After a fierce fight, the Gorkhali troops captured Dhulikhel. Within a period of 5 days, they occupied 6 other villages as well (October 1763).

The mendicant whom Prithvi Narayan Shah had met at Varanasi, came to Nuwakot 19 years later and demanded the money promised to him as a reward for his help in extricating Prithvi Narayan Shah from the clutches of the guards near the Gomati river. Prithvi Narayan Shah refused to pay the mendicant any money on the ground that the promise had been made under duress. Prithvi Narayan Shah, however, asked him to accept a token reward. Furious at this reply, the mendicant went to Kathmandu to meet Jaya Prakash Malla. He also met Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur. He then returned to Bihar through Sindhuli. In Bihar, he collected 500 armed Nagas and despatched them to Bhaktapur under the allurements of reward and plunder. The guards of Sindhuligadhi let them go, taking them to be mendicants. The Nagas divided themselves into different groups and arrived in Sindhuligadhi the same day. Chautariya Jahangir Shah who had captured Sanga, stopped them because he suspected that they were carrying weapons. As they were stopped, the mendicants killed Jahangir Shah and some of his Gorkhali escorts. About half of the Naga mendicants managed to reach Bhaktapur in this manner, but the remaining Nagas were slaughtered by the Gorkhalis one by one on the way from Sanga to Dhulikhel.

Thereafter, Prithvi Narayan Shah tightened his economic blockade. In particular, he prevented the import of salt and cotton into Kathmandu Valley. The blockade became more effective after he ordered that capital punishment would be awarded to anyone who attempted to break the blockade.

Jaya Prakash Malla, after sitting on the throne of Lalitpur for the second time, invited all the Ministers of Lalitpur to Kathmandu and imprisoned them. He had long been seeking to settle scores with them. Unable to put up with such humiliation, Bhimkhwel Dhan committed suicide. Jaya Prakash Malla also killed two persons who had entered Kathmandu through Gopur by force, in spite of the closure of that route. But seeing that the entire inhabitants of Lalitpur were opposed to him, Jaya Prakash compelled Chautariya Dhanawant and other Ministers to wear women's clothes and then expelled them from Kathmandu. On the advice of the same Dhanawant, he invited Prithvi Narayan Shah to occupy the throne of Lalitpur and requested him to lift the blockade. Prithvinarayan Shah promised to lift the blockade on the condition that Gorkhalis were allowed free movement. However, the Ministers of Lalitpur did not accept this condition. But Prithvi Narayan Shah was not willing to give up the throne of Lalitpur either. He therefore sent Dalamardan Shah, his brother, as his representative to Lalitpur. He then proclaimed himself as King of Lalitpur and minted coins in his name (1763 A.D.) The coins contained the words "Lokanath", the family deity of the people of Lalitpur, instead of Gorakhnath.

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After the defeat of Gurga Khan's troops, Kasim Ali Khan went to Monghyr and ordered his troops to stop the British from continuing the plunder in which they were indulging in Bengal and Bihar in the name of trade. In retaliation, the British declared war against him (June 1763). Although Kasim Ali Khan had enough men and money, he was defeated four times because his troops were poorly trained. Later, Kasim Ali Khan went to Patna, where he beheaded his corrupt officers and about 200 British prisoners. Taking some troops as well as a substantial amount of money with him, he left for Oudh to ask for aid from Emperor Shah Alam of Delhi and his minister, Nawab-wazir Sujauddaula.

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From Ratna Malla To Narasimha Malla<sup>x</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

In 602 Nepal era (1482 A.D.), when Yaksha Malla died, India did not have a strong central authority. As a result of Timurlane's invasion of 1398 A.D., Indian politics was still suffering from a vacuum. The incapable Sayyad Muslim rulers, who existed only in name, had not been able to insure political stability. The whole of India was divided into a number of petty Kingdoms, and division itself was the basic principle of contemporary Indian political life. When Yaksha Malla died in Nepal, Bahalol Lodi had driven out the last Sayyad Sultan and occupied the throne of Delhi. Although Bahalol Lodi had been able to subjugate the independent state of Jaunpur, Delhi had ceased to be the capital of an empire and been reduced to the capital of a petty state.

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<sup>x</sup>Surya Bikram Gnyawali, "Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas" (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter XII: "Ratna Malla Dekhi Narasimha Malla Samma." (From Ratna Malla to Narasimha Malla), pp. 121-135.

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It was during that period that the Malla Kingdom in Nepal was divided into 3 States. Dissensions among the Malla brothers were the main cause of the disintegration of the Malla Kingdom. The eldest son of a Malla King used to be recognized as his successor. This tradition was broken by the sons of Yaksha Malla, who split Nepal into 3 independent kingdoms.

During the period from the seventh to the ninth century, feudal elements remained so powerful in Nepal that at times they could even make the King their puppet. However, there is no evidence that the country had been actually divided during that period. The success of the feudal elements in deposing the principal royal dynasty and establishing their own rule does not necessarily mean the division of the country. There are several instances of the joint rule of two or three Kings in Nepal after the latter half of the ninth century. In the beginning of the eleventh century, there was the joint rule of Nirbhaya and Rudradeva. After some years there was the joint rule of Bhojadeva, Rudradeva and Laxmikamadeva I. But all the joint rules proved short-lived. Similarly, at the end of the fourteenth century, the country was under the joint rule of the sons of Sthiti Malla. Although this joint rule too did not last long, it actually marked the disintegration of Nepal, which eventually led to its division into 3 independent Kingdoms.

After the death of Yaksha Malla, his son, Raya Malla, ascended the throne of Bhadgaun with the support of the nobles. His second brother, Ratna Malla, had been supported by one faction in his bid to succeed his father, he as did not like to live under the control of his elder brother. When Raya Malla became King, Ratna Malla moved to Patan, where he established a sort of independent Kingdom himself. From Patan, Ratna Malla began studying developments in Kathmandu. A sort of anarchy was prevailing in Kathmandu at that time. According to the Vamshavalis, Ratna Malla had become King of Kathmandu after poisoning some nobles at a feast he had given with the assistance of one noble whom he had won over to his side.

The exact year in which Ratna Malla established an independent Kingdom is not yet known. One date linked to his reign is Ashadh 632 Nepal era (1513 A.D.). Available evidence refers to him as Jaya Ratna Malla, King of Nepal. This substantiates the view that Ratna Malla had established his Kingdom in Kathmandu well before 1513 A.D. According to the Vamshavalis, however, he had become King of Kathmandu long before that year.

(To Be Continued)

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: October 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 10,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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From Ratna Malla To Narasimha Malla<sup>x</sup>

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

(Continued From Previous Issue)

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According to the Vamshavalis, Ratna Malla invaded Nuwakot and defeated its Thakuri King. He brought the fruits grown in Nuwakot and offered the same to the temple of Pashupatinath. Ratna Malla had invaded Nuwakot after establishing his supremacy in Kathmandu. According to the Vamshavalis, Ratna Malla had built the huge temple of Tulaja in Kathmandu in 621 Nepal era (1501 A.D.). Goddess Tulaja and a knowledge of her esoteric rites are regarded as symbols of State power in Nepal. The Vamshavalis tell us that every King passed on these rites of Goddess to his eldest son, that is, his heir, before breathing his last. Ratna Malla is said to have been instructed in these rites by Yaksha Malla at the time of the latter's death. The priests and courtiers are said to have played a deceitful role in this regard. The Vamshavalis state that Ratna Malla carried the sword and shield of Goddess Tulaja to Patan after the death of his father. This explains why Ratna Malla constructed the temple of Tulaja in Kathmandu in 1501 A.D. This also proves that he had become the independent King of Kathmandu by that time.

Having stabilized his rule in Kathmandu, Ratna Malla brought into circulation copper coins bearing the effigy of a lion. These coins circulated all over Nepal. There was no shortage of copper needed for minting coins, because copper deposits were located in Chitlang nearby. The emblem of lion chosen by Ratna Malla appears to be the traditional one adopted by Nepal. Reference has already been made to the fact that Shivadeva or Sadashivadeva, who ruled Nepal 300 years before Ratna Malla, had minted Suki bearing the effigy of a lion.

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<sup>x</sup>Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter XII: "Ratna Malla Dekhi Narasimha Malla Samma." (From Ratna Malla To Narasimha Malla), pp. 121-135.

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According to the Vamshavalis, Bhotas called "Kuku" entered into Nepal during the reign of Ratna Malla, and caused much harassment to the local people. These Bhotas probably moved into Nuwakot from the north and harassed the local people in various ways. Ratna Malla was not in a position to fight and subdue them through his own strength. Moreover, he could not afford to leave Kathmandu at that time in view of internal dissensions. Hence, according to the Vamshavalis, Ratna Malla sent five Maithili Brahmans to Palpa to ask the Sen King, who was his disciple, to help him in suppressing the enemy. The identity of the Sen King has not been established. The history of Palpa too is silent on this point.

However, more important than the arrival of the Bhote Kukus and the aid extended by the King of Palpa in subduing them is the fact that Ratna Malla had made Birta land grants to four Khasa communities after this war. The Khasas referred to in the Vamshavalis were probably Chhotris living in the hill region.

Khasas had entered into Nepal after Aditya Malla's attack. Ratna Malla brought them to his Kingdom under his patronage. It is not surprising that he raised a contingent of troops from among the Khasas. He trusted the Khasas because they had nothing to do with internal conflicts and were loyal to their masters by nature.

According to the Vamshavalis, it was during this period that Muslim traders entered into Nepal. They set up commercial houses in Nepal, through which they traded with Tibet.

Ratna Malla possessed broad outlook. He minted copper coins with the aim of improving the financial condition of Kathmandu. The fact that he had minted such coins indicates that the general economic condition of Kathmandu at that time was improving. Ratna Malla's permission to Muslim traders to operate in Kathmandu was motivated by the desire to develop trade. His apparent aim was to develop Nepal into a major center of trade with both Tibet and India.

According to Pratap Malla's stone inscriptions, Ratna Malla was succeeded by his son, Surya Malla. But according to Bhasha Vamshavalis, Amara Malla was the actual successor of Ratna Malla, and that Surya Malla was the successor of Amara Malla. The Vamshavalis state that Surya Malla seized two villages, Changu and Shankhapur, from Bhadgaun and annexed them to Kathmandu. This claim may be correct, for Ratna Malla, his predecessor, had declared himself independent of Bhadgaun and established his own Kingdom in Kathmandu. In these circumstances, it was natural that there should be hostility between Kathmandu and Bhadgaun at that time. Surya Malla settled down at Shankhapur or Sankhu and introduced the festival of Vajrayogini there. He stayed at Sankhu for 6 years and then returned to Kathmandu, where he died. (Wright, p. 206).

Why is there no reference to Surya Malla in the Vamshavalis or in Parthivendra Malla's stone inscriptions ? Surya Malla was a religious-minded person. That was why he lived at Sankhu after handing over the ~~administration~~ administration to his son, Amara Malla. As such, Amara Malla was the real King of Nepal at that time. This is the probable reason why Surya Malla's name was not included in the list of the Kings of Kathmandu. Only Pratap Malla has referred to Surya Malla, probably to clarify his lineage.

Surya Malla was succeeded by Amara Malla. A manuscript entitled Gita-Bhashyam, written during his reign, has been discovered. Extracts from the manuscript, presented by Harihar Prasad Shastri, indicate that it was written in Kathmandu on the order of Mukund Pathak Sharma, a minister of Amara Malla. It was written in 422 (Laxman Sen era), which, according to some scholars, was started in 1119-1120 A.D. or 622 Nepal era. Thus the manuscript appears to have been written around 1542 A.D. A definite date relating to Ratna Malla is 632 Nepal era (1513 A.D.). He is presumed to have reigned until much later. It is possible that the King of the third generation after Ratna Malla must have ruled Nepal around 662 Nepal era. This date is reliable, since the Vamshavalis confirm that Maithili Brahmans had begun to occupy a predominant position from the time of Ratna Malla. Another definite date related to Ratna Malla's rule has been mentioned by Bendall. It is Shrawan 671 Nepal era (1551 A.D.). It is therefore safe to assume that Ratna Malla was alive at least until 1551 A.D.

Amara Malla was a religious-minded King. He was specially devoted to the cult of the Shakti. He revived the Harisiddhi dance. The Mahalaxmi dance at Khokana was started during his reign. He also started a number of other religious dances, which included the Mana Maiju dance, the Pachali Bhairav dance, the Nava-Durga dance, the Bhadrakali dance, and the Kankeshwari dance. He introduced the festivals of different deities. In this manner, he provided different means of satisfying religious sentiments and entertainment needs of the people.

The Vamshavalis contain a list of the villages under the control of Amara Malla. A study of this list would indicate that he ruled over Patan as well as Kathmandu. The villages are as follows:-

|            |             |              |           |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|
| Lalitpur   | Pharping    | Balambu      | Gokarna   |
| Bandyagaun | Bungmati    | Satungal     | Devapatan |
| Thecho     | Khokana     | Halchok      | Nandigram |
| Harisiddhi | Panga       | Kutum        | Naxal     |
| Lubhu      | Kirtipur    | Dharmasthali | Maligaun  |
| Chhapagaun | Thankot     | Tokha        |           |
| Lele       | Chapaligaun | Chukagrama.  |           |

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The definite date of Amara Malla's death is not known. However, it is presumed that he died some time between 1551 A.D. and 1560 A.D.

Amara Malla was succeeded by his son, Mahendra Malla. One important event in the history of Nepal, linked to Mahendra Malla's name, is the minting of silver coins. Only copper coins of the Kings who preceded Amara Malla have been discovered. It thus appears that silver coins were first introduced during the rule of Mahendra Malla. This is the reason why silver coins bearing his name (Mahendra Malla) are so well-known both inside and outside Nepal.

The exact year during which Mahendra Malla's silver coins were minted is not known, because none of these coins have been discovered. According to the Vamshavalis, Mahendra Malla constructed the temple of Taleju in Kathmandu. The temple was of a great height, because the Kings of divided Nepal worshipped Taleju as their tutelary deity. The Vamshavalis also state that the inhabitants of Kathmandu expressed happiness over the prospects of being permitted to construct lofty buildings. But the idea that no person should construct a house higher than the Taleju temple is still prevalent in Kathmandu. In any case, it is beyond dispute that the Taleju temple occupied an important place in contemporary public life. The Vamshavalis are divided as to the exact date of the construction of the temple of Taleju. Wright's Vamshavali indicates that the construction of this temple might have been completed on Monday, Magh Sudi 5, 669 Nepal era (circa January 20, 154 A.D.). This view is based on the information given by the Vamshavali that the idol of Taleju had been installed in the temple on that date. According to another Vamshavali, however, the temple had been constructed around 684 Nepal era (1564 A.D.). The date cited by Wright is not reliable. The year 1564 was an important one in the history of Kathmandu. It is probable that Mahendra Malla minted his coins during the same year. Subsequent developments have confirmed this theory.

According to the Vamshavalis, Mahendra Malla constructed a number of other temples as well. He installed a Shivalinga named Mahendrashwar near his palace. He made Guthi land endowments for other temples. All this appears to suggest that the economic condition of Kathmandu was good during the reign of Mahendra Malla.

The prosperity of Kathmandu was due mainly to the treaty concluded by Mahendra Malla with Tibet. The treaty had authorized Nepal to mint coins for circulation in Tibet. Nepal used to buy both gold and silver from Tibet. This yielded considerable economic advantages to Nepal.

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Trailokya Malla was the King of Bhadgaun when Mahendra Malla ruled Kathmandu. The Vamshavalis indicate that Mahendra Malla had good relations with Trailokya Malla, although Kathmandu had been treating Bhadgaun with contempt ever since its secession from the latter. It has been stated in the preceding chapter that Bhadgaun had to bow before the might of Kathmandu, and that the Kings of Kathmandu frequently annexed villages belonging to Bhadgaun. According to a Vamshavali account, Mahendra Malla used to perform the ritual worship of Tulaja with the assistance of Trailokya Malla. This also appears to confirm the view that Bhadgaun was then under Kathmandu's domination.

It is stated in the Vamshavalis that one Purandara Rajvanshi had constructed a huge temple of Narayana opposite the Patan Palace in 648 Nepal era (1528 A.D.) during the reign of Mahendra Malla (Wright, p.207). A copy of the stone inscription installed at this temple has been published in the Sanskrit Sandesh (Vol. 1, No. 8). Another stone inscription dated Magh 674 Nepal era (January 1554 A.D.), installed by Vishnu Simha, father of King Purandara of the same dynasty, has also been published. This account proves that Patan was under the control of Kathmandu during Mahendra Malla's rule. It has already been mentioned that Patan was under the domination of Kathmandu during the reign of Amara Malla, father of Mahendra Malla.

No authentic evidence as to when Mahendra Malla's rule had come to an end is available. Bendall has come across only one definite date linked to Mahendra Malla's rule: It is Shrawan 686 Nepal era (July 1566 A.D.). Another definite date linked to the succeeding rule of Sadashiva Malla, as ascertained by Bendall, is 696 Nepal era (1576 A.D.). We may thus infer that Mahendra Malla died some time between 1567 and 1576 A.D.

Mahendra Malla had two sons, Sadashiva Malla and Shiva Simha. Sadashiva Malla became King after the death of his father. A manuscript written in 696 Nepal era (1576 A.D.) during his rule has already been referred to above. One important event that took place during the reign of Sadashiva Malla was the construction of the Mahabauddha temple in Patan on the model of the well-known temple of Bodh-Gaya. This is the only temple of its kind in Nepal. It was constructed by a Buddhist scholar named Jivaraja. His father, Abhayaraja, had three wives. When he was to marry for the fourth time, his sons became dissatisfied with him. Aware of their feeling, Abhayaraja went to Gaya along with his youngest wife. After 3 years, he had one more son, who was named Bauddhaju. Later, he came back to Nepal and was appointed in the same post of Dittha Nayak in the Mint which his father, Madana, had held during the reign of Surya Malla. According to the Vamshavali, it was Abhayaraja who had commenced the construction of the Maha Bauddha temple, but it was his son, Jivaraja, who had completed it. The temple was completed in 705 Nepal era (1585 A.D.).

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The Vamshavalis describe Sadashiva Malla as a profligate. He let horses loose on the farms of his subjects. One day his discontented subjects saw him on the bank of the Manohara and attacked him with bamboo poles and wooden clubs. The King then fled towards Bhadgaun. The King of Bhadgaun detained him in a courtyard of his palace. Some time later, Sadashiva Malla escaped from Bhadgaun. The courtyard where he had been detained was then named Sadashiva Malla Chok. Bhadgaun was under the overlordship of Kathmandu since the reign of Ratna Malla. The account is therefore probable.

After Sadashiva Malla was thus driven out, Shiva Simha, his younger brother, sat on the throne. Shiva Simha Malla ascended to the throne around 705 Nepal era (1585 A.D.). However, in the absence of conclusive evidence, it is difficult to be precise about this date.

In a stone inscription installed at the temple of Pashupatinath, Parthivendra Malla refers to Shiva Simha Malla as the protector of the King of Morang (Morangabanipalapalaka) (Sanskrit Sandesh, Vol. 1, No. 10-12). At that time, a conflict was going on among the sons of Harihara Sen, King of Makwanpur, over the affairs of the State. Harihara Sen was even imprisoned by his sons. As the result of this conflict, Morang seceded from Makwanpur. Shiva Simha Malla might have extended military assistance to the new State of Morang.

Shiva Simha Malla also defeated Purandara Simha, the rebel Samanta of Patan, and replaced him by his own son, Thakur Simha. This event occurred before 723 Nepal era (1603 A.D.). A stone inscription installed at Swayambhunath during Shiva Simha Malla's rule indicates that the Swayambhunath shrine had been renovated in Magh 714 Nepal era (January 1594 A.D.) at his command and with his assistance.

Thakur Singh, whom Shiva Simha Malla had appointed as the Samanta of Patan, probably died while his father was still alive. This assumption is based on the fact that the Vamshavalis do not mention his name, as well as the fact that Shiva Simha Malla handed over the reins of the administration of Patan to one of his own sons, Harihara Simha. After the death of Shiva Simha Malla, Harihara Simha started ruling over Patan as an independent King. Thus the independent Kingdom of Patan came into existence in Kathmandu Valley, apart from Kathmandu and Bhadgaun.

Ganga Devi, wife of Shiva Simha Malla, has gained considerable fame in Nepal. She was a religious-minded woman and many of her religious acts are still recalled with respect. The Ranitari garden in Kathmandu was constructed by her. That is the reason why it is known as Rani Ban (Queen's Forest). Queen Ganga Devi also gave the temple of Pashupatinath its present form. Previously, the temple had three stories with a roof projecting over

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each. Since the second storey was delapidated, Queen Ganga Devi had it removed and substituted it by a golden spire. She also plated the other roofs with gold. Moreover, Queen Ganga Devi beautified several other temples, including Changu Narayan. After having performed several such religious acts, Queen Ganga Devi became a Sati when her husband died.

There is no definite information about the two sons of Shiva Simha. It has been mentioned above that Thakur Simha, one of his two sons, died after ruling Patan for a few years. Thakur Simha had a brother named Harihara Simha, who took over the administration of Patan after the death of Thakur Simha. He also succeeded his father.

Harihara Simha had three sons, Laxmi Narasimha, Siddhi Narasimha and Riddhi Narasimha. Laxmi Narasimha, being the eldest son of Harihara Simha, was the heir to the throne. During his childhood, he developed a nervous disease. His grandmother, Ganga Devi, constructed a garden called Rani Ban for his use, so that he might live in a peaceful atmosphere. This garden is located near the place where the Indian Embassy is situated at present. Siddhi Narasimha was still in the womb of his mother, Lalamati when his father died. According to the Vamshavali, Lalamati insisted on becoming a Sati after the death of Harihara Simha. Her father-in-law, Shiva Simha, persuaded her not to do so, promising to give the throne of Patan to her child, irrespective of sex. This account may be correct. In fact, Siddhi Narasimha had been born as a King. Like his father Harihara Simha, he was entrusted with the administration of Patan after he attained majority. Laxmi Narasimha was then staying with his grandfather, Shiva Simha.

At first, Siddhi Narasimha Malla ruled Patan as the representative of his grandfather. After the accession of Laxmi Narasimha following Shiva Simha's death in 751 Nepal era (1631 A.D.), Siddhi Narasimha was required to act as the representative of his elder brother. This was naturally not pleasing to him. Yet he accepted Laxmi Narasimha Malla's domination for nearly 10 years. There is no evidence that he revolted against Laxmi Narasimha Malla's domination. In 761 Nepal era (1641 A.D.), Pratap Malla imprisoned Laxmi Narasimha Malla, his father, on the pretext that he suffered from epilepsy, and minted coins in his own name. Siddhi Narasimha Malla then declared himself as the independent King of Patan. He also minted coins in his own name. The seeds of conflict were thus sown in Kathmandu Valley.

The contemporary Nepali society had indeed begun to regard the division or disintegration of a State as a natural phenomenon. Selfish Kings never hesitated to exploit the religious sentiments of the people in order to fulfill their designs. They used the Tulaja deity as part of their statecraft. Laxmi Narasimha could not pass on the esoteric rites of Tulaja

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to Pratap Malla. Lalamati, Siddhi Narasimha's mother, had carried away the sacred jar of Tulaja to Patan after concealing it for some time. When Siddhi Narasimha Malla constructed a temple and established the idol of Tulaja inside it, a flame of fire emerged from the sky and entered into it. What more was needed to justify Siddhi Narasimha's revolt? But nobody realized that the flame had sown the seeds of destruction in Nepal.

Laxmi Narasimha probably entrusted the administration of his country to Bhima Malla, a relative of his son-in-law. According to Wright, Bhima Malla, on returning from Lhasa, tried to extend the dominions of Laxmi Narasimha Malla. (Wright, p. 212). Other details given by Wright with regard to Bhima Malla show that he was an able statesman. He set up 32 commercial firms in Kathmandu and sent traders to Lhasa. He himself went to Lhasa and sent plenty of gold and silver to Kathmandu. It was due to his efforts that an agreement was concluded under which the property of any Nepali who died at Lhasa without any heir accrued to the government of Nepal. He also brought Kuti under the control of Nepal. On returning from Lhasa, Bhima Malla rendered important services to the King. He sincerely wished that King Laxmi Narasimha Malla's rule should expand to the whole of Nepal. However, some one succeeded in convincing the King that Bhima Malla was conspiring to become King himself. Laxmi Narasimha Malla then ordered that Bhima Malla should be killed. (Wright, p. 212). However, according to another Vamshavalis, it was Pratap Malla who had Bhima Malla killed when the latter was staying at Bhadgaun after returning from Tibet. According to these Vamshavalis, Pratap Malla did so because of reports supplied by back-biters.

The definite date of Bhima Malla's murder is not known. But from the fact that the Vamshavalis identify Pratap Malla as the King who ordered Bhima Malla to be beheaded, it may be inferred that Pratap Malla murdered Bhima Malla after imprisoning his father and ascending the throne in 1641 A.D.

There is another possible reason behind the murder of Bhima Malla. In 1641 A.D., Gusari Khan, a Mongol King of Kokonor, had conquered Tibet. Kokonor was situated in the north of Tibet. The Tibetan Vamshavali mentions that some Kings of India, as well as the King of Nepal, had sent envoys to felicitate Gusari Khan after his conquest of Tibet. (Pag Sam, p. 165).

The year in which Tibet was conquered by Gusari Khan was either the last year of Laxmi Narasimha Malla's rule or the first year of Pratap Malla's rule. Bhima Malla was probably staying in Lhasa at that time. In other words, it was Bhima Malla who may have extended felicitations to Gusari Khan as the envoy of the King of Nepal. It is not impossible that Gusari Khan had then gladly accepted Nepal's control over Kuti.

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It would not be surprising if the enemies of Bhima Malla had conspired to spread the rumor that he wanted to become the King of Nepal with the assistance of Gusari Khan. Bhima Malla's view that the whole of Nepal should be under the rule of one King was disliked by the Kings of Patan and Bhadgaun. It was therefore possible that they too might have joined the conspiracy against Bhima Malla. The Vamshavalis also give an account which proves that the murder of Bhima Malla was unjustified. According to this account, Bhima Malla's wife had cursed King Pratap Malla before committing Sati and Pratap Malla had later realized his mistake in ordering the murder.

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Guthi Land Acquisition For Balaju Gardens.

A plot of 5/8 ropani of land at Lhuti (i.e. Balaju), traditionally belonging to the Guthi of the Seto Machhindranath temple, has been acquired for the Balaju gardens. The same area of land in Lhuti, belonging to the Linga Guthi, is hereby granted in exchange as Guthi. This plot is bounded in the east by the road, in the south by Gajendra's Birta, in the west by Linga Guthi land and in the north by Joti Shrestha's Birta. With due assurance, the traditional Guthiyars shall use the land and operate the Guthi.

Shrawan Sudi 5, 1897

(July 1840).

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 29, pp. 78-79.

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1764-1767<sup>x</sup>

By

Babyram Acharya

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On hearing that King Digbandhan Sen of Makwanpur had been dethroned and that he was in detention in Gorkha, the Chaubisi Kings of Lamjung, Tanahu, Kaski, Bhirkot, Palpa and Parbat decided to jointly invade Gorkha and set Digbandhan Sen free. After the rainy season of 1763 A.D., there was a flurry of diplomatic exchanges among them. It was natural, specially for King Trivikrama Sen of Tanahu and King Mukunda Sen II of Palpa, to take keen interest in this task. The old rival of Lamjung and Parbat, King Siddhi Narayan Shah of Kaski, had also joined this bloc. But it was the weakness of every King to send his general instead of coming himself. Even then, the allied troops of the Chaubisi Kingdoms occupied the Harmi, Dhulekot, Chyangli, Bhirkot, Dyaurali and Lakang forts in the western part of Gorkha and looted the adjoining villages (January 1764 A.D.). Since the majority of the troops of Gorkha was occupied in the blockade of Kathmandu Valley, Kaji Ranarudra Shah, commander of Gorkha, had a very small number of troops under him. He therefore conscripted all persons of between 16 to 60 years of age, in Gorkha and reported this to Prithvi Narayan Shah. At that time, the generals of Gorkha, Vamsha Raj Pande, Kahar Singh Basnyat and Harsha Pantha, were busy tightening the blockade. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore appointed his younger brother, Shur Pratap Shah, who wanted very much to become a general, as Kaji and sent him to Nuwakot with 800 troops. Troops of Kingdoms other than Lamjung assembled at Lakang and set it on fire when they heard that the Gorkhali troops had crossed the Buddhi-Gandaki river. But the troops of Shur Pratap Shah and Ranarudra Shah defeated the enemy at Lakang. Most of the troops of the enemy fell into the Marsyangdi river and died, since they could not get boats. Hearing this, the troops of Lamjung, stationed in Harmi, crossed the Choze river (March 1764). Shur Pratap Shah, on his way back, met a hermit, Bhagawan Nath of the Ranamath (monastery) in Salyan, who was on pilgrimage. He felt that the hermit was endowed with supernatural virtues. He therefore took him to Prithvi Narayan Shah in Nuwakot. It was necessary to have

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<sup>x</sup>Baberam Acharya, Nepal Ko Samkshipta Vrittanta, (A Brief Account of Nepal), Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 1966. Chapter V: "Chaubisi Ko Dosro Akraman, Kirtipurma Dosro Parajaya, Lamjungma Akraman Ra Kirtipur Ma Adhikar." (Second Invasion of Chaubisi State, Second Defeat In Kirtipur, Invasion of Lamjung and Occupation of Kirtipur), p. 29-35.

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friendly relations with the rulers of Salyana and Jajarkot in order to invade the Chaubisi Kingdoms from the western side. Prithvi Narayan Shah had signed a treaty with Hari Shah, King of Jajarkot when they were in Kashi; Gajendra Shah, Hari Shah's son, was also friendly with Prithvi Narayan Shah, who, therefore displayed much respect for Bhagawant Nath in order to strengthen friendly terms with King Shrikrishna Shah of Salyan.

Prithvi Narayan Shah could not forget his defeat in Kirtipur and the death of Kalu Pande. When he discussed the matter with Bagawant Nath, the latter said, "I will give you a partridge after reciting sacred incantations. When you set the partridge free during the attack, it will stop in Kirtipur and you will attain victory there." Shur Pratap Shah, who had become proud after his victory in the battle of Lakang, offered his services in occupying Kirtipur. This time too Harivamsha Upadhyaya, Kulananda Dhakal and Vamsharaj Pande did not agree to the proposal to attack Kirtipur. Even then, Kharidar Balakrishna Joshi became ready to fix an auspicious date for leaving. Prithvi Narayan Shah agreed with Shur Pratap Shah and sent him in the middle of August via Dahachok with a Gorkhali force. They occupied the adjoining villages of Kirtipur as well as Chobhar on the eastern side. At that time, Kirtipur could not receive any assistance from Lalitpur, since Prithvi Narayan Shah was himself King of Lalitpur and Dalamardan Shah, his brother, was ruling there as his representative. Jaya Prakash Malla, King of Kathmandu, had developed hostility towards the ministers of Lalitpur. Therefore, he too remained silent. In this situation, the nobles of Lalitpur who were responsible for the defense of Kirtipur fulfilled their responsibilities by closing the gates of the town. Since the boundary walls of the town were high, it was not possible to scale them. Therefore, every Gorkhali officer and soldier made plans to jump across with the help of bamboo ladders. At the auspicious moment, the partridge given by Bhagwanta Nath was set free, but the people of Kirtipur did not allow it to stop there. Even then, Shur Pratap Shah, Daljit Shah and Harsha Pantha tried to cross the wall thinking that the auspicious moment should not be allowed to pass. Some soldiers who had entered into Kirtipur were injured by stones thrown by the defenders. A tussle arose between Shur Pratap and Harsha Pantha on the question of scaling the wall. In the meantime, an arrow hit the eye of Shur Pratap Shah. Another arrow injured Daljit Shah. Many other officers and soldiers were injured and since the generals were not disciplined, the rest of the troops had to withdraw to Dahachok (September 16, 1764 A.D.).

When the Gorkhals occupied Chobhar during mid-August, the people of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Kirtipur jointly went to Lalitpur to arrest Dalamardan Shah. But Chautara Danawanta took him to his house for his safety. The ministers of Lalitpur did not hand Dalamardan Shah over to Jayaprakash Malla at the latter's request. On the advice of Parashuram

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Thapa, minister of King Ranjit Malla of Bhaktapur, they removed the name of Prithvi Narayan Shah from the list of the Kings of Lalitpur, made Dalmardan Shah himself King, and minted coins in Newari script in his name (October 1764).

When the Gorkhalis returned defeated from Kirtipur, Jaya Prakash Malla sent a force of Nagarkoti troops led by Sardar Badhasingh Nagarkoti and occupied 2 outposts by besieging the Naldum fort. He then tried to occupy another outpost. Jaya Prakash Malla then declared that he would drive out the Gorkhalis from Nuwakot also after they were driven out of Naldum. When Prithvi Narayan Shah was informed of this threat, he sent troops, on the advice of Vamsharaj Pande, with Kaji Tula Ram Pande, Prabhu Malla and Haribamsha Upadhyaya through the northern part of Kathmandu at night. But Badhasingh, even when he received the information, did not believe that they were Gorkhalis. The Gorkhalis then attacked the enemy from inside and outside the fort. 450 soldiers, including Badhasingh, were killed and many others injured. About 45 Gorkhalis were killed and some injured. Prithvi Narayan Shah felt very happy over this victory. He gave liberal rewards to his officers and soldiers.

There were apprehensions that the Chaubisi Kings would invade Gorkha when they learnt that Gorkha had sustained another defeat in Kirtipur. In the meantime, Shur Pratap Shah defected and took shelter with Siddhi Narayan Shah, King of Kaski. This event further strengthened these apprehensions. Therefore, Prithvi Narayan Shah decided to stop the Chaubisi troops on the banks of the Chepe river. He sent a big force led by Kaji Vamsharaj Pande and others to Lamjung and himself went to Saramadhi in Gorkha to make arrangements for the battle (mid-November). When the Chaubisi Kings did not react, he ordered Vamsharaj Pande to occupy Raginas fort in Lamjung across the Chepe river. The Kings of Lamjung had constructed Raginas fort to face the invasion of Gorkha, just as the Kings of Gorkha had constructed Siranchok fort to face the invasion of Lamjung. The Raginas fort, which was situated between the Chepe and Marsyangdi rivers, was not easy to occupy. It was necessary to make boats and maintain stocks of food. Prithvi Narayan Shah made these preparations quickly. It was also necessary to occupy the forts of Chihandanda and Lakhajung, which had been established to protect the fort of Raginas. When Vamsharaj Pande invaded the fort of Chihandanda and tried to occupy it, the troops of Lamjung stationed at the Raginas fort came there. When the troops of Vamsharaj Pande invaded the fort, the troops of Lamjung sustained serious injuries. About 250, including Kunjar Bhandari, were arrested and detained at the royal palace in Gorkha. Parath Bhandari, one of them, later became a prominent Sardar of Gorkha. After both forts were occupied, Raginas too was taken over by Gorkha.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah constructed several forts there for the protection of Lakhajung and Raginas and appointed an officer of Gorkha to defend that area. Then he sent the troops accompanying Vamsharaj Pande to Nuwakot. He too then went to Nuwakot.

Prithvi Narayan Shah was in a hurry to occupy Kirtipur. When he discussed the matter with Vamsharaj Pande in Nuwakot, the latter persuaded him to wait until the next winter.

Exactly at this time, Dalamardan Shah, who had been made King of Lalitpur while under detention, escaped and reached Dahachok. At this, the ministers of Lalitpur selected a cotton trader, who was distantly related to the royal family, and enthroned him in the hope that he would succeed in insuring the supply of cotton, which had been interrupted as a result of the blockade (May 1765). They gave him the name of Tejanarasimha Malla.

In order to occupy Kirtipur, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent a large force under the command of Vamsharaj Pande through Dahachok after the paddy crop was harvested. Outside Kirtipur, he set up a number of temporary outposts. As on previous occasions, the chief of Kirtipur village closed all the gates and waited for the attack. Vamsharaj Pande, on his part, stopped the supply of paddy to the village. At the same time, he kept on conveying Prithvi Narayan Shah's message to the inhabitants of Kirtipur, that no harm would be done to them if they surrendered. Having received no message from the ministers of Lalitpur and King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu, Sinkhwal Pradhan, chief of the village, thought it proper to surrender. However, he made an arrangement, with Vamsharaj Pande, under which the Gorkhali troops were to enter into Kirtipur only at night because it was felt that their entry during day time might provoke its inhabitants into doing something. Accordingly, Sinkhwal Pradhan opened the main gates of Kirtipur at mid-night and Vamsharaj Pande entered into the town along with his force. The inhabitants of Kirtipur awoke in the morning only to find that they had come under the rule of the Gorkhalis (March 12, 1766).

Prithvi Narayan felt very elated at hearing the news of the conquest of Kirtipur. Since Kirtipur was mainly inhabited by Buddhists, Prithvi Narayan Shah, in order to please them, sent a message announcing the endowment of some lands for the maintenance of the local shrines and Viharas. With the conquest of Kirtipur, the rule of the Gorkhalis extended from the area west of the Bishnumati river to the Newar settlements in Wangbhanjyang, thus narrowing the territory of Lalitpur.

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Although the life and property of the people of Kirtipur were secure, and there was no looting, 14 or 15 foolish men treacherously killed Gorkhali soldiers. Prithvi Narayan Shah, however, did not behead them; he only had their noses cut off and ordered them to be expelled from Kirtipur.

It was not difficult to occupy Lalitpur after the conquest of Kirtipur. But it was difficult to occupy Kathmandu. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore devised the strategy of besieging Kathmandu by occupying all the Newar settlements in the north. But it was difficult to occupy all these settlements without capturing Mudikhu which was situated on the main route between Kathmandu and Nuwakot. The King of Kathmandu had entrusted the responsibility of defending the fort of Mudikhu to the native Khadkas themselves, so that its defenses might be strengthened. Vamsharaj Fande despatched a contingent of troops to occupy Lutikot first, which was situated on the Kirtipur - Mudikhu route. This force, which included Ram Krishna Kunwar, besieged Lutikot during the day and attacked and occupied it at night. Hari Khadka, the defender of Mudikhu, surrendered, and he, along with his 150 soldiers, were taken prisoner. The entire area up to Changu to the east was thus occupied without a fight.

Alarmed over the steady advance of the Gorkhali troops, Jaya Prakash Malla invited King Ranjit Malla of Bhaktapur, as well as the ministers of Lalitpur, to be present at Guhyeshwari for consultations. The King of Bhaktapur and three ministers of Lalitpur arrived at Guhyeshwari on May 28, 1766. All the three Kingdoms pledged support to one another, declaring that they would not be able to survive if they failed to resist the Gorkhali troops jointly.

Seeing that the Malla Kings of Kathmandu Valley had thus concluded a pact, Prithvi Narayan Shah paused before embarking on a siege of Kathmandu. However, the Birta owners and prosperous persons of Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur felt that there was little possibility of the three Malla Kingdoms surviving as independent entities. They therefore began to gravitate towards Prithvi Narayan Shah to safeguard their property. Prominent among them were Mahants Bhagawati Van and Lachchhiman Van of Bhaktapur.

In the battle of Mudikhu, a young minister of Lalitpur, named Bira Narsingh, had been captured and imprisoned in Nuwakot amidst strict security arrangements. Prithvi Narayan Shah told him that he would be freed if he called in his father. Accordingly, Bira Narsingh wrote a letter to his father, Chautara Dhanawanta. Out of affection for his son, Chautara Dhanawant left Lalitpur and went to Nuwakot, where he asked Prithvi Narayan Shah for asylum. He was appointed as chief of Khawasas (royal slaves).

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With a view to occupying the Chaubisi Kingdoms in the west, Prithvi Narayan Shah established amicable relations with King Shrikrishna Shah of Salyan with the assistance of Yogi Bhagawanta Nath, whom he regarded as his spiritual teacher. With the assistance of Yogi Bhagawanta Nath, Prithvi Narayan Shah had his only daughter, Bilas Kumari, married to a son of King Shrikrishna Shah of Salyana in Nuwakot (January 1737). This relationship helped Bahadur Shah greatly to occupy the Chaubisi Kingdoms eventually.

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Betel Offerings To Goddess Taleju

From King Rajendra,

To Gopal Barai of Bhadgaun.

Our great-great-grandfather (i.e. King Pratap Simha) had granted 14 ropanis of land as Jagir to your father under the Guthi endowed to offer betel to Goddess Taleju daily as well as on ceremonial occasions. We hereby reconfirm this grant. Enjoy (the produce of) these lands by fulfilling your duty to the Goddess daily as well as on ceremonial occasions.

Magh Sudi 1, 1881

(January 1824)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 29, p. 20.

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An Order Of King Dambar Shah Of Gorkha<sup>x</sup>

By

Mohan Prasad Khanal.

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This order was issued by King Dambar Shah of Gorkha to Gangadhar Padhya for the protection of forests. The royal seal affixed at the top of this document contains the words "Shri Durga Bhawani". The seal is not very clear and the document, which is 7½" long and 3" wide, is very worn out. It has 9 lines. It is written in Devnagari script and mentions the date 1708. The document was obtained from Bhawani Prasad of Dhading.

Abstract Translation

From King Dambar Shah To Gangadhar Padhya.

Do not let anybody clear bushes, forests, shrubs, etc. at Ludja. Make a proclamation to this effect before the entire village.

Friday, Jestha Sudi 7, 1708  
(June 1651 A.D.).

Explanation

According to the Vamshavalis, in 1616 Vikrama (1559 A.D.) Dravya Shah, founder of the Kingdom of Gorkha, defeated Ghale chieftains and proclaimed himself King. Dravya Shah was succeeded by his son Purna Shah. Purna Shah's son was Chhatra Shah, who was succeeded by Ram Shah. Ram Shah enforced a number of rules and expanded the small Kingdom of Gorkha to the Trishuli river in the east, to the Chepe river in the west, to Tibet in the north and to the Seti river in the south. Dambar Shah was the son of Ram Shah.

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"Bi. Sam. 1708 Ko Gorkhaka Raja Dambar Shah Ko Abhilekh" (An Order from King Dambar Shah of Gorkha In 1708 Vikrama), Samiksha Weekly, Aswin 2, 2029 (September 18, 1972).

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The Kings of Lamjung had not liked the establishment of the independent Kingdom of Gorkha by Dravya Shah. They were therefore waiting for an opportunity to occupy Gorkha. Although the Gorkhalis were as brave as the Lamjungis, Lamjung was stronger than Gorkha. Gorkha had therefore to be-ware of Lamjung.

Many principalities had emerged in Nepal during the medieval period. Each principality always tried to occupy the other. In order to defend themselves from stronger principalities, small and weak ones built forts at high altitudes, particularly those situated along border areas. At that time, dense forests and precipices served as forts. Hence the clearing of trees at such places posed a danger to the Kingdom.

Later, the Malla Kings of Kathmandu Valley too made arrangements for the protection of forest forts. Copper inscriptions issued by them in this regard have been discovered. King Jagajjaya Malla of Kantipur and his son, Jaya Prakash Malla, as well as King Rajya Prakash Malla of Lalitpur, issued inscriptions stipulating arrangements for the protection of such forts. These inscriptions are located at the Bajrajogini temple at Sankhu and at the temple of Bagh Bhairav in Kirtipur. (Aitihāsik Patra Sangraha, Vol. II).

King Prithvi Narayan Shah too issued a royal order which read: "To the priest of Nannada Devata. Look after the forest of Nam Deo Dhan, and particularly the Kaphal trees there. Anyone who clears this forest shall be punished." (Prithvi Patra Sangraha, Part I, p. 14).

The above order issued by King Dambar Shah of Gorkha to Gangadhar Padhya also contains instructions relating to the protection of forest forts. This is the first available document issued by the Kings of Gorkha before the accession of King Prithvi Narayan Shah to the throne with regard to such arrangements.

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An Inscription Installed During The Reign Of Rajalla Devi<sup>x</sup>

By

Mohan Prasad Khanal.

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There is a famous temple of Anantalingeshwar on the hill located to the south of the Suryavinayak temple in Bhaktapur. On its wall there is a four-cornered water spout, which contains a 4-line inscription in Newari script. The first line which mentions the date and a few letters in the fourth line are illegible. It states that the water spout was installed during the reign of Rajalla Devi.

On the third-day of Magh Shukla, 1382 Vikrama (1326 A.D.), King Harisimha Deva of Tirhut made preparations to resist an invasion from Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlak who was on his way to Delhi through Tirhut after invading Bengal. A fierce battle ensued between Harisimha Deva and Ghiasuddin Tughlak. Harisimha Deva could not face the attack, however, and the troops of Ghiasuddin Tughlak finally destroyed Simraungadh. The King and noble-men of Tirhut all fled to the forests. Some time later, however, Harisimha Deva, along with the rest of his family and ministers, migrated to Rajagrama in Dolakha. He sent his queen, Devala Devi, to Kathmandu Valley in the company of one of his sons named Jagat Simha, to solicit assistance. However, King Harisimha Deva died at Tinpatan shortly thereafter. In the meantime, the Majhis and Bharos of Rajagrama imprisoned the remaining members of Harisimha Deva's family as well as his ministers staying there and looted all their property.

Arimalla and Rudra Malla were ruling jointly in Kathmandu Valley when Queen Devala Devi and Jagat Simha reached there. Early in 1377 Vikrama, Rudra Malla had placed Arimalla, one of his relatives, on the throne. But although the throne was occupied by Arimalla, Rudra Malla held the reins of administration in his own hands. Following the death of Harisimha Deva and the imprisonment and looting of his family at Rajagrama, Rudra Malla gave shelter to Queen Devala Devi and her son and kept them in his palace with honor.

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<sup>x</sup>"Magh Shukla Trayodashi Prachaturdashi Ko Rajalla Devi Ko Pala Ko Abhilekh." (An Inscription Installed During The Reign of Rajalla Devi). Samiksha Weekly, August 7, 1972.

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In Ashadh 1373 Vikrama (sic) Rudra Malla died at the age of 30 years and 8 months. His four wives became Satis. Rudra Malla had two sons named Bira Malla and Tribhuwana Malla, but both of them had died in their infancy. He was survived only by a daughter named Nayaka Devi. Nayaka Devi, the sole heiress to the throne, was looked after by both her grand-mother Yadu Malla Devi and Devala Devi.

Many persons desired to marry Nayaka Devi because she was the heiress to the throne. Finally, Nayaka Devi was married to Harishchandra Deva of the lunar dynasty, who was brought from Varanasi. However, Jagat Simha started conspiring to eliminate Harishchandra Deva. He succeeded in poisoning Harishchandra Deva to death. Thereafter Jagat Simha and Nayaka Devi started living as husband and wife.

Gopala Deva, brother of Harishchandra Deva, regarded Jagat Simha as his enemy and vice versa. Gopala Deva went from Bhaktapur to Lalitpur. In the event, Jagat Simha beheaded Gopala Deva. In 1401 Vikrama, Arimalla died at Deopatan. Although his throne remained unoccupied because he had no heir, the reins of administration were in the hands of Nayaka Devi, daughter of Rudra Malla, of whom she was the sole heiress. In 1403 Vikrama, Nayaka Devi died, leaving a 10 days old daughter named Rajalla Devi behind. Devala Devi looked after Rajalla Devi and began to rule the country.

The inscription referred to above appears to have been installed during this period. The words "during the reign of Rajalla Devi", occurring in the inscription, indicate that it had probably been installed before the accession of Sthiti Malla to the throne. Had the date inscribed in it not become illegible, it would have been possible to trace out its history.

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Appointment Of Chief Of Gunpowder Factory InThimi<sup>x</sup>

From King Rajendra,

To Sher Singh Pathak of Nuwakot, grandson of Shrikrishna Pathak and son of Laxmipati Pathak.

We hereby appoint you as Dittha of the Thimi gunpowder factory, replacing Kul Bahadur. Appropriate the emoluments pertaining to this office, which amount to 800 muris of Khet lands and Rs 100 in cash as Khuwa.

Operate the gunpowder factory properly and manufacture gunpowder. Submit accounts of the saltpeter and sulphur used and of the gunpowder manufactured through the Kapardar-Dittha.

In case the subjects whose services have been assigned for the gunpowder factory do not present themselves for work on Jhara (unpaid) basis, or have to go (elsewhere) for procuring provisions and so do not provide Jhara labor, collect a fine of 2 annas from each such laborer for each day.

In case anybody defaults in the supply of firewood to the gunpowder factory, collect 4 annas as fine from him for each load.

In case any person defaults in his obligation to provide Silaute labor (to grind gunpowder), collect a fine of 2 annas from him for each day. At the end of the year, submit accounts and obtain clearance. Remain faithful and appropriate your emoluments.

(List of lands and revenues follows).

Falgun Badi 4, 1900  
(February 1844).

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<sup>x</sup>Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 29, pp. 1-2.

(S.B.M.)

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: November 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 11,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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In Appeal For The Abolition Of Slavery<sup>x</sup>

An appeal for the abolition of slavery in Nepal made on Friday the 14th Marga 1981 (28th November 1924) by His Highness Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., G.C.M.G., D.C.L., Thong Lin Pim-ma Ko-Kang Wang Syan., Prime-Minister and Marshal, NEPAL.

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Gentlemen,

To-day we meet to consider a delicate and difficult question. The world progresses and with it there is change, not only in our mode of living in our relations with our neighbours, in our methods of administration and many things besides but in our domestic arrangements too. Our country and our people have now come much more to the fore than ever before. That alone should be an incentive to retain untarnished our reputation as a brave people, as a just people, as a humane people; in short as the fit progeny of our forefathers, the heroes of a hundred battles, ever the champions of the weak and oppressed. Yet there rests on us, according to the present standard of the civilised world, a stigma, a slur on our name which diminishes its lustre. They say we yet nurture the hated institution of slavery; we, who are so fiercely jealous of our independence, retain in vile bondage some of our own people and abandon them from generation to generation to continue in that state without lifting a little finger to sweep away a custom unworthy of our glorious tradition.

Whatever we may put forward in extenuation, and we can in reason urge many points to show that the institution as pre-

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valent here differs from what was current not perhaps thirty years ago in Zanzibar and Pemba or some three quarters of a century back in Mauritius, British Colonies and elsewhere and is as different in aspect as poles asunder, yet, gentlemen, we cannot but plead guilty to the charge in general. We have bond slavery in our country, it may be it is in name only; but it is there.

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<sup>x</sup> 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.).

We need not go deeply into the origin of the custom which lies hidden away in the dim ages in the past when a conquering nation could find no other use for the conquered people except in requisitioning their services as slaves condemned to propagate slaves till eternity. The descendants of Haihayas, the conquered slaves of the Purans, are now as extinct as the palaeozoic animals. We pass by the Grecian and Roman periods, the invasions of India from the Puranic age down to historic times; and the subsequent struggle for supremacy, with their tales of plunder and desolation, the captures and triumphal processions, the growth and death of a slave population; till under the aegis of some devoted philanthropists this institution, which has on account of abuses inherent in it earned the epithets of "barbarous and inhuman", ceased to exist and is rare to-day in every civilized part of the globe.

Page 3

The other source of the traffic in human beings is to be found in poverty accentuated by famine, in dire necessity which parted children from parents. We must not be so uncharitable as to suppose that it was the love of pecuniary gain but rather the more humanitarian instinct to preserve life that parted those who are in the natural course parted only in death. Apart from military subjugation and economic necessity there were and are other sources which were and are criminal and immoral. It must be remembered that this institution is no part of our religion: whether it stays or goes it does no good or harm under that aspect. But there are other aspects in which it touches us as closely as religion does.

The institution is as old as our religious tradition though it does not form part and parcel of the latter. Leaving aside the stories of Kadru and Binata, of King Harishchandra, and others which figure in the Purans, we find that it has a place in the Smritis and Tantras which regulate in our domestic life, our dealings with slaves. In essence the treatment advocated is a humane one and forms the foundation of our treatment of them and of the legislation regarding their status under certain circumstances. The institution has become fused into our every

Page 4

day life and has gathered around it the false sanction of a custom. But customs generally keep our nationalism intact and when they become effete are either discarded or yield place to others more vigorous. There are some which may have possessed a temporary utility but have continued when that is passed until attention is drawn to them through change of circumstances. Opinion amongst the learned pundits is unanimous that so long

Contd...

as a change in custom does not violate the basic principle of the Shastras it is permissible. So that it may be legitimately inferred that any change or even abolition of this institution, time-honoured though it is, is not beyond the range of practicability. If such a custom, moreover, is definitely prejudicial to the best interests of the people, the community, and the country, it is incumbent on us to change or abolish it forthwith for the common good.

It has become worth our while to consider well the effect which the system had and is still having on the slave community and the rest of the people in the country. Let us look at it from the view point of the slaves. Will they have the same interest in their surroundings as their brethren who are free like you? In your infancy you grow up in an atmosphere of love and affection from

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your parents and relatives. They are anxious for your education, to find for you some means of honest livelihood. You reach the adult age, have a family and very soon you have a home of your own or, it may be, you share your parents' roof and repay to some extent the care bestowed on you in infancy by taking care of them in their old age. Mark, gentlemen, how at each step there is an uplift in your sense of responsibilities, how you grow to look upon them as loveable duties rather than as tedious burden, how they expand your hearts and engender in you a higher love: a love for your country. You resent aspersions against it as much as you would do one on your home. You become inquisitive on seeing a neighbour doing well and try to emulate him and to better your own condition. You have a motive for work and you find the reward not only in your earnings but also in the happiness of the dear ones in your home. When you enter the street at the end of which your home is, be it a lowly thatch or a sumptuous mansion, your heart begins to beat fast, you are filled now with joy, now with fear; joy at the prospect of meeting, fear at the apprehension of any mishap that may have befallen in your absence, till you reach your threshold and enter the house, receive the greetings of your

Page 6

dear ones and kiss your children. You sit down happy and content. Let us leave the scene there-- , may such multiply in the land!-- and turn our eyes to the other picture.

Contd...

Think of a slave. May be he was purchased when very young and has no recollection of his parents; still he is young and looks on with jealous hungry eyes when you are showering kisses on your children. A kind man, granted all are equally kind-you have a kind word for the slave boy. But children instinctively discern the difference. He wonders if ever he had parents; if so, where they are and why he is there, His little brain cannot find a solution but it sets him thinking. He begins to understand that there is a difference between him and the rest. The sentiment grows, and his heart begins to harden with age towards his surroundings, his masters' household, his neighbours and all the world. His childhood passes, not as yours has passed. He is grown up and has learnt to know his position although he has been allowed to mix with your children and humbly share some of their joys. He is your asset and you spend on him frugally, expecting a return. Your slave is now grown up, he is one of your farm hands and has been taught his duties carefully. You will be lenient with him as you know kindness

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pays better than cruelty. But he has learnt the bitter truth, and now he is a slave and is in hopeless bondage, knows that there is the brand of servitude on his brow, while his co-workers, hired men perhaps of the neighbourhood, wear the dignity of labour as a diadem which brightens their faces and lightens their work by the thought of those at home for whom they are working. They return after the days' work and so does he but with what different feelings ! You notice the gloom upon him, and find a mate for him, to attach him to the house and of course, with the shrewd instinct of a business man, to get golden eggs laid for you. But how long can you keep him contented ? He gradually realises that the wife given him and the children of his are not his own in the sense in which they are to a free man. If the master cannot afford to keep the slave's increasing family, it is the slaves' family life which is broken up first, the husband is separated from the wife, the mother from the child. Many of you have heard or read the story of Harishchandra and remember perhaps how the king sold himself, his wife and child to redeem his pledge to the inexorable Vishwamitra. If they shed scalding tears at the pathetic separation, at last the Gods on

Page 8

high took pity and reunited them. But to-day in this Kaliyuga the slaves may shed red blood instead of watery tears, yet the flint heart of our custom and institution, more exorable than Vishwamitra, does not melt. What wonder then that the bulk of the slaves hate mankind, lose all interest in man and country, have no stimulus to work, have no sense of responsibility and gradually sink to the level of beasts and chattels. This has been very feelingly expressed in the following couplet.

Contd...



"मनुष्यजाते तुल्यायां दासत्वमत्रिगहितम् ।  
प्रथमे यो न तत्रापि स किं जीवत्सु गण्यते"

While asserting the universal equality of men the poet declares slavery as altogether despicable and asks "Can the slaves be counted amongst the living?"

Gentlemen, you are perhaps thinking that the colour is too deeply laid on, that light and shade have been unduly intensified to give contrast. It is readily admitted that there are households with septuagenarian slaves presiding over the family deliberations and practically directing the family affairs during the nonage of the heir; there are households in the hills managed by the slaves while the owner and his relatives are away on business or pleasure; and that there

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are households where but for certain limitations the distinction between master and slave is practically abolished. But look at their mentality under the limitations and you will readily admit that cannot be different from what is depicted, otherwise human nature would not be what it is. If to-day you are told that your earnings will not be your own, all activities will cease, accumulation will vanish, prudence and thrift be known in name merely, and people will live simply from hand to mouth doing the least that will secure bare subsistence. Can you expect the knowledge of such restrictions to have any other effect on the mind of a slave? The evil of it was recognised and a law was passed in the year 1978 investing the slaves with the right of ownership of property and devolution by succession. But that has not produced any visible result as yet, no doubt because the time of the slave being wholly his masters', there is little opportunity for him to earn much and all his property remains confined to his few personal belongings—he has not built a home or purchased a farm to give him a stake in the country. You build him a family by marrying him, but do you not agree that half the enjoyment of it will be gone as soon as the slaves realise that they may be parted at the sweet will and

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convenience of their masters? You say that the slaves' intelligence is low and that they never think of these things. Are they more obtuse than the dumb cattle? Have not many of you seen the exasperation of the cow, noticed the tears running down her cheeks, when such separation is forcibly effected? Besides, gentlemen, is it honourable of you to take advantage of their helplessness? Does it bespeak high intelligence and high morality thus to negate Nature's laws of family association, to traffic on the ignorance or obtuseness of a class of your fellow beings? However that

Contd...

may be, it would be idle to expect the slaves to have the same patriotic fervour, to have the same interest in short, to shape themselves as true citizens like their brethren, the freemen.

Apart from the mentality which is inseparable from the institution it is necessary to investigate what economic advantage, if any, is secured by retaining it. This institution has been common at one time or another all over the world. In most places it was the superior force of the conqueror exercised over the conquered, or barefaced robbery, which had brought the so-called slaves into the possession of the owners, 'man-merchants' as they were called. The stronger people had obtained land, by force of course, and they

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required labour to cultivate it. The slave merchants sold the kidnapped people to these planters in open markets—yes, there were regular markets for dealing in slaves just as you now have to deal in chattels and produce ! This slave labour was used to bring vast lands under cultivation. It was forced labour and required very harsh treatment to extract as much work as possible. The incentive to forced labour was the lash behind. The slaves while they worked looked behind to protect their back while the freeman labours looking forward to his hire which he knows will be proportional to his work and upon which rests his hope of provision for his family and himself. There is thus a fundamental difference between slave labour and free labour, and this was forcefully illustrated when slavery was abolished in many parts of the world. The slave must be fed and clothed whether he works ill or well, he must be nursed in illness, and at death or desertion his value will have to be written off as a loss. The slave will require more constant supervision than the free labourer, because sure of a bellyful whether he works or not, he will naturally prefer to do the least possible; you cannot starve him, because his physical weakness will be your loss. The superiority of free labour

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to slave labour is not a matter of mere speculation. History has proved it and I doubt not that the experience of those who have occasion to use both descriptions of labour in this country will bear out the fact. In the pre-abolition days history of the Hottentot colony at Kat River furnished a striking example of the difference in the quality of work of the same people in an enslaved and in a freed condition. They were considered as absolutely worthless as labour and even the African Negroes despised them as a lazy and good-for-nothing people. In the colony the freed Hottentots

Contd...

proved themselves the most industrious people and transformed the barren tract into a veritable garden, rich to over-flowing in agricultural products. It is slavery which prevents the slaves from acquiring industrious habits and which stunts their power of exercising the virtues of prudence, foresight and discretion.

General considerations of the superiority of free labour to slave labour will hardly appeal to slave owners because their bias will stand in the way. Their happy-go-lucky style of living can never suggest to them the necessity of testing the proposition practically, and, until they do so, no argument will ever convince them of its truth. In the many domestic duties such as fetching fuel,

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fodder or water from a distance, there is a way to do them either expeditiously or dilatorily. The hired labourer prefers the first mode of working as he fears dismissal and subsequent non-employment if he is slow over his job. The slave, having no such fear, prefers the latter. Your threat that you will sell him does not carry much weight with him as the slave knows that it is all one to him wherever he is. You also know that you can seldom get a better man, and chastisement will only exasperate him and might even make him run away. Even if you do not care to make the experiment, only observe how the work of the household of your neighbour, whose family is like your own, but who is not a slave owner, is carried on more expeditiously than at your place. In foreign countries the masters had to employ paid overseers to supervise the work of slaves and those supervisors treated the slaves very harshly to get as much work out of them as possible. Even with such conditions at Pemba, when a commission was appointed prior to the abolition, Mr O'Sullivan, the President put down after experiments and recording of evidence, as his considered opinion, that "The superiority of the free labour in Seychelles as compared with the slave labour in Pemba is

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very striking. I should say that the Seychelles Negro is fully three times more efficient, from an agricultural point of view, than is the Pemba Negro under existing conditions." Here, where you do not treat the slaves so harshly, it will perhaps be found that one hired man is equal to two slaves in point of efficiency. Thus if you replace all your able-bodied slaves by half the number of hired hands and pay each latter twice as much as the expense you incurred for each slave replaced, your work should not suffer, neither should your expenditure increase. Then again, some slave owners have to maintain unproductive hands such as the old, the ill

Contd...

or infirm and the young, along with those that are productive. Under a hired labour system this encumbrance will be removed, and there will be some saving too, that way. Further more, no slave owner can deny that in maintaining slaves he is exposed to constant risk of loss by death or desertion; and that with a hire system he has not to pay a lump sum down as he has to do in the purchase of slaves. In defence of the first statement the owner will perhaps turn a fatalist. Argument with such is impossible. We must not forget also, that the household is increased by the addition of slaves and their dismissal reduces the worry of the master on account of the

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illness of a large number of slaves. While considering the economical aspect of domestic slavery I should not pass over the point urged by some masters that they can rely on slaves for watch and ward over their property as they cannot on outsiders, because if the slaves violate that faith by any dishonest action, the defalcators, being the personal property of the masters, can under the law be got hold of anywhere in Nepal. The hollowness of this argument should be patent to everyone; for, any defalcator, be he a slave, or a Bani or even a Darmahadar, can be prosecuted in any part of the country under the laws. The idea of forced honesty in slaves is absurd. Law can never make a people honest or dishonest, and it is only secular, religious and moral education that keeps people in the right path.

(To Be Continued.)

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An Inscription Of Queen Bhuanalaxmi

By

Mohan Prasad Khanal.

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During the Indraajatra festival, the gold-plated idol of Bhairava is kept at the Kanelchok courtyard of Hanumandhoka in Kantipur. The lower portion of this idol contains an inscription in the Newari script. The gist of the 2-line inscription is as follows:

Installed by Bhuanalaxmi, Queen of King Bhupalendra Malla, after installing the idol of Anandabhairava to be worshipped every year during the Indraajatra festival, so that her deceased husband, Bhupalendra Malla, may continue to reside in his heavenly abode.

Bhadra Shukla 12, 822 Nepal era.

Pratap Malla, the famous King of Kantipur, died in 1731 Vikrama (1674 A.D.). He was succeeded by Nripendra Malla, who was then 12 years old. Since the King was a minor, it was but natural that the reins of administration should have gone into the hands of ministers. Chautara Chikuti emerged as the most powerful minister after Nripendra Malla's accession to the throne. Nripendra Malla died 7 years after his accession. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Parthivendra Malla. As Parthivendra Malla too was a minor, Chikuti remained the most powerful State functionary during his reign as well.

However, a few years later in 1740 Vikrama (1683 A.D.) some nobles of Kantipur hatched a conspiracy against Chikuti. Having got wind of the conspiracy, Chikuti, along with his family, fled to Lalitpur, where he sought asylum from King Srinivasa Malla. Following this, a Council of Ministers consisting of 4 members, including Laxminarayan Joshi, was formed in Kantipur.

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<sup>x</sup>Mohan Prasad Khanal, "Bi. Sam. 1759 Ko Kantipurka Raja Bhupalendra Mallaki Rani Bhuanalaxmiko Abhilekh." (An Inscription of Bhuanalaxmi, Queen of King Bhupalendra Malla of Kantipur, Dated 1759 Vikrama. Samiksha Weekly, October 2, 1972.

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In 1744 Vikrama (1687 A.D.), Parthivendra Malla was poisoned to death. Queen Riddhi Malla and Laxminarayan Joshi had had a hand in the King's death. However, Chikuti, who was then performing some religious rites at the Pashupatinath temple, was charged with having poisoned the King. He, as well as the rest of his family and his Khas followers and Banshidhar, a minister, were beheaded on the charge of being responsible for Parthivendra Malla's death.

Parthivendra Malla was succeeded by his son, Bhupalendra Malla, who was then barely 8 years old. Bhupalendra Malla being a minor, Laxminarayan Joshi became all-in-all. He was successful in attaining this position thanks largely to the fact that Riddhilaxmi, the Queen-mother, was amenable to his wishes. The Bhasha Vamshavali speaks of the relationship between the Queen-mother and Laxminarayan Joshi in these words: "The Kaji (i.e. Laxminarayan Joshi) used to take his meals in the palace, wear the King's robes and ornaments, and relax on the King's bed. He never took part in any battle. He spent the whole of the day in the company of the Queen."

According to an inscription discovered at Tauthali, "Queen Riddhi Laxmi had a secret love affair with an influential Kaji of Kantipur and it was they who had conspired to kill Parthivendra Malla."

In 1747 Vikrama (1690 A.D.), Khasas drove out Laxminarayan Joshi from his own home, and killed him with a Khukri. King Bhupalendra Malla then became strong enough to banish his mother, Riddhi Laxmi to Tauthali, where she was kept as a prisoner. He took revenge against all those who had actually been responsible for the death of his father.

In 1757 Vikrama (1700 A.D.), Bhupalendra Malla died near Ayodhya, when he was on a pilgrimage to India. The people of Kantipur learnt of his death only 65 days later. The funeral rites of Bhupalendra Malla were performed by placing his horoscope along with his bed on the funeral pyre. 8 women, including his Queen, became Sati.

This inscription was installed by Bhuanalaxmi, Queen of Bhupalendra Malla, in 1759 Vikrama (1702 A.D.) after installing the idol of Bhairava to be worshipped during the Indrajatra festival, praying for peace to her departed husband. It clearly shows that the idol of Bhairava had been installed by Bhuanalaxmi in the name of her deceased husband, her son Bhaskara Malla, and her own.

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Bhrikuti And Amshuvarma<sup>x</sup>

By

Bhuwan Lal Pradhan

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The name of Bhrikuti has not been mentioned in ancient manuscripts and, in particular, in the inscriptions of the period of Amshuvarma. Only the Tibetan annals have referred to Bhrikuti as the daughter of a King of Nepal by using such Tibetan words meaning "Illumination" or "Light." Only on this basis, Sylvain Levi, probably for the first time, described Bhrikuti as the daughter of Amshuvarma. Later writers seem to have followed his view. But some historians, who regard the account of Bhrikuti as entirely imaginary, for none of the Tibetan manuscripts has referred to the name of Amshuvarma. Moreover, no Nepali historical material found so far refers to Bhrikuti or to Srong-Tsang-Gampo. Moreover, international events, dates, inscriptions, and commonsense do not confirm the existence of Bhrikuti.

I shall start this discussion with a note on Shivadeva, Amshuvarma and Udayadeva.

Shivadeva I: Inscription of Ganadeva are found until 495 Shaka era. (Shankhamul inscription). Shivadeva I had thus become King some time between 495 Shaka era and 512 Shaka. (Budhanilakantha inscription). He reigned for 41 years. His inscriptions (at Dhapasi, Balambu and Lembati) are available until 526 Shaka (604 A.D.). Thereafter, Amshuvarma styled himself as "Mahasamanta" until 34 (of the era started by himself). (Sundhara, Lalitpur inscription). In the year 39 of this era, he styled himself as "Shryamshuvarma", with the royal prefix "Shri". (cf. Dhenabajra Bajracharya in Purnima). Therefore, Shivadeva I must have abdicated or died between 34 and 39 of the new era. This shows that Shivadeva I ruled for 41 years, from 495 Shaka to 39 of the new era (probably 539 Shaka), or from 630 Vikrama to 674 Vikrama (573 A.D. to 617 A.D.). He had no successor. He enthroned Amshuvarma, a son of his sister ("Bhasha Vamshavali, Rajbhogamala", Purnima, 24).

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<sup>x</sup>Bhuwan Lal Pradhan, "Bhrikuti Amshuvarmaki Chhori Huna Saktinan" (Bhrikuti Cannot Be The Daughter Of Amshuvarma), Gorkhapatra, Aswin 21, 2029 (October 7, 1972).

Contd...

Amshuvarma: He was thus the son of Shivadeva's sister. A Vaishya Thakuri, he ruled for 43 years. He was enthroned at the age of 68 etc. (Gopalaraja Vamshavali, Rajbhoga, Purnima, and 24). Inscriptions between the period from 515 Shaka to 526 Shaka (Bhimsenthan and Golmadhi) refer to the name of Amshuvarma along with that of King Shivadeva. His inscriptions until the year 43 (cf. Bhandarkhal inscription) are found, and the names of Dhruvadeva and Jishnugupta are contained in the inscription of Chhinmasta in Lalitpur dated the year 48. The period of Amshuvarma's rule (43 years) may not have been counted from the age of 68, when he assumed the throne. It must have been counted from the time when he took over charge of the administration. Therefore, it is possible that Amshuvarma assumed power before 516 Shaka. There does not seem any possibility that he was alive after 558 Shaka. (693 Vikrama or 636 A.D.). It is possible that he may have come to power before 516 Shaka. The Bhimsenthan (Lalitpur) inscription of Amshuvarma dated 516 Shaka refers to him as "Samanta", and that of Golmadhi (Bhaktapur) as "Mahasamanta", he may have ascended the throne in 500 Shaka era or even before. He must have died in or before the year 43 (of the era started by himself) (693 Vikrama or 636 A.D.). In the light of available evidence, his rule cannot go beyond 636 A.D. Rather, it may have ended earlier. According to Babu Ram Acharya, Amshuvarma assumed power in 587 A.D. If so, he died in 629 A.D.

Udayadeva; Babu Ram Acharya has described Udayadeva as the son of Amshuvarma on the basis of Inscription No. 7 of Bhagawan Lal (Samshodhan Mandal: Itihas Samshodhan, No. 55). Amshuvarma, during his reign, declared Udayadeva as the Crown Prince. (Yuvaraja) (Purnima, 21). The Chinese Tang annals have referred to the fact that Narendradeva and others had gone to Tibet; because the uncle of Udayadeva did not let Narendradeva's father ascend the throne. Babu Ram Acharya has written that Narendradeva was the son of Udayadeva. He cites as evidence the inscription of Jayadeva II at Bajraghar (Pashupati). Narendradeva returned from Lhasa and regained the throne from Bhimarjuna and Vishnugupta with the cooperation of Srong-Tsang-Gampo in 65-67 Amshuvarma era (643 A.D.). Since the word, "Udaya" also means "Light", there is no reason to doubt that Udayadeva was the King referred to in the Tibetan annals.

Let us now discuss why Bhrikuti cannot be the daughter of Amshuvarma.

- (1) In Hiuen Tsang's description of Nepal, Amshuvarma has been mentioned as "the late King of Nepal". Hiuen Tsang had left China in 629 A.D. and returned from India in about 644 A.D. (Vincent Smith, Ancient India; Government of China, The life of Hiuen Tsang). This proves that Amshuvarma had died before 629 A.D. On the other hand, Srong-Tsang-Gampo became King of Tibet in 629 A.D. Amshuvarma thus seems to have died in the year when Srong-Tsang-Gampo became King, or when Hiuen Tsang left China. Hiuen Tsang has written that at the time of his tour, there ruled

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a King called Shatili in Nepal (Niranjan Bhattarai, Chin Ra Tyas Sita Nepal Ko Sambandha (China And Its Relations With Nepal). Babu Ram Acharya writes that "Bhimarjundeva was the King referred to as "Shatili". How could Amshuvarma, who died before 629 A.D., marry his daughter to Srong-Tsang-Gampo, who became King only in the same year ?

- (2) Regnal Years Of Narendradeva: According to the T'ang annals of China, Nalandipo (Narendradeva) ruled from 643 to 690 A.D. The inscriptions of Bhimarjuna-Jishnugupta and Narendradeva have been found until 65 and 67 of the new era (643 and 645 A.D.) respectively. (Inscriptions of Sunaguthi-Bhringereshwar and Talochuk of Lalitpur). The year 643 A.D., when Narendradeva regained the throne from Bhimarjuna, must be the equivalent of 65, 66 or 67 of the era started by Amshuvarma, most probably, 65 itself. It takes time to organize everything and install an inscription after regaining the throne. Amshuvarma may have died in the year 43, because his last available inscription (Bhandarkhal in Lalitpur) mentions that date, and the period of rule is said to be 43 years. Since the period from Sambat 43 to 65 is not less than 19 years, it is probable that "Bhimarjunadeva was reigning 19 years after the death of Amshuvarma. (Purnima, No. 3 p. 16). We may thus conclude that the year 43 becomes equivalent to 621 A.D., which tallies with the description of Hiuen Tsang. If Narendradeva became King in 643 A.D. (or 65 of the new era), Amshuvarma may have died in 621 A.D. (or 43 of the new era).
- (3) Age of Bhrikuti: The Chinese and Tibetan annals, although they do not agree with each other regarding the date of birth of Srong-Tsang-Gampo, are unanimous regarding the date of his enthronement, (629 A.D.), his marriage with a Chinese Princess in 641 A.D., and his death in 650 A.D. According to V. Smith, Srong-Tsang-Gampo married both the Chinese and the Nepali Princess in 641 A.D. Babu Ram Acharya has not mentioned the date of Srong-Tsang-Gampo's marriage. But, in his opinion, Bhrikuti was married to Srong-Tsang-Gampo one year before he married the Chinese Princess. According to Tibetan annals, Srong-Tsang-Gampo ruled for 13 years, and it is said that he had married Bhrikuti at the age of 22. (Bala Chandra Sharma, Chinko Bhot Pradesh (Tibetan Region of China). If we believe this, Bhrikuti's marriage with Srong-Tsang-Gampo seems to have occurred in 638 A.D. Moreover, Bhrikuti may have attained the age of 20 years in 640 A.D. This means that she was born in 620 A.D., or 42 or 43 of the new era, or during the last days of Amshuvarma. If we regard Bhrikuti as the daughter of Amshuvarma, she cannot be the daughter of a ruling King at the time of her marriage in 640 A.D. It is not possible for a King who can marry the daughter of the Emperor of China to marry and accept as queen the daughter of a non-ruling King or one not recognized by him as a King. If the opinion of Babu Ram Acharya, that Bhrikuti may be the illegitimate daughter of Amshuvarma from a concubine is accepted it is even less plausible.

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Moreover, Bhrikuti cannot have been married during the reign of Amshuvarma, for she was not even born then, or at most was only 1 or 2 years of age. At that time, Srong-Tsang-Gampo had not become King. It is not consistent with internationally accepted dates to maintain that Amshuvarma ruled beyond 640 A.D., or that Bhrikuti was married around 620 A.D. Rather, is it not possible that Srong-Tsang-Gampo married Bhrikuti, the daughter of Udayadeva, heir to the throne of Nepal, who had taken refuge in Lhasa after the death of Amshuvarma, by recognizing him as the lawful King ?

- (4) Era Started By Amshuvarma: To maintain that Amshuvarma might have started the new era from the first day of 529 Shaka, and that he died in the year 43 of the new era is quite logical. Then the year 43 seems to be equivalent to 621 A.D. This era also shows that Amshuvarma died before the enthronement of Srong-Tsang-Gampo. The marriage of Bhrikuti was held still later.
- (5) Bhrikuti's Marriage Ceremony Held In Lhasa: It is generally agreed that Bhrikuti's marriage ceremony was held in Lhasa, not in Nepal. According to tradition, the bridegroom comes to the home of the bride. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that an egoistic King like Amshuvarma sent his daughter to Lhasa to be married, even if we admit that she was illegitimate. It is not possible for a King who could marry a Chinese Princess to marry an illegitimate daughter of a Nepali King. Had the marriage of Bhrikuti been settled through direct contacts between Lhasa and Kathmandu, the marriage ceremony would have held either in Nepal or at some place on the border between Nepal and China. It seems impossible that it could be held in Lhasa.
- (6) Bhrikuti Not Mentioned Anywhere In Nepal: The inscriptions of Amshuvarma refer to many events of his period. Had Bhrikuti been his daughter, or had her marriage been celebrated during his reign, these inscriptions would have referred to these events. But no inscription of the period of Amshuvarma mentions Srong-Tsang-Gampo. It is possible that the marriage of Bhrikuti has not been referred to in Nepal, for it was held after the death of Amshuvarma, and in Lhasa, far from Nepal.

It would thus be consistent with the Tang annals, the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, and inscriptions of the period of Amshuvarma and Narendradeva, if we consider Bhrikuti as the daughter of Udayadeva, not of Amshuvarma.

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Punishment For Eating Yak-Meat

From Prime Minister and Commander-In-Chief Jung Bahadur Kunwar Rana,  
Commander-In-Chief Bam Bahadur Kunwar Rana and General Krishna Bahadur  
Kunwar Rana,

To Sardar Kanak Singh Mahat.

In the year 1908 (1851 A.D.), the families of Lengkewa Bhotya and Chheng Walduk Bhotya, inhabitants of Chhyapkaun in Humla division (Dara) of Jumla, were unable to stay on in their village because of an epidemic of Fatukya (plague?). They therefore shifted to Patan at Chhausa on the border. However, they were unable to take any foodgrains with them. Nor could they go to any other village. They were therefore at the point of death, and in order to survive, they killed and ate up 4 calves of their own yak one by one. They thus saved their own lives as well as those of members of their families.

Afraid of what they had done, they fled from Humla towards China. The draft of a confession was sent to them for necessary action.

The case has been referred to us. These people had left for the (Nepal)-China border in order to save themselves from the epidemic. Since they had no foodgrains, they slaughtered the calves of a yak for food. Each of these Bhotas shall be fined Rs 2 as punishment for the offense of killing (the calves of) a yak. Bring them back to their homes. Tell them that action will be taken according to the Ain (Legal Code) if they do so again.

Jestha Sudi 9, 1910

(May 1953)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 33, pp. 193-194.

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Yaksha Malla<sup>x</sup>

By

R.K. Gautam

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In 549 Nepal era (1428-29 A.D.), (Jaya) Yaksha Malla ascended the throne of Nepal. He was the son of (Jaya) Jyotir Malla and Samsara Devi. His father was still alive when he ascended the throne. A manuscript (Samhitapatha) written in 1350 Shaka (1428 A.D.), (Bir Library Catalog, Part I, p. 23) refers to him as King in that year. The Pashupati inscription of Jyotir Malla describes Yaksha Malla as having worked for the welfare of the people of Bhaktapur. This proves that the administration of Bhaktapur had remained in the hands of Yaksha Malla since 533 Nepal era (1413 A.D.).

According to two manuscripts, Kutani-Mata and Chandra Vyakaran, (Jaya) Yaksha Malla, in collaboration with his brother, Jayantaraja or (Jaya) Jiva Malla, ruled until 561 Nepal era. Yaksha Malla made Bhadgaun his capital. According to Bendall, 6 manuscripts written during the reign of Yaksha Malla between 549 and 594 Nepal era, show that he reigned for 45 years. In the inscription of Pashupati, his beautiful body is praised, and he has been described as one who made the people of Bhaktapur free from famine. This probably means that he was in charge of the administration of Bhaktapur when he was Crown Prince. The Pashupati inscription also refers to the name of his brother, Jayantaraja or (Jaya) Jiva Malla, his sister Jivaraksha, and her husband, Jayabhairava.

The manuscript Narapati Jayajaya Charyatika, written in 1536 Shaka (1614-15 A.D.) on the order of King Jayajyoti Malla of Bhaktapur, a descendent of (Jaya) Yaksha Malla, describes the victories of Yaksha Malla. Since, he had a long rule, he greatly expanded his Kingdom and thus gained prestige for Nepal. According to the manuscript, he conquered Mithila and reached up to Magadh. He conquered several hill Kings (Per-vatan). He made Nepal free from enemies by extending his conquests to Gaya. He conquered the area up to Bengal on the east, Gorkha on the west, the Ganga river in the south and up to 7 day's journey in the north. According to the Kirtipur Vanshavali, as well as Kirkpatrick, Yaksha Malla also fought a war with Tibet and occupied Shikarjong (Digarcho). The rebel nobles of Patan and Kathmandu were also suppressed.

<sup>x</sup>R.K. Gautam, "(Jaya) Yaksha Malla." Gorkhapatra, Aswin 28, 2029 (October 14, 1972).

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This account of Yaksha Malla's conquests is certainly an exaggeration. But it is definite that Yaksha Malla occupied Simraun-Gadh. Simraun-Gadh may have gone under Mithila when Harisimhadeva came to Nepal. It is not therefore surprising that Nepal should have reoccupied it during the reign of Yaksha Malla. It is not possible to have contacts with Bengal except through Morang. Therefore, it seems that Yaksha Malla had occupied Morang also. That Yaksha Malla extended his dominions to the Ganga river is a matter of surprise in the history of Nepal. He may have gone to Ganga and Gaya on pilgrimage. It is also known that he could not conquer the descendants of Drabya Shah in Gorkha. Drabya Shah had established the Kingdom of Gorkha in 1559 A.D. Yaksha Malla had died much earlier. He may have secured victory over the former rulers of Gorkha. That he conquered territory up to 7 days' journey in the north probably represents his victories in the hill regions. Yaksha Malla, undoubtedly reigned supreme, controlling the rebel nobles of the neighboring areas. This is proved by the manner in which he partitioned his Kingdom among his successors. The account of Jayajyotir Malla seems to be exaggerated, since the partition does not refer to any place outside Kathmandu Valley. Yaksha Malla may have temporarily attained victory over Gorkha and Shikarjong, but those areas could not remain under his control for a long time.

The condition of Nepal was not like that during the period of Jayasthiti Malla when Yaksha Malla ascended the throne, because Jayasthiti Malla and Jayajyotir Malla had already suppressed the nobility who used to violate law and order. The country was well-organized and prosperous at that time. Its military power too had been strengthened. An inscription dated Shraavan 573 Nepal era (1453 A.D.) mentions that Yaksha Malla had constructed walls around Bhaktapur town and dug a moat. There were also places for accommodating troops and storing arms. The manner in which people of all classes contributed to the construction of this wall proves that it was constructed in a hurry. Why this hurry for the security of Bhadgaun? But this is only a speculation, for the Vamshavelis do not refer to it. The history of the rulers of Nuwakot is still dark and it is not known how big was their Kingdom. Although our knowledge in this regard is limited, it is known that Ratne Malla, a son of Yaksha Malla, had occupied Nuwakot, defeating the Vaish Thakuri rulers there. This shows that the Thakuri rulers of Nuwakot had made an agreement with Nepal. Apart from this, it is also possible that the Kirats of the east, led by these Thakuris, had been exerting pressure on Nepal.

There are no other notable events of Yaksha Malla's period. The South (Indian) Brahmans had a monopoly over the temple of Pashupati. The practice continues to this day. Although Yaksha Malla could not end this monopoly, he appointed the local people of Kathmandu and Patan as store-keepers of the temple, thus appointing Newars in the biggest temple of Nepal. The Vamshavelis also refer to the temples constructed during Yaksha Malla's

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reign. One Padmadeva constructed the temple of Minanath in Patan. Yaksha Malla and his son, Raya Malla, constructed the temple of Dattatreya in Bhaktapur. He constructed several other temples also at different places.

At the time when Nepal had strengthened its military power, the condition of North India was very critical. A weak person became King there after the death of Firoz Shah Tughlak. In 1398 A.D. Timur invaded India and destroyed Delhi. Yaksha Malla was not afraid of invading India, because there was no strong power to resist his invasion. But the Nepali Empire established by Yaksha Malla was a temporary one. It disintegrated towards the end of his reign. The reasons for such disintegration are as follows.

Bahlol Lodi attained power in India in 1441 A.D., defeating the rulers of the Sayajid dynasty. He strengthened his power and annexed the neighboring areas. In 1488 A.D. his son, Sikandar Lodi, succeeded him. He occupied Bihar, Oudh, Jaunpur and Tirhut. Nepal thus lost Tirhut and Bihar.

After the return of Yaksha Malla, Bengal too became independent, for it was an independent Kingdom during the reign of Sikandar (Lodi). Yaksha Malla was a successful general, but not a successful politician. He could gain victory over any Kingdom, but he was unable to consolidate his gains. In this way, Nepal returned to the same condition as it was during his accession to the throne, although he had occupied quite large territories.

The nobility, which Jayasthiti Malla had failed to abolish, troubled Yaksha Malla very much. According to Kirkpatrick, Yaksha Malla had to fight with the nobility of Kantipur and Lalitpur. In the opinion of L. Petch, Raya Malla, eldest son of Yaksha Malla, dethroned his father and ascended the throne himself. But this cannot be regarded as true. When Yaksha Malla went to war, his son, Raya Malla, ruled the Kingdom in his absence on the order of his father.

Yaksha Malla had brought a Bhatta Brahman from South India to worship Pashupatinath daily. None can become priests in that temple except Bhattas even now. Similarly Shrestha Newars are still store-keepers there.

Historians hold different opinions regarding Yaksha Malla's death. According to some, he ruled for 55 years and died in 1492 A.D. at the age of 74. According to others, he ruled for 48 years and died in 1474 A.D. at the age of 66. Still other historians have said that Yaksha Malla ruled for 45 years and died in 1471 A.D. Sylvain Levi has written that Yaksha Malla died in 1480, on the basis of the manuscript Pancharatra. The manuscript is in the possession of some foreigner and Dr Barnett too had seen

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it. The concluding chapter of this manuscript mentions Jaya Nripendra Malla and the date 596 Nepal era (1476 A.D.). This manuscript was written in Kashthamandap town. If Nripendra Malla is regarded as the successor of (Jaya) Yaksha Malla, the Vamshavali version will be contradicted. According to the Vamshavali of Wright, after Yaksha Malla, his son Ratna Malla ascended the throne. The name of Jaya Nripendra Malla is referred to in the manuscript with a long eulogy. This shows that he was a ruling King. Probably, Jaya Nripendra Malla of the manuscript and Ratna Malla of the Vamshavali refer to the same person. The death of Yaksha Malla must thus have occurred between 1474 and 1476 A.D., because his son Ratna Malla ascended the throne after his death and the manuscript written during the reign of Ratna Malla is dated 1476 A.D. But this view cannot be considered authoritative, for there are no other solid proofs.

(Jaya) Yaksha Malla sowed the seeds of poison for his descendants by partitioning the Kingdom. As a result, it was easy for King Prithvi Narayan Shah to end the Malla rule and start the rule of his own dynasty. An inscription of Yaksha Malla dated 491 Nepal era (1371 A.D.), which mentions his 6 sons, has been found at a house to the southern part of the temple of Pashupatinath. The names are Raya Malla, Ratna Malla, Rana Malla Rama Malla, Ari Malla and Purna Malla. Only three of them have occupied a place in history, Raya Malla, Ratna Malla and Rana Malla. This must be the reason why the Vamshavalis mention only these three as the sons of Yaksha Malla. The manuscript Narapati Jaya Charche Swarodaya Tika, written by Jyoti Malla, King of Bhaktapur, also refers to three sons of Yaksha Malla. According to the Vamshavalis, Yaksha Malla had divided the Kingdom among his three sons and a daughter. Raya Malla, his first son, received the Kingdom of Bhaktapur, while Rana Malla received Banepa. Ratna Malla got Kantipur, while his daughter, Dharmavati, received the Kingdom of Lalitpur. The Kingdom of Bhaktapur extended to Bagmati in the west, Sanga in the east, Kuti in the north and the forest of Medini Malla in the south. The Kingdom of Banepa extended to Sangyak in the north, the forest of Medini Malla in the south, Sanga in the west and the banks of Dudhkoshi river in the east. Kathmandu extended to Bagmati in the east, the Trishuli in the west, the Nilakantha hills in the north and the border of Patan (Bagmati) in the south. The Kingdom of Patan extended to Bagmati in the north, Lamidanda in the west, the forest of Medini Malla in the south and Bhaktapur in the east.

There are certain reasons for the partition of the Kingdom by Yaksha Malla. According to the Vamshavalis, he had desired to enthrone his eldest son, Raya Malla. But the nobles liked Ratna Malla, the second son, because Raya Malla was a man of hot temperament. That is why, they did not let Raya Malla be enthroned. This proves that there was a rift

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between Raya Malla and Ratna Malla, and that the nobles were also divided into two factions during the last days of Yaksha Malla. In 602 Nepal era (1482 A.D.), Yaksha Malla died and the nobles supporting Ratna Malla tried to enthrone him. But, in the end, loyalty to the dynastic order proved dominant among them and Raya Malla succeeded his father. The Vamshavalis say that Ratna Malla was then exiled to Patan, but became the ruler of Kathmandu after some time.

The manuscript Pandava-Vijaya has been found at the Darbar library of Kathmandu. This manuscript refers to King Jaya Rana Malla (Rana Malla). The authenticity of the first King of Banepa is thus proved, since the manuscript mentions the names of Rana Malla's queen, Nathalla Devi, and his son, Kumara Vijaya Malla. But the Kingdom of Banepa could not last more than 100 years, and it was eventually occupied by the rulers of Bhadgaun.

In this way, Kathmandu and Bhadgaun were the main Kingdoms among those created through partition by King Yaksha Malla. The history of Nepal, after the death of Yaksha Malla is the history of the struggle between 3 divided Kingdoms, until King Prithvi Narayan Shah ended this struggle in 1768 A.D.

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Regmi Research (Private) Ltd,  
Kathmandu: December 1, 1972.

Regmi Research Series

Year 4, No. 12,

Edited By,

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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

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Captain Kinloch's Unsuccessful Expedition<sup>x</sup>

By

Baburam Acharya.

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When Kasim Ali Khan tried to save his subjects from plunder and exploitation at the hands of English traders, the latter declared war against him. As a result, Kasim Ali Khan had to flee Bihar and go to Oudh to seek help from Nawab Sujauddaula, who was also then trying to extend his dominions to Bihar and Bengal. Kasim Ali Khan had still considerable wealth as well as some troops with him. It was therefore decided that the costs of the war (against the English) should be borne by Kasim Ali Khan. The two Nawabs then proceeded to fight the war crossing the Ganges river. Sujauddaula reached Buxar in South Bihar accompanied by Shah Alam. The latter, though Emperor of Delhi, was unable to return to his capital for fear of being killed. He was therefore staying in Oudh. At Buxar, the Nawab's troops were attacked by the English general Munro. The Nawab's troops disintegrated and the English emerged victorious (October 23, 1764).

The big English victory at Buxar further strengthened the foundation of the English empire in India which had been laid after their victory at the Battle of Plassey. Kasim Ali Khan fled to Delhi in the guise of a traveler just one day before the beginning of the Battle of Buxar, because his money was all exhausted. Following his defeat in this battle, Nawab Sujauddaula too began to search for allies, while Shah Alam defected to the English. Exactly at that time, Clive returned as Governor of Calcutta. Hearing of the English victory at Buxar, Clive went to Allahabad and obtained from Shah Alam a royal charter (firman) vesting in the East India Company the legal authority to administer all areas under its occupation in India. He kept Shah Alam under his care at Allahabad. Six months later, Sujauddaula too had to seek shelter from the English; because he did not find support anywhere. Thus, by 1766 A.D., Clive insured the supremacy of the English all over North India. The echo of the victory achieved by Clive reverberated not only throughout India but also in the Himalayan States. Jaye Prakash Malla too was watching the progress of the English advance in North India.

<sup>x</sup>Baburam Acharya, Nepal Ko Samikshipta Vrittanta (A Brief Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsar and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", 1966. Chapter VI: "Ingrej Kaptan Kinlochko Asafal Abhiyan." (Unsuccessful Expedition of the English Captain Kinloch), pp. 36-41.

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When the Gorkhalis occupied Kirtipur without bloodshed, and then extended their control to villages south of Kathmandu after attacking the Lutikot and Mudikhu forts, Jaya Prakash Malla apprehended a grave threat to Kathmandu. He therefore invited King Ranajit Malla of Bhaktapur and the Ministers of Lalitpur to a meeting at the temple of Guhyeshwari, though they were his enemies previously. In front of the temple, they all pledged to help each other in driving out the Gorkhalis. But Jaya Prakash Malla soon realized that even this alliance would not help to save Kathmandu from the Gorkhalis. He sent a man named Umda, accompanied by Ram Das, a mendicant, as his envoy to deliver an official message addressed to the Governor of Calcutta, pleading for military assistance from the English government which was becoming more and more powerful in India. They were directed to hand over the message to the British commercial agent at Bettiah. Before they reached Bettiah, Jaya Prakash Malla sent another message to Thomas Rumboldt, Chief Officer of Patna, informing the latter of his willingness to come personally to Patna if the British would help in lifting the blockade on Nepal. Prithvi Narayan Shah received reports of Jaya Prakash Malla's correspondence with the English government. In order to prevent an alliance between Jaya Prakash Malla and the English government, he too sent a message to the British in Patna informing them that he would be willing to visit Patna with the objective of strengthening friendly relations if arrangements were made to guarantee his safety. Rumboldt had already made up his mind to take the side of Jaya Prakash Malla. However, he could not send any reply without receiving an order to do so from the Governor. Hence, the English Officer appears to have sent a reply neither to Jaya Prakash Malla nor to Prithvi Narayan Shah.

On receiving the message sent by Jaya Prakash Malla, Golding conferred with the former's representatives, and then forwarded the same to Rumboldt along with his opinion (April 6, 1767). The gist of the letter was as follows:

"It is very essential to provide military assistance to the Malla King. It is necessary to do so from the moral viewpoint also. To do so will mean liberating a major town from bloodshed and plunder. This apart, assistance to the Malla King at this stage will bring economic advantages to the Company. The Gorkhalis are gradually coming close to us. Should Nepal Valley pass into the hands of the Gorkhalis, we will have to abandon the 'Pinewood Project' and, moreover, the Gorkhalis will come to loot the villages of Bettiah. Our assistance to the Malla King will make him indebted to us, and also help us to establish communications with China through Nepal. Sooner or later, we must fight against the Gorkhalis for the defense of Bettiah. It will therefore be wise to defeat the Gorkhalis soon before they become stronger. Moreover, the Malla King has undertaken to provide all the money needed for the war."

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Rumboldt received Golding's recommendation along with Jaya Prakash Malla's letter. He forwarded the documents to Governor Verelest in Calcutta, along with a note containing his own opinion (April 18). His opinion was as follows:-

"These attackers (Gorkhals) have virtually stopped Nepal's thriving trade with us. I am sure that a small force will be adequate not only for breaking the blockade but also for humiliating the Gorkhali King. The Gorkhali King appears to have got the hint that we are preparing to provide military assistance to the King (Jaya Prakash Malla) of Nepal. Only yesterday, I received a message from him."

The Subjects Committee of the East India Company considered the note of Rumboldt along with Golding's recommendation and decided to ask the Gorkhals to call off the economic blockade and in case they refused to do so, to provide the Malla King with military assistance. The Governor ordered Rumboldt to direct the Gorkhals to call off the blockade on the friendly Malla King (Jaya Prakash Malla), and warn them that otherwise the East India Company would declare them as its enemies for the sake of its prestige (April 30). The Company was confident that the Gorkhals would not send an appropriate reply to this note. Therefore, it ordered Captain Kinloch, who had attained success in the battle of Tipra, to go to Patna via Monghyr with his troops and remain there. When Prithvi Narayan Shah received the threat from Rumboldt, he sent evasive replies and ordered Khajanchi Birbhadra Upadhyaya, protector of Sindhuligadhi to remain vigilant. He then sent his troops to Sindhuli under the command of Vamsha Raj Pande, while he himself stayed in Kirtipur.

Kinloch and Rumboldt started making efforts to collect as much information in Patna as possible in order to achieve success in the campaign. They collected information from Umda and Ramdas separately regarding the condition of Nepal and the military strength of the Gorkhals. Umda and Ramdas told them that the total number of Gorkhali troops was 50,000, of whom 20,000 had been assigned for the blockade, while the rest were cultivating their lands. But only 5,000 troops had been engaged in the blockade, while the number of troops engaged in agricultural operations was not more than 15,000.

Umda and Ramdas had suggested the Janakpur-Bhaktapur route via Sindhuli as the appropriate route for the campaign. But arrangements had already been made for the protection of Sindhuli. The climate of Tarai had already been unhealthy since summer had set in. Even then, the Capuchin priests in Kathmandu and Bettiah sent information that Jaya Prakash Malla would not be able to keep Kathmandu under his control if the campaign was not launched immediately. Rumboldt and Kinloch therefore did not care for the season. With 2,400 Indian troops and some English officers, Kinloch, using

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Ramdas as his chief guide, started from Patna in early September notwithstanding the mid-monsoon season. They faced difficulties created by bad roads and the shortage of provisions until they arrived in Janakpur during the middle of September. Ramdas had brought the enemy troops up to Janakpur on the pretext that they could purchase provisions in Janakpur. But Kinloch felt nervous when he saw that the merchants had hidden all goods and made the market empty upon being informed that the enemy troops were arriving there. The troop then marched forward, thinking that they could reach Sindhuli-Madi on the third day and that provisions would be available there in abundant quantities. But when Kinloch saw that the market in Sindhuli-Madi too was empty, he established his camp there. When the Gorkhali troops in Sindhuli-Gadhi saw the big army of the enemy, they reached Pauwagadhi on the Mahabharat pass through a 3-mile long climb. Vamsha Raj Pande had made arrangements for attacking the enemy from Dhungrebas under the command of Sardar Vamshu Gurung, and from the main fort under the command of Birbhadra Upadhyaya. The Gorkhalis had preserved the thorny bushes and hornets' nests on the way, which had been planted there by the Kings of Makwanpur to check the advance of the enemy. Due to the shortage of provisions, Kinloch did not regard it advisable to leave Pauwagadhi. He put his troops on half rations and ordered them to climb up.

When the enemy troops were about to reach the pass, Vamshu Gurung attacked them and split their ranks. He also broke the hornets' nests. Birbhadra Upadhyaya too attacked from above. The enemy troops then fled back. Approximately 1,000 of them died of injuries caused by thorny bushes, hornets' stings and the Gorkhalis' weapons. Nearly 300 Gorkhalis were also killed. Kinloch and other English officers were safe because they were in Sindhuligadhi. When the survivors threatened that they would rebel if they were not allowed to go back, Kinloch pretended to go back and fled westward instead of going to Janakpur. The remaining enemy troops were pursued by the Gorkhalis led by Birbhadra Upadhyaya. Kinloch reached the banks of the Bagmati for it was believed that there was a route to Makwanpur through Hariharpur from there. The number of troops was declining day by day due to malaria. Even then, Kinloch constructed a ford to cross the Bagmati river. But it was destroyed by floods. Kinloch thus felt discouraged. He crossed the Bagmati in the plains area, passed by Rautahat, and established a camp at a secure place in Bara district during the beginning of October. Only 800 soldiers of the enemy (English) were alive at that time.

At the battle of Sindhuli, the Gorkhalis seized approximately 300 guns left by the enemy. Prithvi Narayan Shah allowed Kinloch to remain in Bara, for it was difficult to fight with the enemy in the plains of the Tarai. Kinloch thus occupied Parsa and Rautahat. But he could not occupy areas east of the Bagmati, and so the areas covered by the modern Serlahi and Mahottari districts remained under the control of Gorkhas.

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Although the campaign was unsuccessful, Kinloch was thus able to occupy some territory in the Tarai. Kinloch, Golding and Rumboldt therefore tried to make a second campaign successful during the beginning of winter. They prepared a new plan in the beginning of 1768 A.D. and presented it to the Governor. The Subjects Committee of the East India Company deeply studied the plan and discovered the reasons for failure. However, at that time, Haider Ali had been harassing the English in Madras and some troops had been sent there for assistance, and further assistance was possibly being sent. The Committee, therefore, could not make any decision in this regard, and asked for the approval of the Board of Directors of the East India Company. The Board ordered that the occupied areas should not be relinquished, and that the second campaign should be postponed for an indefinite period. The plan, thus postponed, could never be implemented.

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An Appeal For The Abolition Of Slavery<sup>x</sup>

(Continued)

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The other point for consideration would be the carrying on of agricultural work. There are few who do not know that to maintain many slaves for only occasional work is a waste of money. When agricultural operations are forward, slave owners as well as other people call in outside help for the labour required. There is an excellent system of cooperative labour supply known by the familiar appellation of "Parma". Under it every household furnishes what labour it can

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in times of transplantation or gathering-in of crops, receiving as much in return when its own farm work is on. So that the economic effect of the abolition of slavery cannot be as dark as some of the slave owners would have us believe. Sometimes the help available under the Parma system may not be sufficient for large holders of land and then they call in what is known as "Bani" labour or "Darmahadars". These are different kinds of hired labour but with some peculiar features of their own. The Bani labourers or Darmahadars are employed at other times too by middle class people. For occasional work of a day or more, Bani labourers are given food, and a little more besides as wages, either in kind or money. The food can be equated in cost with that of a slave, and the extra which varies in different localities, will hardly be found to be as much in value as the feed for the day; often it is less than half. The special feature of the Bani system is that the contract for service may extend to a month, or to several months, or even to a year, and may be renewed on expiry. In some of the hill districts, the terms are food and clothing, and about Rs 12 mohar per year. The food consists of the current 7 pathis 4 manas per month and a mana per day for the "khaja" or mid-day meal of corn flour or rice or whatever else

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is available; and the clothing of a whole piece of "khandi" and a blanket which lasts about three years. Generally the total inclusive expense works out to Rs 6 per month. Upon enquiry from those who have occasion to employ

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<sup>x</sup> 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.).

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them you will, I am sure, be told that Bani work is far superior to slave work. If you make careful and proper observations and calculations, you will find that outturn from Bani labour will be at least twice as much as that from slave labour. For feeding and clothing a slave, averaging from figures from some districts, we arrive at about Rs 4 per head per month. So that while you get double the work from a Bani labourer, you pay him only 50 p.c. more, and thus save something over the expense you would have incurred for two slaves. If the Bani labourer be a female she will require only the extra payment in kind or money over and above the expenses that would be necessary for a female slave. You will not grudge that little extra expense when you realise that a Bani female servant would be found thrice as efficient and industrious as a female slave who, even if plain-featured, will pass most of her time in flirting with the men slaves of the household or the neighbourhood.

Since there is this system prevalent in all the hill districts, Bani servants will very well

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replace the slaves employed in domestic work. Here again the question may be raised as to where-from so much Bani labour will be forth-coming, to which we might return the reply that liberated slaves themselves will furnish what is required and will, in all probability, leave a surplus behind, as only one man will be employed for every two let off.

One other case to be considered is that of owners who have allotted a portion of their land to their slaves to cultivate and feed themselves out of the produce of the field. This is hardly a different question economically from what has been already discussed. Slaves have no motive to produce more corn by intensive cultivation; and the land is taken over by the masters, they are bound to be more benefitted than when it was under management. Considered from every point of view then, free labour is economically superior to, and in every way more desirable than, slave labour.

Some may say that though all that has been said is true, as I firmly believe it is, the slave, when married, will beget children who will furnish additional hands in time to make up for the inferior quality of work by increase in the number of the workers. From considerations entered into before the fallacy of

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the argument should be self-evident. Quantity cannot make up for quality -- several unwilling hands cannot perform as much good work as can some willing ones, though few. Apart from that, you must purchase a woman slave as your first outlay in the venture. After she has given birth to a child, you incur

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some expenses year by year to rear it up till it is, say, sixteen years old and becomes an adult hand able to work. The simple total shown in the appendix annexed, in which the expenses have been kept low to compensate for any light work you may get out of the young slave, comes to Rs 410/- nearly. If you had invested this at the outset at ten per cent the annual return would have been enough to provide extra wages necessary for a hired labourer or Bani whose work would be twice as much as that of your slave. If you had invested the first outlay and subsequent year to year expenses on your child slave, as shown in the appendix, at even ten per cent per annum, a rate allowed by the usury laws of the country, instead of the sixteen to thirty per cent prevailing in the hills, you could have earned about Rs 1100/- which would be a handsome asset. In fact, if the slave owners were to invest money thus, the high rate of interest in the hills would gradually fall, to the immense relief of the ryots, and with no

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less benefit to themselves; because a lower rate of interest is more easily realisable and the capital less liable to become a bad debt. Some masters, however, say that they can recoup their loss in another way --by selling the child slaves. This inhuman practice is beyond all condemnation, and is rightly looked upon as the worst feature of the institution. When the practice is condemned even in the case of slaves who are aliens, how much more reprehensible it is when applied in the case of slaves who are our fellow-country-men, and who are almost our equals when liberated? And do the masters really gain? From figures in the appendix it will be seen that if they had husbanded the expense incurred for the first child till the completion of its sixth year, they could have earned Rs 290/- nearly, and expenses on every subsequent child invested as in the appendix would have brought the masters about Rs 60/- by the time. If the woman bear six children the saving by investing the expenses would have amounted to about Rs 98/- per child, and if she bear eight children, to about Rs 88/-. The legal price which the master can realise by the sale of such a child is only Rs 35/-, which is far below what the master can earn by the method of investment suggested, and that without incurring the obloquy attached to that hein-

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ous practice. Those who say that they get better prices at prevailing rates should remember that a woman of child-bearing age would also cost more than the legal price, and the larger sum and the other expenses, if invested as in the appendix, would have brought them sums which it is very difficult for them to obtain by sale of children. Again the woman may die, or may turn out to be barren, or less prolific and, as infant mortality is so heavy here, the child also may die before attaining a saleable age. These probabilities discount greatly the expectations built by the masters. Investment

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as interest-bearing advances is but an instance. Other ways of remunerative employment of capital, such as horticulture, cattle-rearing, intensive cultivation etc will no doubt suggest themselves to you as more lucrative, and without the limitations attached to this practice. Slave-rearing then, either for labour or for sale, is not the profitable business you believed it to be.

But this is not enough. There is yet another practice humiliating to any nation amongst which it prevails and subversive of morality. The law provides option to the father, if he be a freeman other than the master, to emancipate a child of his by a slave girl by payment of the legal amount to

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the master of the girl. The framers of the law thought that the father's feelings would be potent enough to procure the manumission of his own begotten issue. But alas ! this has been a vain hope. A reprehensible practice is prevalent with some slave owners of giving slave girls to share the bed of men who are themselves poor and needy and can not emancipate their children who therefore remain slaves and the property of the master of the girl, to be disposed of as he pleases. If the children were by the master himself, they would have been automatically set free under the law. Our best intentions have thus been frustrated and have to the shame of all, led to legalised prostitution. What example has been set to the law to circumvent the provisions of the law ? It is by such demoralising ways that slaves can be bred for the market bringing an apparent profit to the master of the girl. It is difficult to distinguish between this and the keeping of a brothel. And when every good man tries his best for the suppression of the latter, should you suffer the former to exist ? If selling slave children, parting them from their mothers at a tender age, is reprehensible, this way of breeding them is more so. It would not surprise us, after this, to be told that if

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disappointed with one man in the number of children begotten, the master in some cases compels the girl to share the bed of another just as a breeder does with his cattle and lets one bull after another serve a cow; and all this, let it be remembered, in a country where matrimonial relations are held so sacred under the laws that the wronged husband is allowed to get the most severe and humiliating punishment awarded to the adulterer ! Is it not extremely revolting ? Not only that; often the master seduces the girls and then to hide his shame makes them over to others. To what depth has this institution sunk the morality of the people ! You will scarcely find persons engaged in such trade prosperous; they cannot be, as the curse of the Gods rests on sinners.

Let us lift ourselves from this depth to the other extreme where through self-sacrifice practised by owners in deference to ancestral reputation, they permit themselves to be ruined by hugging this institution to their bosoms. They argue that the legacy of slaves received from their fore-fathers must be maintained, though they might have been increase, multiplying through generations. In some cases they cannot find work for the number they possess and think it would tell against their prestige to discharge superfluous

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hands. Not only that, but they must find other slaves, male or female, to make couples with those that are single under them. For that purpose some go to the length of mortgaging their lands, which often they cannot release, as with increasing expense and diminishing income the margin becomes inadequate. Others distribute some of their lands to the slaves to cultivate and raise their own food crops, only utilising their services occasionally. The obvious solution of their difficulty lies in liberating the slaves and using the services of only such as they require. While regretting the false sense of honour and prestige under which they maintain a white elephant, we cannot but admire their humane feelings which revolt against engaging in human traffic with as much non-chalance, as owners of a poultry, pig or cattle farm.

Many instances have come to our notice of late as the victims of the system have approached the government for redress of grievous wrongs done to them. A few typical cases only will be narrated to show how that is brutalising the nature, blunting the sensibilities, and even drying up the milk of human kindness in some of the slave owners. In one case the owner honoured a slave girl with his attentions and had a child

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by her. He was abroad on service when the child was born and on his return home he found the issue of the unholy union dead. Then conscience made a coward of him and, instead of liberating the slave and giving her the position she was entitled to according to law, he basely made her over to another: but his unsatisfied lust made him pay visits to the girl even in her new home. Tired of her life of concubinage, she came to us to get justice. Another case hails from one of the eastern hill districts. Picture to yourselves a happy slave family comprising of the husband, the wife, a six year old daughter, and a baby boy of two years suckling at the mother's breast. But their happiness is not to last; the master has sold them. His avarice has blunted all feelings of the sympathy in him. The mother with the child at her breast goes one way and the father with the daughter thrown in as a make-weight, goes the other, the two perhaps never to meet again. Think of

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the parting scene, digest it well in your mind, and draw what moral you can. Yet this man has not reached the refinement in cruelty to be exemplified by the last of the pathetic tales. I now narrate. The mother, a slave, had given birth to seven children, and her master, despite her protests and tearful prayers, had already disposed of one daughter and four

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sons by sale. The woman in her petition through the Niksari Office, wrote that the bitter lament of the children at thus being forced to separate from their mother sent a pang through her heart more acute than any she had ever suffered; that she summoned resignation to bear the misfortune and drew consolation from what was left her; that she submitted to it as the work of that fatality, the result of the accumulated Karma of her previous births, which had followed her like a shadow to her present existence; but that when to her dismay the hard-hearted master arranged to take away the baby slave that was still suckling at her breast, her endurance broke down completely, she supplicated and prayed, as parents do pray, as you and I pray to the Gods on high when the dearest of our children lies in the clutches of grim death—to her/as omnipotent in this crisis as Fall Death himself. But all to no purpose. The adamant heart did not melt: the master completed the transaction. Then maddened at a treatment which is resented even by irrational beasts, she came all the way to see if the Maharaja "the common father of all people", could do aught to allay the consuming sorrow at her breast. As this was so different from the ordinary run of com- /\_master, the arbiter of her destiny, and to her

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plaints the people concerned were sent for and the matter on investigation turned out to be true to the letter of the petition: the child had been sold by a regular deed, the Parambhatta. The master was asked if he did not feel pity for the poor. Woman, though a slave; what would have been the feeling of himself or the mother of his children if such an infant of theirs were either forcibly taken away or sold elsewhere; what reply could he make to his Creator when summoned to His presence to answer this charge of inhumanity? He replied and the purchasers replied that was the custom in the hills and the law did not forbid it. Now, what does it mean to us all? That so long as we permit this sort of thing, every one of us must bear a part in the sin, must share the curse of the weeping mothers, in as much as we tolerate the custom and uphold such laws. The poor woman was given the where-withal to free her sold children according to the law which provides that on sale of slaves their kith and kin or those interested can liberate them on payment of the legal amounts to their masters.

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These and many other such cases have left an unpleasant impression. It is difficult to overlook the fact that purchase and sale of human beings is prevalent in the hills. On

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the strength of having once spent money in the purchase of a slave, the owner claim the descendants of the slave, however distantly removed, as his property, his chattles, to be sold to the highest bidder from any locality irrespective of health or other conditions, and separating them from their kith and kin. Perhaps few will deny the injustice and inhumanity of it, and will deny that it is a real, shameful, and grievous wrong. The contrast becomes glaring when compared with "Bandhas" who agree to work without hire till they can pay off the capital or work it out in service. In their case if they die or escape not even their sons can be claimed as property. The lien for money exists but not on the person of the descendants. The defect is inherent in the system of slavery itself when we permit rational man to have the same claim over his fellow-beings as over animals and so long as this is permitted, the abuses and sufferings will continue. Not only that, it leads to other results no less serious than the moral deterioration and economic loss referred to before.

It has already been pointed out how the slave's mentality is shaped without developing any attachment as strong as that of a free-man to bind him to his country and his hearth and home. The minimum that is likely to

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furnish the attachment and give him a motive in life would, in the opinion of some, consist in consecrating the natural ties between husband and wife, and parent and child, and in preventing them from being separated and scattered. The consideration of these, along with many other suggestions received, is reserved for the end of this discourse. Let us here follow where that mentality leads to. A slight difference, some hardship, some bad treatment at the master's hands, or temptations held out by scheming touts of labour employers, who find in these slaves a fertile ground to sow their seeds of discontent, is enough to make them leave the land of their birth. Not only do the discontented slaves go themselves but they take others also who are intimate with them. A few here, a few there, make up quite a respectable number and the drain is such that it is felt. The sale of a slave spreads a consternation amongst his fellows, who begin to tremble for themselves and lose confidence in their masters. The sold slave, again, if he has not already escaped, finds himself or herself in strange company, cut asunder from the little attachment he or she may have possessed for the old household, on being passed on to a new master. Evil effects of the practice should be patent to every one. Thus detached, the slave falls an easy victim

to the belief in the wondrous tale of wealth and fortune awaiting him in India which is skilfully brought to his notice by recruiters for labour who in various guise ply their nefarious trade of catching the unwary in their net. Too much caution can not be exercised against such selfish recruiters who, to secure their commission, do not scruple to consign their fellow countrymen to woe and misery in a foreign land. The freeman can, if he is wise, test the veracity and standing of one who is trying to pose as his friend and guide, and perchance may learn his real character and past records in time to save himself. But the slave cannot make enquiries, for his design to desert will then be known, or at least suspected; and thus left to his own judgment, he becomes the first to succumb. The slave wants to leave the country where he meets mostly with scant sympathy even with his lowly ambition of being recognised as a rational being. He knows that once away he is cut for good or at all events for pretty long. But the freeman goes with hopes to return and should evil betide him in his sojourn, he could wend his way home, unless forcibly detained.

Let us follow the fate of the slave deserter in India. As soon as he reaches the boundary the scales drop from his eyes and

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he begins to see the recruiter in his true colours. The prospect of service in the British Army, an alluring prospect for the military castes in the country, which was held out to him as a temptation, vanishes into thin air. Perhaps he is made over to human sharks hunting for labour for employment in large concerns such as the Collieries and Plantations. If the slave is a female, all trace of her is lost till one day she is discovered as a street-walker, stranded, derelict, in a hospital through devious ways followed by those recruiters to save themselves from the laws of both the lands. If a male, he goes to serve underground in collieries practically as a chained galley slave. Verily the poor slaves have gone from the frying pan into the fire in their attempt to avoid a harsh treatment at home they meet with a harsher one abroad. Tales of the woes of Nepalese labourers in the Assam Collieries have for some time past been brought over to us. Steps were taken to ascertain the truth through officers sent by this Government. The gruesome tales were more than substantiated and when this Government, with the help of our friend, the British Government in India, got those who were detained against their will released from the bondage no better than slavery to their astonishment and regret, it was found that

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while some of them readily availed themselves of the ways and means placed at their disposal to return to their country, there were others who prayed to be excused from availing themselves of the opportunity. Enquiry brought to light the fact that these were slaves; and they prayed to be permitted to end their days somehow in a foreign land rather than come here and meet the savage rage of their masters. These slaves, and perhaps many before them, in ignorance of the Law passed in 1978 S.E. providing that escaped slaves who have resided for three years in a foreign land may, on return, claim emancipation on payment of the legal amounts to their former masters, and those who have been away for ten years can claim to be liberated without having to make any payment, preferred a lifelong exile away from their country and kith and kin.

An exodus of population from whatever cause is a source of anxiety and much concern to the Government of the country. This institution of slavery is a fruitful source of such exodus and is much worse than the temporary absence of freemen in quest of more remunerative employment abroad than is available at home. Such absence in quest of fortune is to be found in every country; but the absentees return and bring along with

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them either wealth or new art, new skill and new knowledge to enrich their country. The exodus of slave population stands on a different footing. They go to escape persecution which cannot be dissociated from the institution unless by an abolition of the practice. They are indifferent to the advantage offered by the legislation referred to, as they know that, even if they can free themselves, those for whom they would come would still remain in the abject position of slaves; and their earnings after maintaining themselves in a foreign land are not enough to liberate them all. It will be agreed that steps should be taken if we wish to avoid serious difficulties in the future. Since 1872 S.E. when the British raised the first Gorkha Battalion from the soldiers of Amar Singh Thapa after the fall of Malaon, the people of this country have been taken out to India by the recruiters of the British Gorkha Regiments to serve in the British Army there. But it would not be out of place to utter a word of warning against the dishonest men, -recruiters in disguise, the enemies of the country--who do not scruple to hand over their fellow countrymen, slaves or freemen to the tender mercies of labour recruiters. The men thus entrapped unfold a tale of woe and misery in comparison with which the dry crust which they could earn at

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home by hard labour would appear far preferable. Every one of us as a true patriot and with love for our fellow beings should convey the warning to every home to prevent as far as possible the unsophisticated men of the

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hills from coming to grief in this way. The freemen amongst the enticed his back home as soon as they can get away and carry a more vivid warning in their emaciated bodies, sometimes no better than skeletons, wherever they go. But the slaves, poor things, remain away.

The absence of slaves, away in a foreign land, brings loss and trouble to their masters,--loss because of the money value of the slave which has now to be written off, and trouble because the owner partly depended on the slave for the carrying on of his work. It is a piece of good luck that the institution prevails in the hills only, as otherwise, since the desertion of slaves is an attendant evil of the institution, the suffering would have been more wide-spread. Though death and desertion of the slaves sometimes handicap the masters in their domestic and farm work, it is argued that an abolition of slavery as it prevails in the hills of Nepal will entail very great hardship on them. The contention requires careful consideration, as otherwise the Government in their attempt to improve the

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lot of one class would be guilty of involving another class, though a very small one, in trouble. A careful register has now been compiled of owners, as well as of the slaves they actually possess. The number of owners according to the returns is 15,719 and the number held in slavery is 51,419. As the total population of the country is about 55,73,788 we find that 55,06,650 of it are neither slaves nor slave-owners. They form therefore very nearly 99 p.c. of the total population. Now if 99 p.c. can carry on their every day work without slaves, it is curious that the masters, who are a little over one-quarter of the one p.c. remaining, should feel abolition as a hardship and be under the apprehension that their everyday work will come to a standstill. Is it that the owners fear that with the abolition of the status of slavery the slaves themselves will vanish? This absurd idea requires only to be stated to be rejected. Such fears might have reasonably been entertained by slave-owners of the West Indies, Mauritius and African islands where the population were aliens forcibly taken from their homes and retained in slavery. But even there it was found that the freed slaves did not go to their erst-while homes but remained to work on hire. Here the slaves are our own people and why should we be afraid of dislocation in work by abo-

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lishing the status? The European planters and Arab slave-owners had greater reason to fear an exodus because the slaves with them were mostly aliens and their number also was very large. In Zanzibar there were about 2,00,000 slaves to less than 1,00,000 freemen and in the West Indies the slaves numbered something like 7,00,000 and these none too well satisfied with the treatment at the hands of their Christian masters. As this huge number of slaves cultivated a very large area and could not have been easily replaced if they had gone away, the apprehension was understandable. But with us, with slaves who are children of the soil, who have family ties and who are generally employed on domestic and farm work in the home-land, such fears are baseless.

An Inscription Of King Abhaya Malla<sup>x</sup>

Bhanudatta Upadhyaya, a resident of Sanjel village in Myagdi district of the Dhaulagiri zone, is in possession of a copper plate inscription, 16 inches long and 7½ inches wide. The inscription was broken some years ago, so that it has had to be rejoined through chemical processes. As a result, some letters in the inscription have become illegible. However, a copy of the inscription in its original condition is available at the Bir Library. Written in the old Devanagari script, the inscription consists of 16 lines and contains the seal of Abhaya Malla at the bottom. The text of the inscription is given at the end of this article.

Explanation

Many scholars believe that in the 12th century (according to the Vikrama era) Nagraja had ruled with Sanja Valley as his capital. For the time being we have to rely on this assumption, because even the inscription contained in an image of the Buddha at Badahat in Garhwal, which refers to "Bhattaraka Nagraja" does not shed any light on definite dates connected with his rule. The fact that the inscription dated 1145 Shaka, which was installed at the temple of Balleshwar in Kumaun by Krachalla, a King in the sixth generation after Nagraja, refers to 1264 Vikrama as the year of his coronation, indicates that Nagraja probably ruled in the very beginning of the 12th century Vikrama.

The inscription contained in the pillar installed by Prithvi Malla in Dullu lists the Kings who ruled after Nagraja as follows: Chapa, Chapilla, Krashichalla, Kradhichala, Krachalla, Ashokachalla, Jitari Malla and Aditya Malla. The period during which the Kings from Nagraja to Kradhichala ruled is not known. However, inscriptions referring to the dates of events connected with the rule of King Krachalla and his descendants are available. The inscription at the Balleshwar temple in Kumaun indicates that Krachalla was alive till 1280 Vikrama. The Gopala Vamshavali states that 64 years later, his grand-son, Jitari Malla, invaded Kathmandu Valley. It is thus clear that Ashokachalla ruled sometime between 1280 and 1344 Vikrama.

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<sup>x</sup> Mohan Prasad Khanal, "Bi. Sam. 1148 Ko Karnali Pradeshka Raja Abhaya Mallako Abhilekh." (An Inscription of King Abhaya Malla of the Karnali Region Dated 1391 A.D.). Samiksha Weekly, August 18, 1912.

Ashokachalla was succeeded by Jitari Malla, his son, and the latter was succeeded by Aditya Malla. Kalyana Malla, son of Aditya Malla, died while his father was still alive. Since Pratapa Malla, son of Kalyana Malla, too had been initiated in Buddhism. Aditya Malla was succeeded by Punya Malla, who belonged to the Gale dynasty.

After Punya Malla, Prithvi Malla, his son, sat on the throne of Sanja Valley. This is clear from the inscription contained in Prithvi Malla's pillar. It is now known for definite that Prithvi Malla was succeeded by his son, Abhaya Malla. The copper inscriptions dated 1433 Vikrama and 1448 Vikrama also leave no room for controversy as to who ruled after Prithvi Malla.

Like his father, Abhaya Malla was a brave King. This is evident from his eulogy, which also mentions that he owned a large number of horses brought from Kamboja, Vanayuja, Bahhika, and Paras, and that he had won over influential feudal lords.

In the Karnali Lok Sanskriti, (Culture of the Karnali Region, Vol. 1), Satya Mohan Joshi writes, "The time of Prithvi Malla's death is not known. However, the copper inscription of 1298 Shaka (1433 Vikrama), bearing the name of his son, Abhaya Malla, who was then a Prince, indicates that Prithvi Malla was alive till that year. If this was not the case, Abhaya Malla would have used the term King instead of Prince (Adhiraja) to describe himself in his eulogy." This is nothing but pure imagination. Scores of such mistakes are seen in Satya Mohan Joshi's book. The fact is that like his forefathers, Abhaya Malla used royal epithets to describe himself, and plainly addressed himself as a King. Hence there is no doubt that Abhaya Malla issued the above-mentioned stone inscription in the capacity of King, not of Prince. Through this copper plate inscription, Abhaya Malla made a land grant in favor of Jayakara Upadhyaya's descendants, and exempted them from all taxes. This inscription indicates that Abhaya Malla was, like his father and grand-father, a religious minded and philanthropic person.

प्रथिवी मल्लोऽपि

ॐ स्वस्ति ॐ गणेशाय नमः ॥ राय अन्त  
गणाय राय बाल गोपाल श्रीमान्मय महल  
देव सदा विजयीनी भवतु ॥ आ शके १२९

(Continued)



ये शाप दिने स्वमकारस्ये राडका आदेश  
 अदि कारे हिन राडका गेकाचा योगावली  
 मडिक निक शकस्ता जपारि चिन्ता राडका  
 आले १ पंडा जेत उना सातारा के लाय डि १  
 डाला दम टपारे पना वौर उना जाला जाल -  
 उगे १ आलो शुक्रयोडा वर्धा रतिक वरुण १  
 चार जाला जाल राड ये कच गरी वज गौ हा -  
 जाइ शकल्य जाला जयाकर उपाध्या कि  
 शाखा निधु रावकर अकर सर्व जेव विदुद  
 गरी रान प्रहण याचिंतने ननु रान सादि  
 . . . पगम भाषिते गानि जे निवाम ही राड  
 इतथा हेडुराव जे निवम शिक बरु जे गार  
 जोड सि गादि ही राडल हा कि रूप सि  
 भाग स्व गेकाया रादि जोड फवालि निधु  
 रमार लेखक निघोकर जोड सि गादि चिन्ता  
 गुण बुधु धर्म १ मण्डल का सादि मेरु च-  
 लनी रस गत गेनि सागरो प्रति प्रतिपत्त मथा  
 सादि नवि चलैनि तका चलें । स्व दुना परदत्ता  
 या या हेच्य वलु चरा । प्रलि वप सहसा जे  
 विष्ठाया जायते किमिः ॥ शुभ मस्तु ॥

अ म य म ल

(गुदा)

Dr. Hooker's Visit To Nepal

From King Surendra,

to the Subedars, Jamadars, Huddas and soldiers of the Naya Srinath Company.

Greetings. On Kartik Badi 9 (1905 Samvat) (October 1848), Dr. Hooker Sahab will come from Dorjeling on a tour up to the place called Kanglanamu on the border between Sikkim and Nepal. He will encamp at Palung, Kangbachan and Khema before arriving in Kanglanamu. Send 1 Hudda and 4 soldiers to Caville (?) Sahab in Dorjeling to meet Hooker Sahab and escort him provide an escort also when he goes back to Dorjeling. After he enters our border, make arrangements for necessary provisions, including chicken, eggs, sweets, milk, ghee, pulses, rice, etc. Take care against theft or pilferage on the way, and escort him up to his destination during the tour. Send (the escort) so that it reaches Dorjeling on Kartik Badi 9. In case there is any difficulty for Doctor Sahab regarding provisions or accommodation, or in the event of theft, you will be held responsible.

Aswin Badi 2, 1905

(September 1848)

Rajmi Research Collections, Vol. 33, p. 76.

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Rautahat Administrative Regulations

Regulations issued in the name of Subba Rituvarna Upadhyaya.

1. In the event of invasion from any quarter, if local military personnel are not adequate to repel such invasion, recruit additional troops and defend the territory. Report the matter to us. After the invasion is repulsed, pay salaries to such troops and dismiss them. The necessary expenses shall be remitted.
2. Dismiss any Chaudhari, Kanugoye, Mokaddam, Mahaldar or Ijaradar who does not comply with your orders and does not supply provisions.
3. In case any person is guilty of theft, murder, cow slaughter or rebellion, the case shall be heard in the court. The convicted person shall be degraded in caste, beheaded, hanged or otherwise punished according to his caste status.

Contd. . .



4. Visiting Englishmen, Nawabs, Rajas or other dignitaries shall be accorded due hospitality. The necessary expenses shall be remitted.
5. In case any owner of Bekh-Bunyad, Jagir or Birta lands has encroached upon Raikar lands, his confession shall be obtained in the presence of Chaudharis, Kanugoyes and Jaibars and the lands thus encroached upon shall be converted into Raikar. Report the matter to us and punish the offender as directed.
6. In the event of natural calamities occurring in that area, report the matter to us and we shall depute inspectors. Remissions shall be granted on the basis of reports submitted by such inspectors.
7. Thieves are committing havoc in that territory. They do not leave even the plows and bullocks of the subjects. Capture such thieves and obtain confessions from them. Report the matter and, on the basis of orders sent from here, behead, hang or amputate the limbs of the offenders.
8. In case Birta, Jagir, Bekh-Bunyad or Manachamal land grants are made to any person after 1860 (1803 A.D.), remissions shall be made in the stipulated amount every year on the basis of records submitted by Chaudharis and Kanugoyes.
9. Report any matter which will benefit us and the state and bring you credit. We shall then issue appropriate orders.
10. In case ryots, Jimidars, Mahaldars, Mokaddams, Ijaradars or Birta owners from that area submit complaints against you, we shall hear both sides and award appropriate punishment to whomsoever confesses his guilt.
11. Birta owners and Jagirdars and owners of Bekh-Bunyad, Manachamal or other lands shall appropriate only market duties (Hatiya) in areas under their jurisdiction. The proceeds of Sair and Nikasi-Paisari (export, import and transport duties) shall accrue to the Amil.
12. Previous Pattas issued for the reclamation of waste lands shall be confirmed. After 1860 (1803 A.D.), the Amil may issue such Pattas valid for a period of 5 years.
13. Begar labor is being exacted on a wide scale in that area. In the future, such labor shall be utilized only for governmental requirements. For non-governmental requirements, wages shall be paid at the rate of 2 annas daily. Begar labor shall not be supplied unless wages are paid.

Shrawan Sudi 3, 1860 (July 1803)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 20, p. 118.

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