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Mahesh C. Regmi.

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Land Reclamation And Settlement, 1931

Notification Of The Government Of Nepal

Gorkhapatra, Marga 29, 1988 (December 14, 1931)

Many Nepalis have left their country and gone abroad. The practice of visiting and staying in another country for employment is prevalent everywhere. It is good to engage oneself in a gainful occupation without renouncing the national religion and the prestige of the nation. Many people from the hill regions have gone abroad in search of employment. They leave the country at the instigation of others, without getting any information about local conditions and employment prospects in the places where they go. They have therefore to work as coolies, etc and suffer much because their daily earnings are not adequate to make both ends meet every day. They are unable to return home because they do not have money to pay for the journey. If somehow they are able to arrange for the travelling expenses, they do not have any land or home in Nepal and so are unable to make a living, as they had sold all before leaving the country. Some people have left the country also to evade the penalties awarded to them by government offices or courts in Nepal. They are unable to come back even if they want to. We have received frequent reports to this effect. Applications in this regard are also being received from time to time.

In order that these people may be able to fulfill their desire to come back to their motherland, as well as that others who intend to go abroad may be able to cultivate their own farm in the country and thus make a satisfactory living, we have set aside for reclamation a tract of forest land containing about 50,000 or 60,000 bighas near Biratnagar in Morang district. This tract is situated east of the Koshi river, west of the Bakraha river, south of the road leading eastward from Dhuni and north of the Nepal-British border. We have also made the following arrangements in this regard.

In case any Nepali ryot wants to reclaim lands in this area, he should study the following particulars and send information to the Baha Hakim of the Goswara Office. Lands will then be allotted according to the chronological order of applications. Alternatively, leaders (of prospective settlers) may come, finalize the necessary arrangements and fix the date for their arrival. (Settlers) may then come on the scheduled date, set up a farm and homestead, and live happily.

Contd...

REGULATIONS

1. The government itself will clear forests on 1,000 or 1,200 bighas in the southern portion of the above-mentioned area immediately. The remaining area too will be cleared by the government itself or through traders and contractors. A decision will be taken after studying which of these two arrangements will expedite the clearing operations and make it easy for you to come and settle there.
2. Those ryots who apply first will be settled on the area of 1,000 or 1,200 bighas which will be cleared first.
3. Homesites shall be allotted to ryots at convenient places. The Loan Office (Shota Pota Office) created for this purpose will supply building timber free of cost.
4. A dispensary will be established to treat sick people. It will have a doctor and a compounder, who will go round the area looking after the settlers.
5. The Forest Office (Jhora Dwar Adia) established for this purpose will make arrangement to sell the timber felled after clearing the forest in such a way that the work of reclamation is not hampered.
6. After the government cuts commercially valuable timber, or after the timber is lifted by contractors, the remaining trees or stumps may be cleared by the settlers. They may use the timber thus obtained in any manner they like.
7. No taxes need be paid for 10 years on the lands which are reclaimed in this manner. The rates for subsequent years shall be as follows:-

<u>Year</u>	<u>Rate of Land Tax</u> (per bigha)
11	4 annas
12	4 annas
13	6 annas
14	8 annas
15	12 annas
16..	Rate prevailing on adjoining lands.

Contd...

8. In case any person functions as chief and reclaims more than 50 bighas of land with more than 10 settlers after providing them with loans and maintenance expenses (Bhota Pote) through his own resources, 4 bighas out of every 100 bighas thus reclaimed will be granted to him as Saba Birta on a concessional tax of Rs 2 only. Anybody who thus reclaims more than 100 bighas will also be appointed as Jimdar on the reclaimed lands. In case he has reclaimed lands at his own cost, 25 bighas out of every 100 bighas reclaimed shall be given to him as Jirayat. But only 15 bighas out of every 100 bighas reclaimed shall be given as Jirayat if the costs of reclamation have been obtained in the form of a loan from the government. Such lands may be reclaimed with the help of the settlers.
9. Thereafter, the chief of the Forest Land Reclamation Office (Jhora Abad Goswara) will gradually clear forests and settle ryots.
10. In case the lands mentioned above cannot meet the requirements of all those who apply for allotments, we shall make available another area of approximately 50,000 or 60,000 bighas in Morang district itself between the Bakraha and Mechi rivers, as well as lands in Butaul and the Naya Muluk (i.e. the far-western Tarai districts of Banke, Bardiya, Kailali and Kanchanpur) to those whom these locations may be more convenient.
11. In case any person who procures ryots for settlement wants to reclaim lands on taxable (Nambari) basis personally also, he shall be allotted 10 bighas of land for every 100 bighas which are reclaimed by ryots at his cost. In case he has thus reclaimed more than 100 bighas, 10% of such additional area too shall be allotted to him on Nambari basis.
12. In case any person has committed a crime in the territories of Nepal and has escaped abroad, and in case he is guilty of treason or defalcation of government funds, he may submit an application stating the nature of his crime and the period of his stay abroad, and applying for an allotment of land in Morang. In case he obtains pardon from us, he may be given such an allotment.

Also eligible for allotment of land in Morang district will be persons accused or convicted of murder who have escaped to India and lived there 12 years, as well as those involved in adultery and non-payment of debts if they have similarly lived 2 years abroad. They shall not be punished for adultery, nor will their creditors be permitted to apprehend them.

Contd...

Persons who have committed other crimes may also receive land allotments if they have lived abroad for 2 years and all penalties imposed on them, including imprisonment, have been waived. They shall be permitted to come back and cultivate lands in the areas mentioned above.

Persons who have been convicted of offenses relating to untouchability and commensal relations may only reclaim lands in the areas mentioned above and live there. In case they have been degraded from their former caste, they must remain in that state.

But none shall be permitted to leave the reclaimed areas mentioned above and live elsewhere.

Acquisition Of Guthi Lands Of Taleju Temple

From King Rajendra,

King Mahendra Malla had endowed 2½ ropanis of rice land at Malatar as Guthi for the temple of Taleju. This land has been acquired for the construction of a military cantonment. The same area of land at two places is hereby granted from the Sera (Crown) holdings of the Hitichok (royal household office), and the existing Guthi endowment thereby retained. The Guthiyar shall accept the land thus granted in exchange, and use the income therefrom to perform the customary (religious) functions.

Magh Badi 11, 1881

(January 1825)

Ragmi Research Collections, Vol. 29, p. 9.

(Guthi land endowments made by King Jaya Prakash Malla and others for the temples of Bhairav, Kumari, etc were similarly acquired for military purposes on the same date).

Prithvi Narayan Shah's Conquest Of Nepal¹

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali

During the 15th century, when the ancestors of the royal dynasty of Gorkha were trying to set up an independent Kingdom in western Nepal, Nepal Valley was undivided. That is to say, the entire valley was under the rule of a single dynasty. Before disintegration, the dominions of Nepal extended to the Koshi river in the east, to the Trishuli-Ganga in the west, to Shivapur in the north and to the Chisapanikhola in the south. This State was prosperous, and it maintained close commercial intercourse with both Tibet and India. That was why the Kings of the western hill states envied its prosperity.

According to the Vamshavalī, people from the western hill region had migrated to Nepal Valley at the close of the thirteenth century. In Paush 408 Nepal era (1288 A.D.), a hill king named Jitari Malla had invaded Nepal Valley. He had, however, been compelled to retreat westward, because he had to face resistance in Nepal Valley.

An inscription containing the genealogy of King Prithvi Malla of Senja and mentioning that he was staying in Dullu in 1279 Shaka era (1357 A.D.) has been discovered.² This inscription refers to the existence of two Kings, both named Jitari Malla. One Jitari Malla was probably the eldest son of Ashoka Challa, who had installed an inscription at Gaya in India.

1. Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Mithyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley). Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter XVII: "Prithvi Narayan Shahko Nepal Vijaya." (Prithvi Narayan Shah's Conquest of Nepal), pp. 192-210.

2. Itihas Prakash, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 58.

The first invasion of Nepal Valley by people from the western hill region had failed, of course, but it is significant that the attack launched by Prithvi Narayan Shah, a King of the western hill State of Gorkha, nearly 400 years later, was successful. In 1559 A.D., that is, long after the first invasion of Kathmandu Valley by people from the western hill region, Dravya Shah founded an independent Kingdom in Gorkha. This state was situated in close proximity to Kathmandu Valley. Since it faced other independent and powerful states in the western region, it could expand its territory only towards the east. One event facilitating such expansion occurred in Nepal Valley 77 years before the establishment of the Kingdom of Gorkha by Dravya Shah. Yaksha Malla, the last King who ruled the whole of Nepal Valley died in 1482 A.D. His death was immediately followed by the disintegration of Nepal Valley which had remained undivided until then. The valley was divided into 3 mutually hostile states. Gorkha gradually developed relations with the quarrelling States of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhadgaun in various ways. In the beginning, Gorkha's relations with these States were peaceful and friendly. But as the mutual rivalry and conflict among the States of the valley intensified, these relations gradually changed into hostility, which culminated in Gorkha's conquest of Nepal Valley.

Relations between Gorkha and Nepal date back to Rama Shah (1606-33 A.D.), who became King of Gorkha four generations after Dravya Shah. Rama Shah was a famous ruler of Gorkha. He considerably expanded the territories of his Kingdom. He was not only a conqueror, but was also a reformer. He initiated a number of social and economic reforms in Gorkha. He invited some Newar merchants of Patan after establishing amicable relations with King Siddhinarasimha Malla of that State. This indicates that Gorkha and Nepal Valley maintained good commercial relations at that time.

However, though outwardly peaceful, Gorkha's amicable relations with Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan were part of a military maneuver. Kerung was under the control of Patan at that time, while Rama Shah controlled Rasuwa, the gateway to Kerung. It was for this reason that Rama Shah had been compelled to establish amicable relations with Siddhinarasimha Malla. The latter had to reciprocate because of his enmity with King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu. Siddhinarasimha Malla's good relations with Rama Shah obviously helped to neutralize the effect of Pratap Malla's hostility.

When Pratap Malla attacked the territory controlled by Siddhinarasimha Malla in the Kerung area of Tibet, Dambar Shah (1633-42), son of Rama Shah, sent his troops to aid Siddhinarasimha Malla for the sake of preserving the friendly relations established by his father with Patan. The Gorkhali troops, however, were completely wiped out by Pratap Malla's army.³

As indicated earlier, the inhabitants of the western region of Nepal had started settling in Nepal Valley after Jitari Malla's invasion at the end of the 13th century. There was no difficulty for people in the western region or elsewhere in travelling to Nepal Valley as pilgrims. Later, people belonging to the princely families of the western region also started visiting Nepal on pilgrimage. Birabhadra Shah, son of King Prithvipati Shah of Gorkha, visited the temple of Pashupatinath in Nepal Valley when he was not on good terms with his grand-father. He then started living in Bhaktapur as a guest of Bhupatindra Malla. However, Bhupatindra Malla was unable to allow Birabhadra Shah to live for long in Bhadgaun because the Kings of Kathmandu and Patan had doubts about the motive behind Birabhadra Shah's stay in the valley. Birabhadra Shah died on the banks of the Budhi-Gandaki in 1716 A.D., while on his way back to Gorkha.

According to the Vamshavali, Ratna Malla, the first King of Kathmandu after the division of Nepal Valley into 3 states following Yaksha Malla's death, had set up an army consisting of the Khasas and Magars of the western region.

Gorkha's real attempt to conquer Nepal Valley began during the reign of Narabhupal Shah (1716-1742). The first such attempt was made in 1737 A.D. It was not Narabhupal Shah's ambition to conquer Nepal Valley at once. He wanted first to occupy the fertile areas of Nuwakot, which could be used as a base for mounting expeditions to Nepal Valley. Proper military planning was essential for accomplishing success in this task. There was also the need for providing effective cover to troops on the front. However, Narabhupal Shah attempted to invade Nuwakot without making such arrangements. For this reason, Kaji Ramakrishna Thapa, a veteran soldier, refused to assume responsibility for the attack. He was then replaced by Maheshwar Pant as commander. Jayanta Rana Gyami, a Magar Kaji, was appointed as his assistant. Under the command of these two men, Gorkhali troops set out from Gorkha and finally reached Nuwakot, vanquishing several small principalities on the way. However, in Nuwakot, the Gorkhali troops were defeated by the army despatched by Jaya Prakash Malla to defend that area. Following this defeat, there was a quarrel between the two Gorkhali commanders. Finally, Jayanta Rana was dismissed. He fled to Kathmandu and joined Jaya Prakash Malla's army. Either as a result of this defeat or for some other reason, Narabhupal Shah began to suffer from hysteria, so that he became incapable of ruling his country. He died in 1742 A.D. He was succeeded by his son, Prithvi Narayan Shah.

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Soon after ascending the throne, Prithvi Narayan Shah decided to invade Nuwakot again. Around 1742 A.D., he attacked Nuwakot. But this attack met the same fate as the one launched by Narabhupal Shah. This time also, the Gorkhali troops were commanded by Magar officers. Having seen that the army led by Magar commanders, who were experienced and cautious, was not achieving quick results, Prithvi Narayan Shah reinstated Maheshwar Pant as commander. Maheshwar Pant managed to enter Nuwakot, but he could not face up to the troops sent by Jaya Prakash Malla. Thus the Gorkhali troops suffered defeat in the second attack on Nuwakot.

Thereafter, Prithvi Narayan Shah began to act prudently. He started thorough preparations for a fresh attack on Nuwakot. He reorganized the army and made arrangements for the production of weapons. After completing these preparations, he again invaded Nuwakot in 1744. At that time, the mutual discord among the rulers of Nepal Valley was heightening and the courtiers did not mind hatching conspiracies against their King to fulfill their selfish interests. Rajya Prakash Malla, who became King of Patan after the death of Vishnu Malla, was a puppet in the hands of his courtiers. King Ranajit Malla of Bhadgaun was fighting against Kathmandu. In Kathmandu, the Parbate and other courtiers of Jaya Prakash Malla were hatching a conspiracy to dethrone him. Prithvi Narayan Shah launched a fresh attack on Nuwakot precisely at the moment when chaos and conflict characterized the politics of Nepal Valley.

Jaya Prakash Malla despatched troops under the command of Jayanta Rana, his newly-appointed commander, to repulse the attack of Prithvi Narayan Shah's troops. Jayanta Rana reached Nuwakot along with his troops. His apparent intention was to begin firing once the Gorkhalis crossed the Gandaki and started climbing the hill on the way to Nuwakot. But the strategy adopted by Prithvi Narayan Shah in this battle was just the opposite of what had been expected by Jayanta Rana. Instead of crossing the Gandaki river, Prithvi Narayan Shah's troops climbed the Gorkhu hill in the north, where they were divided into 3 groups. These groups launched a multi-pronged attack on Nuwakot. At the battle of Mahamandal, one of the points from where the Gorkhalis attacked, Shankhamani Rana, son of Jayanta Rana, was killed. Mahamandal was occupied by the Gorkhali troops. Nuwakot then passed into their hands without any fighting, since Jayanta Rana fled to Belkot, thinking it impossible to defend Nuwakot. It was Jayanta Rana's wish to attack Gorkhali troops in Nuwakot after receiving reinforcements from Kathmandu.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah tried to win over Jayanta Rana back, reminding him of his previous connections with Gorkha. However, Jayanta Rana rejected this overture. Thereupon, Gorkhali troops decided to attack Belkot. Prithvi Narayan Shah could not stay on in Nuwakot safely as long as troops from Kathmandu were entrenched at Belkot. He therefore found it necessary to capture Belkot as well. Accordingly, one day Gorkhali troops launched a surprise attack on Belkot. Although they suffered heavy casualties in this attack, they emerged victorious, and Jayanta Rana was taken prisoner. He was mercilessly executed on the order of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

The conquest of Nuwakot meant not only the establishment of Gorkhas' authority over a fertile region but also its control of the main access route to Tibet from Nepal. The Gorkhals were now able to collect customs duties from people trading with Tibet through this route. This considerably strengthened their economic condition also. Victory in Nuwakot greatly helped Prithvi Narayan in fulfilling his objective of conquering Nepal Valley, for it means that he could now make war preparations from an area very close to Nepal Valley.

Jaya Prakash Malla then despatched troops commanded by Kashi Ram Thapa to reoccupy Nuwakot. These troops planned to move downward from Gorkhu instead of proceeding directly to Nuwakot, in close imitation of the strategy adopted by Gorkhali troops. Gorkhali troops learnt this and made arrangements for the security of the high mountains situated around Gorkhu. In the two battles fought at Gorkhu, Kashiram Thapa's troops were defeated. Kashiram Thapa fled to save his life. Jaya Prakash Malla suspected him to have secretly worked for Prithvi Narayan Shah's victory.

In view of his distrust in Parbate troops, Jaya Prakash Malla created a Madhise army with recruits drawn from the southern plains. Feeling doubtful of the loyalty of the Parbate force, he naturally, began to rely more and more heavily on the Madhise army. With the help of his Madhise troops, he had 8 Parbate officers, including Kashiram Thapa, beheaded at Gaurighat in 1746 A.D. Shinkhwal Kaji, who had defected to the Parbates, was also executed, while Taudhik Kaji fled to save his life. This was naturally resented by the people of Kathmandu. This is why they sympathized with some of the courtiers of Jaya Prakash Malla in their conspiracy against him, which had also been backed secretly by the Kings and courtiers of Patan and Bhadgaun.

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After having organized a large group, the conspirators despatched Parshurama Thapa, brother of Kashirama Thapa, who had been executed by Jayaprakash Malla, to invite Prithvi Narayan Shah to invade Nepal Valley. Prithvi Narayan Shah, favorably responding to this overture, attacked and captured Sankhu, Changu and several other villages. Ranajit Malla naturally did not oppose this invasion, because he too was in collusion with the conspirators. Jaya Prakash Malla fought against the Gorkhali troops by assuming direct command of his troops. But it was impossible for him to win victory by relying on troops whose loyalty was doubtful. He therefore suffered a defeat. The entry of the invading enemy troops into the valley created a deep panic among the local people. Taking advantage of this situation, the conspirators deposed Jaya Prakash Malla and proclaimed his minor son, Jyoti Prakash Malla, as King. This was in Astwin 866 Nepal era (1746 A.D.). Coins bearing the name of Jyoti Prakash Malla were also minted. Finding himself helpless, Jaya Prakash Malla hid himself. Even his mother and wife had joined the conspiracy. This gives a clear idea of the extent of support enlisted by the conspirators.

For about 4 years, Jaya Prakash Malla had to lead the life of a fugitive. Taudhik Kaji became minister of Jyoti Prakash Malla, who was then a minor. However, Jaya Prakash Malla, with the support of the people of Deopatan, regained his throne around 1750 A.D. Several conspirators were beheaded and many others fled to save their lives.

In accordance with his firm resolve to conquer Nepal Valley, Prithvi Narayan Shah started attempting to besiege Nepal Valley after bringing under his control all the high passes situated on the routes to the valley. At the time Jaya Prakash Malla was deposed, Prithvi Narayan Shah had occupied Mahadeva Pokhari and Naldum, situated to the east of the valley. However, he had to slacken the tempo of his campaign to conquer the valley, since the Chaubisi states rose against him in the meantime. Later, he occupied Dahachok only. After his battle against Lamjung, which was fought at Siranchok, Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied what is now known as East No. 1 and East No. 2, thus extending his dominions to Dolakha.

Prithvi Narayan Shah then entered the valley from Dahachok, and captured Pharping and several other villages situated to the south of Patan. As the Kajis of Patan had given him money collected from the people, he gave up his control of all these villages except Thankot and Balkhu and some other areas which were of strategic importance. This event also proved that there existed discord and malice among the Kings of the valley. Far from combining their strength and fighting against the enemy unitedly, they begun to flatter him to suit their respective purposes.

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Just at this time, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent a mission under the leadership of Kaji Tularam Pande. Although its stated purpose was to conclude treaties with the Kings of Nepal Valley, its real aim was to ascertain the situation there, hold secret consultations with the local nobility and win them over to Prithvi Narayan Shah. Jaya Prakash Malla was so infuriated by the intrigues of the members of this mission that he not only imprisoned them but even had some of them murdered. Kaji Tularam Pande managed to escape with the help of Kaji Kalidas of Patan, who was opposed to Prithvi Narayan Shah. This resulted in more intense discord between Jaya Prakash Malla and his courtiers.

Seeing that the rulers of Nepal Valley had obtained or were likely to obtain aid from King Trivikram Sen of Tanahu, Prithvi Narayan Shah seized and imprisoned him through deceitful tactics. Later, he invaded Kirtipur. But the inhabitants of Kirtipur, which was a strong fortress, defeated the Gorkhali troops. Kalu Pande, the able Prime Minister of Prithvi Narayan Shah, was killed in this battle. However, this defeat did not deter Prithvi Narayan Shah from pursuing his plans. He then captured Shivapuri and Banepa.

Prithvi Narayan Shah saw that there was the possibility of the rulers of Nepal Valley getting aid from the southern states as well. He therefore defeated King Digbandhan Sen of Makwanpur and occupied it in 1762 A.D. The following year, Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal invaded Nepal. Prithvi Narayan Shah's troops repulsed his attack and drove him out of Makwanpur.

The conquests made by Prithvi Narayan Shah in Nepal Valley had made Lamjung and other Chaubise states further jealous of him and inspired them to attack Gorkha. When they heard of Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of Makwanpur, the Chaubisi states, led by Lamjung, again invaded Gorkha. In the battle fought at Lakang on the banks of the Marsyangi river, the troops of Lamjung were defeated. Later, Prithvi Narayan Shah brought Banepa Valley under his total control. He also occupied Sanga and Nala.

Prithvi Narayan Shah had planned to invade Kirtipur again after occupying Pharping, Chobhar, Panga and other places. But he had to cancel this plan in view of the report of Lamjung's second attack on Gorkha. He then had to concentrate his attention on resisting the invasion of Lamjung. He inflicted a defeat on the troops of Lamjung at the battle of Chihandanda. Thereafter, he attacked Kirtipur (1764 A.D.). This invasion too failed. Sura Pratap Shah, his brother, was hit in the eye by an arrow. Dalajit Shah, another brother of Prithvi Narayan Shah, was also injured. Even then, Prithvi Narayan Shah

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besieged Kirtipur. As a result of the tightening of the blockade by Gorkhali troops, Kirtipur finally laid down arms. Prithvi Narayan Shah ordered the noses of a number of the inhabitants of Kirtipur to be cut. He thus gave evidence of his blind fury on the one hand, and instilled a sense of terror in the hearts of the people of the valley on the other.

The resistance of Kirtipur was the only bright aspect of the situation which had been blackened by mutual strife among the Kings and courtiers of the valley. It demonstrated how brave and courageous the ordinary Newars were at that time. Had they been led by able commanders, it would not have been possible for Prithvi Narayan Shah to conquer the valley as easily as he did.

At this very time, the Capuchin priests staying in Nepal urged on the East India Company Government to help the Newar Kings of the valley. Accordingly, the East India Company despatched a contingent of troops under the command of Kinloch to aid the Newar Kings. However, Prithvi Narayan defeated this contingent at the battle of Sindauli-Gadhi. Kinloch was forced to retreat.

Kinloch's defeat shattered the last hopes of Jaya Prakash Malla. Prithvi Narayan Shah too had got a hint of the decline in the capacity of Nepal Valley to wage war, because Newars and Parbates who supported him were now numerous in the valley. In view of this, he sent his troops to launch a 3-pronged attack on Kathmandu. On September 25, 1768, when the people of Kathmandu were celebrating the Indrajatra festival, the Gorkhali troops occupied Kathmandu. Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied the throne placed in front of the Hanuman Dhoka Palace for the use of the reigning King according to tradition. His conquest of Kathmandu became an indisputed fact when he was not only saluted and applauded by the local subjects but also garlanded by the Kumari, the virgin Goddess worshipped during that festival. Jaya Prakash Malla then fled to Patan. Tularam Pande was killed when the gun-powder placed by Jaya Prakash Malla at Taleju was ignited.

The following month, the Kojis of Patan also surrendered, with the result that both King Taranarasimha Malla and Jaya Prakash Malla had to flee to Bhadgaun, where they had to live as refugees. Prithvi Narayan Shah did not show much haste in invading and conquering Bhadgaun after having occupied Kathmandu and Patan. He invaded Bhadgaun in 1771 A.D., by which time he had made proper administrative arrangements for both Kathmandu and Patan. The fugitive Kings who had gathered in Bhadgaun decided to fight against the Gorkhali troops. A small-scale

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battle ensued, in which Jaya Prakash Malla was injured. He died a few days' later. King Tejanarasimha Malla of Patan was imprisoned. The aged King Ranajit Malla of Bhadgaun was permitted to leave for Varanasi to spend the last days of his life. In this manner, Prithvi Narayan Shah established his supremacy over the whole of Nepal.

The bravery and perseverance displayed by the Gorkhals in their campaign to conquer Nepal shows how strong-willed and industrious they were. Prithvi Narayan Shah had begun this campaign with the occupation of Nuwakot in 1744 A.D. He attained his goal of conquering the whole of Nepal only after 24 years of hard efforts. Gorkha had open enmity with Lamjung, which was then a powerful state in the west. Lamjung would attack Gorkha whenever Prithvi Narayan Shah faced trouble. Prithvi Narayan Shah was able to concentrate his attention on the rest of Nepal only after checking Lamjung somehow. He was successful in conquering Nepal after 24 years of hard and single-minded dedication.

In this task, many trusted and prominent commanders and courtiers of Prithvi Narayan Shah sacrificed their lives, thereby giving evidence of their patriotism. Shivaram Basnet was killed in the battle of Sanga. Kalu Pande, Prithvi Narayan Shah's Prime Minister, lost his life in the first attack against Kirtipur. One of Prithvi Narayan Shah's brothers was wounded in the second battle of Kirtipur, while another lost one of his eyes. Tularam Pande was killed the very day Kathmandu was occupied by Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Prithvi Narayan Shah also defeated the army of Mir Kasim who had set out to conquer Nepal. He prevented the Muslim invaders from entering into Nepal. 400 years earlier, the contemporary ruler of the undivided Nepal Valley had failed to repulse the Muslim invasion of Nepal, so that Shamshuddin Ilias Shah of Bengal was able to reach Nepal and start a campaign of destruction. Prithvi Narayan Shah also checked the troops sent by the East India Company Government under the command of Kinloch to help the Kings of Nepal Valley against him and expelled them from Sindhuligadhi.

There were many groups who wanted Prithvi Narayan Shah to be unsuccessful in his campaign to conquer Nepal, Lamjung and other Chaubisi States which had accepted its domination could not tolerate Gorkha's growing might. They would frequently attack Gorkha in order to undermine Prithvi Narayan Shah's position in the rear. Trivikram Sen was another opponent of Prithvi Narayan Shah. But Prithvi Narayan Shah managed to capture and imprison him. After the conquest of Makwanpur, King Digbandhan Sen and Kanak Singh Baniya, his minister,

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even instigated Mir Kasim and Gurgin Khan, his minister to attack Nepal. The Capuchin priests staying in Nepal persuaded the East India Company to send troops to help the Kings of Nepal Valley. But notwithstanding the military and diplomatic maneuvers of so many hostile groups, Prithvi Narayan Shah was able to wage a war against the States of Nepal Valley and finally achieve victory. This undoubtedly testifies to the great bravery, wisdom and statesmanship of Prithvi Narayan Shah.

Nepal Valley was then a prosperous region with skilled farmers and clever traders. Nature itself had insured the security of the valley by creating high mountains around it. The Newar inhabitants of the valley were cultured and intelligent. The task of fighting against and vanquishing such prosperous, skilled and secure people was a gigantic one. Prithvi Narayan Shah's success in accomplishing this task was really remarkable.

Ever since Nepal Valley was divided into 3 States, relations among the rulers were characterized by mutual enmity. Because of their personal animosity, whenever anyone of them fought against Prithvi Narayan Shah, another would assist him. Every defeat inflicted on and difficulty faced by Jaya Prakash Malla provided satisfaction to the other rulers of the valley. It is hard to find a more glaring example of such selfishness. The courtiers of all the three States of the valley also followed a selfish approach. It is not therefore surprising that the fall of Nepal Valley, led by such Kings and courtiers, should have become certain.

Only one star shone in the sky of Nepal Valley when it was rapidly heading towards downfall. That star was Jaya Prakash Malla, who ruled Kathmandu. He had ascended the throne of Kathmandu in 1735. His courtiers had wanted his younger brother, Rajya Prakash Malla, to succeed his father, but their desire could not be fulfilled. Immediately after ascending the throne, Jaya Prakash Malla expelled Rajya Prakash Malla. This added to the discontent among the courtiers, who later proclaimed Narendra Prakash Malla, another brother of Jaya Prakash Malla, as King of some parts of Kathmandu, and kept him in Deopatan. Jaya Prakash Malla, however, crushed this revolt. The revolt was originally spear-headed mainly by Parbate military officers, but was later supported by Newar courtiers as well. They began to play their game on the cover of the support of King Ranajit Malla of Bhadgaun. This led to a war between Kathmandu and Bhadgaun. Jaya Prakash Malla was so angered by the revolt of his courtiers that he executed some of them. As a result of these executions, the public opposition to him became more widespread. In the meantime, Prithvi Narayan Shah occupied Nuwakot. Jaya

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Prakash tried to reoccupy this area, but failed to do so mainly because of the disloyalty of Parbate officers and courtiers, who were the only people capable of fighting Prithvi Narayan Shah. Later, Jaya Prakash Malla had a group of Parbate officers and courtiers executed through his Mainise army. Such cold-blooded acts on his part created panic among other courtiers, who joined in the conspiracy against Jaya Prakash Malla. His mother and even his queen joined the conspirators. The conspirators then invited Prithvi Narayan Shah to invade Nepal Valley. Accepting this invitation, Prithvi Narayan Shah sent his troops to Nepal and occupied some areas. Jaya Prakash Malla's forces could not resist Prithvi Narayan Shah's attack and consequently suffered a defeat. This led to consternation among the people of Kathmandu. Taking advantage of the people's discontent and fears which had then reached the climax, the rebels deposed Jaya Prakash Malla in 1746 A.D. and proclaimed his minor son, Jyoti Prakash Malla, as King of Kathmandu. Having been dethroned, Jaya Prakash Malla fled and lived the life of a fugitive for 4 years. After 4 years, he regained the throne by suppressing the rebels. There was no one else in the valley who could fight against Prithvi Narayan Shah and stop his entry into the valley. Ranajit Malla of Bhadgaun adopted the policy of silence, while chaos prevailed in Patan. For this reason, the responsibility of fighting against Prithvi Narayan Shah and defending the independence of the valley fell entirely on the shoulders of Jaya Prakash Malla. As long as he lived, he tried to fulfill this responsibility to the best of his capacity. He fought to the end to preserve the independence of Nepal Valley. Although the situation had become desperate and hopeless after Prithvi Narayan Shah blockaded the valley, Jaya Prakash Malla did not lose heart and capitulate before the enemy. He displayed the same perseverance and dedication in defending the independence of Nepal Valley as Prithvi Narayan Shah showed in conquering it. Neither the revolt of courtiers, nor betrayal by close relatives, nor lack of money, deterred him from the path of duty. Finally, while fighting against the enemy, he was wounded. He succumbed to his injuries some times later.

From a historical perspective, the unity of purpose, dutifulness and bravery shown by both Prithvi Narayan Shah and Jaya Prakash Malla pale into insignificance against the emergence of a powerful Nepali nation.

Until then, the inhabitants of the hill region were called Parbates, while those of Nepal Valley were called Newars. The inhabitants of the hill region were divided into different communities. The Newars too were called Patan Newars, Bhadgaun Newars, and so on. There were numerous States and Kings. There was mutual enmity among them. Peace

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and happiness were unknown to the people of the petty states who constantly fought among themselves. The Rais, Magars, Gurungs and Limbus also regarded themselves as belonging to separate communities. They lacked feelings of nationhood. The loyalty of people was confined to small States or communities. There was no such thing as loyalty to a single nation or community. For this reason, the feeling of one country, one King and one nation was totally lacking.

Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of Nepal led to the emergence of a single nation and a single government in Nepal with both Newars and Gorkhalis as its subjects. Later, he attacked and annexed the Kirat and Limbu regions. With the merger of all these regions, a new national community known as Nepalis emerged. This community comprised the ancient Kiratis, the Newars who were lovers of art, and the Parbates, a martial race. Other communities too later came into the fold of this nation. That is why this community, though small, was gifted with various virtues.

After his conquest of Nepal Valley, Prithvi Narayan Shah moved his capital from Gorkha to Kathmandu, which he made the center of the country's administration. Since this new national community inherited the ancient glory and fame of Nepal, it was natural that Nepal Valley should have been chosen as its capital. From time immemorial the name of Nepal was famous all over India. It was because Prithvi Narayan Shah shifted his capital to Kathmandu that the new national community began to be known by the fitting name of Nepali.

The Nepali community is still in the process of growth. Feelings of nationhood are growing daily among the people comprising this community because of the emergence of one State, one government and one law, and also because they have felt the impact of each other's customs, usages, languages, knowledge and skills. New bonds of unity are being forged, and outmoded ones are being broken. The Nepali community is thus achieving perfection gradually.

Since the emergence of the new national community itself was the result of Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of Nepal, there was no discrimination between the victor and the vanquished. This was so because the Parbates needed a share in the prosperous life of the towns. They needed cheap goods and those commodities which were not available in the hill areas. As soon as the new State of Nepal came into being they began embracing many practices and knowledge from Newars in order to make their life happy and perfect. They used many terms in the Newari

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language and imitated the food habits and other aspects of the Newari way of life. The Newars migrated to hill areas where they engaged in commerce freely. As a result, feelings of victor and the vanquished completely vanished. Both were united. Other communities are similarly assimilating themselves into the Nepali nation. This nation will acquire perfection, when all its constituent communities are fully assimilated.

We are no longer concerned with the motives with which Prithvi Narayan Shah and Jaya Prakash Malla fought against each other. Prithvi Narayan Shah might have sought to expand the territories of his State in accordance with the conceptions current in ancient India, while Jaya Prakash Malla might have fought against him purely to defend his State. Although we must comment their respective ambitions and their craftiness, we now remember them for the simple reason that they were the main factors behind the emergence of Nepal as a nation. Nepal as a nation emerged out of the struggle between these two men, thus changing the course of history. This is the only important fact, while others are of secondary importance.

Bajura Rajya

1. From King Ran Bahadur Shah,
To Raja Anantapal of Bajura.

When you left the side of Achham and Doti and joined our Bhardars and thus took refuge with us, and, subsequently, escorted our troops through Bajura to defend Doti and attack Achham and Jumla, our Bhardars signed a pledge in the name of God Panchadatta, confirmed your old territories and even added some new territories to your Rajya. When you came before us, our Bhardars reported to us the efforts you had made on our behalf. We are therefore pleased. We hereby reconfirm your old territories of Bajura, Thalakra, Chhanna and Satala. Make payment of Rs 500 every year as Tulasipatra. Nobody shall exercise any pressure on you. Remain constantly in our service and, with due assurance, enjoy your territories.

Shrawan Sudi 15, 1848
(August 1791)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 452.

Contd...

2. To the Subbas and Amaldars of Bajura, Kunth, Chhanna, Thalagara and Satala.

We have received reports that you have occupied the territories which had been confirmed by our Bhardars in favor of Raja Anantapal, and unlawfully collected judicial fines and other revenues there, on the pretext that the Bhardars who had been deputed there subsequently had granted these territories to you. We have reconfirmed these territories in favor of Raja Anantapal. As soon as you receive this order, vacate these territories and refund the judicial fines and other fines which you have collected there. In case you do not do so, you shall be deemed to have committed an offense.

3. From King Garban,
To Subedar Ranabir Thapa of the Ranabam Company.

Inspect the homesteads, rice lands and revenues of Bajhang, Bajura, Chhanna and Thalagara and divide these equally between the Rajas of Bajhang and Bajura.

Wednesday, Aswin Badi 14, 1857
(September 1800)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. LA, p. 167.

4. From King Garban,
To Raja Samudra Sen of Bajhang.

The homesteads, rice lands and revenues of Bajhang, Bajura, Chhanna and Thalagara have been inspected and divided equally. Transmit Rs 5,370 to the Company every year and appropriate the balance with due assurance.

Wednesday, Aswin Badi 14, 1857
(September 1800)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. LA, p. 167

(This order was sent on the same day to Raja Mandhir Pal of Bajura also).

5. From King Garban,
To Sardar Ranajit Kanwar, Sardar Angad Khawas and Subedar Nirbhaya Simha Thapa.

We have received reports that Raja Samudra Sen of Bajhang and Raja Mandhir Shahi of Bajura are quarrelling with each other and thereby obstructing the payment of revenues due to the army from their territories. Investigate the matter and arrange for the army

Contd...

to take over charge of these territories. Arrest the persons who have caused obstructions (in payment of revenue) and despatch them here. We shall endorse this action.

Baisakh Sudi 10, 1861

(May 1804)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 2, p. 34.

6. From King Girban,
To Raja Manjir Shahi of Bajura.

We have received a complaint from the Subedar of the Ranabam Company to the effect that the contractual revenues (Thekbanti) due from Bajura have not been paid. Payments due for the years 1871 and 1872 Vikrama (1814 and 1815 A.D.) under the contract must not be held up. As soon as you receive this order, make payment of the revenues due under the contract to the Ranbam Company. In case we receive a complaint in this regard again, you shall be held guilty.

Aswin Badi 30, 1872

(September 1815)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 42, p. 74.

7. From King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Dev,
To Raja Narendra Bahadur Shah.

In 1848 Vikrama (1791 A.D.), King Ran Bahadur Shah had issued an order recognizing Bajura as a Rajya in appreciation of the services rendered by your ancestors. Until 1901 Vikrama (1844 A.D.), you had enjoyed the Rajya on payment of the prescribed tribute (Sirto).

Since 1913 Vikrama (1856 A.D.), revenue in the territories covered by your Rajya had been collected by the Elephant Office (Hattisar Tahabil) without any offense on your part. The matter has now been represented to us.

Revenues from your Rajya during the period from 1913 to 1935 Vikrama (1856 to 1878 A.D.) has been credited to the personal account of our sister, the eldest Princess. We hereby refund this amount to you. With effect from the year 1936 (1879 A.D.), we withdraw all orders issued to other Rajas in respect to the territories covered by your Rajya, and reconfirm in your favor territories yielding revenues as follows, which had been credited to the personal account of the eldest princess.

Contd...

Mohar, rupees	...	1218, annas 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
16-gandi Rs 1638, annas 11 $\frac{1}{2}$, equivalent to 25-gandi rupees	...	<u>1048, annas 15$\frac{1}{4}$</u>
Total revenue - Rs		2267, annas 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

We hereby issue a royal order reconfirming your Rajya in the 51st year of our birth.

Make payment of the usual Sirto of Rs 101, (Mohar Rs 51 and 16-gandi Rs 50) to the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office and obtain a receipt.

Administer your Rajya in accordance with traditional customs and usages. We hereby reconfirm revenues from the following sources in favor of the Rajya, which had been customarily collected there:-

Judicial fines, escheat property, fines on adulterers and adulteresses (Chaknakul), fines for serious crimes (Panchakhat), payments due to Jogis, forests, pasturage taxes (Kharchari), forced and unpaid labor (Jhara, Begar), customs duties on salt, honey-cumbs, guthi endowments, goats and buffaloes required during the Dashain festival at the usual rates, payments due on homesteads belonging to ryots registered in the tax assessment records of Bajura, who have shifted to other villages.

While dispensing justice and collecting fines and other payments from the ryots of the Rajya, comply with the provisions of the law and the customs and usages of that region.

Make necessary adjustments (in revenue) in the Rajya after conducting surveys. Keep the ryots satisfied, and, with due assurance, enjoy the Rajya as Sarbangamafi from generation to generation.

A royal order to this effect had been issued in favor of your father, Raja Bikram Bahadur Shah. Since he is dead, we hereby reiterate it in your favor.

Jestha Badi 5, 1944
(May 1887)

Regmi Research Series, Vol. 50, pp. 16-20.

(S.B. Maharjan)

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Defection Of Troops During Nepal-British War

1. From King Girban,
To Dharmaraj Knatri.

We hereby grant you authority to collect rents on lands assigned (as Jagir) to those salaried troops with Jagir land assignments in the regions east of the Mahakali river who ran away in 1871 Vikrama (1614) and joined the British. Grant remissions for rents payment for which had been arranged by Subedars through loans, and collect the balance. Spend Rs 588 to pay the salaries of 16 persons including collectors, peons, clerks and cashiers as follows and employ them. Remission shall be granted for these expenses:-

For Regions Situated East Of The Bheri River

1 clerk, at Rs 3½ per month	...	Rs 42 per year
1 cashier, at Rs 3 per month	...	Rs 36 per year
6 peons, at Rs 2, annas 13 and one paisa each per month, thus making a total amount of Rs 34 each per year	...	Rs 204

Total	...	Rs 282

For Regions Situated West Of The Bheri River And East Of The Mahakali River

1 clerk, at Rs 4 per month	...	Rs 48
1 cashier, at Rs 3½ per month	...	Rs 42
6 peons, at Rs 3 each per month, thus making a total amount of Rs 36 each per year	...	Rs 216

Total	...	Rs 306

Sunday, Bheira Batt 8, 1872
(August, 1815)
Regm^t Research Collections, Vol. 42, pp. 48-49

Contd...

2. From King Girban,

To salaried troops who have Jagir assignments in the regions situated west of the Bhari river and east of the Mahakali river, or who have been deputed to defend forts in the regions situated west of the Mahakali river.

Officials have been deputed through Subedar Dharmaraj Khatri to collect rents after remitting the loans supplied to those who defected to the British in the year 1871 Vikrama (1814). Transmit the balance due to these traitors, other than those who are still there, to the officials deputed by the Subedar, and obtain receipts. In case anybody makes an attempt to conceal or misappropriate such rents, or causes any obstruction in collection, punishment shall be awarded on his life and property.

Sunday, Bhadra Badi 8, 1872
(August 1815)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 42, p. 51.

From King Girban,
To Subedar Dharmaraj Khatri.

Confiscate the entire property of Jamadar Madan Ram Thapa of the Renahwaj Company, who has defected to the British from Rajgadn. Utilize the proceeds to pay the salaries of company commanded by Subba Jasiwant Ahikari and Subedar Akbar Pandie. Remission shall be granted according to the receipts obtained from them.

Kartik Badi 9, 1872
(October 1815)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 42, p. 109.

Political Boundaries Of Nepal During The Licchavi Period¹

By

Jagadish Chandra Regmi.

Although there is no solid evidence regarding the change in the political boundaries of Nepal after the Kiratas were replaced by the Licchavis as the ruling dynasty, the international situation prevailing at that time indicates that changes must have taken place.

Historical factors had caused many changes between India and Nepal during the Kirata period and Licchavi period in Nepal. The downfall of the small republican states of areas adjoining the borders of Nepal had started from the time of the Mauryas. They had totally disappeared many years before the Guptas came into prominence. All the republican communities had to confront their downfall during the development of Kushana and Sunga empires and they could not save their existence until the Guptas established their empire. It is against this background that the political boundaries of the then Nepal must be considered. We should study the manuscripts of the Licchavi period in brief before considering the political boundary of contemporary Nepal.

Skanda-Purana: The Skanda-Purana refers to Nepal also while describing the other provinces of India. It has also one-sidedly described the geographical features of some provinces and famous villages. It has stated that there are 100,000 villages in Nepal.² This is significant. Nepal does not have 100,000 villages even now. As such, Nepal must have been much more extensive than now at the time when the Skanda-Purana was written, (7-10th century A.D.?).

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1. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, Licchavi Samskriti (Licchavi Culture): Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 2026 (1969), pp. 95-105.
 2. Skanda-Purana - Maheshwara Khanda - Kumarika Khanda, Chapter 39, Verse 127 and after.

Contd...

Varhaspatya Arthasutra: The Arthasutra of Vrihaspati has referred to the geographical features of ancient Nepal. It describes Nepal as the "Main Subject" and mentions the area as "400" (Yojanas?). It describes the country as quadrilateral in shape.

This might mean that Nepal had an area of 3,600 sq. miles at that time. The editor of this manuscript, F.W. Thomas, regards the meaning of "Chatushshata" as 104.³ This is undoubtedly wrong. Although the area of the present political boundaries of Nepal is quite different from the area referred to here. We should consider the background against which this figure has been given.

Yuan Chwang's Account

Yuen Chwang, a Chinese traveller who visited India during the 7th century A.D., has written an account of Nepal from the southern side. According to him the area of Nepal was 4,000 li, and it had a circular shape.⁴

Alexander Cunningham has corrected the account of Yuan Chwang and regarded the area of Nepal as 6,000 li, or 3,000 miles, instead of 667 miles or 4,000 li.⁵

Shaktisangamatantra

A geographical description of Nepal is found in the Shaktisangamatantra. According to this text, Nepal extended from Jatesuwar to Yogesh.⁶

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3. Varhaspatya Arthashastra - p. 20. (Punjab Sanskrit Series, No.1, F.W. Thomas, 1921); S.B. Chaudhary (Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 81, (F.N.)) has described this country as "Vishaya" while the original text clearly mentions "Mahavishaya."
 4. Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Hiuen Tsiang. By S. Beal, Vol. III, p. 318, (Book VII).
 5. Alexander Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p. 580.
 6. Shaktisangamatantra, Chapter VII.

Conti...

Dinesh Chandra Sircar has imagined Jalpeshwar in place of Jateshwar and identified it with Jalpaiguri in North Bengal.⁷ He has identified Yogini with Delhi.⁸ The Shaktisangamatāntra has thus presented an outline of the political map of Nepal, which cannot be supported by historical evidence yet. We do not know on what basis it has made such a statement. Since the word "country" (Desha) is clearly mentioned in this text, this description could not have been related to a religious place. Further study in this regard may present more details and explanations.

We cannot have a clear idea regarding the situation of Nepal in the ancient period even by reference to contemporary historical sources. These accounts help us to know more about political stability than about the political boundaries of Nepal.

The history of Nepal becomes clearer during the Licchavi period. We can say something about the political boundaries of Nepal during this period. We have evidence that the southern boundary of Nepal during the Licchavi period touched Muzaffarpur in the west of Darbhanga district. The large number of seals discovered at Basarh (Vaishali) in Muzaffarpur show that it had been the northern boundary of the Gupta Kingdom. The seals discovered in Basarh show that it was an important place during the Gupta period. No reference is available to any historical place of the Gupta period to the north of Basarh, and inscriptions too do not mention any place situated to the north of Basarh. This shows that Basarh was the northern border of the Gupta Kingdom. Evidence regarding Tirabhukti (Tirhut), as well as the above-mentioned facts, reveal that the northern boundary of the Gupta Kingdom and the southern boundary of Nepal extended from Basarh to Tirhut.

We can determine the southern boundary of Nepal during the Licchavi period only after a consideration of the northern boundary of the Gupta empire.

The Prayag eulogy of Samudra Gupta describes Nepal as a country across the border. We can thus understand the independent existence of Nepal.

7. D.C. Sircar, Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 97.

8. Ibid.

In this context, it will be appropriate to quote the opinion of R.C. Majumdar:-

The Licchavis founded a Kingdom in Nepal probably as early as the first or second century A.D. Whether they still continued to occupy Vaisali and the neighboring region is not definitely known, but it is not unlikely, for reference to Nepala in Samudra Gupta's inscription proves that it was different from the Licchavi Kingdom which he had inherited from his mother. On the whole, as in the case of the Guptas, although nothing is definitely known, the Licchavi Kingdom of Kumaradevi may be provisionally located in North Bihar, with Vaisali as its center.

We can draw a conclusion only after we analyze this opinion of Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar.

It is necessary to study the inscriptions and seals of the Gupta period while determining the northern boundary of the Gupta empire. The inscriptions of the Guptas show that Tirabhukti was the northern boundary of the Gupta empire.⁹ The name Tirabhukti is also meaningful in this context. The word "bhukti" denoted an administrative unit at that time. The prefix "Tira" indicates a border region. The present Darbhanga district is regarded as representing Tirabhukti.¹⁰ Since Nepal is situated to the north of Darbhanga, this region must have been known as Tirabhukti. The south-eastern boundary of Nepal during the Licchavi period may therefore be regarded as adjoining Darbhanga district.

It will be appropriate now to consider where the other boundaries of Nepal during the Licchavi period lay.

As in the case of other aspects of this essay, we can cite outside sources only.

9. The Classical Age, p. 350 (F.N.4).

10. R.C. Mazumdar, The Vakataka Gupta Age, p. 283.

Samudra Gupta, while referring to the border countries, mentions Nepal, Bengal, Kumaun and Punjab. Countries like Samatata, Dawak, Kamarupa, Nepal and Kartripur are placed in the same category. Samatata is considered to be situated close to the south-eastern part of Bengal. Dawak is similarly regarded as representing Nagaun district in Assam. Kamarupa is regarded as the upper part of Assam. Scholars have different opinions regarding the location of Kartripur. Some consider the Katuriya province of Kumaun as Kartripur.¹¹

The Prayag eulogy of Samudra Gupta, which refers to many border countries, has created many problems. The first question arises regarding the situation of Sikkim and Bhutan on the eastern boundary of Nepal at that time. There may be reasons why these places were not mentioned. Since political consciousness had not developed there, they might not have been able to achieve an independent existence. They might have been annexed by the adjoining powerful states which had achieved political stability. In such a situation, two possibilities exist. These were either under the states of Kamarupa of Assam and Bengal, Samatata and Dawak, or constituted part of Nepal. But scholars have identified Samatata, Dawak and Kamarupa in such a manner that there does not seem any reason to consider far-away Bhutan and Sikkim as part of these states. Since these two regions can be considered to have remained under the influence of Nepal from the geographical point of view, we should regard them as having been under the suzerainty of Nepal.

The reality of Nepal's suzerainty over Sikkim and Bhutan should be studied in another context also.

The Changunarayan inscription of Manadeva I (464 A.D.) has stated that he had again controlled the "rebel feudals of Purvadesha"¹². The term "Purvadesha" (eastern region) referred to in the inscription is significant. The Puranas¹³ have referred to Purvadesha several times. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar identifies the eastern part of Uttar

11. The Vakataka Gupta-Age, p. 142.

12. Sanskrit Sandesh, p. 46.

13. Vishnu-Purana, 2, 3, 14, 17; Kurmaourena, 1, 46, 41, 44; Brahmapurana, 25, 15-7.

Pradesh as the ancient Purvadesha.¹⁴ The poet Rajasnekar (10th century A.D.) has taken the name of son, Lohitya, Ganga, Karatoya and Kapisha as rivers of Purvadesha in his work Kavya-Mimamsa. If this view is even partially accepted, the region to the east as far as Lohitya (Brahmaputra) seems to have been called Purvadesha. In this way, it is not impossible that Purvadesha may have been situated near the Brahmaputra river east of Nepal. The eastern boundary of Nepal during the Licchavi period thus seems to have adjoined the Brahmaputra river. This is proved by other evidence also. Inscriptions of the Gupta period have been discovered only in the lower parts of Bengal in the east. There is no evidence that the Guptas had directly conducted the administration or sent provincial administrators in the area between Assam and Nepal.

Since the boundary extended to Assam, the rulers of the two countries seem to have maintained cordial relations. The Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II (733 A.D.) has stated that he had married the daughter of Harshadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty (an ancient royal dynasty of Assam), lord of Gauda (Bengal), Odra (Orissa), Kalinga and Koshal.¹⁵ Since their borders adjoined each other, the King of Nepal had maintained friendship with the Kings of eastern India.¹⁶

S.B. Chaudhary thinks that the Barhaspatya Arthasutra was compiled after the sixth century A.D.¹⁷ Thus this text seems to have referred to the geographical situation of Nepal during the Licchavi period. On the basis of the expansion of Nepal during the Licchavi period towards the east, the west and the south, the description of the Barhaspatya Arthasutra seems nearly correct. Nepal was thus quadrilateral in shape.

14. Geography of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 31.

15. Sanskriti Sandesh, Vol. 1, Part 3.

16. Later, during the Malla period also, King Pratao Malla had established matrimonial relations with King Prananarayan of Cooch Bihar.

17. S.B. Chaudhary, Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India, p. 89.

Northern Boundary Of Nepal

Although the Himavanta region referred to in the Rigveda represented the countries situated on the southern lap of the Himalayas, it is regarded as indicating Nepal alone afterwards. Fergusson thinks that the Himavanta region referred to Nepal.¹⁸ The Himavanta region is referred to in many ancient texts. Texts such as Mahavamsha,¹⁹ Thupavamsha²⁰ and Mahabodhivamsha²¹ have referred to Nepal several times. Sanskrit texts too have made frequent references to Nepal.

It is certain that the traditional northern boundary of Nepal is the Himalayan range. This natural boundary seems to have become an integral part of Nepal from the very beginning. We have historical evidence also to prove this. Our tradition is itself a solid evidence. The manner in which every religious work commences with the words "Himavadakshinapate Nepaladacha" (in Nepal, on the southern slopes of the Himalayas) proves our integral relationship with the Himalayas. This tradition is not a new one. It seems to have continued from ancient times. The Nepali people during 1401 Vikrama (1344 A.D.) used to recite this prayer at religious functions.²²

Such prayers used to be put in stone and copper inscriptions in large numbers. We find this in our Puranas and literary traditions also.

The Gopal Vamshavali,²³ the Manjushri Mulakalpa,²⁴ the Varaha Purana²⁵ and the Pashupati Purana²⁶ have many such references.

18. Cave Temples of India, p. 17.

19. Mahavamsha, pp. 12-13.

20. Thupavamsha, p. 43.

21. Mahabodhivamsha, pp. 114-115.

22. Sanskrit Sandesh, (1-6), p. 4. Kashthamanjap Copper inscription of 465 Nepal Era.

23. "Gopal Vamshavali", In Himavatsamskriti, Vol. 1, p. 6.

24. Manjushri Mulakalpa, No. 549; An Imperial History of India, Ed. by K.P. Jaiswal, p. 49.

25. Varaha Purana, Chapter 115, No. 39.

26. Sanskrit Sandesh, (1-6), p. 16.

We need not refer here to the important role of the Himalayas in our literature, art, folk songs, etc.

Gaurishankar (21,002 ft.), Kanchanjanga (28,146 ft.) and Dhaulagiri are among the highest snow-clad peaks on the northern border of Nepal. Gaurishankar is called the Gauri peak. There is a reference to this peak in Varahapurana also.²⁷ This has been regarded as the highest peak of the world.²⁸ The description of Kanchanjanga as "Kanchanadri" or "Subarnadri" is found in Sanskrit texts also. References to Subarnadri are found also in the Kartika Mahatmya of the Pañchapurana.²⁹ The Mithila Mahatmya has described Kanchanjanga as Swarnadri.³⁰ The Yoginitantra has described it as Kanchanadri and described it clearly as a part of Nepal.³¹

That the northern boundary of Nepal has been the Himalayas from ancient times is proved by the geographical situation of Nepal, which is an integral part of the Himalayan region. Moreover, the Yoginitantra has described Kanchanadri or Kanchanjanga as a part of Nepal.

In the light of Nepal-Tibet friendship and trade relations during 600 A.D., Kuti and Khasa, the two routes between the two countries, seem to have been occupied by Nepal. The T'ang annals (618-905 A.D.) of China show in what form trade relations between Nepal and Tibet developed and how these relations affected their economy. According to these annals, the Nepal-Tibet trade had had a great impact on the economy of Nepal during the Licchavi and medieval periods (600 A.D.-1200 A.D.).³² Had there not been political stability in the area between Nepal and Tibet, trade and cultural relations between the two countries would not have been possible.

27. Varahapurana, Chapter 215.

28. Schlagintweit considers Gaurishankar as Mt. Everest. But Captain Wood has argued that Gaurishankar cannot be identified as Mt. Everest. Ref. Lhasa and its Mysteries - By Waidell, p. 37-76.

29. Kartika Mahatmya, 34, 39; 3, 8.

30. Mithila Mahatmya, 8, 24.

31. Yogini Tantra Patala, 11.

32. Le Nepal, Vol. II, p. 185.

The political boundaries of Nepal during the Licchavi period (100-900 A.D.) seem to be more expansive than those of present Nepal. Although Nepal disintegrated during the period after the Licchavis, its political boundaries have become approximately equal to those during the Licchavi period through the efforts of Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors.

The Reign Of King Pratap Simha^x

By

Baburam Acharya

Prithvi Narayan Shah had named his eldest son, Crown Prince Pratap Simha Shah with the aspiration that he would be a skilled warrior as well as industrious and brave as Rana Pratap Simha of Mewar. The aspiration was, however, belied. Prithvi Narayan had entrusted the task of giving an academic education to the Crown Prince to the learned men of Gorkha. These men made Pratap Simha versed in Sanskrit, but they diverted his mind to the study of Sanskrit literature and music, instead of making him study Sanskrit books on political science and practical life. After his conquest of Kathmandu, Prithvi Narayan Shah made the throne of Kathmandu that of the Kingdom of Nepal. He then constructed the Kailash Darbar and left behind Pratap Simha Shah and his Queen, Rajendra Laxmi, in Kathmandu with a company of troops for the protection of the throne as well as of the city of Kathmandu. As Prithvi Narayan Shah mostly lived in Nuwakot, the Crown Prince and the Crown Princess turned Kailash Darbar into a place of worldly pleasures. Although Pratap Simha Shah worshipped Goddess Kali,

^xBaburam Acharya, Nepaliko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi," Chaitra, 2022 (March 1966). Chapter XI: "Shri 5 Pratap Simha Shahko Rajyakal." (The Reign of King Pratap Simha), pp. 70-76.

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the family deity of the Gorkhali royal family, he followed the Dakshinamarga rules of worship. King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu had set up images of Guhyakali or Guhyeshwari and Guhya-Bhairava near the Pashupatinath temple in the forest on the left banks of the Bagmati river for the purpose of conducting the worship of Kali according to the Vamamarga rules also. This system was followed until the time of Jaya Prakash Malla. Pratap Simha Shah worshipped Guhyeshwari, since his preceptor, Brajanath Pandit, had allured him towards the benefits to be had from the worship of Guhyeshwari. Pratap Simha Shah had his first son, Bidur Shahi, during the life-time of Prithvi Narayan Shah, from a Newar woman (daughter of Biranarasimha, a former Minister of Lalitpur ?) brought to the palace as young girls were required for Vamamarga rituals. Some time later, Prince Nagendra Shah was born to Rajendralaxmi. Nagendra Shah, however, died soon. Bidur Shahi survived. Rajendralaxmi began to consider him a great irritant, as his survival enhanced the arrogance of the Newar concubine. Prithvi Narayan Shah had appointed Swarup Simha Karki of Chauhanji district as Sardar of the Company stationed with Pratap Simha Shah, as he considered him an able person. However, these three non-Gorkhalis, Brajanath Pandit, the Newar concubine and Swarup Simha, formed a political group. Prithvi Narayan Shah was aware of this. With a view to keeping Pratap Simha Shah too acquainted with this situation, Prithvi Narayan Shah said in his "Dibya Upadesh", hinting at Swarup Simha from the east and Brajanath from the west (Rising), "If Khas and Brahmans from the east and the west are allowed to gain power in the palace, these outsiders will create disorder in the palace. Do not let (them) be the King's mouth-piece." The group of these non-Gorkhalis actually kept Pratap Simha Shah in their clutches.

Bahadur Shah, the second son of Prithvi Narayan Shah, was only 17 years old when his father died. He had not even been married, since Prithvi Narayan Shah could not pay attention to Bahadur Shah's education. Bahadur Shah could at least write letters in the Nagari script and express his ideas for want of academic education, though he was not an illiterate person like Emperor Akbar. Since his birth, he had been living with his parents. He had obtained a knowledge of practical politics from his father. Thus Bahadur Shah was industrious, courageous, persevering, energetic and strong. He tried to endure any hardship, since he had always lived aloof from luxury. There existed no hostility between the two brothers, as both were sons of the same mother. However, Bahadur Shah was furious at the group surrounding his elder brother.

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Prithvi Narayan Shah was at Devighat in Nuwakot when he fell critically ill just before his death. The eldest Chautara, Mahodiamakirti Shah, had run away from Nuwakot to King Siddhi Narayan of Kaski for asylum, when his elder brother, Prithvi Narayan Shah, fell ill. He had reached Kaski by the time Prithvi Narayan Shah died. Other two brothers of Prithvi Narayan Shah as well as Bahadur Shah were in Nuwakot at the time of Prithvi Narayan's death. Pratap Simha Shah was in Kathmandu when Prithvi Narayan Shah died on January 10, 1775. On the same day, his trusted courtier (?) came to Kathmandu with the crown and the royal seal. It was natural that suspicion should arise in the minds of Pratap Simha Shah and Bahadur Shah when Mahodiamakirti Shah fled to the Chaubisi states. Thus Pratap Simha Shah, on the persuasion of Brajanath Pandit, despatched about a company of troops, probably under Swarup Simha Karki's command, before the 13-day mourning period was over. He also had Bahadur Shah and the youngest Chautara, Dalamardan Shah, arrested for fear that Bahadur Shah and his uncles might flee to the Chaubisi states and start a campaign against the Nepal government. Dalajit Shah, however, escaped and disappeared. Bahadur Shah had to complete the mourning rites while in custody. Pratap Simha Shah was then crowned in Kathmandu on January 25, 1775.

The priests performing the coronation ceremony were Rajguru Shyam Lal Mishra, Rajguru Brajanath Pandit Rajapurohit Shakti Ballabh Arjya and Rajapurohit Jagannath Bhattarai.

During the subsequent reshuffle of Bhardars, Brajanath Pandit was appointed to work under the second prince, Bahadur Shah. Shortly after Swarup Simha Karki was appointed as minister, Bansharaj Pande too arrived. He was nominated as the second minister, and both of them began to be known as "Kaji Diwan."

During the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah, the British Political Agent appointed to supervise Oudh State, which was ruled by Sujauddaulah, had begun to stay in Banaras. Prithvi Narayan Shah despatched Gajraj Mishra, son of nephew of his preceptor, Sriharsha Mishra, to Banaras for the purpose of maintaining contact with the British Political Agent in order to keep an eye on political developments in India.

Gajraj Mishra was distressed to see that Bahadur Shah had been taken into custody when he visited Kathmandu to offer his compliments to the new King. He therefore urged on Pratap Simha Shah to allow Bahadur Shah to live a free life in exile. Pratap Simha Shah accepted this proposal and granted Bahadur Shah an allowance. Bahadur Shah thus remained loyal to Pratap Simha Shah, and both carried on correspondence with each other.

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In the meantime, Queen Rajendralaxmi gave birth to Crown Prince Rana Bahadur Shah on May 25, 1775. As a result, the Queen's prestige went up and the hold of the Newar concubine weakened in the palace.

Pratap Simha Shah seeing that it would take him about 2 years to complete the task left incomplete by his father, directed his attention first on improving coins minted for use in Tibet in order to revive trade with that country. Since he believed that no community in Nepal was more skilled than the Newar in commerce, he appointed Pratap Simha Pradhan as Chief (Taksari) of the Mint and Customs Collector (Bhansari). He recalled the consular representatives who had been sent to Tibet during the reign of Prithvi Narayan Shah and who were then stranded in Khasa. Rupanarayan Kerki, brother of Kaji Swarup Singh, was then appointed consul (Wakil) and a delegation consisting of Jagadhar Pande, nephew of Bansadhar Pande, Pratap Simha Pradhan, Chief of the Mint, and others was despatched to Khasa. Yajirim Pachhe, Wakil of Tibet, and Sardar Dhewa Yachhal of Syaly-khampomu, chief aide of the Dalai Lama, were among those who were present in Khasa. In September 1775, these representatives concluded a trade treaty.

The major provisions of the treaty were as follows:-

- (1) There shall be no change in the alloy.
- (2) The alloy shall be determined by negotiations between the two governments.
- (3) In case any other King circulates coins by smelting or imitating the coins of Nepal in Tibet, the Tibetan government shall hand over such coins to the government of Nepal.
- (4) Sanyasis, foreigners, traders, etc shall not be permitted to carry bullion through any route other than Kuti and Kerung.
- (5) Other arrangements shall continue as before.

The treaty also stipulated that the party which did not abide by the above conditions would be under obligation to supply 50 dharnis of gold to the other party.

Accordingly, within the first few years of the reign of Pratap Simha Shah, coins worth Rs 850,000 were minted according to the agreed specifications for the purpose of circulation in Tibet. Tibetan traders continued selling gold and other merchandize against these pure coins.

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The treaty, however, did not solve the problem of debased coins which had reached Tibet during the rule of the Malla Kings. For this reason, it had not yet been possible to begin a two-way trade between Nepal and Tibet.

Subba Dinanath Upadhyaya, who had been deputed from Kathmandu to deal with the problem of the Tarai areas of Vijayapur, had gone to Raipur in Bengal also to keep a watch on the activities of Karna Sen, a former King of Kirat, and Chautara Buddhikarna Rai. There he learnt that Karna Sen and his Dewan, Bhuvaneshwar Upadhyaya, had secretly arrived at an agreement with Peacock, the local British officer, under which the British would provide aid to Karna Sen on the condition that they would be paid three-eighths of the revenue of the Kirat region as their share, have a hand in the administration of the state, and be permitted to open a factory in Vijayapur. Dinanath Upadhyaya then met Peacock. In the meantime, Karna Sen died. Peacock, accompanied by Bhuvaneshwar Upadhyaya, went to Calcutta to seek permission to have the agreement renewed by Karna Sen's minor son. However, the moment he reached Calcutta, Karna Sen's minor son too died. Peacock's plans thus failed to materialize.

Dinanath Upadhyaya, who was with Peacock at the time, now enlisted his help. Peacock, on his part, made arrangements to have Dinanath Upadhyaya introduced to Governor-General Warren Hastings and deliver a message to him on his behalf. Dinanath Upadhyaya remained in Calcutta for about 5 months in this connection.

The message brought by Dinanath Upadhyaya was presented before the Governor-General's Council. At the meeting, the Company government decided that it should give up its claim to the Tarai regions of Ambarpur and Vijayapur, i.e. Saptari and Morang districts, in case the Nepal government undertook to ban the entry into its territory of armed Nagas who plundered people in the area from Hardwar to Dinejpur. An agreement along these lines was actually concluded between the Nepal government and the East India Company. The Company government felt satisfied when the areas ravaged by the Naga bandits inside its territories were resettled. The Company government had good relations with the Nepal government when it was engaged in a protracted war with the Marhattas.

In view of the continuing dispute over the Tarai areas, notwithstanding the annexation of the Kirat states, the troops under the command of Abhiman Simha Basnyat stayed on in Vijayapur for nearly 18 months. In the meantime, Buddhikarna Rai was indulging in plunder inside Nepali territory from Chilamahi in British territory just

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across the Nepali border. Finally, Gorkhali troops captured Buddhi-karan Rai. Abhiman Simha Basnyat ordered him to be executed on the charge of having been responsible for the murder of Kama Datta Sen. A period of tranquillity then ensued in the Kirat region.

In the wake of the tussle within the Royal Palace in Kathmandu, Bahadur Shah, Dalamardan Shah and Daljit Shah were banished from Nepal, while Mahoddamkirti Shah took shelter in Kaski. The Kings of Lamjung and Parbat took this development as a sign of weakness of the Nepal government and started preparations to invade Gorkha. Pratap Simha Shah thereupon sent Kaji Bamsharaj Pande and Sardar Bali Baniya to Gorkha. After this development, tension continued between them and the rulers of Lamjung and Parbat.

Pratap Simha Shah ordered Bamsharaj Pande to occupy Kaski at an opportune moment as a way of winning over the King of Parbat to the Gorkhali side in order to expand the frontiers of the Kingdom. He asked Bamsharaj Pande to try to win over the King of Kaski to the Gorkhali side even by offering money to him, if this could help in the annexation of Lamjung. In view of such nature of fickleness of King Pratap Simha Shah, Bamsharaj Pande acted according to his own discretion. He just kept confusing King Biramardan Shah of Lamjung. Dalamardan Shah thought it inappropriate to fight against Lamjung or Kaski without first occupying Tanahu. He even defected to Lamjung and wrote a letter to Pratap Simha Shah advising him against seeking to annex Lamjung. Bahadur Shah too was not keeping quiet on the question of territorial expansion.

Bahadur Shah had first thought that it would be easy to attack the hill region of Tanahu from the inner Tarai area. The plan for such invasion had been drawn up during the last days of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Bahadur Shah, however, thought it proper to keep this secret from Swarup Singh Karki. Instead, he wrote a letter to Pratap Simha Shah, telling him that British invasion of Chitaur was imminent and Nepal should therefore occupy it first. The fact was that it was the policy of Warren Hastings at that time to maintain commercial relations with Nepal and refrain from interfering in its political affairs until the conflict with the Marhattas had come to an end. Neither Pratap Simha Shah, nor Brajanath Pandit, nor Swarup Singh Karki, was farsighted enough to take this fact into consideration. Pratap Simha Shah showed unusual haste in ordering Abhiman Simha Basnyat to withdraw the troops despatched to the Kirat region through the Tarai area for an attack on Chitaur. The order had been issued during the rainy season of 1777. Swarup Singh Karki did not want Abhiman Simha Basnyat to be given the sole credit for the conquest of Chitaur. He therefore took a small contingent from Kathmandu, and early in July he reached Jogimara, where he stayed for some days.

In the meantime, Abhiman Simha Basnyat, who was based in Vijayapur, took his troops to Chitaun during the rainy season, braving floods on the turbulent Koshi river and malaria in the Tarai. As he reached Chitaun, Sardar Bichitra Sen was staying at Kabilaspur-Gadhi, a fort situated a little to the south of Upardanga-Gadhi, as commander of the troops despatched by the King of Tanahu. On receiving reports of Abhiman Simha Basnyat's troops having arrived in Chitaun, Swarup Singh Karki along with the troops under his command, joined them. They together besieged and attacked Kapilaspur-Gadhi. After a day-long fighting, the fort was breached. A large number of Tanahu's troops commanded by Bichitra Sen were killed in this fighting, and the fort was finally captured (July 14, 1777).

The Tanahu troops had been deployed at Summeshwar-Gadhi, another fort located on the Chure hills along the southern frontiers of Chitaun district. Swarup Singh Karki sent Abhiman Simha Basnyat to occupy that fort, while he himself stayed at Kabilaspur. Abhiman Simha Basnyat defeated the Tanahu troops at this fort as well after a minor fight (August 6, 1777).

Since Joginara was already under the occupation of the Gorkhali troops, the Tanahu troops found the route to Chitaun entirely closed. They were afraid of despatching troops to Chitaun through Nawalpur, since that area was infested with wild animals. Nor could they cross the Narayani river. Thus the entire Chitaun area was easily occupied by the Gorkhals and annexed to Nepal. Sardar Ram Krishna Kunwar was appointed commander of this area. He stayed there for nearly 6 years.

Barely 3 months after the celebration of the conquest of Chitaun, Pratap Simha Shah died of small-pox in Kathmandu in the prime of his life (November 17, 1777).

Pratap Simha Shah was peaceful by temperament. He had maintained an envoy in Bettiah with the objective of maintaining cordial relations with the Christian priests stationed there, besides keeping an eye on the activities of Golding, the local British officer.

Income And Expenditure Of The Guthi Corporation

1965-72

(Source: Guthi Corporation)

	<u>Total Income</u>	<u>Total Expenditure</u>	<u>Balance</u>
1965-66	x 3,873,577	x 3,362,654	510,923 (surplus)
1966-67	3,652,024	4,648,475	996,451 (deficit)
1967-68	5,007,022	3,569,955	1,437,462 (surplus)
1968-69	x 5,838,548	x 4,410,523	1,428,025 (surplus)
1969-70	Not Available		
1970-71	4,339,418	5,904,989	1,565,571 (deficit)
1971-72	x 6,015,747	x 5,268,409	747,338 (surplus)

Particulars Of IncomeINCOME

<u>Source</u>	<u>1965-66</u> Rs	<u>1966-67</u> Rs	<u>1967-68</u> Rs	<u>1968-69</u> Rs	<u>1970-71</u> Rs	<u>1971-72</u> Rs
Land Revenue	x 3,417,854	3,461,747	4,667,986	x 5,448,993	3,809,063	x 5,718,363
<u>Chhut Guthi Revenue</u>	-	124,746	107,886	x 122,612	46,788	x 109,680
Interest on loan bonds	-	39,989	47,953	x 79,707	110,795	x 80,870
Compensation for acquired <u>Raj Guthi Lands</u>	x 400,038	-	60,000	-	-	-
Rents from <u>Raj Guthi buildings</u>	-	24,542	81	x 7,417	4,649	x 2,538
Miscellaneous	x 55,685	1,000	123,116	x 179,619	369,123	x 104,296
		3,652,024	5,007,022	x 5,838,548	4,340,418	x 6,015,747

Particulars Of Expenditure

<u>Particulars</u>	<u>1965-66</u> Rs	<u>1966-67</u> Rs	<u>1967-68</u> Rs	<u>1968-69</u> Rs	<u>1970-71</u> Rs	<u>1971-72</u> Rs
Religious Functions	x 1,586,334	x 1,542,399	x 1,387,525	x 1,455,352	1,600,460	x 1,762,275
Adminis- tration	x 847,679	x 1,042,376	x 1,117,783	x 1,307,575	1,600,806	x 1,840,862
Land tax	-	-	-	-	50,261	82,449
Repair and renovation of temples, etc.	x 700,000	x 1,354,500	x 697,668	x 1,411,010	2,392,625	x 1,102,190
Miscel- lanous	x 228,631	x 709,200	x 2,556,591	x 236,586	260,835	x 480,633
Total	x 3,362,654	x 4,648,475	x 5,769,567	x 4,410,523	5,901,989	x 5,268,109

Guthi Revenue From Different Regions

In 1971-72, the total land revenue of the Guthi Corporation from different regions of the country was estimated as follows:-

Tarai	...	Rs 4,413,523
Kathmanu Valley	...	Rs 1,198,136
Hill Region	...	Rs 106,704
Total -		Rs 5,718,363

These figures are inclusive of land revenue in both cash and in kind. In-kind revenue has been converted into cash at Rs 25.00 per maund in the Tarai and Rs 50.00 per muri in the hill districts and Kathmanu Valley.

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Notes And Explanations

1. Estimated figures have been marked with an asterisk (x).
2. During 1965-66, the Guthi Corporation admitted that "statements of income and expenditure have not been received from Raj Guthi offices in many outlying areas because of transport difficulties." It is possible that the Corporation had not been able to get complete particulars from all such offices even by 1971-72.
3. Revenue on lands assigned to Guthi functionaries, on which they collect rents directly, is not included.
4. The income and expenditure of the Pashupatinath temple offices are not included in the 1965-66 figures. The 1966-67 figures include Rs 118,058.00 collected and disbursed directly by these offices. No information in this regard is available for subsequent years.
5. In Mahottari and other areas in the Tarai, revenue on Guthi lands was partially collected by government revenue offices during 1970-71 because of administrative confusion. It is possible that this had been done in other years also.
6. The allocation of Rs 2,662,299.00 under the heading of "Miscellaneous" during 1967-68 includes Rs 2,566,591.00 for "contingencies."

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Some Errors In Francis Hamilton's "An Account Of The Kingdom
Of Nepal"

Francis Hamilton's "An Account Of The Kingdom Of Nepal"¹ is a major source of information on Nepal during the early years of the nineteenth century. Marc Geborieau, who wrote the introduction to the 1971 edition of this work, considers it "generally reliable" and describes it as "one of our most important sources."² On the other hand, Dr. Ludwig F. Stiller remarks that "though far from entirely reliable, Hamilton remains the major source for much of central and western Nepal in the early 19th century."³ This is easy to understand, for, as Hamilton himself acknowledges:⁴

"... During the years 1802 and 1803, I passed fourteenth months in the country, mostly in the vicinity of Kathmandu, the capital; and I was accompanied by Ramajai Batacharji, an intelligent Brahman, from Calcutta, whom I employed to obtain information, so far as I prudently could, without alarming a jealous government, or giving offence to the Resident, under whose authority I was acting. ... Assisted by the same person, I passed two years on the frontier, collecting information, both from the company's subjects, and from numerous refugees and travellers from the dominions of Gorkha."

The short duration of his stay in Nepal, and the fact that much of the information recorded by him was obtained second-hand, has naturally affected the accuracy of his work at places.

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1. Francis Hamilton, An Account Of The Kingdom Of Nepal, And Of The Territories Annexed To This Dominion By House Of Gorkha, New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1971 (Reprint).
 2. "Introduction To The 1971 Edition." Ibid.
 3. Ludwig F. Stiller, History In Nepal: Reflections Of A Working Historian, Paper presented to the Social Sciences Seminar organized by the Institute of Nepal & Asian Studies, Kirtipur, 1973, p. 42.
 4. Francis Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

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In this brief note, it is proposed to show the inaccuracy of Hamilton's information regarding the tax system in the eastern Terai districts of Saptari and Mahottari. Such inaccuracy was inevitable in the circumstances. But it has been a constant source of danger in Nepali historiography, for even Nepali historians who have always had better access to indigenous source materials have accepted Hamilton's account in an unthinking and uncritical way.⁵

Hamilton describes the land tax system in Saptari and Mahottari districts as follows:⁶

The land-rent is collected by two Fouzdars, one for Saptari, the other for Mahottari; but these also collect some trifling dues which have not been let with the sayer or duties on markets; for there is no regular system of finance. These dues are those on marriages (Bihadani), on contracts of concubinage (Sagora), and a fine on adulterers of rupees 2-10/16 levied by the collector, besides the fine that goes to the Raja; for the man who has farmed the duties on the markets takes a part of the fine, amounting to rupees 2-10/16. The following will show the sums collected on these heads in the year Sambat 1867, (A.D. 1809).

ZILA.	SAPTARI.	Land-rent.	Marriages.	Concubines.	Adulterers.
Purgunah,	Khalisa,	10,015	75½	50	25
	Jagadal,	2,485	25	12½	-
	Pakri,	13,345½	55½	25	30
	Maljhumna,	754½	15	5	-
	Ray jhumna,	941½	25	7½	10
	Pakuya	855½	10	5	5

5. A glaring example of this tendency is found in D.R. Regmi's Modern Nepal (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1961, pp. 308-11), in which he has quoted extensively from Hamilton, but without any comment or criticism.

6. Francis Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

	Gudagari,	501½	25	7½	20
	Rampurbehara,	481	-	5	-
	Mahishan,	501½	20	5½	-
	Khonjvaghni, (
	Majhoya,)				
	Dhanchhoyar, (
	Vihar,)				
		Totally waste.			
	Total	29,681	251	123	90
ZILA.	MAHATARI.	Land-rent.	Marriages.	Concubines.	Adulterers.
Fargunah,	Mahatari,	9,115½	103	50	25
	Korari,	10,025	40½	10	16
	Kheraha,	11,212	50	25	-
	Pihon,	7,855½	80	40	65
	Total rupees	38,208	273½	125	106

The main inaccuracies in this account are as follows:-

- (1) Hamilton states that in 1867 Vikrama (corresponding to 1809 A.D.), land taxes were collected by Fouzdars in both Saptari and Mahottari. This is not correct. Regulations promulgated by the government of Nepal are available which show that Fouzdars were appointed to discharge the function of revenue collection in these districts much earlier, during the 1780's.⁷ In 1809, Nepali source materials indicate that in 1809 revenue was collected in Saptari and Mahottari districts by Subbas under the Ijara system.⁸

7. Abstract translations of regulations promulgated in this regard by the government of Nepal in 1781 are given in Regmi Research Series, Year 4, No. 9, September 1, 1972, pp. 168-169.

8. Mahesh C. Regmi, A Study In Nepali Economic History, 1768-1846, New Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House, 1972, pp. 136-137.

- (2) Fines collected on concubinage were one of the several sources of revenue, according to Hamilton. He thus implies that concubinage was quite widespread in the Nepali society of the Tarai region during the early years of the nineteenth century. Perhaps so, but the evidence Hamilton presents is not reliable at all. Nepali source materials indicate that one of the several sources of revenue in the eastern Tarai districts at that time was Sagaudha. Hamilton defines Sagaudha (Sagora) as concubinage. This is not a correct definition of the term.

In 1809, the year for which Hamilton wrote his account, the government of Nepal issued a detailed order to local authorities in Mahottari district regarding the various taxes which they were permitted to collect according to arrangements made initially in 1793. This order mentions Sagaudha as one source of revenue. The relevant extract is as follows:-⁹

Sagaudha

<u>Ban</u> (Forests)	...	Rs 2
<u>Pani-Piaoh</u> (Sources of Water Supply)	...	Rs 1 and 2 annas
<u>Sayeri</u> (Customs duties)	...	11 annas
<u>Jimidari</u> (levies)	...	5 annas
	
Total	...	Rs 4 and 2 annas

This extract should prove conclusively that the term Sagaudha referred to communal facilities such as forests and sources of water and not to concubinage as Hamilton has stated.

- (3) Hamilton has given wrong information also about land tax assessment rates in Saptari and Mahottari districts. His figures are as follows:-¹⁰

9. Confirmation Of 1793 Tax Assessment Rates In Mahottari, Kartik Sui 9, 1866 (November 1809), Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 40, p. 111.

10. Francis Hamilton, op. cit., p. 154.

	<u>Rupees</u>	<u>Annas</u>
(Rice), (Sali)	4	10
Mustard (Turi) (3	10
Corocanus, (Maruya) (
Cotton,	3	12
Tobacco and Kitchen Gardens	5	0

The rates actually levied on these crops in Mahottari district in 1809 were as follows:-¹¹

<u>Crop</u>	<u>Rate per bigha</u>
Paddy	Rs 1 and 4 annas to Rs 4 and 5 annas on different categories of land.
Mustard	Rs 2 and 1 anna
Corocanus	Rs 1 to Rs 3 and 11 annas on different categories of land.
Tobacco	Rs 6 and 4 annas.

The schedule mentions several other crops, but not cotton.

11. Confirmation Of 1793 Tax Assessment Rates In Mahottari, 1809, op.cit.

Nation, Language And Literature^x

By

Surya Bikram Gnyawali.

The origin of the term Nepal has not yet been determined. Relying on Hindu mythology, some people have argued that this country was so named because it was looked after by a sage named Ne or Nimi. This view, however, does not appear to be correct. There is evidence that the Hindus immigrating to the hill regions of Nepal around the 13th century tried to Sanskritize several place-names in Nepal. We may cite the name of Gorkha as an example. I am of the opinion that the word Gorkha is the distorted form of Garkhā, Garkha, Kharka, etc, which are Nepali words. But the Hindus immigrating to Nepal confused Gorkha with Gorakhnath or Gorakhsa (meaning cow protection), which are Sanskrit terms.

The people of Tibet call Nepal Bāl Po, which, in their language, means a country where wool is abundant. It is not impossible that the term Bāl might have changed to Pal. The prefix Ne means a sacred place, dwelling place, cave or valley. The term Nepal thus appears to have been derived from the Tibeto-Burman language.

Whatever may be the origin of the term Nepal, there is no doubt that the word Newar, which is in current use, is the distorted form of Nepal. The terms Nepal, Newar and Nepali all denote the inhabitants of Nepal, or the Nepali community. That the term Nepal had been in use as far back as the fourth century A.D. is evident also from the reference made to it in a stone-inscription installed by Samudra Gupta at Prayag. It may well be assumed that this term had originated a few centuries earlier.

^x Surya Bikram Gnyawali, Nepal Upatyakako Madhyakalin Itihas (Medieval History of Nepal Valley), Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy, 2019 (1962). Chapter XVIII: "Jati, Bhasha Tatha Sahitya." (Nation, Language And Literature-), pp. 211-224.

Conti...

The ancestors of the Newar community possibly migrated from the northern region to the warmer and more fertile area of Nepal Valley. According to the Vamshavalis of Nepal, Nepal Valley was originally a lake. The Vamshavalis add, "When Manjushri came here from China, he breached the hill at the southern Kotway, thereby creating an outlet for the flow of the water of the lake. He thus made the valley inhabitable. Manjushri thereafter resettled here those of his disciples who desired to lead a temporal life, and proclaimed one of them, named Dharmakara, as King. He then returned to China. This story of Manjushri seems to confirm that people from the northern areas had settled in the valley.

Those who migrated from the northern region to Nepal Valley came in touch with the southern people and their religion and culture. Finally, they embraced Buddhism and Buddhist culture. The language of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism adopted by them was Sanskrit. Accordingly, they started learning Sanskrit.

However, those people of Tibet, who embraced Buddhism much later than the Newars, could not accept the Sanskrit language. For this reason, they translated all available Buddhist texts into the Tibetan language. They acquired a knowledge of the Buddhist religion by studying these translations. But it is significant that the people who migrated to Nepal accepted not only Buddhism but also the Sanskrit language. This shows that this community had a high level of consciousness. Unlike them, the ancestors of the Magars, Gurungs, Rais, Limbus and other communities who migrated from the northern areas to the hill regions of Nepal, either along with or before or after the settlers from Tibet, do not appear to have adopted Sanskrit, not to speak of the people who have settled down on the foot of the Himalayas stretching from Sikkim to Kashmir.

The Newari language spoken by the Newars of Nepal, which is called the main Tibeto-Burmese language by modern scholars, is actually a branch of that family. This explains why various terms in the Newari and Tibetan languages are either identical or similar. Some examples are given below:

<u>Newari</u>	<u>Tibetan</u>	<u>Nepali</u>
Ni	Nimā	Sūrya (Sun)
Fā	Fāk	Sungur (Pig)
Khichā	Rin	Kukur (Dog)
Sīm	Sīng	Kāth (Wood)

Conti...

Mikhā	Mikhu	Ānkhā (Eye)
Mī	Mī	Mānchhe (Man)
Lam	Lam	Bāto (Road)
Jyā	Jo	Kām (Work)
Ngā	Ngyā	Māchnā (Fish)
Lā	Lāk	Pāknurā (Arm)
Lā	Lāpā	Mahinā (Month)

Notwithstanding the affinities of the Newari language with the northern language family, the Newars started studying Sanskrit after embracing Buddhism, and, in the process, they adopted numerous Sanskrit words. This further enriched the Newari language. The power of expression of this language naturally increased as a result.

Like the Chinese and Burmese languages, the Newari language is a monosyllabic language. Abbreviation is a characteristic feature of the Newari language. The practice is still followed. Many originally polysyllabic words may have become monosyllabic now. So may have been the Newari words borrowed from the Sanskrit language. It is therefore difficult to ascertain the origin of these words. Some words borrowed from Sanskrit by the Newari language are given below:-

<u>Sanskrit</u>	<u>Newari</u>
Kanta	Kan
Utpala	Paḷa
Khaṅga	Khanga
Kshina	Khina
Kshura	Khuda
Paryashala	Pasa

There is also evidence that the Newars enriched their vocabulary by constructing new words and phrases through a combination of words belonging to the original northern family with Sanskrit words. In the

Newari language, the term Jyā means work, and Jyāsala means a workshop. Sa appears to be the abbreviated form of Shālā, a Sanskrit word. The Newari language has thus been gradually developing in Nepal.

A language assumes a written form in the course of its evolution. A cultured and prosperous community naturally wishes to express its ideas and feelings in writing. Hence it would be worthwhile to discuss the origin and evolution of the Newari script.

All the scripts now current in northern India are derived from the Brahmi script. One or two inscriptions in the Brahmi script are still found. The inscription on the pillar installed at Lumbini during the reign of Ashoka, and the one at Niglihawa, also installed during the same period, are both in the Brahmi script. In course of time, the Brahmi script changed into Gupta script. Scores of inscriptions in this script, installed after the fifth century A.D., have been discovered. The stone inscriptions installed during the Lichchhavi, Thakuri and other periods are in the Gupta script. There was no difference in the scripts used in India and Nepal till the eighth century. Differences began to be noted gradually only after the ninth century. The modern Devanagari script developed in northern India and in most parts of Nepal during that period. A new script, known as Kutila, emerged during this period. The practice of putting a straight line on the top of letters in the Devanagari script is still followed. In the Kutila script, a horizontal line was put at the bottom of every character. Both scripts were used in India and Nepal.

The Newari script developed independently in Nepal in the same way as the Bangla script developed in Bengal after Nepal's relations with Bengal and Bihar were completely cut off at the end of the 12th century, when the Muslims conquered Bengal.

The practice of putting a curved line in place of a straight one while writing letters started during the 13th century. This kind of letters is described in the Newari language as Bhuji Mol. In the Newari language, Bhuji or Bhojini means a fly, while Mol means a head. In other words, the head of every letter was in the form of a curved line or a fly. This practice declined after the 16th century. In the opinion of some western scholars, it is a characteristic of Newari letters to use such a curved line. According to Bendall, Bhuji Mol letters were partially used in Nepal for 350 years only.

The Newari script appears to have different types. However, they are actually not different scripts, but only different forms or styles of the same script. The Newars, because of their artistic and aesthetic

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given sense, appear to have a decorative form to their script and written it in different forms. In addition to Bhuji Mol, they also used forms called Kun Mol, Kwe Mol, Gol Mol, Panchu Mol, Hin Mol and Litu Mol.^x

The practice of drawing a straight line jutting slightly beyond the head of a letter was also followed during the 16th century.

In the current Newari script, the following letters have forms distinct from those in the Devnagari letters:-

I, Ī, N, Jh, Ṇ, N̄, Bh, S̄.

There is also a popular script known as Ranjana. The characters of this script are of graceful appearance. The script is used extensively in Tibet. There is evidence that this script was used in China as well.

As the Newari script developed, the practice of making copies of mythological works and writing commentaries on them in this script rapidly gained ground. The Malla rulers of Nepal were lovers as well as patrons of art. This was the reason why books on various subjects, including poetry, were written in the Newari script during their rule. The Malla Kings who ruled after the fragmentation of Nepal Valley into separate States were greatly interested in music and poetry. Many of them were expert poets and musicians in their own right. Poets and musicians were honored at their courts.

King Pratap Malla of Kathmandu composed many verses and eulogies in the Sanskrit language and inscribed them on stone. Several of these stone inscriptions are seen in different temples of Kathmandu. He assumed the title of "King of poets" (Kavindra), and inscribed it in his coins. Bhupendra Malla, son of Parthivendra Malla, inscribed the word "Kavindra Chudamani" in his Mohur coins. Yoga Narendra Malla of Patan assumed the title of "Sangitarṇava Peruga" (Expert on Music) and inscribed it in his coins. This highlights the importance which the Malla kings attached to such titles. In addition to titles indicating their attachment to music and poetry, the Malla rulers of Nepal Valley inscribed other titles in their coins. For example, King Pratap Malla inscribed the title of "Rājārājendra" in some of his coins. His son, Parthivendra Malla, assumed the title of "Mahārāja Nepālenra." The title assumed by Bhaskara Malla was "Nepāleshwara Girindra." Jagajjya Malla, Jaya Prakash Malla and Yoga Narendra Malla of Patan assumed the titles of "Nepāleshwara Rājendra", "Nepāleshwara" and "Nepāla-Chudamani", or "Nepāleshwara Chudamani" respectively. All the titles referred to above have been inscribed in coins.

^xHem Raj Shakya Bhikshu: Nepal Lipi Sangraha (A Collection of Nepali scripts).

These titles also indicate that the rulers of the divided Nepal Valley were deeply interested in music and poetry, or that they were obsessed with an ambition to become King of all the three States comprising the valley. Although Nepal Valley had been divided into 3 States, food production in each of them was adequate for meeting local requirements since the soil of the valley is fertile. People in all the three States lived a prosperous life. This was why the rulers of the three States were able to devote themselves to music and poetry. They did not like the division of the valley and cherished a desire for its reunification and the establishment of a single regime there. They went to war against each other in an effort to fulfill this ambition. Sometimes, one of them would achieve success in this task, but it usually proved short lived. The Kings possibly assumed the title of Nepālishwara (lord of the whole of Nepal) during moments of such success.

The early years of the Nepal era was a period of Tantric Siddhas in India. They used to recite hymns which could not be interpreted at once, but which nevertheless had a meaning. These are known as Caryā songs. The Siddhas brought numerous such hymns to Nepal, and the Nepalis sang them. The custom of singing Caryā songs in the temples of Nepal during religious festivals and other occasions is still in vogue. Vaishnavism was traditionally followed in Nepal along with Buddhism. For this reason, Vaishnava hymns were popular along with Caryā hymns. Gita Govinda, composed by Jayadeva during the 12th century, soon reached Nepal and became highly popular among the Newars. The custom of chanting the verses of this work along with Caryā songs is still in vogue in Nepal. Padāvāli, composed by Vidyapati, also reached Nepal during the century in which Nepal Valley disintegrated. The Newar society being heir to this tradition of music, the Kings of divided Nepal Valley were naturally fond of music and poetry. Indian poets and musicians were given quarters in their palaces, which then had become centers of music and poetical symposia.

The custom of the reigning King listening to the recitation of spring songs (Vasanta) on the occasion of the Vasanta Panchami festival every year, which is still followed, originated during the rule of Newar Kings. The Vasanta songs comprise verses contained in Jayadeva's Gita Govinda. This is an indication of the extent of popularity enjoyed by Jayadeva in Nepal at that time. His verses are sung in every home in Nepal.

Jagajyoti Malla, King of Bhadgaun, was an expert on the science of music. He collected ancient works relating to this science from different parts of India. He, along with the scholars working in his palace, wrote several touching books on this science. A large number of

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Newari songs composed during the period when Nepal was divided into different states are available even now. However, these have not been studied to the extent they deserve.

The rulers of divided Nepal Valley were very fond of poetry, besides music. They usually composed poems based on love and devotion. These poems were also sung. The devotional poems, which dealt with Krishna, were enriched by the impact of the poetry composed by Jayadeva and Vidyapati. Hymns eulogizing Krishna, which were composed by Chaitanya, also apparently had a deep impact on Nepal. Some scholars have said that Chaitanya visited Nepal too in the course of his tour of India. If Chaitanya did not himself visit Nepal, at least one of his disciples might have done so and popularized the Vaishnava religion in Nepal. This may be the reason why the poems composed by the Malla Kings are mainly devotional and mostly deal with Krishna.^x

Previously, the kings used to compose poetry and drama in Sanskrit. Later, they began to compose poems in the Hindi, Maithili, Bengali and Newari languages as well. This shows that they had by then learnt the major languages of north India. They gained such knowledge not in India itself, but from Indian scholars speaking in different languages who lived in their palaces.

The Malla Kings' broad approach towards language was in tune with the traditions of Nepal. The ancient stone inscriptions of Nepal were written in pure Sanskrit. At the same time, words belonging to local dialects were used in such inscriptions in a way which offended Sanskrit scholars. This gives an idea of the tradition then followed in Nepal with regard to language. The word "Tilamaka", occurring in ancient stone inscriptions composed in Sanskrit, would have never been used by an Indian Sanskrit scholar. He would use only Sanskrit words, however difficult it might be for others to comprehend them. It is only because the kings of ancient Nepal followed a highly liberal approach towards language that even non-Sanskrit words could find a place in stone inscriptions written in chaste Sanskrit. Later, the Hindu practice of recognizing only the Sanskrit language which conformed to grammatical rules was revised and in its place a new Sanskrit style evolved by the

^xWright has quoted some of the songs bearing the imprint of Chaitanya's songs, in the index to his Vamshavali. The oldest of them dates back to 587 Nepal era (1467 A.D.). The Buddhist ideas form the background of these songs. A collection of songs including those composed by some of the Newar Kings has been published recently.

Buddhists to express ideas and feelings without any regard for the grammatical rules became popular in Nepal. In course of time, the tradition of studying Sanskrit declined, and the Malla rulers started using the Indian languages spoken by people inhabiting the border areas of Nepal. Language is merely a medium for giving expression to one's feelings and exchanging ideas. Vidyapati was a poet of Mithila. He wrote poems in the Maithili language. These poems touched the hearts of Chaitanya Deva of Bengal. Chaitanya Deva and his disciples began to sing Vidyapati's poems. As a result, these poems became popular throughout Bengal and Assam. In the end, however, the people of Bengal even forget that Vidyapati was a Maithili poet, and that the language in which he wrote his poems was Maithili. They began to call him a Bengali, and regarded his language as Bengali. The popularity of hundreds of songs composed in the Vraja dialect in Bengal indicates the real nature of the function of a language.

The Malla rulers were well aware of this fact. That is why they had no hesitation at all in composing poems in Hindi, Maithili and Bengali, and strongly advocated the study and popularization of those languages. They were apparently of the view that it was proper to adopt any language as a medium for disseminating ideas and promoting consciousness.

Among the Malla Kings who ruled after the division of the valley, Pratap Malla, Jagajyoti Malla and Jagat Prakash Malla have written poems in the Sanskrit language as well. However, most of the Kings have composed numerous poems in vernacular language, such as Maithili, Bhoj-puri, Awadhi and Bengali. Their poems are mainly devotional. Siddhinarasimha Malla of Patan is the most reputed among the Kings composing devotional poems in Maithili. A collection of the songs composed by him has been discovered. Available poems written by him indicate that he was a popular poet. A number of songs composed in the name of Nripa Mallad va and Malla Nripa have also been found. However, the identity of Nripa Malla or Malla Nripa has not yet been determined.

King Bhanu-tindra Malla of Bhadgaun was also a poet. A collection of 100 songs composed by him in the Maithili language is in the possession of the Bir Library.

Songs composed by Jaya Prakash Malla, comprising prayers to the 10 incarnations of Vishnu, and to Shiva, have been discovered. A number of songs composed by Jitendra Malla and Ranajit Malla have also been found.

The Malla Kings were also fond of drama. This is evident from the scores of dramas composed by poets who were given shelter in their palaces.

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There is no definite proof to establish what place drama occupied in public life in Nepal during the rule of the Licchnavi Kings. However, there is no doubt that people in Nepal, like those in India, regularly studied or read well-known Sanskrit dramas. Two Sanskrit dramas, *Mālatī Mādhava* and *Nāgānanda*, copies of which were transcribed in Nepal during the 12th century, may be mentioned in this connection.

Subsequently, however, the scholars living in the palaces of Malla Kings began to write original dramas. Several such Sanskrit dramas composed by such scholars during the 14th century have been discovered. There is also evidence of these dramas having been staged from time to time. However, only those who were conversant with Sanskrit could enjoy those dramas, since these were composed in that language. Ordinary people therefore did not derive much pleasure from these dramas.

Nearly one century before the division of Nepal Valley, poet Vidyapati introduced a new system of composing dramas, using both Sanskrit and vernacular languages. In ancient times, Prākṛita words also were used in Sanskrit dramas. Vidyapati followed the practice of using vernacular languages instead of Prākṛita. Following the division of Nepal Valley, dramas were composed either in a mixture of Sanskrit and vernacular languages according to the style laid by Vidyapati, or simply in vernacular languages. The vernacular dramas contained numerous songs, which were sung in different tunes. These dramas were something like the operas which are popular in modern Europe.

Usually, the staging of dramas was not completed in one night. In north India, there is the custom of staging Rama Leela dramas over a period of several days. The dramas staged in Nepal were of the same type, but were more refined and graceful than Rama Leela. Since these dramas were primarily in the nature of operas, their dialogues were not important. The actors, therefore, probably said whatever they liked. The songs were of different tunes, which were sung in classical style. For this reason, the people who formed the audience became easily acquainted with the ancient music. The Newars have traditionally been acquainted with and versed in music. Their passion for music is, indeed, highly remarkable. Even in modern times, the ordinary people of Nepal are fond of singing Hindi melodies. The Bengali and Maithili languages are not used in modern Nepal, of course. But there is evidence that the Maithili language was very popular at the courts of the Malla Kings of the divided Nepal Valley. The Bengali language too was used to some extent by the Malla Kings. This liberal attitude of the Malla Kings towards language contributed much to the development of culture.

A Licchavi Inscription At Chabahil, Kathmandu^x

By

Dhanavajra Bajracharya.

To the west of the well-known Buddhist Caitya at Chabahil (in Kathmandu), there are two small pillars erected for lamps. A stone has been placed upside down to support the pillar on the right. It appears to be a portion of the lotus-shaped pedestal of some image. This inscription has been inscribed on this stone. It is therefore incomplete.

A full translation of the extant portion of the inscription is as follows:-

Even though the unruly passions are troubling the world, he has kept them under his control, as if they were his slaves.

He does not harass the people, but is charitable and compassionate ... He has gained knowledge of the self, liberated the world from all miseries and has thus attained the state of tranquillity....

For this (Buddha), this Caitya has been constructed through prolonged and arduous effort. Stories from the Kinnari-Jataka are inscribed here, and it is decorated with many paintings.

Fields yielding 45 manika of paddy every year (as rent) have been endowed as Guthi for this Caitya. Fields similarly yielding 28 manika of paddy have been donated to feed (members of) the Sangha and worship (the Buddha).

May the religious merit which I have gained through this extraordinary donation enable me to be reborn as a man, relinquishing my womanhood, and ... happiness and misery.

Asnadh Snukle Dashami in the year Magha, during the reign of Bhattarakha ...

^xDhanavajra Bajracharya, Licchavikalka Abhilekh (Inscriptions Of The Licchavi Period). Kirtipur: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Ashadh 2030 (June 1973), pp. 1-8.

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Explanatory Note

Date Of Inscription: The inscription is fragmented and so the date is missing. It does not even contain the name of the King who was reigning at that time. We are therefore faced with the problem of dating this inscription. The script used in this inscription provides the main evidence for a solution of this problem.

The first available Licchavi inscription which mentions the year is that of Manadeva at Changu. A comparative study of the scripts used in these two inscriptions would show that the Chabahil inscription is older.

According to the Vamshavalis, the Caitya of Chabahil was built during the reign of Vrishadeva. This inscription tells us that the Caitya was built through prolonged and arduous effort. This shows that a very big Caitya had been built. A close study would reveal that the Caitya mentioned in this inscription is the famous Caitya of Chabahil.

I therefore think that this inscription belongs to the time of Vrishadeva. This is the reason why it has been given first in this book.

There is yet another piece of evidence which helps us to determine the date of this inscription. The practice of referring to the name of the year (Māgha-Varsha) does not seem to have been prevalent after Manadeva. This too indicates that this inscription was installed some time before Manadeva.

Homage To The Buddha

Much has been written in Buddhist and other religious scriptures on the need to control the passions. They teach us that a man who wants to perform great deeds must control his passions. In the same way, this inscription has praised some great personality who has controlled his passions and brought happiness to the world. Since the inscription is incomplete, the reference is not very clear. However, it appears that the praise is meant for the Buddha. This is indicated by the use of words such as Mahāmuni.

Slavery

The inscription stresses the need to control the passions as if these were slaves. This somewhat indirectly shows that slavery existed during the Licchavi period. The Anantalingeswara inscription of King Narendradeva refers to large numbers of devadāsa and devadāsi. No other

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[was thus prevalent

reference to slavery during the Licchavi period is available. It appears that even though slavery might have existed during the Licchavi period, it was in an ordinary form only, not in a special form. The system of performing functions through such organizations as Grāmapāncnālī or Gostī. As such, the place of slaves was not important in the life of the people at that time. According to the same tradition, slavery existed here in an ordinary form during the Malla period also.

Bhikshusangha

The Buddha organized his religion in the form of Sanghas in order to insure that it functioned systematically. Accordingly, Buddhist Bhikshus generally did not live alone. A number of Bhikshus combined to form a Sangha. There was thus a Bhikshu-Sangha in each Vihāra. Even at present, Sanghas of some form exist in Buddhist Vihāras.

This inscription refers to the endowment of lands as Guthi for feeding the Sangha. It is clear that this Bhikshu-Sangha belonged to the Chabahil-Vihāra.

In the beginning, Bhikshus did not store any food supplies. They lived by begging alms daily. A change occurred subsequently. It became necessary for Bhikshus to make arrangements for food supplies. Bhikshu-Sanghas therefore started accepting donations in cash or in kind, or else in the form of land. Such donations appear to have been made in India also according to inscriptions found in that country. This brought about a great change in the condition of the Bhikshu-Sangha.

Mānikā

The inscription mentions the donation of land yielding rents amounting to some Mānikās. The term Mānikā is intimately connected with the history of the Licchavi period. In case we are able to determine the meaning of this technical term, much information would be gained about economic life during the Licchavi period. However, it has not yet been possible to define this term conclusively.

The term Mānikā resembles the modern Mānā. Some writers have therefore expressed the view that the term Mānikā meant a mānā during the Licchavi period. The term Khārika means a field which needs one Khāri (Muri) of seeds for sowing; Draunika similarly means a field which needs one Drona of seeds for sowing. On the basis of this analogy, it is said that the term Mānikā means a field which needs one mānā of seeds for sowing. But a close study of the inscriptions would show that this view is not correct. The Chabahil inscription itself shows that this view is not correct. It refers to the donation of a field which yields 45 Mānikas of paddy every year as rent to the Bhikshusangha. A study of other in-

scriptions too leads us to the same conclusion. Prabhūsaṅgha's inscription at Deopatan mentions a Pindaka of 22 Mānikā on 50 bhūmi of land, and of 20 Mānikās on 40 bhūmi of land. It is definite that Pindaka means rent. Separate terms are used for the area of land and the quantity of rent. It is thus clear that the term Mānikā does not refer to the area of land.

The Anantalingeswara inscription mentions a payment of 4 Mānikās of rice for sweeping the streets. The Gnyaneshwar inscription similarly mentions a payment of 2 Mānikās of rice. This clearly shows that the term Mānikā refers to the quantity of foodgrains.

The quantity thus referred to by the term Mānikā is quite big, not the modern mānā. Vasantadeva's inscription of Pasinkhya thus mentions grants of land yielding a rent of 1 Mānikā each to the Kuthera Adhikarana and the Solla Adhikarana. Had the term Mānikā meant a mānā, these figures would have been absurd, since discrepancies of 1 mānā cannot mean much for the royal treasury.

The Anantalingeswara inscription mentions the allocation of 140 mānikās of paddy for feeding 10 devadāsas for one year. Similarly, 300 Mānikās of paddy have been allocated for feeding 20 devadāsas for one year. This helps us to understand something about the term Mānikā. We may conclude that it referred to the same quantity of foodgrains as the modern muri.

The term Mānikā remained current after the Licchavi period also. Nirbhayadeva's inscription of Nepal Samvat 125 contains the term Māni. Similar references to the term Mānikā are found elsewhere too. It may be possible to define the term Mānikā conclusively if one studies the Śritis, including the Mānavadharmasastra, which have been translated into the Newari language.

Low Status Of Women And Influence Of Kinnari-Jātakas

There is no evidence that special regulations had been enforced during the Licchavi period discriminating between men and women. Some have attempted to show, by reading "Tri-kara" as "Stri-kara", that this was a tax levied on women. But this is not correct. The inscriptions clearly show that "Tri-kara" was an important and broad-based tax. The term referred to the following three taxes:-

Bhāga, or tax amounting to one-sixth, one-eighth or one-twelfth of the produce of the land.

Contd...

Bnoga, or tax on cattle.

Kara, or tax on trade.

It is thus wholly incorrect that any tax had been levied on women during the Licchavi period.

The Maligaun inscription prescribes the collection of fines from women who married again or did so after they were widowed. But this is quite normal. It does not indicate any control or suppression of women. Rather, this inscription shows that freedom had been granted to women through legal recognition of widow marriage or remarriage.

Other inscriptions too provide no evidence of any discrimination having been practised against women during the Licchavi period.

The Chabahil inscription was installed by a woman. The inscription shows that for some reason she was disgusted with the life of a woman and so expressed the desire to be reborn as a man through the religious merit gained by her. This is surprising. There are many instances to show that religious gifts and donations were made with the objective of gaining merit, attaining heaven or Moksa, or obtaining wealth, children, a long life and good health. Such desires are quite normal. But it is unusual for a woman to desire to be reborn as a man. This must have been so because she was very distressed for some reason that she was a woman.

The main reason for this distress seems to be the influence of the Jataka. The inscription mentions that episodes from the Kinnari-Jataka had been depicted at the Caitya. The Kinnari-Jataka describes how women become slaves of their passions and remain immersed in lust. The relevant excerpts are as follows:-

"Once upon a time, there was a King named Kandarī in Varanasi. He was very handsome. His queen, Kinnari, also was beautiful. There was a big tree near the palace of the King. A very ugly hunchback lived under the tree.

"One day Queen Kinnari saw the hunchback. Gradually she felt attracted towards him. One night she went to him after the King had fallen asleep. Queen Kinnari then began to visit the hunchback every night.

"One day the King was returning to his palace from the city when he saw the hunchback under the tree. The King asked his priest, "Can any woman be attracted by such an ugly person?" Hearing this, the hunchback was filled with pride. Turning towards the tree, he said, "O God

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of the tree, what is possible and what is not? You know everything." At this the priest felt suspicious. After much thought, he expressed his suspicion about Queen Kinnari. But he was not able to convince the King. Even then, the King decided to check. That night he was feigning sleep, when Queen Kinnari slowly got up as usual, took delicious food-stuffs with her, and got down through the window with the help of her waist-band. The King followed her and hid himself behind a tree. The hunchback severely reprimanded Kinnari for being late. Kinnari hung her head and asked for forgiveness.

"This incident made the King furious. He sentenced Queen Kinnari to death. But the priest said to him when they were alone, "Most women are like this. You should not therefore blame the queen only for such conduct. Let me show you the ways of women."

"The King and the priest then disguised themselves and left the palace for the city. The King felt astonished when he saw how women behaved. He then returned to the palace and punished the queen with exile instead of death."

It is clear that the woman who installed the Chabahil inscription was influenced by the story of the Kinnari-Jātaka. This seems to be the reason why she expressed the desire to be reborn as a man.

This shows that the Jātaka stories had some influence on society during the Licchavi period.

Importance Of This Inscription

This inscription contains the words "Bhattārahakamahārājāsri." Some letters are missing thereafter. This shows that the name of the reigning King had been mentioned in the inscription. The importance of this inscription would have increased had only one letter after "Sri" been extant. The inscription would then have thrown new light on the history of the Licchavi period. But the inscription is not very important now, because there is not a single letter extant after "Sri." We have thus no alternative but to speculate on the date of the inscription on the basis of the script as well as the term "Māghavarṣakāla." In any case, the inscription is by no means of minor importance from the viewpoint of the history of the Buddhist religion in Nepal.

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Some Inscriptions From Dolakha^x

By

Mohan Prasad Khanal.

King Indra appears to have been an independent ruler of Dolakha, but no information is available about his date, the dynasty to which he belonged, etc. In fact, the history of Dolakha is quite unknown. It had a King of its own before the partition of Kathmandu Valley or even earlier. We do not know whether or not this King was an independent one. Nor do we know anything about social and religious conditions in Dolakha at that time. Historians have conjectured that Dolakha was not an independent Kingdom but was a feudatory of Kantipur. However, I have been able to discover some new facts about Dolakha.

Dolakha is an ancient historical town. Traces of its ancient origin are found there even now. However, no Licchavi inscriptions have been found there.

In Aswin 1411 Vikrama (September 1354), Rajalla Devi was married to Sthiti Malla in Bhaktapur. Sthiti Malla then became King. By 1423 Vikrama (1366) he had become King of the whole of Nepal. It was during his reign that a statue of King Indra was erected in Dolakha along with that of Manikaratna Bhero. An inscription to this effect, contained in a broken pedestal, has now been discovered. The inscription is in Newari script. It bears the date Falgun 490 Samvat. The statues are missing, however. In any case, the inscription proves that King Indra of Dolakha was a contemporary of King Sthiti Malla.

Although we do not know when King Indra was born, or when he ascended the throne, there is evidence that he was a religious-minded person and that he died in 1605 Vikrama (1548). Several images installed by him are still found. He was an adherent of Shaivism. An inscription contained in another broken pedestal found in Dolakha, which had been installed by

^xMohan Prasad Khanal, Bhilekh-Sankalana (A Collection of Inscriptions), Lalitpur: Sajha Prakashan, 2028 (1971), pp. 3-16.

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King Indra (or Jaya Indra Sinha), begins with a hymn to God Shiva. The inscription is dated Ashadh 667 Samvat. The hymn is in Sanskrit, while the remaining portion of the inscription is in corrupt Sanskrit with a mixture of Newari. The inscription was installed by King Indra in the memory of his dead daughters.

There is a ruined Buddhist Caitya in Dolakha town with several inscriptions. One of these inscriptions, which are in Newari, was installed by King Jaya Narayana Deva in Baisakh 669 Samvat. Jaya Narayana Deva was the son of King Indra Sinha. Jaya Narayana Deva's younger brother, Vasudeva Thakur, offered a gold chakra at the Caitya and installed an inscription to commemorate this act in Baisakh 1606 Vikrama (April 1549). Similar chakras were offered also by Bhardars named Jogi Bharad and Ujyyot Sin in Baisakh 669 Samvat (i.e. 1606 Vikrama or 1549 A.D.), with two more inscriptions to commemorate the acts.

To the east of the Caitya there is another inscription in Newari which is only partly legible. The inscription mentions Kasthamandapa, thereby possibly indicating that the Kingdom of Dolakha had religious ties with the Kingdom of Kantipur. This inscription too is in the Newari script. It bears the date Jestha 669 Samvat.

King Jaya Indra Sinha and his queen, Vijayalaxmi, had minted silver Mohor coins much before King Mahendra Malla of Kantipur. This disproves the legend that Mahendra Malla had obtained permission from the Emperor of Delhi to mint such coins.

In Chaitra 674 Samvat, King Jaya Narayan Deva installed an image of Umamaheshwara in the memory of his dead wife, Vittalaxmi. An inscription describing this act has been found on a wall above a water spout at a place west of Dolakha town. The inscription is in Newari.

Conflict and Reconciliation Between Queen Rajendra-
laxmi and Bahadur Shah*

By

Baburam Acharya.

After Rana Bahadur Shah was proclaimed King, Pratap Simha Shah's widow, Queen Rajendralaxmi, suspended the administration for the 13-day mourning period and sent an order bearing the royal seal through a courier to Bahadur Shah who was living in exile in Bettiah. On receiving this order, Bahadur Shah returned to Nepal before the period of mourning had expired and subsequently assumed charge of the administration. Along with Queen Rajendralaxmi, he set upon the task of suppressing non-Gorkhali factions. But as soon as he heard that Bahadur Shah had returned to Kathmandu, Kaji Swarup Simha Karki fled to India and thus saved himself. Brajanath Pandit was arrested. He was convicted of treason, deprived of his caste and banished to India through Sindhuli. Sardar Parashuram Thapa was imprisoned. On the advice of Rajendralaxmi, Bahadur Shah sent permission to Chautara Mahoddamakirti Shah and Dalamardan Shah to spend their last days in Varanasi, although they had already been living in exile, and also made provision for payment of allowances to them. Two of the three sons of Mahoddamakirti Shah, Balabhadra Shah and Srikrishna Shah, both of whom were senior to Bahadur Shah, were summoned to Kathmandu. Balabhadra Shah was appointed as a Kaji and included in the Bharadari. Dalajit Shah too was summoned and appointed as a Chautara. But he was not made a minister of King Rana Bahadur Shah. Since he belonged to the royal family, he was designated as a Bharadar with a status slightly above that of a Kaji.

*Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shansher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi", Chaitra 2022 (March 1966). Chapter XII: "Maharani Rajendralaxmi ra Mahila Saheb Bahadur Shahka Bichma Mel ra Sangharsha." (Conflict and Reconciliation Between Queen Rajendralaxmi and the Second Prince, Bahadur Shah), pp 77-80.

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Rana Bahadur Shah was crowned King on December 17, 1777, one month after the death of Pratap Simha Shah. Probably on the same day, Sarvajit Rana was appointed as a Kaji and minister. Vamsharaj Pande too was appointed as a minister and entrusted with the task of keeping a watch on Lamjung and other Chaubisi Kingdoms with his headquarters in Gorkha. Kapardar Kalidas Khadka (Kalu Kapardar of Prithvi Narayan Shah) and other Bharadars were confirmed in their posts. The Newar concubine of Pratap Simha Shah was pregnant. At about the time of the coronation, she gave birth to Sher Bahadur Shahi. The Newar concubine became a Sati immediately thereafter.

For five months, Rajendralaxmi and Bahadur Shah remained on good terms with each other. Bahadur Shah then felt it necessary to recruit additional troops for the annexation of Tanahu. However, Rajendralaxmi prevented him from doing so. This gave rise to a dispute between them. With the help of Sarvajit Rana, Rajendralaxmi kept Bahadur Shah in detention inside the royal palace. When he received this report, Gajraj Mishra rushed to Kathmandu from Varanasi, effected a reconciliation between Rajendralaxmi and Bahadur Shah, and had Bahadur Shah released. However, Rajendralaxmi retained control of the administration, so that Bahadur Shah was left idle. Meanwhile, rumors circulated that there were illicit relations between Rajendralaxmi and Sarvajit Rana. On the basis of this charge, Bahadur Shah, with Dalajit Shah's help, had Sarvajit Rana beheaded inside a room at the royal palace. Rajendralaxmi was put in fetters made of silver and imprisoned inside the royal palace. Bahadur Shah then assumed charge of the administration on August 31, 1778.

Rajendralaxmi was opposed to any campaign of territorial expansion. Her minister, Sarvajit Rana, also shared the same view. In this situation, Bahadur Shah could not have been blamed had he kept Rajendralaxmi in detention honorably instead of levelling false charges against her. It was unjust on his part to imprison her and spoil her reputation and to murder Sarvajit Rana.

After assuming charge of the administration in this manner Bahadur Shah started making plans for the annexation of Tanahu. But he could do nothing in this regard for four months because

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most of the Bharadars were opposed to this plan. Subsequently, Bahadur Shah ordered Sardar Bali Baniya, Vamsha Raj Pande's deputy in Gorkha, to invade Tanahu with troops stationed there. Sardar Bali Baniya occupied Sur, capital of Tanahu, on January 31, 1779 almost without a fight.

Harakumaradatta Sen, King of Tanahu, then obtained troops from King Mukunda Sen of Palpa to reinforce his army and entrenched himself at Bali-Thum. Sardar Bali Baniya attacked him at this place, but was defeated and killed along with 65 Gorkhali soldiers. (March 10, 1779). Four days later, the Gorkhalis left Sur. Emboldened by the Gorkhalis' retreat, the King of Parbat sent troops in aid of Tanahu. These troops could not proceed to Upardang or Kabilaspur, but crossed the Narayani river through Nawalpur, attacked Summeshwar and drove out Gorkhali troops from that place.

On hearing the news of this defeat, Bahadur Shah went to Gorkha and sent additional troops from there to get Summeshwar back. These troops defeated the enemy at Summeshwar and captured some. The rest fled to India. (April 22, 1779).

Rajendralaxmi was a courageous queen. At the time when Bahadur Shah was in Gorkha, she sent couriers to Varanasi asking Chautara Mahoddamakirti Shah and Brajanath Pandit to come back to Kathmandu. Brajanath Pandit did not obey this summons, however, but started performing religious ceremonies to bring about the downfall of Bahadur Shah. Mahoddamakirti Shah, on the other hand, came to Kathmandu. Bahadur Shah had entrusted Dalajit Shah and Balabhadra Shah to look after the defense of Kathmandu as well as keep watch over Rajendralaxmi. These persons could do nothing against Mahoddamakirti Shah, their senior cousin and uncle respectively. Mahoddamakirti Shah declared Rajendralaxmi innocent after a trial by ordeal and released her. On June 20, 1779, Rajendralaxmi resumed charge of the administration. Dalajit Shah fled, after sending information about these developments to Bahadur Shah in Gorkha. Bahadur Shah too then fled. Sriharsha Pantha, who had helped in the imprisonment of Rajendralaxmi, was arrested, branded and banished. He then went to Tanahu. As a result of this internal conflict, no Gorkhali troops remained in the hill regions of Tanahu. Harakumaradatta was therefore able to win back his Kingdom without any effort. After some time, Rajendralaxmi charged Mahoddamakirti Shah with the crime of killing

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a Brahman and banished him. Mahoddamakirti Shah then went to Varanasi. Rajendralaxmi dismissed Gajaraj Mishra, a supporter of Bahadur Shah, who had been deputed to maintain contacts with the English Political Agent in Varanasi. He was replaced by Brajanath Pandit, whom Rajendralaxmi regarded as her preceptor.

After Bahadur Shah fled, Rajendralaxmi became carefree and began to enjoy the pleasures of life. In an attempt to abolish the Purdah system which was prevalent in the royal palace, she used to go out on horse or elephant back, with her maid servants on horseback. Had the Gorkhali Bharadars followed suit, Gorkhali women too would have become brave like their men. But the time was not opportune and the people did not appreciate this reform.

As Bahadur Shah was no longer in Nepal, and as Queen Rajendralaxmi was being increasingly attracted to a life of luxury, his supporters, Kaji Vamsharaj Pande in Gorkha and Sardar Shivanarayan Khatri in Majhkirat, submitted their resignation. They felt that further conquests would not be possible unless Bahadur Shah came back. Even before their resignation was accepted, Vamsharaj Pande took shelter with Birkishor Singh, a Zemindar of Bettiah, while Shivanarayan Khatri went to Patna. Rajendralaxmi did not regret their departure.

The Semi-Nomadic Khambas^x

By

Nabin Kumar Rai

The term Khamba or Khampa used in this article refers to the semi-nomadic tribe of Khambas living in the Karnali, Seti, Bheri and Rapti zones of western Nepal, not to the Khambas who entered into Nepal after the Chinese moved into Tibet in 1959, and who have ever since been living as refugees in the Himalayan regions from the east to the west. The total population of the Khambas of Nepal is estimated at between 1,500 and 2,000. They are called semi-nomadic because, unlike the Rautes,¹ a nomadic tribe of the food gathering stage, they change the places of their habitation during summer and winter for the purpose of trade.

Kusundas² are also known to be among the semi-nomadic tribes of Nepal. However, Khambas and Kusundas have different reasons and motives in leading a semi-nomadic life. While Khambas, like the Byansis of Darchula,³ move about from Tibet (China) to the Tarai regions of Nepal and change their summer and winter habitation for the purpose of trade in grains and salt, Kusundas engage in farming for some time instead of doing such trade, and move about for some time in search of food.

Khambas stay together with their families in their summer and winter settlements. Usually they spend 5 months (from December to April) in their winter settlements and 5 months, from June to October, in their summer settlements. The remaining 2 months, i.e. May and November, are spent in travelling to summer and winter settlements. That is why scholars studying the migration pattern in western Nepal have described these Khambas as seasonal migrants, or simply as seasonals.⁴

^xNabin Kumar Rai, "Khamba: Ek Ardha Bhramanashila Jati." Contributions To Nepalese Studies (Semi-Annual Journal of The Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur), Vol. I, No. I, December 1973 (Poush 2030), pp.64-75.

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Khambas do not know anything about their history. They never tell others about their origin. In fact, it is assumed that Khambas had come from Tibet in groups and lived a semi-nomadic life after another group of Tibetans (Bhotes) settled down around Humla and Mugu. The physiognomy, languages, religion, costumes, occupations and nomadic habits of these tribes also tend to justify this assumption. Even today "Chhowa", a sedentary tribe engaged in trade and animal husbandry, Khamba, a community that primarily controlled the affairs of State in Tibet before the appearance of the Chinese, and Purangwa, a tribe engaged in trade and agriculture around Purang and Taklakot, inhabit the Tibet region of China. There must be an historical link between the semi-nomadic Khambas (of Nepal) and the Khambas of Tibet. These Khambas may have been immigrants from Tibet consequent to a political upheaval or religious strife at some time in the past. Khambas, Chhowas and Purangwas are now seen living as refugees in Nepal after the Chinese took over Tibet. It would not be surprising if these refugees, after having permanently settled down in Nepal seek to forget that they had originated in Tibet.⁵

Khambas are found not only in Nepal, but also in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh States of India. The author had met some Khampas in the course of his anthropological tour of the Kalpa, Pooha and Nichar areas of Kinnaur, a district situated on the Sino-Indian border in Himachal Pradesh, in September-November 1971. He was told that they had stopped going to western Tibet after the entry of the Chinese into Tibet. Scholars who had visited Kinnaur before the Chinese came to Tibet have also written about the Khampas living there.

Rahul Sankrityayan, who had visited Tibet in 1926, writes of the Khampas of "Kinnar Desh": Kham is a region situated on Tibet's border with China. Perhaps some of their ancestors may have reached this area from Kham, but neither in language nor in dress do they look like Khampas now. This may be the reason why they are now called Gyagar (Indian) Khampas, not simply Khampa (inhabitants of Kham). They wander about vending goods. They go to Mandi, Simla, Hardwar and Delhi during winter, and to the Sutlej and Ganges valleys and to areas up to western Tibet in summer. They are enable to say whether they are Tibetan or Indian subjects."⁶

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In recent years, Khambas have begun to call themselves "Matuwali Chhetris" also.⁷ In fact, not only Khambas, but also Byansis and Bhotes have started calling themselves "Matuwali Chhetris." Although somewhat more prosperous than the other Hindu communities, the average Bhote, Khamba and Byansi is illiterate, and is looked upon with contempt by Hindus. This is the reason why Bhotes, Khambas and Byansis have the tendency to change their communal names, costumes, languages, etc. and make a new and artificial history. For example, some of the Bhotes inhabiting Karan Dara (a geographical-administrative region created on the basis of the watershed) claim to be the descendants of the Barakote Thakuris of Barakote-Bada in Jumla in an attempt to prove themselves to be of higher status than other Bhotes. There are also other tribes who have the tendency of changing their history, communal names, religion, language, etc. One example is the impact of Hinduism on the Khas, a community of Kumaun, Garhwal (Uttar Pradesh) and western Nepal⁸ during the 13th-14th century. It is known that the Koche community of the Tarai too had become "Hindu Rajvamshis", "Muslim Rajvamshis", or "Pani" or "Babukoch" during the 16th century on the basis of religion.⁹ Some Magars are still calling themselves Thakuri. Another Byansi group permanently engaged in agriculture in Humla district, which has completely forgotten its language, religion and culture, is not prepared to be called Byansi. During the past 12 years, the Thakalis of Thak-Khola have started a campaign to change their Tibeto-Burman language into the Nepali language, and their traditional Buddhist religion into Hinduism, claiming to be the descendants of the Thakuris of the Tila and Sinja valleys in Jumla.¹⁰

These examples remind us of how Hinduism has left its impact on and become popular among the communities inhabiting the central hill region, the lower hill regions and the Tarai.

The Khamba Community

The semi-nomadic Khamba may be divided into the following categories from the viewpoint of their summer and winter settlements, the area of movement, process of permanent settlement, occupation, trade, language, costumes, etc:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Dangali Khambas. | 2. Dadakhet Khambas. |
| 3. Mandara Khambas | 4. Dillikot-Hurkot Khambas. |

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Dangali Khambas

They leave Sanpe, situated at an altitude of 16,500 feet in the Kunna-Khola area of Achham (Seti zone), around April and shift to Thadedhunga-Yari, the last village situated on the Nepali side of the Nepal-China border between Humla and Taklakot. In the second week of September, when winter sets in, they return to Sanpe. Thus they spend 5 months each at Thadedhunga-Yari and Sanpe, and 2 months in travelling. Since Dangali Khambas stay at Sanpe in Achham district, they are also called "Sanpe Khambas."

Dangali Khambas live in tents both in their summer and winter settlements.¹⁰ They have no houses. The tent is erected by raising a wall or enclosing some space with a pheruwall (goat wool cloth) in such a way that not much air gets in. The site of such a tent is called Le or Lāi, which is a Tibetan term. Dangali Khambas transport their tents, utensils and other belongings on the back of mules, Jhopa,¹² Tolba,¹³ horses, sheep, goats, etc. while moving between their summer and winter settlements.

They also carry cows, female Tolbas, etc. along with them. Jhupas, both male and female, and Tolbas, which are among the domestic animals found in the northern Himalayan region, can travel to winter settlements of the Dangali Khambas, which are situated in the central hill region. Khambas breed mules too, and also possess Chhyanglus (Tibetan or Chhowa sheep, which give fine wool), Ronglu (sheep belonging to Humla and Jumla, whose wool is somewhat coarse), and some Syakchar (cross-breed of Chhyanglu and Ronglu sheep), in addition to goats and Chyangra goats. They carry all these domestic animals with them. However, some Khambas now leave their cows and horses in the custody of a member of their family or a friend at Lāi pass (Bhanjyang), situated on the way, instead of taking these animals across Thadedhunga-Yari.

Dangali Khambas move about in Taklakot (Tibet), Humla, Bajhang, Bajura, Achham, Doti, Kailali and Bardiya for the purpose of trade. The main centers where they conduct trade are Taklakot in Tibet, which can be reached from Yari after a journey of 2 days, and Rajapur, (which is called Golaghat by the local inhabitants) and Nepalganj in the Tarai.

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A few Dangali Khamba families have sought to permanently settle down at Gumbagaun (Kunwari-Khola), Muchu and Yangsi (Yari). They are said to have submitted applications to the appropriate District Panchayat and Chief District Officer demanding permanent settlement facilities at Ridikot or Gumbagaun (in the Kunwari-Khola area near Shankha Lagana).

Dandakhet Khambas

Dandakhet Khambas travel from Surkhet in March or April and reach Dandakhet (Karan-Dara in Mugu) by the second week of May. Their summer settlement in Dandakhet consists of houses with stone walls and flat roofs. While in Surkhet, however, they, like Dangali Khambas, live in tents. They take horses, Mugu sheep, goat, Syaktas¹⁴ and cows with them.

But they cannot take such domestic Himalayan animals as Jhopa, Juma, and Tolba to Surkhet valley during winter, because this place is situated in the inner Tarai. For this reason, they employ some men (called Lora) to look after their cattle, crops, houses, etc in their village. Loras are paid remuneration in proportion to the area of lands and number of cattle they have to look after.

Dandakhet Khambas travel to Cheptu and Pongju in Tibet, Mugu, Humla, Jumla, Dailekh, Surkhet, Banke and Bardiya for purposes of trade. Their main trade centers are Pongju, which can be reached from Mugu after a 6-days' journey along with sheep, and Nepalganj in the Tarai, which is reached from Surkhet after 4 days' travel. A few Dandakhet Khambas also travel to Rajapur.

Dandakhet Khambas have reclaimed lands in the Dandakhet area. On this land, they pay Serma tax (paid on unregistered land). They grow millet, buckwheat, Tite-Mithe, Kaguno and Marse, in addition to potato, radish and Koira during summer, and barley, wheat and Uwa during winter. Some Dandakhet Khambas have purchased lands in Surkhet also. They give their lands in Surkhet to the local Tharus on payment of fixed rents or of half of the crop.

Surkhet is the winter settlement of Dandakhet Khambas. Before 1965, Surkhet was called "Kalapani" (i.e. a malarial area). Even the local inhabitants (who have come from Jumla, Dullu, Dailekh, Jajarkot, Salyan and other places and have not

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permanently settled down in Surkhet) formerly hesitated to live in the valley, and preferred to stay in such hill areas, situated to the north of Surkhet as Gothikada, Ramrikada, Bayalkada, Katuka and Jarbutta. Dandakhet Khambas too never came down to Surkhet valley. They too used to set up their winter camps in the above-mentioned villages, or in Dullu-Dallekh. They are very afraid of frost and malaria. Khambas and others started settling down in Surkhet valley after the introduction of the malaria eradication program in 1966. A grass known as "Leu" sprouts in Surkhet valley during the months of December and January. It is believed that cows, sheep, goat and other livestock, other than horses develop diarrhoea, and worms in their belly, and that their throat gets swollen, in case they graze on this grass. This explains why people still prefer to graze their cattle in the hill areas around Surkhet valley. Khambas come to Surkhet simply to graze their horses and stay in tents. A campaign for the cultivation of such winter crops as wheat and barley is going on at present in Surkhet. It will definitely have its impact on Khambas and others.

Mandara Khambas

Mandara Khambas are those living in Mandara, situated in Chaudhabis-Dara of Tibrikot district. They resemble Dandakhet Khambas in many respects. Both proceed through Surkhet in March or April and reach Mandara, their summer settlement, towards the second week of May. After spending 5 months in Mandara, they again come down to their winter settlement in Surkhet during October. Most of the Mandara Khambas too own small houses in their summer settlement. Some of them live in tents. In Surkhet, they all live in tents.

Unlike Dandakhet Khambas, Mandara Khambas do not employ any Lora to look after their summer settlements. They leave their Jhopa, Juma, Tolbas and other livestock behind at the villages of Matuwali Chhetris in nearby Chaudhabisa-Dara. On their return from Surkhet, they pay remuneration in the form of salt or in cash to Matuwali Chhetris in consideration of their service. They take with them only sheep, goats, horses and some cows. In the second week of September, they sow seed of wheat, Uwa and barley at their summer settlement and then move down-wards. In winter, there is snow-fall, and the entire ground is covered with snow. Because of snow, no cattle belonging to others can damage their winter crops. The Khambas

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return in April to harvest their crops. During their stay in Surkhet, they do not fail to ask any person coming via Mandara about the condition of their village and their crops.

Like Dandakhet Khambas, Mandara Khambas own lands in Surkhet. (About 12 Dandakhamba and Mandara Khamba families have purchased lands in Surkhet). These are all cultivated by Tharus on share-cropping basis. The Tharus pay Sirto on lands in the hill region. Like Dandakhet Khambas, Mandara Khambas started visiting Surkhet Valley to live in tents and graze their horses only after 1966.

In recent years, some Mandara and Dandakhet Khamba families have ceased returning to their summer settlements. They spend the summer in hill areas around Surkhet Valley, such as Gothikada, Ramrikada, Katuka and Jarbutta.

In addition to conducting trade in wool, salt, rice and other grains, Mandara and Dandakhet Khambas collect or purchase herbs and drugs such as Attis, Katuko and Hatte Jadi in hill areas and sell these in Nepalganj or Rajapur. They are also famous for horse-breeding.

Dillikot And Hurikot Khambas

These are the Khambas living at the Dillikot, Chautara, Chaurikot, Hurikot, Kai Gaun, Wallungchaur, Thanke-Tarakot and Ramedanda-Barikot villages situated in the Dillikot-Hurikot area. Unlike the semi-nomadic groups of Dangali, Dandakhet and Mandara Khambas, they have settled down permanently. Some say that Dillikot and Hurikot Khambas too lived a semi-nomadic life until a few years ago. They used to spend the winter season in Gumraghat (situated on the upper reaches of the Bheri river in Jajarkot district) and Dori-Chaur in Baglung district, and the summer season in Dillikot, Hurikot, Chaurikot, Tarakot and Barikot.

Some of them occupied the position of Jimmawal. The majority of these Khambas have now registered their lands, on which they pay taxes. At the same time, they carry on trade during their spare time. They travel to Mugu, Dolpa, Tibrikot, Jajarkot, Rukum, Rolpa and Salyan for the purpose of trade. The Khambas of the Dillikot-Hurikot area say that their forefathers came from Tibet to Mustang 4 or 5 generations ago. They started living in Mustang after the Raja of Mustang conferred Nepali citizenship on them. Until a few years ago, these Khambas used

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to pay a tribute (Gorta) of Rs 1,00 per household to the Rajah of Mustang. They are said to be still in possession of a very interesting legend by the Rajah of Mustang. They used to visit Mustang via Jaisal and Sargaha, until a few generations back, they had Tibetan houses, but now they use the same houses in the Tibetan country. They speak Drupe, Drupe and Yalis. Some of them are said to be breeding yaks (Chamril) at high altitudes.

SHIBDIA

Shibdia are adherents of Buddhism. Although nomadic, they have been scrupulously preserving their traditional religious leaders and Buddhist shrines have small monasteries in some villages and the Doudhahar area. In addition, they worship the god Lamas in their houses. They also construct Lamas (Yidra) for various religious purposes. While staying in Drupe and Sargaha, they set up small, decorated monasteries (Yidra) in their tents. Shibdia also visit adjoining mountain villages for pilgrimages and have temples at the local mountain tops. The Shibdia also visit to monasteries of Drupe, Sargaha, Drupe and Yalis in Drupe, and the Buddhist and Tibetan shrines of Drupe in Drupe and Drupe, Drupe, Drupe periodically visits the (Drupe) as well as the Lamas of other major centers in their district and visits settlements to perform religious rites. The Shibdia of the Drupe district area previously visited Lamas like Drupe for the same purpose. They are said to be believed to exist in every village.

Language

Drupe, Doudhahar, Drupe and Drupe-drupe Drupe speak the Tibetan language. As in the case with the people of Ladakh in different tribes so living in different parts of Tibet, the Shibdia speak the Tibetan language in different dialects. The variations in the styles used by them are mainly due to geographical differences, differences in historical background, and the influence of different communities with whom they are in close contact. Drupe Drupe have maintained close contact with the Drupe Drupe, a Drupe community living in Drupe Drupe. This is the reason why the dialect spoken by Drupe Drupe Drupe shows similarities with that used by the Drupe Drupe. Drupe and Drupe Drupe, who are known as a Tibetan dialect similar to that spoken by the Drupe of Drupe-Drupe. They also maintained the Drupe language.

Costumes

While living in the summer settlement, some Khamba men, like Bhotas inhabiting the northern Himalayan region, wear long woolen jackets (Bakkhu). However, like the inhabitants of the central hill region, the majority of the Khambas wear Daura-Suruwal, shirt, coat, cap, etc. Mandara and Dandakhet Khamba women wear a costumes similar to those used by the Bhote women of Karan and Mugu-Daras, while Dangali Khamba women wear Saris and blouses, like Bada-Achhame women.

Marriage

Because of geographical distance, Khambas of the above-mentioned categories have not been able to establish matrimonial relations with one another. These Khambas may be divided into 3 endogamous units:-

- (1) Dangali Khamba
- (2) Mandara-Dandakhet Khamba
- (3) Dillikot-Hurikot Khamba.

Some Dangali, Mandara and Dandakhet Khambas have established matrimonial relations with one another. However, I have not found a single instance of matrimonial relationship having been established between the Khambas of the Dillikot-Hurikot area and the other Khambas. On the other hand, Dillikot-Hurikot Khambas have recently begun establishing matrimonial and even commensal relations with Matuwali Chhetris. Dangali Khambas have established matrimonial relations with Sat Thapales of the Muchu-Tumkot area. There do not exist other instances of such exogamous matrimonial relations.

Physiognomy

Social customs, culture, language and religion may be concealed and even changed. A situation arises in which one community has to change its traditions, culture, religion, etc. reluctantly under the influence or pressures of another community or religion. In such cases, studies regarding the physiognomy of a community will be of much help in determining its tribal and historical origins. Physiognomy does not change even under the influence of another community or religion.

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There may be changes in biological and ecological conditions, of course. The nature of matrimonial relationship may leave a dangerous effect on the physiognomy of an individual. It is therefore necessary to study the matrimonial system before studying the physiognomy of any community.

As indicated above, Khambas are mostly endogamous. For this reason, this community does not appear to have received the strain of any other race, nor has it given away its racial strain to another. The traits found in this community must be considered to be hereditary. As such, we may classify the Khambas on the basis of their physiognomy.

Khambas have black and coarse hair and their complexion is wheatish. They have tiny greyish eyes. Their eyelids have Mongoloid folds. They have flat noses and little hair on their bodies. They are generally of ordinary height. These are the general features of the physiognomy of Khambas. From the viewpoint of their physical condition, Khambas may be placed in the Tibeto-Mongoloid group of Mongoloid stock. However, Khambas are a little distinct from the other Bhote groups of Tibet and the Humla-Mugu area, who also belong to the Tibeto-Mongoloid group. Several factors may account for such differences. There are no matrimonial relations between Khambas and Bhotes, which has resulted in their isolation from each other. They live within diverse biological or geographical environments. Khambas of different groups do not maintain matrimonial relations with one another. The population of an endogamous unit has shrunk to such an extent that there has been no alternative to inbreeding. There has been a sudden mutation of chromosomes or, genes, and so a process of natural selection. Thus Khambas have undergone a process of micro-evolution distinct from that affecting other Bhote groups. As a result, the physiognomy of Khambas has become different from that of the other Bhote groups.

Economic Condition

Trade, farming and cottage industry may be regarded as the main occupations, and hence the basis of the economic life of Khambas. Trade is their primary occupation. This explains why Khambas occupy the second place after the inhabitants of Humla and Jumla in the field of trade. Dangali Khambas are the best known traders among the Khambas. In the month of April, they leave Yari for Sanpe, carrying foodgrains on the back of sheep, Lukal goats, horses, mules and Khyang Jhopas. The grains include rice, Dagrel (a mixture of rice and paddy), wheat, maize and

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Uwa. The grains are bartered for salt at Yari. In case salt is not available at Yari, the grains are carried to Taklakot, where these are given to Bhotas in exchange for salt. The Khambas then carry the salt to Achham, where they purchase foodgrains on credit and then return to Sanpe. From Sanpe, they again go to Yari and Taklakot in July, carrying fresh supplies of foodgrains. While in Yari and Taklakot, they also conduct transactions in wool, sheep, Chyangra goats, Jhopa, etc. After staying in Yari and Taklakot from July to October, they begin their journey to Sanpe. The salt procured at Yari and Taklakot is sold at Bhote, Thakuri and Thar-Chhetri villages in exchange for grains, which are then stored in Sanpe. The Khambas utilize such supplies for personal consumption also. During the period from November to February, they travel twice between Sanpe and Rajapur, or between Sanpe and Nepalganj, for trade. They buy Indian salt on cash payment at these places. The salt is then carried to Bajura and parts of Doti and as far as Raskot-Dara, the northernmost part of Achham, where it is exchanged for grains. Grains procured in this manner are sold in Taklakot during the next April and May.

The area of commercial operations of Mandara and Dandakhet Khambas is separate from that of Dangali Khambas. Similarly, their seasons and modes of trade transactions are different. In April, they transport grains, specially rice, on sheep, goat, and horse back to their summer settlements. After spending some time in farming, they leave for Pongju¹⁵ in Tibet, situated to the north of Mugu, in the month of July to procure Tibetan salt and some quantity of wool in exchange for wheat, barley and Uwa grown by them in their farm and rice brought from Surkhet. They visit Pongju generally once a year. The other Khambas exchange their grains for salt with the Bhotas of Mugu and Karan-Dara themselves. Salt procured by them in this manner is sold in Jumla and Tibrikot in exchange for grains. Carrying Bhote salt in some quantities, they descend towards Surkhet. The Bhote salt is exchanged for grains in the villages of Jumla, Dullu and Dailekh districts situated on the way to Surkhet, Bhote salt is more popular in these areas than Indian salt. The Khambas take foodgrains procured in this manner to Surkhet district.

During their stay in Surkhet, the Khambas visit Nepalganj in December or January to buy Indian salt. They carry sheep and goats with them. Herds of these animals are called Patha. Salt bought in Nepalganj is brought to Surkhet Valley, where

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it is exchanged for foodgrains such as rice, maize and buck-wheat. If the transactions prove profitable, the Khambas visit Nepalganj in February too. Indian salt procured during this month is sold in Surkhet Valley, Dullu and Dailekh in exchange for foodgrains. Foodgrains bought in this manner are taken to the hill areas, and from there to Tibet the next year.

Khamba women make Liu (carpets) from the wool of Chhyanglu sheep, Pheruwa, blankets, etc. The handlooms used by them are similar to those used in Humla. These have to be operated in a sitting position. Similarly, the Khamba women of Mandara and Dandakhet make Liu, Dana (small carpet), etc with looms similar to those used in Humla. They also manufacture other cloths with a different type of loom erected on the ground.

Conclusion

The Khambas are thus a small semi-nomadic tribe scattered in such large geographical areas as the Karnali, Seti, Eheri and Rapti zones. Their ethnic similarities with the Bhotes of the northern Himalayan areas of these zones help us to trace the common history of these two communities. Bhotes have already settled down permanently. The Khambas of the Dillikot-Hurikot area too have permanently settled down there after having registered lands in their names. The Khambas of Mandara and Dandakhet have purchased lands in Surkhet and cultivated lands and built houses in the hill areas as well. Only a few Dangali Khambas appear to be interested in settling down permanently. Most of them do not own any land, nor do they ever engage in agriculture.

A study of the migration pattern of the Khambas would show that the Bhotes were the first to migrate to Nepal and lead a nomadic life. They wandered about in the northern Himalayan and central hill areas for trade, and later settled down permanently in this country. Khambas came to Nepal only after the Bhotes. Some of them have now settled down, while some are still leading a semi-nomadic life. The Khambas have thus passed the nomadic stage and entered into the semi-nomadic stage. This is the history of the Khambas. In course of time, they too will definitely settle down permanently. It is now our duty to help them in settling down permanently and preserving their cultural traditions.

Notes

1. Raute is a nomadic tribe. Members of this tribe completes a tour of Salyan, Rolpa, Rukum, Tibrikot, Jumla, Mugu, Humla, Dailekh, Jajarkot, Doti, Achham, Bajura, Bajhang, Baitadi and Darchula districts situated in western Nepal once every 12 years. They never go down to the Tarai or the inner Tarai. Now-a-days however, Rautes have started visiting Surkhet and Dang. There is no specific area where they can settle down permanently. They encamp in forest areas, resting inside temporary huts made of thick grass. Such huts, which are called Raute, are erected near areas where water is available. They fell timber of the Dar, Khasru, Thingo, Bhunj and other varieties, and make utensils, cots, tables, chairs, etc. They sell these goods for cash or in exchange for foodgrains. They have a dialect of their own, called Raute. Rautes form a very tiny minority in Nepal. Their total number is estimated at 150.
2. Kusunda too is a nomadic tribe. They used to wear clothes made from fibers of Alto, Sisnu or Bhangra grass, and move about in the forests carrying bows and arrows. Villagers call them Banaraja (King of the forest). They have a dialect of their own, called Kusunda. They have started settling down permanently. Rautes are said to have once regarded Kusundas as their Kings.
3. Byansi is another semi-nomadic tribe inhabiting Darchula in Nepal and Darchula in Uttar Pradesh (India). Their main occupation is trade. In western Nepal, they rank first among those engaged in trade. Some of them are also engaged in agriculture. They procure salt and wool from Tibet on mule, horse and sheep back, and bring cloth, rice and other foodgrains from the Tarai areas of Nepal as well as from India. The commodities bought in the Tarai and India are transported to Tibet. Tingar and Chyang are the summer settlements of the Byansis of Nepal. During winter they stay in the vicinity of Darchula Bazaar, which they call Tallo-Tingar and Tallo-Chhyangru. Byansis are also called Saute because they can speak in the Nepali and Tibet languages in addition to their own dialect.
4. Causes And Impacts Of Migration: Preliminary Survey In Surkhet Region. CEDA. Kathmandu: Zurich, March 1973, p. 4.
5. Since the Nepal-Tibet war of 1854, and particularly after the emergence of the Panchayat system, the Bhotes of Humla and Mugu have been officially called Tamangs in order to distinguish them from other Bhotes living in Tibet. However, Hindus inhabiting these areas still call them Bhote or Jad. In fact, they are not known to have any historical, linguistic or other link with the Tamangs of central Nepal. The Tamangs of central

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- Nepal were also once called Bhotas. Ta means horse and Mang seller. In fact, these people sell horses and are therefore called Tamangs. (Dor Bahadur Bisht, People of Nepal, Department of Publicity, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, His Majesty's Government of Nepal, 1967), p. 48.
6. Rahul Sankrityayan, Kinnar Desh, 1948, pp. 33-34.
 7. Matuwali Chhetris refer to the Chhetris of western Nepal who do not wear the sacred thread and take liquor. Unlike sacred-thread wearing Chhetris, Matuwali Chhetris have a Mongoloid physiognomy. Their social customs and usages shows that they are the descendants of the ancient Khasa.
 8. Dor Bahadur Bisht, op. cit., p. 124.
 9. B.H. Hodgson, Miscellaneous Essays Relating To Indian Subjects, London, 1880; S.K. Chatterjee, Kirat Janakriti, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 60-61.
 10. Blanket made of Ronglu wool, which is sewn with a white cloth inside.
 11. A shawl made of goat wool.
 12. Jhopa is a cross-breed of yak (Chaurigai) and Tibetan bull (Lha).
 13. Tolba means a cross-breed of female Jhopa (Juma) and Lulu or ordinary bull.
 14. In the Mugu area, Syakcha is called Syakta.
 15. Pongju has developed into a trade center only in recent years. Before the entry of the Chinese into Tibet, transactions in salt and foodgrains were conducted at Cheptu, which is reached from Mugu village after a 3 day's journey along with sheep. There have been stories of many people and sheep having died of altitude sickness while proceeding to Pongju. It is believed there exists a grass on the way, whose smell causes headache and vomiting. The trade centers of Pongju and Cheptu were closed for some years after the entry of the Chinese into Tibet. The Khambas and other inhabitants of Mugu had then to travel to Taklakot which can be reached from Mugu after 22 days' travel with sheep.

(S.B. Maharjan).

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Notes On The Kipat System-I

1. Origin Of The Kipat System

Iman Singh Chemjong has recorded the following legend about the origin of the Kipat system in Pallokirat:^x

"Kipat means a place where Kiratis live. It is also called "Tangsing-Khoksing." Formerly, several groups of immigrants reclaimed waste lands and became its customary occupants, or "Khambongba Lungbomba." They acquired occupancy rights, or "Balikham-Dibungkham", and prayed to God, lord of the sky and the earth, with the gods as their witnesses, that they may be allowed to live on the land from generation to generation. Land which (Kiratis) occupy in accordance with this pledge is called Kipat.

"According to legend, a group of Mongols came from China to Tibet. They took off their shoes (Docha) and prayed to God to let them know where they should settle. They then tied all their shoes in a bundle and threw it into the Arun river, pledging to occupy as Kipat the place where God would let the bundle stop. Several days later, (the Mongols) found the bundle on the banks of a mountain stream south of Tibet. They then felt happy, offered sacrifices to the gods and named the place "Hidangna", or "a place shown by the lord after many wanderings." This place is situated in Pallokirat.

"Different groups of immigrants reclaimed forest lands in different areas and established their Kipat. Later, Kipat-holders chose Hang, who had separated from his brothers, as their King. The King obtained military assistance also from them."

^xIman Singh Chemjong, Limbu-Nepali-Angreji-Shabda-Kosha (Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary). Kathmandu: Nepal Academy, 2018 (1961). "Kirati Samajik Vyavastha", (Kirati Social System), pp, 56-58.

Contd...

2. Prithvi Narayan Shah And The Kiratis Of Eastern Nepal

(A) Letter To Kirati Leaders In Majhkirat^x

From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Dasha Lohorung, Thulusimha Majhiya, Pawa Majhiya, Sangla Majhiya, Helungwa Majhiya, Dhupu Majhiya, Malta Majhiya, Patwa Majhiya and Shobhajit Majhiya.

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

Yesterday, you were the good servants of the Makwani Raja. As long as you ate his salt, you remained in his service. Your King of yesterday no longer exists; that country is now under our sway. You are equal servants of both houses. The same house belongs to you. You are umbrella-bearers (? Chhatiya). You are servants true to your salt.

Accordingly, come here with your friends, relatives and kinsmen. We shall grant you succor (Chardasti) in all matters. If you say that you have been relieved from your service because that country has been conquered by us, it is the duty of a servant to render service as long as he takes salt.

We hereby grant you pardon on your life and property for all crimes committed by you against us when we conquered that country. With full assurance, (approach us) through Birabhadra Rai. There is no doubt now in any matter.

Makwanpur,
Shrawan Badi, 1830
(July 1773).

^xNaya Raj Pant (et. al.), Shri 5 Prithvinarayan Shahko Upadesa
(Teachings of King Prithvi Narayan Shah). Lalitpur: Jagadamba
Prakashan, n.d. Vol. 3, pp. 1152-1154.

Notes

Prithvi Narayan Shah sent this letter in Shrawan 1830 (July 1773) to some Kiratis who had fled from Makwanpur to Majhkirat. The letter was sent from Makwanpur. It appears that Prithvi Narayan Shah was then in Makwanpur to make preparations for his military campaign in the east.

Makwanpur had been conquered in 1819 Vikrama (1838). Prithvi Narayan Shah had then been unable to pay attention towards the east because his efforts were concentrated on the economic blockade of Kathmandu Valley. That was why some influential Kiratis who had shifted from Makwanpur to Majhkirat had not come over to his side, nor had Prithvi Narayan Shah been able to persuade them to do so. He sent this letter to these Kiratis because he was making preparations to cross the Dudhkoshi river and attack Chaudandi.

(B) Letter To Jang Rai And Others^x

From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Jang Rai, Fung Rai, Jamuna Rai and all other Limbus and Rais.

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

We had offered you refuge yesterday. We have today conquered that country by dint of our valor, but you belong to us. We hereby grant protection to your families. Look after the lands which you had been customarily using and continue to make the customary payments. (These arrangements) are not to be applied to the 900,000 Rais, because other kings are to be displaced. Come along with your relatives and Limbu brethren. We grant you refuge.

Baisakh Badi 30, 1831
(April 1774)

^xIbid, pp. 1179-1180.

Contd...

Notes

Prithvi Narayan Shah wrote this letter on Baisakh 1, 1831 (April 13, 1774).

After occupying the Kingdom of Chaudandi, the Gorkhali Bhardars started preparations to conquer Bijayapur. The Kingdom of Bijayapur had its capital in the Tarai town of Bijayapur. Buddhikarna Rai was conducting the administration from that place with Karna Sen as King. Many Rai Subbas in the hill region of Pallokirat had become powerful. Prithvi Narayan Shah therefore made efforts to enlist their cooperation in his invasion of Bijayapur. He achieved some success in this task. Some Rai Subbas, including Jang Rai of Atharai, Fung Rai of Panchthar and Jamuna Rai of Chaubise came over to his side. Prithvi Narayan Shah granted them refuge and wrote this letter accordingly. In this letter, he promised to protect their families and confirm their rights and privileges.

However, some powerful Rais of Pallokirat did not extend support to Prithvi Narayan Shah and started making preparations to fight him. That is why Prithvi Narayan Shah has indicated in this letter that the assurances contained in it did not apply to the 900,000 Rais.

(c) Another Letter To Jang Rai And Others^x

From King Prithvi Narayan Shah,

To Jang Rai, Jamuna Rai and all other Limbus and Rais.

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

You are respectable men of that country. Yesterday too you had acknowledged a King and lived under his authority. We had sent you a letter bearing the royal seal after making necessary inquiries, believing that you would like to continue living under a King. We grant protection to Limbuwan, as long it exists. We had deputed Bharadars accordingly with necessary instructions. Today, we have granted you protection. Do not

^xRegmi Research Collections, Vol. 37, p. 342.

Contd...

consider it otherwise. We shall grant you rewards and honors. Look after the country in consultation with the Bharadars whom we have deputed there. Construct a bridge on the Tamor river. We hereby confirm all your rights and privileges. Look after (the country) with due assurance.

Friday, Bhadra Badi 5, 1831
(August 1774).

(D) Royal Order To The Limbus Of Pallokirat, 1774^x

From Prithvi Narayan, Shah,

To the Limbus of Pallo-Kirat.

We have received your reply to our previous letter. We desire peace and harmony. Our intent is good. We had afforded you refuge previously also. We have conquered your country by dint of our valor. The descendants of Tu Tu Myang Hang Yang were defeated and the country now belongs to us. But you belong to us and we undertake the protection of your kinsmen. We hereby pardon all of your crimes and confirm the customs and traditions, rights and privileges of your country. Join our Bharadars and render them assistance. Take care of the land as you did when it was being ruled over by your own chieftains. Enjoy the land from generation to generation as long as it remains in existence. You are different from the 800,000 Rais, because (their) chieftains are to be displaced, but not you. We fully understand your intent. But since truth remained in your heart, there was conflict between Sikkim and us. We have sent your officials there, and you will understand everything from them. As mentioned above, remain under your chieftains and enjoy your traditional rights and privileges and your lands. In case we confiscate your land, may our ancestral gods destroy our kingdom. We hereby inscribe this pledge on a copper plate and also issue this royal order and hand it over to our Limbu brethren.

Kantipur, Shrawan Sudi 12, 1831
(July 1774).

^xIman Singh Chemjong, Kirat Itihas (Kirat History). Sikkim: the author, 1952, p. 56.

(E) Royal Order To The Limbus Of Pallo-Kirat, 1951^x

From King Tribhuwan:

Greetings to Kipat owners in the area east of the Arun, west of the Mechi, south of Tibet, and north of the Tarai.

Limbu Kipat owners and Subbas have represented to us during our tour of Morang district that the provisions of royal orders relating to Kipat lands enjoyed by you from time immemorial were contravened by subsequent orders, and that, since the autocratic regime had come to an end and the democratic interim government had been formed, even if any changes were needed in the traditional Kipat system, a new royal order confirming the provisions of the old royal orders should be issued.

Since people of all communities are living in Pallo-Kirat, in order to issue a new royal order, which, like those issued by our ancestors, should not prove detrimental to the interests of any community, we shall convene a meeting of knowledgeable Limbu Subbas and representatives of other communities, and then issue a royal order as approved by such a meeting, which should not conflict with the customs and traditions of any community. Abide by the provisions of existing royal and other orders truly and faithfully and enjoy your Kipat lands.

^x Prem Bahadur Limbu and Bhupendra Nath Dhungel, Samkshipta Nepal Itihas (Concise History of Nepal). Kathmandu, 2011 (1954), pp. 283-284.

Contd...

(F) Royal Order To Limbu Kipat Owners Of Pallo-Kirat, 1961^x

From King Mahendra,

To the Limbu Kipat owners of Pallo-Kirat.

From former times you have remained loyal to our government and have displayed your bravery on many occasions. You have proved faithful and served the nation. This we know fully well and appreciate from the core of our heart. In future also we trust that you will not forget the loyalty, bravery and faithful service rendered to the nation by your forefathers. We also trust that with the objective of enhancing our development activities. With this in mind, we hereby confirm your customs and traditions. Panchayats will, of course, render active cooperation in such development activities. You know full well what efforts the government is making in this field. Regard activities designed to develop your district as conducive to your own welfare and pay full attention thereto. With due assurance, enjoy your traditional rights and privileges.

national glory from day to day,
you will be successful as usual in

Sunday, Chaitra 27, 2017
(April 9, 1961).

^xMahesh C. Regmi, Land Tenure And Taxation In Nepal. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1965, Vol. III, p. 153.

Conspiracy of Abdulla Beg And Friendly Relations With
Company Government^x

By

Baburam Acharya

Relations between the East India Company and Nepal were bitter during the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, had succeeded in gradually improving these relations. Dinanath Upadhyaya had been sent as envoy to Calcutta to negotiate the issue of the Tarai areas of Ambarpur and Bijayapur. Pratap Simha Shah had already become King of Nepal by that time. Warren Hastings dealt respectfully with Dinanath Upadhyaya as the duly accredited envoy of the government of Nepal and resolved this issue amicably. Hardly had Dinanath Upadhyaya come back to Kathmandu than he was sent again to Calcutta by King Pratap Simha Shah, because a certain person called Abdulla Beg had created a dispute.

The modern district of Rautahat in the Narayani zone was then called a Parganna because of its small population. Abdulla Beg had been Zemindar of Rautahat since the time of the Kings of Makwanpur. He submitted a complaint to the Governor-General's Council claiming that it was his Jagir and so the Gorkhali government should prove its claim. Dinanath Upadhyaya was sent to Calcutta to settle the dispute. Abdulla Beg was unable to prove his claim when the matter was discussed at the Council. But it was kept pending for some time because it concerned Bihar.

In July 1780, Warren Hastings left for Banaras. He asked Dinanath Upadhyaya to accompany him and even gave him expenses for the journey. The plan was to arrive at a decision with regard to Rautahat in Patna. However, Warren Hastings travelled faster, and so Dinanath Upadhyaya had to wait in Patna. In Banaras, Warren Hastings was involved in a conflict with Chet Singh. He was barely able to save his life. Chet Singh entrenched himself in a hill fort known as Bijayagarh. Warren Hastings' wife was in Patna at that time. She thought that Gorkhali troops were skilled in hill warfare. She therefore wrote a letter to the King of Nepal asking for military assistance and handed it over to Dinanath Upadhyaya. Dinanath Upadhyaya forwarded the letter to Kathmandu through a courier. Rajendralaxmi organized troops.

^xBaburam Acharya, Nepal Ko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Chapter 14: "Abdulla Begko Kuchodya ra Kampani Sark sanga Maitri." pp. 81-82.

Contd...

under the command of Dhokal Simha Basnyat and informed Warren Hastings' wife accordingly. By that time British troops had driven Chet Singh out of Bijayagarh. Warren Hastings' wife therefore thanked Dinanath Upadhyaya and informed him that military assistance was no longer needed. When he came back from Banaras to Patna, Warren Hastings directed the local authorities and members of the Council who were present there to issue an order to the effect that since Makwanpur belonged to the King of Nepal, it was up to him to retain or dismiss Abdulla Beg as Zemindar. Dinanath Upadhyaya was thus sent back satisfied. But the Government of Nepal received formal information of this decision only three years later (November 14, 1783).

Warren Hastings had unjustly confiscated the property of Chet Singh and the Begums of Oudh. Why did he show such sympathy for the government of Nepal? The British had realized the need to satisfy the government of Nepal because they were being harassed by the Marhattas and Haider Ali. They had thus no alternative but to confirm the Nepal government's authority over the Tarai. Accordingly, relations between the two governments remained friendly as long as Warren Hastings was in India.

The Rautahat affair does not seem very important. But such disputes arose frequently about the Tarai. After this decision, the Zemindars understood Warren Hastings' policy and remained under the control of the government of Nepal. But the Chaubisi Kings of the hill region did not. As a result, they stood against the government of Nepal, caused loss of life and property and obstructed the unification of Nepal.

Appointment Of Temple Priests, 1815

1. Srikalika Temple In Baglung

From King Girban,

To Satbar Khadka.

Previously, we had issued a royal order granting you authority to perform religious functions under Guthi endowments of the Srikalikadevi temple in Baglungchaur. We restore this authority to you now, dismissing Krishna Khadka and Jayabinda Khadka. Use (the Guthi income) to perform religious functions in the traditional manner and appropriate the surplus.

Jestha Sudi 7, 1872

(May 1815)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 42, p. 9.

2. Bindhyabasini Temple In Pokhara

From King Girban,

To Mahindra Padhya Poudel.

We hereby appoint you as priest of the Sri Bindhyabasini temple in Kaski, replacing Harivamsha Padhya. Use the income accruing from the Guthi lands endowed for the temple to perform regular and ceremonial ceremonies at the temple and appropriate the surplus. Wish victory to us.

Jestha Sudi 8, 1872

(June 1815)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 42, p. 1.

3. Kameshwar Temple In Sanapalani

From King Girban,

To Teja Giri Gosain.

Perform regular and ceremonial religious functions in the traditional manner at the temple of Sri Kameshwara on the confluence of the Sunkoshi river in Sanapalani and operate the Guthi as usual. Wish victory to us and appropriate the surplus income.

Shrawan Sudi 6, 1872 (July 1815)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 42, p. 37.

The 1882 Incidents^x

By

Baburam Acharya

Jang Bahadur died in Rautahat in Falgun, 1933 (March 1877). Crown Prince Trailokya and Dhir Shamsher went there to attend the funeral. They had a quarrel on the way. When he came back to Nepal, Prince Trailokya attempted to destroy Dhir Shamsher. He sought the help of Jagat Jang, son of Jang Bahadur, in this task. Homnath was employed as an intermediary for this purpose. Jagat Jang agreed to join in the attempt on condition that it was undertaken after the mourning period was over.

Four months later, Dhir Shamsher became Commander-in-Chief. Srivikram, Sangramasur and others then organized a conspiracy to destroy both Prime Minister Ranoddip and Dhir Shamsher. They won over Bam Bikram to their side. Two of their attempts, made during 1938 Vikrama (1881-82) (during King Prithvi's coronation ?) proved abortive. They fixed the date of the third attempt on the last day of Poush (December 14, 1881). They sought the help of Lt. Uttar Dhvaj in this task. Uttar Dhvaj had an ancestral feud with Srivikram. He therefore revealed the plot to Dhir Shamsher.

At that time, Ranoddip Singh was in the Tarai. Dhir Shamsher sent instructions to the effect that the conspirators should be arrested at both places simultaneously. With Bam Bikram's assistance, he had the conspirators in Kathmandu arrested on Magh Badi 2, 1938. The conspirators who were at Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh's camp in the Tarai were arrested the same night and brought to Kathmandu. On Magh Badi 4, 1938 (January 1882), Subedar Simha Jang Pande took poison and thus committed suicide on the banks of the Bagmati river at Teku. Sangram Sur was interrogated, and he revealed the conspiracy in which Crown Prince Trailokya too was involved. Bam Bikram, Prince Narendra Bikram and others too were then arrested. Amrit Singh revealed everything. Prime Minister Ranoddip Singh returned to Kathmandu in the night of Magh Badi 11, 1938.

^xBaburam Acharya, "1938 Salko Parva" (The 1882 Incidents). Purnima, Year 1, No. 3, Aswin 2029 (October 1972), pp. 178-180.

Contd...

The next day, the following persons were beheaded:-

1. Srivikram Singh Thapa.
2. Amarvikram Singh Thapa.
3. Major Samsaravikram Singh Thapa.
4. Major Sangram Sur Bisht.
5. Captain Samaravikram Singh Thapa.
6. Captain Nar Bahadur Bisht.
7. Captain Bhoj Raj Bisht.
8. Captain Shamsheer Jang Thapa.
9. Lt. Surya Pratap Bisht.
10. Lt. Kesar Bisht.
11. Kesar Bisht's brother.
12. Subedar Pahalman Karki.
13. Adjutant Banka Adhikari.
14. Captain Phedi Singh Gurung.
15. Subedar Jang Bikram Pande.
16. Ensign Ranadal Karki.
17. Captain Bakhtwar Shahi.
18. Col. Indra Singh Tandon.
19. Lt. Chhatra Dhvaj Shahi.
20. ?

Contd...

On Magh Sudi 5, 1938, a statement describing their crimes was read out before the troops at the Tamlikhei.

On Magh Sudi 14, 1938, the following persons were degraded from their caste:-

1. Sardar Shiv Prasad Arjyal.
2. Subba Hom Nath.
3. Subba Tanka Nath.
4. Muluki Subba Digvijaya Upadhyaya.
5. Kana Bhatta.

The following persons were beheaded on Falgun Badi 2, 1938.

1. Col. Biraman Singh Basnet.
(He had fled but was later captured).
2. Col. Anurit Singh Adhikari.
(He had been taken twice for decapitation previously).
3. Subedar Lok Bahadur Thapa Chhetri.
(He had fled but was later captured).

The following persons were sentenced to imprisonment for six years:-

1. Subba Shaligram.
2. Jog Bahadur Khatri.
3. Chhetra Bahadur Bisht.
4. Captain Indra Nath Upadhyaya.
5. Dhansandhwaj Thapa Chhetri.

Contd...

Subedar Ram Bikram Singh was sentenced to imprisonment for 6 months.

The following persons were banished:-

1. Subba Indradhwaj Lohani.
2. Birujyu.
3. Rudra Nath Upadhyaya.

The following persons had been convicted by the Bharadari court on Falgun Badi 12, 1938 but could not be traced:-

1. Major Captain Dip Bahadur Shah.
2. Captain Shamsheer Jang Pande..
3. Captain Bhairav Bahadur Khatri.

Licchavi Coins¹

By

Shriram Paudel

The Licchavi period occupies an important and noteworthy place in the ancient history of Nepal. However, we do not know when the Licchavis entered Nepal and occupied the throne. According to the Gopalarajavamsavali, the Licchavis ruled over Nepal after overthrowing the Kirat rulers. J.C. Jain, quoting Jain texts, has expressed the view that the Licchavis and their followers came to Nepal after the Magadhan invasion of Vaisali.² On the other hand, Jagadish Chandra Regmi, quoting Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and Rakhal Das Bannerjee, maintains that the Licchavis came to Nepal during the first century A.D. or the pre-medieval period.³ The Pashupati inscription of Jayadeva II attempts to connect the Licchavis with the solar dynasty. By referring to famous legendary Kings of the solar dynasty, the inscription seeks to show that the dynasty was named after a monarch called Licchavi.⁴ However, we can find the systematic lineage of the Licchavi rulers only after Vrishadeva. We may refer to the Changu Narayan inscription of Manadeva in this connection.

Manadeva I is the first Licchavi ruler whose historicity can be proved by solid evidence. The Changu Narayan inscription and the Mananka coin issued by him are the oldest epigraphic and numismatic proofs of Licchavi rule and of Nepali history itself. The present article will make an attempt to study the

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1. Shriram Paudel, Licchavikalin Mudra Byabastha (The Licchavi Currency) , Pratignya Weekly, March 2, 1974).
 2. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, Licchavi Samskriti (Licchavi Culture) Ratna Pustak Bhandar, Kathmandu, 1970, p. 1; J.C. Jain, Life In Ancient India As Depicted In Jain Canons, Bombay, 1947, pp. 254 and 572.
 3. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, op. cit., p. 5.
 4. Dhanabajra Bajracharya, Licchavikalka Abhilekh (Inscriptions of the Licchavi period). Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuwan University, Kathmandu, 1973, p. 557.

Contd...

Licchavi coins, which occupy an important place in the history of the Licchavi period. Coins help in a study of the history, culture and civilization of any country. They also constitute one of the important sources of the history of Nepal. Among the Licchavi coins, the copper coins, Mānānka, Gunānka, Pashupati, as well as the coins issued by Amshuvarma and Jishnugupta are important.

Mānānka

Mānānka is the oldest Licchavi coin. On the obverse side of this coin the words "Shrī Mānānka" are inscribed, while the reverse side contains the word "Bhoginī". The Suryaghat inscription of Vijayavati, daughter of Manadeva, dated 484 A.D., proves that the Mānānka coin was issued by Manadeva.⁵ Although all available Mānānka coins appear to be similar, they are actually different. One of them contains an image of a lion below the word Mānānka. The lion seems to be trying to catch the cluster of flowers inscribed on the coin.⁶ In the second type of coins, a flag-like symbol is inscribed in front of the image of a lion.⁷ Coins of the third type contain an emblem in front of the image of a lion. This may be compared to the Minastambha, a symbol of Vaisnavism.⁸ There is no emblem of any kind in front of the image of the lion in the fourth type of Mānānka coins. Although these differences have given rise to different views among historians and numismatists, these may really be due to minting defects.

A number of numismatists have expressed different opinions on why Manadeva inscribed the word Mananka on his coins. According to some, Manadeva must have imitated the Parakramanka and the Vikramanka issued by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II respectively.⁹ The Gupta rulers issued these coins in order to show

5. Dhanabajra Bajracharya, op. cit., p. 82.

6. A. Cunningham, Coins Of Ancient India, p. 116.

7. Satya Mohan Joshi, Nepali Rashtriya Mudra (Nepali National coins), Kathmandu, Jagadamba Prakashan, 2019 (1962), p. 19.

8. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, op. cit., p. 160.

9. Satya Mohan Joshi, op. cit., p. 52.

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off their prosperity and prowess. Manadeva too might have done so, as he had been able to establish an independent and sovereign State in Nepal. In fact, he occupies an important place among the independent, sovereign and brave Kings in the history of Nepal.¹⁰ Historians held different opinions regarding the term Sribhogini inscribed on Mananka coins, until the Pashupati-Suryaghat inscription came to light. K.P. Jayasawal considered Bhogini to be Manadeva's family deity. Similarly, the image of a lion inscribed on the coin, along with the word Sribhogini, led to the speculation that Manadeva was a worshipper of a goddess, or a follower of Shaktism.¹¹ However, the inscription of Vijayavati, Manadeva's daughter as mentioned above, has ended all controversies in this regard.

Coin Of Amshuvarma

Amshuvarma too minted coins of different types. The obverse side of one coin has the word Amshuvarma, and a lion lifting one foot. The reverse side too shows a lion. The second type of Amshuvarma's coins contains the word Sripashupati and the emblem of a jar in the center on the obverse, and the word Kamadohi on the reverse. This coin is thinner than other coins issued by Amshuvarma.¹² The third type of coins issued by Amshuvarma has the word Amshuvarma and a winged horse with a flag on the obverse, while the reverse side shows a lion and the moon. The obverse of yet another type of Amshuvarma's coin contains the word Amshuvarma and a winged horse and the word Kamadohi and a cow suckling a calf on the reverse. Alexander Cunningham has read Kamadohi as Camadehi.¹³ The fifth type of Amshuvarma's coin is thicker.¹⁴ On the obverse of this coin, the word Maharajadhirajasya

10. Dhundi Raj Bhandari, Nepalko Aitihāsik Vivechana (Historical Analysis of Nepal), Krishnakumari, Varanasi 2015 (1958), p.44.

11. Satya Mohan Joshi, op. cit., p. 6. Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi, Ancient Nepal, Calcutta - Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1969, p. 91.

12. Satya Mohan Joshi, op. cit., p. 55.

13. A. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 115.

14. Satya Mohan Joshi, op. cit., p. 55.

around the sun in hieroglyphs, while the reverse side contains the word *Argemone* and a fish. This coin is very like the *Argemone* coins of King. If we study all the coins of *Argemone*, it becomes clear that *Argemone* had become King from the position of minister.

Gold of *Argemone*

The *Argemone* coins issued by *Argemone* may also be said to belong to the *Argemone* period. The reverse of this coin contains the word *Argemone* and a winged bull. Besides these, numerous different opinions regarding this coin have been given. Wilson and Dr. Gifford have regarded it to be a bull, a winged bull and a winged horse respectively. As far as the design on the reverse side is concerned, it has been described as a trident, a decorated trident and a trident held by *Argemone*, *Argemone* and *Argemone* respectively.

Argemone

The *Argemone* coin is the most controversial of all. The word *Argemone* and the design of a bull are inscribed on the reverse of this coin, while the reverse side contains the word *Argemone*, as well as a cow and a bull. This coin has been considered as belonging to the *Argemone* period on the basis of the design. So also, the inscription on *Argemone* has referred to a King named *Argemone*. According to Dr. Cunningham, *Argemone* is a species of *Argemone*, and therefore the coin might have been issued by *Argemone*. However, he has not said so definitely, since it is difficult to regard this coin as belonging to the period of *Argemone*, who ruled nine generations before *Argemone*, according to *Argemone*. As a result, the *Argemone* coin had been issued in imitation of the coin of *Argemone*.¹⁶

16. *Argemone*, p. 18; Dr. Gifford, *Argemone*, p. 111.
 17. *Argemone*, p. 111.
 18. *Argemone*, p. 111.

Indian historian, K.P. Jayasawal, has said that the coin was issued by Yakshagupta of the Ahir Gupta dynasty, by taking Vaisravana to mean Yaksha.¹⁸ Yakshagupta has been described as Vatsaka in the "Manjushri-Mulakalka". On the other hand, Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi has speculated that the Vaisravana coin was issued by Vamshuvarma, since the word Kamadohi is inscribed on one side of both.¹⁹ He also considers the image of a cow and a calf as that of a man and a bull.²⁰ Other historians too have emphatically written that the coin was issued by Vamshuvarma, because the word Kamadohi and the image of cow and a calf inscribed on both coins are common features.

Gunanka

(the west, and (3) those with the image of an elephant facing

On the obverse side of the Gunanka coin, the word Gunanka and an image are inscribed, while the reverse contains the image of an elephant. Gunanka coins can be classified into three categories: (1) Those with the image of an elephant in the center,²¹ (2) those with the image of an elephant facing east. Like some other coins of the Licchavi period, Gunanka coins cannot be proved to have been issued by any particular King. According to one view, coins were issued by Gunakamadeva, in the same manner as Manadeva issued Mananka coins. No inscription, other than Vamshavalis, refers to a King named Gunakamadeva. In other words, the historicity of Gunakamadeva has not been proved by epigraphic evidence. Moreover, the speculations of historians have yet to be substantiated. Scholars have expressed different opinions regarding the image of an animal inscribed on the obverse of Gunanka coins. Walsh thinks that this image is of a King with a crown, while Satya Mohan Joshi takes it as an image of a family deity.²²

18. K.P. Jayasawal, Chronology and History of Nepal, Patna, 1937.

19. Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi, op. cit., p. 146.

20. Ibid, p. 145.

21. Satya Mohan Joshi, op. cit., p. 59.

22. Ibid, E.H. Walsh, p. 631.

... description regards it as a sitting goddess,⁷¹ according to Jewish tradition being, the image represents the consort of the king who issued the coin, instead of being that of a deity. As far as the question of who issued Jewish coins in Persia, some mention Yehudim,⁷² while others mention Carthians⁷³ and Samaritans.⁷⁴ However, it is difficult to express a definite opinion on this subject in the present state of our knowledge.

Lithic Coins

Among the coins issued during Achaemenid Empire, Paspaspi coins are found in the largest number. The Paspaspi coins, these coins have been considered as belonging to the highest period of the metal of the script, some scholars have classified Paspaspi coins into three categories, while others mention four⁷⁵ categories. There are differences in weight, size and obverse of Paspaspi coins. The four categories mentioned by some scholars are as follows:-

- (i) On the obverse of the first category, there is a lion-shaped head, on the left side of which the word Paspaspi is inscribed. The reverse side carries the name of a king and the sign also, etc.
- (ii) The obverse of coins of this category has a small lion's head, on four sides of which the word Paspaspi is inscribed. On the reverse side, a white-flying horse or a bull and a crescent moon are inscribed.
- (iii) The third category of Paspaspi coins may be described as similar to (ii), with the reverse side modified. The issue of an inscribed bull with the word Paspaspi are found.

(To be continued)

71. A. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

72. *ibid.*

73. *Antiquities of Persia*, *British Museum*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *vol. 17*, *part 1*, *1848*.

74. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *vol. 17*, *part 1*, *1848*.

75. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *vol. 17*, *part 1*, *1848*.

76. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, *vol. 17*, *part 1*, *1848*.

77. *ibid.*

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Notes On The Kipat System-IIEastern Hill Regions

On Kartik Sudi 1, 1893 (October 1836), two officials, Dittha Ramnath Upadhyaya and Dittha Ranbir Thapa, were sent to the eastern hill regions to measure lands and scrutinize documentary evidence of land ownership. Regulations promulgated in their names for these operations contained the following provisions also:-

Subedar Dharmaraj Khatri had imposed a ceiling on Kipat holdings and acquired the surplus area in the region situated between Sanga-Sindhu in the west and the Dudhkosi river in the east. Reconfirm lands within the ceilings as allotted to the subjects (Prajā) by Dharmaraj Khatri.

Impose ceilings on the Kipat holdings of the following communities also: Hayu, Danuwar, Pahari, Chepang and Thami. Acquire the surplus area. Measure all rice-fields which have been stated as having been reclaimed after 1863 Vikrama (1806 A.D.) and are being used as Kipat and compile records of such lands.

Akal Singh and Ishwar Khatri had similarly imposed ceilings on the Kipat holdings of the following communities in Majhkirat, situated between the Dudhkosi and Arun rivers: Rai, Majhiya, Murmi and Yakha. Reconfirm the lands allotted by him within the ceilings. Measure and compile records of the following categories of lands, submit such records to us and take action as ordered:-

- (a) Lands reclaimed under Khurpathyak grants,
- (b) Kipat lands reclaimed personally by Kipat owners, and
- (c) Kipat lands reclaimed by the tenants (Kuriya) of Kipat owners and by other settlers (Dhakre).

Lands (within the ceilings) allotted by Akal Singh and Ishwar Khatri shall not be used (by Jagirdars) on the ground that Tirja drafts have been issued to them on such lands. Kipat owners shall share these lands among themselves.

In Majhkirat, situated between the Dudhkosi and Arun river, some people belonging to the Rai, Majhiya, Yakha and Murmi communities pay Rs 5 as tax on each homestead, while others pay Rs 4 or even Rs 3. Still others pay (the homestead tax) on the basis of classification as Hale, Pate and Kodale. Compile records of homesteads making payments of each category as mentioned above and impose a uniform tax of Rs 4 on each homestead. In case any family is unable to make payment (at this rate), impose the Serma tax at an appropriate rate with due consideration and without any discrimination.

In case any Jimidar (i.e. a Kipat owner in Majhkirat) has falsely represented as Kipat those Raikar lands which had been used as Jagir by local officials during the reign of the Sen kings and had obtained royal confirmation of such lands as Kipat accordingly, and in case such offenders confess their guilt, confiscate the lands.

A royal order had been issued in 1877 Vikrama (1820 A.D.) permitting Rais and Kirats in the region situated east of the Dudhkosi and west of the Arun river to possess lands reclaimed by them in their Kipat holdings through their own efforts on an inheritable basis. Collect particulars of the Salami fee imposed in consideration of this order. Also withdraw the order and submit these to us. Impose the Serma tax on holdings vacated by emigrant Rais and Murmis.

Measure waste lands reclaimed by Kipat owners and settle (Dhakre) in Pallokirat.

2. Western Hill Regions²

- (a) On the same day, Kartik Sudi 1, 1893 (October 1836), Subh Bhuwan Singh was sent to survey lands of different tenure categories (Bitalab, Birta, Guthi, Marwat, Bekh-Bunyad, Kipat, Phikdar, Sadavarta), including Kipat, in the regions situated west of the Trishuli-Ganga river and east of Pyuthan. Kipat owning communities in these regions included Darai, Kumhal, Badi, Barami, Chepang, Ghale, Bhote, Paha and Rohani. A ceiling had been imposed on the Kipat holdi

2. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 35, pp. 53-60.

of these communities too in 1862 Vikrama (1805 A.D.). Subba Bhuwan Singh was directed to reconfirm the allotments made in that year and measure the surplus area, as well as all waste lands (in Kipat holdings) reclaimed since that year.

- (b) Jayadrath Adhikari was sent on a similar mission the same day to the regions situated east of Bhimdhunga and Devghat and west of Sindhu, Banepa, Satgaun and Patringa, including Kathmandu Valley.³ He was ordered to measure all irrigated rice fields in the hill areas which were being used as Kipat without paying any tax (Mahasul) by the following communities: Bhote, Murmi, Hayu, Chepang, Baramu, Danuwar and Kumhal. Other categories of irrigated rice-fields which Jayadrath Adhikari was ordered to measure were those used without paying any tax (Pote) in Newar villages in Kathmandu Valley, and those used by Mijhars and Gorungs (Headmen) of Duyan-Bhotes.

3. Ibid, pp. 69-74.

Licchavi Coins

By

Sriram Poudel.

(Continued from Previous Issue).

- (d) The obverse side of coins of this category has a trident around which the word Pashupati is inscribed. The emblem inscribed on the reverse of this coin cannot be identified.

Apart from these four categories, Pashupati coins with the word Pashupati inscribed on four petals of a lotus have also been discovered. Since each Pashupati coin differs from the other, scholars consider them to have been issued at different times.²⁹

Jagadish Chandra Regmi has described 8 categories of Pashupati coins.³⁰ The obverse of one of them contains a crowned image with the right hand reclining on the knees and the left hand touching the waist. Cunningham has described this image as that of a King.³¹ On the reverse side of this coin, a flower vase has been inscribed. Amshuvarna too seems to have issued coins with a jar inscribed. Therefore, the Pashupati coins have been issued by Amshuvarna for commemorative purposes.³² Another category of Pashupati coins contains the word Pashupati and the image of Goddess Laxmi on the obverse, and a jar on the reverse.

29. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

30. Ibid, pp. 192 and 212.

31. A. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 118.

32. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, op. cit., p. 194.

Contd...

According to Perceval Landon, this coin was issued by Sivadeva II, a Licchavi ruler contemporary to Ashuvarma. A. Cunningham has also mentioned another category of Pashupati coins with the image of a sitting bull on the obverse and the sun on the reverse.³³ This coin is considered to have been issued earlier than other Pashupati coins. There is a collection of still another type of Pashupati coins in the Hanumandhoka Numismatic Museum. The obverse of this coin contains an arrow and the word Pashupati. As in the case of other Pashupati coins, no solid evidence has yet been discovered regarding the King who issued this coin.

Vrisha Coin

There is also another Licchavi coin known as Vrisha. According to Kaiser Bahadur K.C., this coin was issued by Vrishadeva, grandfather of Manadeva.³⁴ Since the emblem of a bull is inscribed on this coin, Vrishadeva thus appears to have been a follower of Shaivism. However, the inscription of Jayadeva II has described him as "Rajottama Sugata Sharana Paksapati," thereby showing that he was a Buddhist.³⁵ At the same time, the size of the Vrisha coin shows that it might have been issued after Vishnugupta.³⁶

All the Licchavi coins discovered so far are made of copper. No definite information about its denomination is available. Pashupati coins have been discovered in different sizes. The Gunanka coin is bigger than other coins. However, no information about their value has yet been found. Of the Licchavi coins, Karsapana, Purana, Pana, Panah Pana, Pana Purana and Mrittika are important. Indian coins named Karsapana and Purana have been discovered. Therefore, similar coins might have been issued in Nepal also.³⁷ The Thankot inscription of Bhimarjunadeva and

33. Ibid, p. 209, A. Cunningham, op. cit., Plate XIII, Fig. 8.

34. Kaiser Bahadur K.C., Assesment of Judicial Customs in Nepal, p. 245.

35. Sanskrit Sandesh, Vol. I, P. 2.

36. Jagadish Chandra Regmi, op. cit., p. 216.

37. Hit Narayan Jha, The Licchavis, Chowkhamba Publications, 1970, p. 199.

Jishnugupta states that the then ruler had granted the people of Dakshinakoligrama 50% exemption from the Simkara tax. According to the inscription, those who used to pay 1 Karsipana should now pay only 8 Panas, and those who used to pay 8 Panas should pay only 4 Panas. This shows that 1 Karsapana was equal to 16 Panas.³⁸ The value of the Pana Purana is not known. D.C. Sircar considers it a silver Purana coin, divided into silver Pana coins.³⁹

A Licchavi inscription has been discovered at Chhatra Chandeshwar in the Pashupati area, which does not mention any King.⁴⁰ Historians have expressed different opinions regarding the term "Panakatailaghata" used in this inscription. According to some, taxes were collected in Panas and jars of oil during that period.⁴¹ Other historians have interpreted the term Pana to mean copper.⁴² According to the latest view, Pana means copper, and Pana, Pana Purana, and Panah Pana are different denominations of copper coins. If Pana is taken to mean gold or silver, it will be incorrect to regard that jars of oil were made of gold or silver. Moreover, all Licchavi coins discovered so far are made of copper, and the word Pana is added to each. Therefore, these were all copper coins. The inscriptions also⁴³ prove that a Pana coins was of higher value than a Pana Purana. Historians have expressed different opinions with regard to Mrittika coins also. The Khopasi inscription of Shivadeva and Amshuvarma states that the people of Khopasi were to pay 50 white Mrittika in "Dwarodghatana Yatra" and "Kailashayatra." Since the word "white" is used here, it may be argued that Mrittika was a silver coin. But it seems improbable that a tax of 50 silver coins was imposed on ordinary villagers for this purpose.⁴⁴ Mrittika has also been interpreted as white clay. Some historians say that 50 lumps of clay were payable as tax.⁴⁵

38. Ibid.

39. Dilli Raman Regmi, op. cit., p. 264; D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Delhi, 1965.

40. Itihas Samshodhan Mandal, Abhilekh Sangraha (A Collection of Inscriptions), Vol. 5, p. 6.

41. Dhanabajra Bajracharya, op. cit. p. 90.

42. Hit Narayan Jha, op. cit., p. 200.

43. Ibid; Abhilekh Sangraha, Vol. 5, p. 17.

44. Ibid, pp. 200-1.

45. Dhanabajra Bajracharya, op. cit., p. 277.

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Another feature of Licchavi coins is that they reflect the great development of art. The iconography or other emblems in every coin prove that art had reached a developed stage at that time. We may refer to Mananka coins in this connection. Every coin of Manadeva discovered so far contain the image of Laxmi or a lion, or letters inscribed in an artistic manner. Similarly, all Licchavi coins such as Pashupati, Vaisravana, Gunanka, as well as those of Amshuvarma and Jishnugupta, have their own artistic speciality and originality. Apart from this, Licchavi coins also help us to know about the religious condition of the then Nepal. The word "Pashupati", the image of bull and a frident refer to the Pashupata sect of Shaivism, while the image of Laxmi, Kamadhenu and lotus prove the existence of Vaishnavism.

Not many Licchavi coins have been discovered either because these were issued in small quantities or because of inadequate excavations. If we doubt the sovereign status of the then Nepal on this ground, foreign coins should have been discovered here. Since none has been found, we should attribute this to the lack of excavation. Apart from this, barter trade seems to have prevailed in Nepal during that period because of geographical factors. Even now, barter trade is conducted in some parts of Nepal. Moreover, we have yet to conduct massive exploration in this field.

Central Tibetan Relations¹

Gyurme Dorje Ngagi

After Kublai-khan's death Emperor Yung-lo of China had little to do with Tibet in 1470 and 1473. Piyasa (1413 and 1416 A.D. and had departed the title of "Khan"), as was Pratapa Palli, an important personage in the Central Tibet, not towards China. Pratapa Palli established his political relations with Tibet, not towards China, but with Tibet, not with China, because Tibet had become closer to Nepal than China after it became independent. Tibet was then more important than China from the political viewpoint.

It is not clear why the kings who ruled during the interval between Ching-tsu and Pratapa Palli did not establish relations with Tibet. It is possible that they were unable to do so because they were so weakly entrenched themselves in power. Moreover, some of them had had to pay attention towards the south. Thus, with Tibet, there was no connection King Kublaido Palli, who had once visited a political representative of Palha around 678 Nepal and (1470 A.D.) along with some, falcons, and other presents and received authority in their colour, could not have established relations with Tibet. (Gala Charles Thomas, in his *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, London, 1904, p. 164, but specified that Kublaido Palli must have established relations with Tibet, but he has not been able to put forward any evidence in support of this view).

It is likely, of course, that Nepal did have any relations with Tibet even before the contact between Buddhists and the Central Tibet. Pilgrims travelled between the two countries and there were trade and marital relations among people living in the border areas. The only thing which was lacking was the political relations, which were established by Pratapa Palli.

1. Gyurme Dorje Ngagi, "Nepal in Tibet in the Middle Ages," *Nepal Times* (Kathmandu), 1951, Vol. 2, No. 4, 10th May 1951, pp. 129-131.

Songtsen Gampo was an illustrious King of Nepal during the eighth century. Nepal was at that time a united and prosperous kingdom. During his reign, the reign also witnessed progress in the fields of religion, culture and art. After strengthening his internal position, Songtsen Gampo made efforts to expand his Kingdom. In particular, he turned his attention towards the north.

Songtsen Gampo sent his relatives, Raji White Gampo, along with a large army to attack southern Tibet. Nepal then attacked Tibet.

In 630 A.D. with the approval of the King, Raji White Gampo, occupied Lhasa and continued his program. He laid the foundation of the Nepali army which reached Derge, the Lhasa area and had good relations.

Raji White Gampo thought it would be better to accept the King's offer to conclude a peace treaty and to include the kingdom. Accordingly, a treaty containing several provisions was concluded. It was the first treaty ever concluded between Nepal and Tibet.

After this treaty, Nepal regained its control of Lhasa and other areas. These areas were lost following the Nepal-Tibet war of 1855-56 during the reign of King Jang Bahadur.

This treaty allowed Nepali merchants to trade in Lhasa and other parts of Tibet. The Nepali merchants had commercial houses in Lhasa. Large-scale trade between Nepal and Tibet commenced only after the conclusion of this treaty.

The treaty also provided for the stationing of a representative (Raj) of the Nepal government in Lhasa. This post was converted into that of an ambassador after the Nepal-Tibet war of 1855-56. Thus, for the first time, a representative of the Nepal government was stationed in the capital of Tibet. This constituted the sole manifestation of diplomatic links between Nepal and Tibet.

Another provision of the treaty accepted by Tibet was that all matters between the two should be decided on Nepali merchants engaged in trade in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet. In addition, Tibet agreed to pay 1 Lakh of silver worth Rs 12,00,000 and 1 Lakh of silver worth Rs 1,00,000 and 1 Lakh of silver worth Rs 1,00,000 to Nepal.

every year. The treaty allowed Nepal to mint coins required by Tibet. But these coins were minted in the name of the King of Nepal. In other words, Tibet was obliged to circulate Nepali coins in its territory and pay their prices too. Thus the treaty between Nepal and Tibet contained several conditions.

The last but the main provision in the treaty was that in case Tibet wished to trade with India instead of with Nepal it should do so through Nepal, instead of through the eastern route. In other words, Tibet was required to carry any goods to and from India through Nepali territory, and not through Indian territory in the east, if it ever wanted to trade with India. By prohibiting trade through Indian territory, the treaty inevitably contributed in developing Nepal Valley into a trade center. The treaty was thus of vital importance for Nepal from both economic and commercial viewpoints.

After signing this treaty, Kaji Bhima Malla returned to Nepal, bringing with him gold, silver and many other objects given by the Lamas of Tibet as presents to the King of Nepal. However, far from being honored or rewarded for having concluded such an important treaty, the Kaji was executed soon after his return to Nepal as a result of the political conspiracy hatched by some elements within the palace. Bhuvanlalaxmi, wife of Kaji Bhima Malla, became a Sati, after cursing that "this court shall ever be bereft of reason." There is a legend that this curse is still having its effect on Nepal.

Thanks to the efforts of Kaji Bhima Malla, Pratapa Malla succeeded in establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with Tibet. However, by executing Kaji Bhima Malla, Pratapa Malla left a stigma on his otherwise glorious record. In fact, Bhima Malla's assassination was a stain on the Malla dynasty in the same way as Bhimsen Thapa's death had left a stigma on the Shah dynasty.

Some historians differ on the exact time when Bhima Malla lived. According to Balachandra Sharma, Bhima Malla was a minister during the reign of Laxminarasimha. In his book, "Medieval Nepal" Prof. Bhairav Bahadur Pradhan also claims that Bhima Malla was a contemporary of Laxminarasimha. Both historians have cited the Vamshavalis to support their claim. On the other hand, Hema Lal maintains that Kaji Bhima Malla was a contemporary of Pratapa Malla. He says that this fact is also recorded in the Vamshavalis.

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A letter addressed by Regent Bahadur Shah to Ranabir Khatri, Amara Simha Thapa and troops stationed in different forts shows that Bhima Malla was a contemporary of Pratapa Malla and that it was he who initiated relations with Tibet. In this letter, Bahadur Shah detailed the provisions of the Nepal-Treaty concluded in 1846 Vikrama.² Since it is an official document, it is obvious that Bhima Malla was actually a contemporary of Pratapa Malla.

Thus Bhima Malla invaded and conquered Tibet during the rule of Pratapa Malla and concluded a treaty with that country.

In the meantime, King Rama Shah of Gorkha also was coveting Tibet.

After capturing Warpak, King Rama Shah wanted to conquer several petty principalities located along the route towards Tibet's border. Accordingly, he sent troops under the command of Sardar Bhawani Simha, capturing all the principalities situated on the way, these troops reached the western border of Kerung. Learning of the advance of the Gorkhali troops, the Tibetan troops, based in Kerung, devised a trick. They withdrew, saying that they could not fight against the Gorkhali troops. Sardar Bhawani Simha, relying on this word of the Kerung-based Tibetan troops, advanced further and finally reached Kukurghat. Immediately, a large number of Tibetan troops stationed in Kerung ambushed the Gorkhali troops. The Gorkhali troops fought hard, but they were

2. A full translation of this letter is given below: To Ranabir Khatri, Amar Simha Thapa, Baladev Thapa and all other companies and troops. Blessings. All is well here and we wish the same there. The news here is good. The Chinese Amba came here on the command of the Chinese Emperor and a treaty was signed between us and Tibet, The boundary between (Nepal) and Tibet, fixed along Kuti during the time of King Pratapa Malla and Kaji Bhima Malla, has been confirmed. The treaty also provides that Tibet shall pay an annual tribute of Rs 50,000 at Kathmandu. The Amba too came before us. We had talks with him and we have sent letters, couriers and presents to the Chinese Emperor along with him. You are now ordered to send in advance all arms and ammunition kept at different forts and present yourselves before us along with troops stationed at different places. Friday, Bhadra Badi 2, 1846 (August 1789).

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Tibet's suzerainty over Sikkim and pledged himself never to occupy that country. Some people, however, believe that the reply was not actually dispatched.

The relations and treaty provisions between Nepal and Tibet, initiated by King Pratapa Malla continued till the rule of King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur. However, Jaya Prakash Malla started sending debased coins to Tibet, thus dislocating trade inside Tibet. The circulation of such coins in Tibet proved to be one of the factors leading to a war between Nepal and Tibet during the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah.

The relations of both Gorkha and Nepal (Kantipur) with Tibet continued till the Nepal-Gorkha war. In other words, these relations were interrupted during the Nepal-Tibet war. Even after the Gorkhali conquest of Nepal, cordial and special relations could not be maintained between Nepal and Tibet throughout Prithvi Narayan Shah's rule. Nepal-Tibet relations were resumed only after Simha Pratapa Shah concluded a treaty with Tibet in 1832 Vikrama.

Nepal (Kantipur) and Gorkha were on good terms with each other before they went to war. In 1814 Vikrama, King Jaya Prakash Malla of Nepal had signed a treaty with King Prithvi Narayan Shah of Gorkha governing Nepal-Gorkha relations as well as their relations with Tibet. The treaty provided that Kantipur and Gorkha would maintain a consul (Wakil) in each other's capital, as well as in Tibet, and jointly conduct trade. This indicates that Gorkha too maintained its own Wakil in Tibet. In addition, the treaty provided that the coins of Gorkha and Kantipur should circulate in each other's territory. This meant that a dual currency system was prevalent in both Gorkha and Kantipur at that time. The treaty also stipulated that Gorkha and Kantipur should send their respective coins for circulation in Tibet in equal amounts. This indicates that the coins of Gorkha circulated in Tibet at that time. The treaty, in addition, explicitly provided for the confiscation of all commodities which were sent to Lhasa without the permission of the consuls of Kantipur and Gorkha stationed there. It stipulated that such confiscated commodities should be shared by the two States. Finally, the treaty provided that both Kantipur and Gorkha should share the bullion and coins brought from Tibet and India. It stipulated

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That every inhabitant of Gorkha and Nepal wishing to go to Tibet should travel through Mustang on a compulsory basis. This indicates that Mustang was a trade center at that time.

Thus Jyaprasada Malla signed a treaty conferring equal status on both Nepal and Gorkha and governing their political and trade relations.⁴

4. For a full translation of this treaty, see "Treaty Signed By King Jaya Prakash Malla of Kantipur In Favor Of King Prithwi Narayan Shah." Samaj Samachar (Lalitpur), Year 4, No. 7, July 1, 1973, pp. 112-113.

THE STATE FORM OF A NEW CONSTITUTION IN INDIA

BY

-JAIN, JAIN-

Approved by: Vishnu C. Joshi

"The Emergence of a New Aristocracy in India", by Jain, J. C. (Agarwal Sri Ram Narain & Co., 1937, 220 pp) tells us a complete story in logical chronological, although a few articles on specific aspects of the state form in contemporary India published in recent years, this is the first time from my recollection we have accepted a critical analysis of the new aristocracy which led to the rise of the state in the first half of the nineteenth century in 1844.

Jain has given a possible interpretation title for the book. The title deals with "the nature of power by the state" which he describes as "an entirely new aristocracy which was little known in 1837." The emergence of a new political authority by Jain Chandra in 1844 did not mark the emergence of a new aristocracy in India, however, after the new state of India was founded in 1844, participation in the political process became the exclusive prerogative of the state and Central Council who had followed King Vikram's Rajasudra and Jain Chandra to Kutchch, the same family to which Jain Chandra belonged (the title of King was conferred on this family by Parada only in 1844) was one of the less influential members of this group, which was distinguished itself at the public sessions of the administration and the army (the same in the sessions of central politics). One can hardly say that this family was little known in 1837, and that the changes of 1844 led to a shift of political power outside the traditional political groups.

The first three chapters of this book describe "historical" evolution in the state of India from 1837 (near the end of the first chapter) to the end of the book. The author's approach is critical and logical and is limited to a number of specific historical events which have all been accepted in the historical and official records by even a critic of the state of India, however, the book is very

realistic and convincing analysis of such events as the Kot Massacre, which paved the way for the rise of Jang Bahadur, and the alleged conspiracy against Jang Bahadur in 1851. He has thus rendered an important contribution by enabling his readers to see the principal actors in the contemporary political drama, Rajendra, Surendra, Jang Bahadur, Mathbar Singh Thapa and the junior queen, Laxmi Devi, in a new light. The copious explanatory footnotes further add to the value of the book for scholars and the general reader alike.

One wishes that Jain had been equally unbiased and critical in the subsequent four chapters, which "describe the measures undertaken by the new aristocracy, under Jang's leadership, to capture, consolidate and strengthen its strangling hold over the internal affairs of the country." The value of his discussion is marred by a biased and moralistic assessment of Jang Bahadur's character and motives. Jain describes Jang Bahadur as a "crafty, ruthless and ambitious" person who had "risen to power through intrigue and political unscrupulousness", and who "acted on the Machiaevillian principle that rulers need not worry about the truthfulness of their word." Jain also says that Jang Bahadur was "concerned exclusively with the acquisition and retention of power", and that his "conduct was determined solely by the political exigencies of the situation." Finally, Jain says that Jang Bahadur "was not fitted either by education or by training to remove social evils and was afraid of social opposition." One wonders whether Jain would have liked to see Jang Bahadur assume power through an electoral victory, or whether Jain's lofty moralistic tone and his vision of an ideal combination of Abraham Lincoln, Mahatma Gandhi and Raja Ram Mohun Roy in a Nepali political leader during the mid-nineteenth century are realistic or appropriate for a serious student of history.

Nor is there any evidence that Jain has correctly analyzed the nature of Rana rule in Nepal. The rise of Jang Bahadur was hardly a discrete phenomenon having no connection with the contemporary socio-economic structure. Jang Bahadur was able to assume supreme political authority, and the Rana family was able to retain this authority for more than a century, chiefly because this regime represented the interests of those classes in the society which had traditionally been able to manipulate their social and political influence to promote their own economic interests, based primarily on land ownership. The experience of several other countries suggests that Jang Bahadur could hardly have taken steps to divert the economic surplus being appropriated by the traditional oligarchic classes toward

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the wider national objective of promoting trade and industry. It is in this sense that the sheer naïvete of Jain's following views causes surprise: "Had Jang learnt anything from his visit to industrial England and had he possessed sufficient vision and far sight (sic), he should have initiated industrialization and mecanization in Nepal. There were no such hindrances in the economic development of his country as existed in India under British colonial rule." Recent experience would reinforce the view that "industrialization and mechanization" can seldom be imported through one man's contacts with the industrialized west, howsoever powerful in local politics he may be.

Jain is obviously unable to make an objective assessment of Jang Bahadur's policies and measures in a larger context. He tries to underrate the epoch-making importance of the 1854 legal code by suggesting that Jang Bahadur promulgated it "to earn the gratitude of the conservative sections of the society. Such is not the case. The policy of codifying and unifying law has been adopted by most bureaucratic polities in the world, such as that founded by Jang Bahadur in Nepal. Their common objective was to minimize the legal autonomy of traditional groups and strata and regulate legal activities in various spheres, thus controlling the entire systems of social control these activities implied. (S.N. Eisenstadt, The Political System of Empires, New York: Collier-Macmillan Ltd, 1967 (2nd ed.), pp. 137-138).

Even within the narrow compass within which he assesses the policies and motives of Jang Bahadur, Jain tries to study a system of jurisprudence without adequate knowledge of the social and economic background. For instance, Jain says that, according to the legal code, "the crops grown in Nepal should be sold at the government centers within the country so as to prevent cultivators of the soil from escaping to India with the money." But the section which he has cited in support of his statement actually refers not to crops in general but only to cardamom, opium and some other commodities which were covered by government monopolies at the time. The statement that the 1854 legal code "provided for a general subservience of the banking and commercial classes to the feudal classes" is open to even stronger objection. Does Jain really believe that the banking and commercial classes of Nepal had enjoyed any autonomy during the period before the rise of Jang Bahadur to power, or that they had been able to defend this autonomy against the encroachments of the political elites and prevent the latter from controlling their economic activities and internal affairs?

Moreover, Jain tends to gloss over evidence relating to reforms introduced by Jung Bahadur which would show the Prime Minister as a more sympathetic figure. Jain is critical of Jung Bahadur's "partial and recognition" of the system of slavery. However, he fails to mention that Jung Bahadur also abolished the rights of parents to sell their children into slavery and of money-lenders to enslave their debtors. Selective research and consideration, Jain also says that on Jung's death "if a new cultivator came forward to offer higher revenue, the only protection to the old tenant was that he was given the first option to accept the new rates offered by the new owner. If he did not accept these, the landlord would be free to give the land to the new cultivator." But this law applied to Birra lands only. The 1854 legal code specifically prohibits such competitive bidding on Birra lands. It is obvious that Jain is unaware of the distinction between the Birra and Jung lands or land tenure in Nepal.

Even after a careful study of Jung's work, we remain ignorant about the basic character of the Nepali political system during the most important period of its development, one of the factors which helped it sustain itself for half a century. We too were ignorant about the nature and arrangement of the new power elite, and about the measures it took to achieve legitimization and maintain the political system. If we do see new political groups in the country, it is possible that this was not what Jain attempted to say in his book, but its title and some other major expectations in the mind of the reader have are satisfied by its contents. One wishes that Jain had concentrated on the task of analyzing political events in the court of Nepal during the period from 1847 to 1878, which he has done so successfully in the earlier chapters of the study, and incorporated references into the main body of the law, society and government in that period not only leave the reader with an equally enlightening insight in Nepali historiography.

A History Of Land Tenures In Garhwal^X

The subject of tenures both proprietary and cultivating in Garhwal is one which cannot be dismissed in a single paragraph. Particularly in a country where almost the whole population consists of peasant proprietors or cultivators with occupancy rights, there is hardly any matter on which the happiness of the people at large so much depends as on certainty of tenure, and at present almost all holdings are matters of the greatest uncertainty. No work on the hill tenures has ever been attempted, nor has the law on the subject ever been codified as has been the case elsewhere. The only published account is contained in fragmentary notices in the old settlement reports, while all the modern history and law of the subject is contained in the proceedings of cases, consigned unnoted to the depths of record rooms. Particularly at the time of settlement, when titles are enquired into and rights questioned, such decisions are occasionally unearthed by litigants whom they concern, and discoveries made as to the principles which guided the early rulers of the district in their judgments. Moreover, the best record of rights is necessarily imperfect. A pushing man will get more than his legal due merely owing to the yieldingness of his adversary, while the latter will be defrauded through his own failure to contest the former's injustice. It is therefore most necessary to set forth the principles on which the new record of rights has to the best of endeavours been framed, and by which it may be tested and tried, and if found wanting may be corrected. This will, it is hoped, be accepted an apology for the somewhat disproportionate amount of space allotted to this subject in the present report.

Under the native kings the proprietary right in land was vested in the Sovereign and inalienable. Mr. Traill writes: "The paramount property in the soil here rests with the Sovereign. This right is not only theoretically acknowledged by the subject, but its practical existence is also deducible from the unrestricted power of alienation which the Sovereign always possessed in the land. ... These tenures "(of the occupant Zamindars)" were never indefeasible, and as they were derived from royal

^XE.K. Paw, C.S., Report On The Tenth Settlement Of The Garhwal District. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, Chapter II: Tenures. pp. 32-32.

grants either traditional or existing, so they might be abrogated at the will of the sovereign, even without allegations of default against the holder, and without reservation in his favour. The peculiar nature of the country rendered the exercise of this right frequent in the neighbourhood of the capital. The difficulties of procuring supplies in the province have been alluded to. Individuals settling at Almora or Srinagar, under the auspices of the reigning prince, in consequence, received the gift of a small portion of land for the establishment of their families. Where a provision in land was called for to reward military services or to remunerate the heirs of those slain in battle, it was usually made at the expense of existing rights."

"The property in the soil is here termed that, and grants in that conveyed a freehold in the soil as well as the produce." "The rents of these lands have at subsequent periods been almost wholly resumed to the rent roll, but the property in the soil has generally been suffered to remain with the heirs of the grantor. It is on grants of this nature that the rights of a large body of the occupant landholders are founded."

"The land in the interior seldom changed proprietors. The greater part of the present occupants there derive their claims to the soil solely from the prescription of long established and undisturbed possession; and this remark applies also to many individuals more particularly Brahmans, whose ancestors, having originally obtained estates on grants, not conveying any property in the soil, their descendants have, subsequently, by the migration of the actual occupants, come into the full possession both of land and produce." Of grants which did not convey "property in the soil," but were only assignments of revenue, the most common were those made as remuneration for the fulfillment of a public office, known as Negichari, Kaminchari, Jaidad, &c., and those made for the endowment of religious establishments.

(To Be Continued)

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4.4.2 On The River System-III1. Continuation Of River Land In Talipatti.

(Observer's Transcription)

From King Raja Wandafor Shah,

To Dehal Thapa, Jagadhar Kaur and Dharmraj Mishra of Talipatti, and Panchajit Singh and Joga Kaur of Talipatti.

We have received reports that you are the 34 River owners of that area, that it is now being developed and more structures and different arrangements for the collection of revenue every year, and that great attention is now being paid to fish (i.e., Grass) lands there.

We therefore desire that collection of revenue on River Land will not be omitted, appropriate Rs 10 from both villages every year and make the payment stipulated in law right when, with the assurance, provide the services of your lands.

Kartik Sudi 4, 1847

(October 1790)

Royal Research Collections, V.1, P. 3, 14.

2. Grant To Sri Rangaiah To Rangaiah Sahai.

From King Raja Wandafor Shah,

To Jagat Singh Sah, Durgas Sah, Panchajanti Sah and all other Rajas Rangaiah and Sri Rangaiah in the Region (Talipatti).

We hereby grant you a land of 1100 and 10000. Except property (land) may be inherited by a relative within three generations, if not, in payment of Rs 100. Otherwise, property shall be reported as vacant, with income in Rs 100 and the same portion, with the assurance, you look it in the rights and titles in Mahadwar Kaur, provide legal services to us through the Duke.

Kartik Sudi 14, 1847

(Oct 1800)

Royal Research Collections, V.1, P. 3, 22.

1. Confirmation of Fief Land in Chubara

From King Kira Sahasra Shah,

To Laxmi Bahayya Spadhyaya.

The Laxmi (i.e. King Pratap Singh Shah) had issued a royal order confirming Fakhala-shahka as the fief holder of the lands in Chubara. We hereby reaffirm this (i.e.) holding and decree that it shall not be confiscated as long as Fakhara (i.e. tax on Fakhara lands) is paid. With the assurance, maintain cattle farms there and supply cows to us.

Muz. Coll. 5, 1247

(November 1792)

Legat. Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 26.

2. Confirmation of Fief Land in Simoga-Sheriyani

From King Kira Sahasra Shah,

To Sivalinga Desai of Chubara in Simoga-Sheriyani.

Heretofore, Fakhala lands and rice fields in that area (mentioned heretofore) had been granted as fief to your father, Devan Singh. Devan's widow settled tenants (Kariyal) on those lands, but could not grow her title. The lands were then resumed as fief. We hereby reaffirm those lands as your fief, along with the tenants settled there who do not wish to leave. In case anybody claims that this is not your fief-land, produce evidence (of your title). With the assurance, use the lands as your fief.

Muz. Coll. 11, 1047

(April 1791)

Legat. Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 49-51.

3. Order Regarding Fief Land in Mirachigona

From King Kira Sahasra Shah,

To the Miras and Prata of Mirachigona.

Officials reported by us have inspected fief lands, confiscated the surplus and allotted 240 muns of rice.

fields to you as follows. You shall not be evicted from these lands. Remain ready to provide necessary services to us. The Cho lands is your Kipet.

Particulars of Allotment

1. Mijhar	40 suris of land
2. 10 Dariya families providing Dako-boko services	20 suris land

Arwin Bull 5, 1848

(September 1791)

Sogdi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 51.

In a similar order allotting 1,120 suris of land as Kipet to the Mijhar and 30 Fraja families of Ichok willow was issued to the same date.

.. Recruitment of Kipet lands in Shalging

From King Rana Bhadrar Seth,

To State Fraja and Mijhar of Shalging (in Sindhgulchok district.)

Our officials have inspected your Kipet lands and determined the total area to be 440 suris. They have also reported that there is one Mijhar and 76 households of common people (Doko-Lko Sokayt). As such, the area of [Kipet] land is inadequate to the extent available to the 10 (linear grade 7).

We therefore decree that you shall not be disappointed by the 440 suris of rice land and other fields. Land and labour under Kipet tower, customarily used by you. Remain ready for service and use the lands as your Kipet.

Arwin Bull 7, 1848

(September 1791)

Sogdi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 56.

Contd...

3. Structural Grant On Confirmed Ripe Loans

From King Sam's Brother's Shop,

To Delya Delya.

We hereby grant you a Structural 200 marks of ripe loan in Randa (Kanda-Landa) which has arrived (to the government) from confirmed (ripe) lands and the ripe admitted from ripe holders of Randa, Randa ready for service. (Particular of lands follow).

Punch Roll 18, 1998

(December 1791)

Royal Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 90-91.

[Another order, issued to Ichnomada Kama-mi on Punch Roll 18, 1998 (December 1791), makes a similar Structural 1000 grant in Randa (Royal Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 91).

4. Confirmation of Ripe Loans in Chesters

From King Sam's Brother's Shop,

To the Ripe Chest and other Ripe of Chesters.

Our officials have ascertained the Ripe Loans in your emergency possession. They have reported that the number of Ripe households is 48, 48 hereby grant you 2,770 marks of lands as Ripe, at the rate of 40 marks for the Ripe and 10 marks for each Ripe household. Concerning that you should not be disappointed of these lands. Use these lands to Ripe with due care and Randa ready for service through the local authority (local). Provide just any payments and services and serve us.

Punch Roll 18, 1998

(December 1791)

Royal Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 92.

9. Confirmation Of Kipat Lands Of Sunuwars

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To the Sunuwar Prajas of Gairhigaun.

Our officials have inspected the Kipat lands in the customary possession of 10 households. They have reported that the total area of these lands is 140 muris. We hereby confirm 40 muris of lands for the Mijhar and 30 muris for each peasant household (Kuriya) and decree that you shall not be dispossessed of these lands. Use these lands with due assurance and remain ready for service through the local authority (Amali). Provide customary payment and services (Doko-Boko) and serve us.

Magh Badi 13, 1848
(January 1792)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 94.

10. Confirmation Of Kipat Lands In Timalkot

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To Mijhar Prayag Singh of Timalkot and other Prajas.

Our officials have inspected the Kipat lands in your customary possession. They have reported that the number of households is 13, using 95 muris of land. We hereby grant these lands as Kipat, decreeing that you shall not be dispossessed of these lands. With due assurance, remain ready to provide service through the local authority (Amali). Provide customary payments and services (Doko-Boko) and serve us.

Magh Sudi 15, 1848
(February 1792)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 90.

Royal Cattle Farms, 1791

1. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To Chauru Padhya and Jagatram Khawas.

We hereby appoint you as managers (Chitaidar) of five farms of cows, 3 buffalo farms and 3 sheep farms in the hills and the Tarai, replacing Dharmadhvaj Adhikari. Contrary to previous practice, sell bullocks, male buffaloes and wool from these farms and use the proceeds to buy salt for the cows, buffaloes and sheep. Excess bulls, male buffaloes and sheep shall be brought to the palace. Ghee produced at these farms shall be similarly brought to the royal palace. Submit accounts every year and obtain clearance. Sell old buffaloes and sheep, buy those of reproductive age for these farms and thus expand them.

Agahan Badi 3, 1848
(November 1791)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 80-81.

2. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
(Abstract Translation).

We hereby grant 1,100 muris of rice lands as Jagir to cow hands and Adais. Use these lands as your Jagir and look after cattle farms. Remain ready in our service. Convert Pakho lands in Kotegaun into rice fields. Appropriate one-sixth of the income and transmit the balance to the palace.

Agahan Badi 3, 1848
(November 1791)

Regmi Research Series, Vol. 5, pp. 79-80

3. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To Adai Sahadev Padhya.

Reclaim the lands left after making provision for supplies to cowhands in cattle farms in the Dharmathali area. Arrange for such area of lands as will be sufficient for the supply of 2½ muris of salt (to cattle farms) in Bihawar. Supply such salt

Contd...

for cows and buffaloes in different cattle farms in the presence of a Dittha appointed by Kapardar Bhotu Pande.

Kartik Sudi 5, 1851

(October 1794)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 757.

4. From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Pyamtasi Mahar of the Salmya Cattle farm.

Formerly, when your father was manager (Chitaidar) of our cattle-farm, our grand-father (King Prithvi Narayan Shah) had granted him 160 muris of rice lands, along with homesites and Pakho lands. We hereby confirm 60 muris from this area of 160 muris as your emoluments (Khangī). Rents on the remaining area of 100 muris shall be used to purchase 6 muris of salt every year for cows and buffaloes (at our cattle farm) in Bihawar (Kabhrepalanchok). Supply salt to cows and buffaloes at different cattle farms in the presence of a Dittha appointed by Kapardar Bhotu Pande and Adai Sahadev Padhya.

Kartik Sudi 5, 1851

(October 1794)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 756.

Guthi Administration1. Administration Of Raj Guthis In Kathmandu Valley

From King Girban,
To Ranajit Pande.

As long as you remain alive, you are hereby directed to supervise the discharge of the prescribed functions by the Guthiyars of the following Guthis endowed by our father (King Rana Bahadur Shah) and mother (Queen Kantavati Devi). We also decree that anybody who causes obstruction in your work shall be severely punished. Everybody shall comply with this order.

List Of Guthi Endowments

<u>Guthi Endowment</u>		<u>Number</u>
1. Sri Taleju in Kathmandu	...	2
2. Sri Guhyeshwari in do.	...	2
3. Sri Degutaleju in Patan	...	1
4. Semuka Guthi, Santipur	...	1
5. Sri Vajra Jogini	...	1
6. Sri Dakshina Kalika	...	1
7. Sri Pashupati	...	2
8. Sri Taleju of Bhadgaun	...	1
9. Sri Vindhyavasini	...	1
10. Sri Changuanarayana	...	1

Jestha Badi 30, 1861
(May 1804)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 2, pp. 77-78.

Contd...

2. Management Of Sadavarta Guthi In Deopatan

From King Girban,
To Baladev Ban.

Kamal Ban had formerly installed a copper inscription endowing 1,200 muris of rice lands in Deopatan in order to propitiate Sri Pashupati. According to this endowment, income from these lands should be utilized to supply food (Sadavarta) every day to local and visiting Fakirs and mendicants. You were operating this Guthi endowment, but subsequently delegated your responsibilities to your disciple, Balakrishna Ban. We had issued a royal order confirming this arrangement.

When investigations were conducted to ascertain whether or not religious functions are being performed (under Guthi endowments), it was found that the Sadavarta facilities were not being operated in the traditional manner and that the property of the monastery had been misappropriated. Balakrishna Ban, unable to obtain clearance, absconded.

We now hereby grant you (this Guthi endowment) for operating the Sadavarta in the traditional manner. In case you do not do so, you shall be dismissed from the monastery.

Marga Badi 12, 1863
(November 1807)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 100.

3. Management Of Guthi Lands Of Machhindranath Temple

From King Girban,

To Shivanarasimha. A royal order had been issued regarding the duties and functions of the Dittha and Bisets of the Guthi endowment of Sri Machhindranatha of Patan. However, they misappropriated the property of the deity. We therefore appoint you as Dittha of these lands. Have the customary (religious) functions of (the deity) performed in the traditional manner and appropriate the emoluments and perquisites of a Dittha. Have the (religious) functions of (the deity) performed. We hereby remit compulsory labor obligations (Jhara, Beth, Begari) remitted according to custom.

Marga Badi 12, 1863
(November 1806)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 100.

Contd...

4. Appointment of Mahant In Kapileshwar Asthan, Mahottari

From King Girban,
To Mahant Shaiva Giri.

Formerly, our father (i.e. King Rana Bahadur) had appointed you as Mahant of the Kapileshwar Asthan (monastery) at Kodari Parganna in Mahottari district. In 1804, Laxmi Narayan Pandit removed you and appointed Himanchal Giri in your place. We hereby remove Himanchal Giri and reinstate you (as Mahant). Use the income accruing from the lands of the Asthan, located in the moujas of Kapileshwar, Hiyapur and Pareswar, to perform religious functions and operate Sadavarta facilities in the traditional manner. Appropriate the surplus income from disciple to disciple.

Marga Badi 12, 1863
(November 1806)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 101.

5. Appointment Of Chitaidar In Jagannath Temple

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To Pratap Sim Thakun.

Your great grand-father, Jhangal Thakun, had installed an image of Sri Jagannatha at Makhan Tol in Kathmandu, constructed a temple and endowed (lands) as Puja-Guth. We hereby confirm this endowment and designate you as Chitaidar (manager) in the position previously held by Balak Das Bairagi. Appoint a priest of your choice, operate the Puja-Guth in the traditional manner, repair the temple and appropriate the surplus income.

Ashadh Sudi 3, 1853
(June 1796)
Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 317.

Contd...

6. Revenue Collection On Raj Guthi Lands In Patan

In the year 1832 Vikrama (1775 A.D.), Ganga Thakur and Sadasiva Upadhyaya were in charge of revenue collection on Raj Guthi lands in Kathmandu. A document containing particulars of collections lists 91 Raj Guthi endowments in that region. The names of 6 of these endowments, the area of land owned and the tax collected from each are given below:-

<u>Name of Guthi Endowment</u>	<u>Area of land (In ropani)</u>	<u>Tax</u>
1. Panchadan-Guthi, Pulchok	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	Rs 3
2. Bhujja-Guthi of Sri Machhindra-nath in Pulchok	40 $\frac{3}{4}$	Rs 3
3. Devagal-Guthi, Gabahal	8	Rs 1
4. Krishnadewal-Guthi	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	Rs 3, annas 12
5. Nityapuja-Guthi of Sri Kumbheshwor	10	Rs 4, annas 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
6. Guthi of Sri Narasimhadevata	2	8 annas

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 624.

7. Appointment of Chitaidar For Sadavarta Lands Of Pashupati Temple

From King Simha Pratap Shah,
To Hemanta Vaidya.

Kaji Bhim Khwal of Kathmandu had endowed 66 ropanis of rice lands for Sadavarta facilities at the temple of Sri Pashupati. He had entrusted the management of these lands to your great grand-father, Devidas. We hereby confirm your rights over this endowment, and decree that nobody shall have any claim to it in the future. We also authorize you to collect the customary rents accruing from 14 ropanis of rice lands from the Tel-Guthi:

Contd...

endowment being managed by Laxmi Narayan Bhadel. Transmit rents on the Sadavarta and Tel-Guthi endowments in the customary manner and operate the Guthi, with due assurance.

Magh Sudi 7, 1838
(January 1776)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 632.

8. Appointment Of Chitaidars At Budhanilakantha Temple

From King Girban,

To Maske, Tharghar of Kathmandu, Bhadel Lamaju, Dhirjabir Sing, Darba Sing and Taudhik.

2 muris of rice land at Jorbesi, endowed as Guthi to the temple of Sri Budhanilakantha, had accrued to the State (Raj Aputali) when Bamshidhar died without any heirs. The endowment was being managed by Bhimkhyal Sujakar. We hereby dismiss the previous Guthiyar and authorize you to appropriate the surplus income.

Baisakh Sudi 11, 1862
(May 1805)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 573.

9. Management Of Guthis In Deopatan

From King Simha Pratap Shah,

To Shashidhara, Dware of Deopatan.

We hereby order that those (families) who are in charge of the following Guthis shall not be removed as long as they have any descendants. Place these four Guthis under the charge of suitable persons on payment of fees (Pan-Phul, or betel and flowers), which shall be used to finance the Sindhur-Jatra (festival) of (Sri Pashupati). Local administrators shall not appoint or dismiss (Guthiyars) of these four Guthis, or accept any payment (Pan-Phul). Have the Guthi functions performed in the traditional manner. With due assurance, use these as Guthi endowments.

Chaitra Badi 1, 1837
(March 1781)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, pp. 592-593.

Contd...

10. Guthi Lands Of Shri Chandeshwari

From King Girban,

The Rajas of Nepal (i.e. the Malla Kings of Kathmandu Valley) had endowed land as Guthi for the Shri Chandeshwari (temple) of Banepa, as well as for other (temples of) gods and goddesses. After we entered Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu Valley), our great grand-father (i.e. King Prithvi Narayan Shah) conducted inquiries and confiscated those Guthis that were to be confiscated, and confirmed those that were to be confirmed. Confirmation was made accordingly during the time of our father (i.e. King Rana Bahadur Shah) too. We have similarly conducted inquiries and hereby confirm the following Guthis. Perform regular and ceremonial religious functions at (the temple of Shri Chandeshwari) in the traditional manner as laid down in the deeds of endowment (Dana-Patra). Praise our grace. With due assurance, the Guthiyars mentioned below may appropriate the surplus income.

(Particulars of Guthi Lands And Guthiyars follow).

Bhadra Badi 6, 1861

(August 1804)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 2, pp. 144-153.

11. Management Of Guthi Lands Of Shri Kali Temple In Tanahu

From King Girban,

To Subedar Ranasur Thapa.

We hereby give you charge over Guthi (lands) of Sri Kali temple in the Tanahusur area. With due assurance, supply materials in the customary manner and as laid down in the copper inscription for performing regular and ceremonial religious functions at the temple. At the end of every year, come to the palace and submit accounts of income and expenditure.

Poush Badi 5, 1866

(December 1809)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 9, p. 1.

Order To The Raja Of Mustang, 1794

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To the Raja of Mustang.

In case any rebellion or disturbances occurs in Jumla, or in case enemy attacks that region, present yourself before the Subba of Jumla and act according to his orders. Send us regular reports of developments in Tibet.

Bhadra Sudi 11, 1851
(September 1794)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 747

(On the same day, the Rajas of Jajarkot and Bajura were ordered to proceed to Kumaun. They were instructed that if disturbances arose in Jumla, they should help the local Subba to control the situation. Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 747.

Udayapur Rajya

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,
To Kchharam Upadhyaya Kar̄ki, Nayak of Udayapur.

We hereby confirm your status and privileges as prescribed previously by the (Raja of) Dang-Pyuthan. Enjoy (the principality of) Udayapur as Raja in the traditional manner.

Shrawan Badi 30, 1844
(July 1787)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 5, p. 681.

A History Of Land Tenures In Garhwal^x

(Continued)

It would appear from this that all cultivators of the soil, whether grantees or not, came to be in course of time on much the same footing, so long as no one obtained a grant against them. Mr. Traill also adds: "The occupant Zamindars hold their estates in hereditary and transferable property." Mr. Traill had better means of judging of the tenures which prevailed under the Rajas than any one since his time, but there are two reasons for supposing that the right of cultivators in land was not transferable. In the first place local tradition ascribes the origin of the private right of transfer of land to the introduction of the British rule; while again, no private right of transfer exists in Tehri Garhwal at the present day, which is ruled by the descendants of the old Garhwal Rajas, and where there is every reason to suppose that the old customs are preserved more or less intact. A sale of land in Tehri Garhwal even by a grantee is regarded as an assumption of the royal prerogative and punished accordingly. Of course the right of transfer alone is referred to. As in Tehri at the present day so in Garhwal under the native kings, no doubt transfers took place, and for a consideration; probably as in Tehri by the form of a mortgage which was never after-wards redeemed. And it is probable that under the Gurkhas, who cared for little but the revenue raised from the country, such transfers were regarded by the authorities with indifference. Their cultivating rights are commonly mortgaged by khaekars in Garhwal at the present day, though the holdings are regarded as non-transferable, a fact which is not improbably a survival of the original custom of transfer by those in cultivating possession of land.

"Where the land granted," says Mr. Traill, "was already held in property by others, those occupant proprietors, if they continued on the estate, sank into tenants of the new grantee, who, moreover, by the custom of the country, was permitted to take one-third of the estate into his own immediate cultivation or sir. Of the remainder of the estate, the right of cultivation rested with the original occupants, who were now termed khaekars or occupants in distinction from thatwan or proprietor." In Nagpu

^xE.K. Pauw, C.S., Report On The Tenth Settlement Of The Garhwal District. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, Chapter II: Tenures. pp. 32-32.

there are a number of villages illustrative of this system, the high castes, Bartwals, Bhandaris, Rawats, &c, no doubt the more recent grantees, being the proprietors of the whole village with cultivating rights in part only, while the Khasiya castes, no doubt the earlier occupants, hold the remainder of the village as khaekars of the high caste proprietors. It would appear that if the granted did not at once exercise his right to take part of the village into his own immediate cultivation, he was subsequently debarred from getting a footing there at all, and remained entitled merely to his manorial dues. Mr. Batten derives the word khaekar from khana, to eat, and kar the royal revenue, that is, he may enjoy the land, so long as he pays the revenue. Besides the government revenue (sirti) the khaekar was called on to pay to the proprietor various dues known as bhent (special cash payments), dastur (dues in kind) and pithai (an annual trifling cash rent).

"The khurnis were tenants and settled on the estate by the proprietors, and by long continued occupancy might come to be considered in the light of khaekars from whom indeed they differed little except in the nature of the rent to which they are liable." As the khurni or kaini, according to Mr. Traill, paid a higher rent than any other description of tenant, it was no doubt found convenient to allow him an hereditary right to cultivation, though strictly this right belonged only to the khaekar. The land of the childless khurni would, moreover, naturally revert to the proprietor at his death, and this may not improbably be the reason why the khaekar, who, in villages where the grantee forbore to take cultivating possession in the beginning, now entirely excludes his heirs, so that on a khaekar in such a village dying without an heir or even collateral, his land reverted to the village body of khaekars, should he die in a village where the proprietor holds land in cultivating possession, the holding passes not to the body of khaekars, but to the proprietor. The analogy of position between khaekars and khurnis would probably have been quite sufficient to establish this custom. Mr. Batten says regarding the khurnis: "This class of tenants is fast becoming merged into that of khaekars." It seems doubtful whether during the period of British rule they were ever distinguished, as no mention is made of khurnis in the oldest settlement papers; they appear to have been treated exactly as khaekars, and certainly not only is no distinction made now, but the very name is lost, and it would be impossible to find out whether any given khaekar acknowledged for his ancestor a vassal tenant, or a reduced occupant proprietor. Sir H. Ramsay,

however, is said to have acknowledged a distinction between pakha and kachchha khaekars, having reference no doubt to the under-proprietary and occupancy rights discussed in this paragraph, and in a Settlement dispute relating to Mangaon, patti Dug in the Almora district, decided by Pandit Amba Datt, Deputy Collector, in 1843 A.D., the same technical expression, "pakha khaekar," is used.

The three terms kamin, sayana and thokdar have the same meaning, kamin being used in the south of Garhwal and sayana in the north, and the officers represented by these names corresponded to the Zamindars or farmers of land revenue of the plains. They were as a rule chosen from among the principal landholders of the tract. "The influence once obtained in the situation," says Mr Traill, "generally led to its continuance in the same family, even when the individual holder was changed, and in some instances the kamins themselves eventually succeeded in obtaining a grant of the feud under the usual conditions." The thokdars again "appointed one of the proprietors of each village, under the designation of padhan to levy and account directly to them for its cess." The padhan was "removable ... at the will of the kamin and sayana." "The remuneration of the kamins and sayanas consisted of a trifling nazrana from each village," and a portion of land rent free in their own village. They also received the customary dues from the padhans of their own village. They also received the customary dues from the padhans of their tract, viz., Rs 2 on the marriage of a daughter, the leg of every goat killed and a mana of ghi and a basket of maize (mungari kandi) in the month of Sawan. These precise customary dues are universal throughout Garhwal, from tenants to proprietors and padhan from proprietors to padhans and padhans to thokdars, and were no doubt insisted on rather as a symbol of feudal subjection than for their intrinsic value. The reason for taxing the daughter's marriage and not the son's is no doubt that on the former occasion the father receives a considerable sum of money from the bridegroom. The padhan like the thokdar, besides the customary dues, enjoys a portion of land rent free in his own village, now known as the padhanchari land. Mr. Traill thus describes the padhan of his time. "The padhan is the village ministerial officer entrusted with the collection of the government demand, and with the supervision of the police of his village. He is commonly one of the village appointed with the approbation of the other joint sharers and is removable for malversation or at the requisition of the majority of sharers. He collects the government revenue agreeable to their several quotas. He pays also the rent of his own immediate share of the estate. He is remunerated by fees on marriages, and a small

portion of land set apart for the purpose. There is no hereditary claim or right to the situation of padhan, but generally the son succeeds without opposition, unless incapable from youth and want of talent, in which case the sharers are called upon to choose another padhan from among themselves. Uncultivated lands which may not have been subjected to division among the proprietors are managed by the padhan, and the rents yielded from their cultivation are accounted for by him to the body of proprietors, who take credit for the same in the quota of the government cess to which they are respectively liable."

It is not clear that the thokdar in the earliest times actually farmed the revenue, and it seems probable that the amount of his collections was determined by the State. The State assessments were not, however, made on each individual village, a lump sum being frequently assigned to several and in such cases, no doubt, the distribution of the assessment was left to the thokdars.

The hissedari right is as before mentioned, said to have been an introduction of the British rule. The idea of land without a private owner seems to have been repugnant to the earliest British administrators and as in the plains the proprietary right was conferred on the Zamindars, or revenue collectors, so in Garhwal it was conferred on the occupant cultivators unless some one else could show that a grant of the land and not merely an assignment of the revenue, had been made to him. The cultivators were then termed hissedars or co-sharers in the estate, and were allowed full rights of transfer in the cultivated land of the village. These rights were never extended to the waste lands as will be shown further on. In the grant of this proprietary right, however, the thokdars or sayanas appear to have frequently used their position as collectors of the land revenue to secure to themselves hissedari rights to which they were never entitled. Mr. Batten thus explains how this has come about, "When the thokdar of a mahal has accepted the malguzari patta of one or more of its mauzas owing to the failure in procuring a village padhan, he has been recorded in the settlement misl as a kind of farmer in order to distinguish him from the actual proprietors of the village lands. In some of the poorer and less populous pargannas the influential thokdars have, during the course of former settlements, continued to increase their proprietary possessions, and to obtain by silent usurpation a title to such acquisitions merely because no record whatever was at the time taken as to whether they became the holders of the padhanship because they

were by right entitled to the office or whether they became so because they have been elected or accepted as managers of the estate merely for the period of the settlement lease." When in such cases the thokdar obtained the hissedari right the occupant proprietors sank into the position of khaekars in exactly the same way as in the case of a new grantee under the native kings. Perhaps even a more frequent case of usurpation of the proprietary right was that of assignments of revenue granted for the fulfilment of public offices, the kanungos, negis, &c., frequently getting the land recorded as their own property.

"Another kind of resident tenants, however," says Mr. Traill, "who rent the land which the proprietors from absence or other causes are precluded from cultivating themselves, have no right of occupancy, either acknowledged or prescriptive. The tenants pay their rent either in kut, kind (commonly at one-third of the produce), or in money, according to existing rates or engagements or to former usage. Where there is little demand for the land it is usually let for a moderate money rate, which tenure is termed sirtan, that is the renter pays merely sirti." The term sirti meant the government land revenue proper under the Rajas, the original "agricultural assessment." "The sirtan tenant formerly paid nothing but the land assessment and was expressly exempt from the various extra cesses which formed three-fourths of the public demand. These latter fell on the proprietor." "Where there is no offer for the land by any of the resident cultivators, the owner lets it to any of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. This is termed paekasht cultivation. ... The paekasht cultivation is from its uncertainty necessarily subjected to a lower rate of cess than other lands. The fickle disposition of such cultivators is notorious and their employment a speculation." On which Colonel Gowan (Commissioner of Kumaun in 1837) has noted: "At present the only distinction between the sirtan and paekasht tenants is the duration of tenure; the sirtan tenants being generally permanent, the paekasht removable at will." The tendency has been as in the case of the kaini and khaekar, to confuse the status of the paekasht and sirtan, much to the latter's disadvantage. Mr. Beckett (in 1865) even went so far as to say the sirtan "has no permanent rights whatever. He makes his own arrangements with the proprietor usually only for one crop." In the time of Mr. Traill, and even till much later, the competition for cultivators exceeded the demand for land, and this secured the most favourable terms to all tenants-at-will, who in fact paid less rent than any other kind of tenant, little more than the actual government revenue assessed on the land.

Neither the haliya or the sajhi properly speaking sub-tenants. The former cultivates as a vassal of his master, and can hardly be said to have a holding of his own. The latter exists only in the Bhabar, and his status though more independent is somewhat similar.

The haliya was originally, and for some years even under the British rule, a slave. They are thus described in Mr. Mosely Smith's report on "Slavery in Kumaun" dated 5th February 1836. "Serfs or adscripti gleba under the denomination of halee, by means of whom Brahmans and other principal landed proprietors, who are restricted by the custom of the country from personal labour in the fields, cultivate as much of their children and effects to the lord of the soil, like the beasts or other stock on it. ... Field slaves ... are boarded and lodged by their owners and receive moreover a than of cloth for a dress every third year. On the occasions also of their marriages the master defrays the wedding expenses. The purchase of slaves for agricultural and other purposes is still very common in this province." Excepting that these doms are now not bound to the land or to any one master, this description almost entirely holds good at the present day, for though the bond of slavery is gone, the haliya is as dependent on his master as ever. His emoluments have perhaps somewhat increased. He gets a blanket every rainy season and the suit of clothes more often, and at the harvest he usually receives a present of eight nalis or a don of grain. He entirely tills and reaps as much land as one man is capable of cultivating, all instruments, etc., being supplied by his master and all the produce going to him. Khasiyas or Rajputs are also employed as haliyas, but almost all these are simply in the position of servants.

The sajhi is usually a chamar from Bijnor and is neither a servant nor a tenant. He is given a piece of land by his patron and furnished with a plough, cattle, tools and seed. He himself furnishes the labour for ploughing, sowing and reaping. Of the crop as reaped, the sajhi gets a quarter or one-third, the patron taking the rest. The arrangement is not always so disadvantageous to the sajhi as would at first sight appear. A little pilfering of grain and other things here and there, added to a little cattle stealing, commonly in course of time so enriches him that after a few years he will usually be found, instead of a penniless man without a plough or even a few handfuls of seed, in possession of a pair of oxen and a little money of his own, with which he will take up a small holding on his own account, and will blossom into a regular tenant.

(To Be Continued)

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

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State of the State, 1931-32

Survey of River Lands in 1931

From Prime Minister 1931 Memorandum.

To the Chief Justice and members of the Executive Council, the Secretary (General) Office and the High Commission (Survey) Office, Georgetown.

Under Minister Rajawansi, the late Prime Minister, Honorable Jit Bahadur and other officials of the Public Works Department, which functions under the Engineering Branch of the Public Works Department, Petto Dhanraj Singh Singh Bahadur, have expressed the opinion that action should be taken as follows in the following cases. The matter has been referred to me. This matter is hereby ordered by me.

Survey of the Mahabadi Office

Honorable Prime Minister Singh of the State Mahabadi Office Survey Team has reported the following on 20th March 1931. The Mahabadi Office is the only office of the State Mahabadi Office of both East and West India. The Mahabadi Office of both East and West India is situated in the Mahabadi Office, East India.

In pursuance of this order, the Mahabadi Office Survey Team directing surveys of East and West India should make surveys as well as of old Kiper lands to select the following particulars:

1. Area of East land according to previous survey.
2. No. of households according to previous survey.
3. Area of East land enclosed separately.
4. Name of East lands whose registrations had been lawfully omitted.
5. New households on East land created through lawfully omitted.
6. Households not up by households.
7. Single-registered Kiper lands.

Signed,

- (b) were published previously by the owner.
- (c) were given away by the owner for publication or for use of the press.
- (d) were portrayed in nature in scientific books.

However, illustrations and other items are not included under these criteria, maintaining that black letters had not been mentioned in the course of previous surveys also. The illustrations, for example, are considered illustrative material in the illustrations that appear.

Subsequently, 10 of 12 photos prepared from the film strips by the office were found to be of the following categories: scientific and technical illustrations, maps, diagrams, charts, maps and diagrams from scientific journals and scientific books, and diagrams and charts from scientific journals and scientific books. The remaining 20 photos were found to be of the following categories: scientific and technical illustrations, maps, diagrams, charts, maps and diagrams from scientific journals and scientific books, and diagrams and charts from scientific journals and scientific books.

Finally, the length of the film strips prepared by the office was not yet recorded in the previous survey of the drawings of film. It has not been possible to determine the length of the film strips in the previous survey of the drawings of film. The drawings of film are of the following categories: scientific and technical illustrations, maps, diagrams, charts, maps and diagrams from scientific journals and scientific books, and diagrams and charts from scientific journals and scientific books.

The survey also has been conducted, according to the regulations, in regard to the various particulars in the survey of the drawings of film. The survey of the drawings of film is of the following categories: scientific and technical illustrations, maps, diagrams, charts, maps and diagrams from scientific journals and scientific books, and diagrams and charts from scientific journals and scientific books.

Since the survey has not been conducted by the office of the office, the survey has not been conducted in the survey of the drawings of film. The survey of the drawings of film is of the following categories: scientific and technical illustrations, maps, diagrams, charts, maps and diagrams from scientific journals and scientific books, and diagrams and charts from scientific journals and scientific books.

Limbus who have neither furnished particulars of their holdings or lodged any complaint have been kept in detention, whenever possible. In case there arises any obstacle in these operations, I will report the matter in due time.

Opinion Of The Sadar Dafdarkhana Office

The regulations prescribe that old Kipat holdings of Limbus should also be measured and surveyed. It is now reported that Limbu Subbas refuse to furnish particulars of such holdings and have absconded.

The Chief of the Ilam District Headquarters (Gaunda) Office and the Ilam Mahajanch should therefore be directed to explain the measure to the Kipat owning Limbu Subbas and persuade them to furnish particulars according to the regulations.

Opinion of The Muluki Adda

The opinion of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office appears reasonable. As Your Highness pleases.

Kaji Laxmi Bhakta Upadhyaya,

Subba Shiva Prasad Upadhyaya, etc.

(Order of Prime Minister Bir Shamsheer)

Approved.

Falgun Sudi 1, 1947

(February 1891)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 50, pp. 744-750.

2. Kipat Lands In Bhimphedi

From Prime Minister (Bir Shamsheer),

To the Chief Officer and employees of the Chisapani fort, greetings.

Sardar Bhaktabir Rajbhandari, Kharidar Ratna Man, Kharidar Jit Bahadur and other officials of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office, which functions under the Commanding General of the Southern Command, Fatte Shamsheer Jung Rana Bahadur, have expressed the opinion that action should be taken as follows in the following case. The matter has been referred to us. Take action as hereby ordered by us.

Contd...

Report Of The Sadar Dafdarkhana Office

Jit Man Singh of Bhimphedi has submitted the following petition:

Formerly, before the Bhimphedi area was under Raikar, not Kipat, tenure, Serma tax used to be paid, in addition to other taxes and levies, at the rate of Rs 1 on each homestead to the authorities of the Chisapani fort.

At that time, foodgrains, including maize, were cheap, while the value of money was high. The former ryots of this area therefore willingly made a stipulation to this effect: "Maize does not sell even at the price of 25 pathis per rupee. We cannot therefore pay the Serma tax at the rate of Rs 1 on each homestead. We are therefore willing to pay the tax at the rate of 1 muri of maize on each homestead." In accordance with this stipulation, the ryots paid 1 muri of maize for each homestead to the Mijhar of Bhimphedi, Kancharam. This stipulation was made on Sunday, Marga Sudi 3, 1891 (November 1834).

Mijhar Kancharam then paid the Serma tax of Rs 1 on each homestead to the (authorities of the Chisapani fort), and appropriated the maize (paid by the ryots) himself.

In 1900 Vikrama (1843), the government granted lands within prescribed boundaries as Kipat to my father, Kancharam, and appointed him as Mijhar.

Kancharam then went to the chief of the Chisapani fort, Sardar Bhawani Singh, and asked, "Now that these lands have been granted to me as Kipat, and I have been appointed as Mijhar, what are the emoluments and perquisites of a Kipat-owning Mijhar?"

(Sardar Bhawani Singh) thereupon issued an order to the following effect: "Since (lands in) Bhimphedi have been granted to you as Kipat, you may appropriate the customary emoluments and perquisites of a Kipat-owning Mijhar. Do not collect such payments in excess of the customary rates."

Arrangements were then made according to which half of the Serma tax of Rs 1 per homestead was to be paid to the authorities of the Chisapani fort. Payment was made according to these arrangements from the year 1900 Vikrama (1843).

Contd...

In 1881 Wilson (1881), another noble and learned jurist, having received no order for customary payments from the old and new royal officials in the area covered by his High Court.

In 1882 Wilson, as the Prime Minister (Lord Salisbury) issued a order confirming the protection of the rights under continued crown. The new order states, "All goods which are brought for sale in Southampton shall be subject to the payment of the duties and duties hereinafter mentioned. The goods shall be taken up by persons residing in the town and may pass by them on their lands, with the goods shall be treated as if they were brought through the market." It also mentioned the strengthening work of the land with that.

In 1883 Wilson (1883), the Prime Minister (Lord Salisbury) issued another order which stated, "The land under the rights shall not be subject to payment of duties and taxes, but shall be subject to the duties and taxes in the same manner as the other shall be treated as if they were brought through the market."

In 1884 Wilson (1884), the Prime Minister (Lord Salisbury) issued yet another order which stated, "The land under the rights shall not be subject to payment of duties and taxes, but shall be subject to the duties and taxes in the same manner as the other shall be treated as if they were brought through the market." It also mentioned the strengthening work of the land with that.

In connection with these other orders and regulations, the received the rights of the 2 parishes, 1881, during the time of 17 local administrators, until 1881 (1881).

Wilson, these other orders and regulations, the received the rights of the 2 parishes, 1881, during the time of 17 local administrators, until 1881 (1881).

Wilson, these other orders and regulations, the received the rights of the 2 parishes, 1881, during the time of 17 local administrators, until 1881 (1881).

Major Singh submitted another petition No. 7493 in the same connection. Subedar Mandhwaj Thapa Chhetri signed a statement at the Adalat Goswara that the Commendar-In-Chief had directed that an order should be sent to the Chisapani fort to return the documents if the particulars contained in the petition were true. The Adalat Goswara then forwarded the file to the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office with the direction that action should be taken according to the order in conformity with the law and regulations.

In the opinion of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office, the Chisapani fort should now be ordered as follows: "The documents relating to the Kipat lands of Major Singh Lama shall be returned to him under previous orders issued in your name. In case there is any difficulty according to the law and regulations in doing so, report accordingly." As Your Highness pleases.

Opinion Of The Muluki Adda

The opinion of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office appears reasonable. As Your Highness pleases.

Subba Shiva Prasad Upadhyaya, etc.

(Order Of Prime Minister Bir Shamsher)

Approved

Chaitra Sudi 11, 1947
(April 1891)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 50, pp. 154-162.

3. Kipat Lands In Solukhumbu

From Prime Minister (Bir Shamsher),

To the Chief Officer and other officials of the East No. 4 Bakyauta Adda (Arrears Collection Office). Greetings.

Naib Subba Bhakta Bahadur Rajbhandari and Kharidar Dil Bahadur of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office, which functions under the Commanding General of the Southern Command, Fatte Shamsher Jang Rana Bahadur, have expressed the opinion that action should be taken as follows in the following case. The matter has been referred to us. Take action as hereby ordered by us.

Contd...

Opinion Of The Sadar Dafdarkhana Office

Mijhar Gwate Bhote, representing himself and 14 other Mijhars and 440 villagers of Solukhumbu, has submitted the following petition No. 6,629.

In the year 1886 Vikrama (1829), Thekbandi (i.e. revenue collection on contractual basis) arrangements had been concluded in the names of our ancestors. These arrangements were as follows: A contractual (Thek) payment of Rs 6,000 shall be made in consideration of the use of Kinuwa (i.e. purchased) Kipat lands in Solukhumbu situated below Jambalgur (?) and above Lapcha and Lamje (Namche ?), beyond Kudum. The government shall not demand any increment (for newly-reclaimed lands or new homesteads), and the ryots shall not demand any remissions (for lands damaged by floods or wash-outs or for depopulated holdings). A royal order containing these arrangements was then issued.

For 51 years (sic) after 1886 Vikrama, until 1932 Vikrama (i.e. from 1829 to 1875), we paid the amount due to His Majesty Government and also provided necessary services (Doko-Boko), we used our (Kinuwa-Kipat) lands without any complaint or interruption.

A survey was conducted in the year 1933 Vikrama (1876). The amount payable by us was increased from Rs 6,000 to Rs 10,000. Even then, we continued to make the payment and use our lands as before.

In 1844 Vikrama (1887), Jit Man Basnet was appointed Dware of Solukhumbu. He insisted that newly-created homesteads could not be adjusted against holding depopulated as a result of death or emigration of Sukhim (i.e. Sikkim) and Dorjeling (i.e. Darjeeling) and that revenue would be collected from us both for such holdings and for newly-created holdings.

We said, "If additional revenue is collected for newly-created holdings, we must get remission for the holdings of dead persons or emigrants. Otherwise, we will not pay anything in excess of the amount stipulated in the contract (Thek)." We accordingly paid only this amount.

Contd...

Further at this, (Dept. Of War Report) submitted false reports to the Commission about us, while destroying those which were his (our) own, with the pretence of having no intention. He attempted several times to get us out of the country in a way to keep us from being in an attempt to control us as sign heretofore relinquishing our rights in what people think of as their (our) own, but that process failed in the hands of their rights in this matter. We have now with the sign which have been held in the above with the sign a part all the long, finally to be that before, some of the sign which signed the Commission and their long business.

We are therefore submitting this petition, along with a copy of the previous report letter, praying that these matters which may be recalled to our honor or the good name of the Commission.

Section of The War Department, D.D.

In our petition, we have seen a special message which is directed to assist War's (our) honor, certain what regulations have been issued regarding the establishment of government job laws, and what reports (our) own copies of these regulations as well as the facts of establishment (our) own by the sign which, it has regulations provided that sign laws should be used to establish these job laws. It has regulations to the regulations that these laws should be established on the sign laws of these sign laws, or that they should be directed to sign laws of relinquishment, as they (the sign) has made them sign such laws as they are directed and established job laws in their sign laws, the authority of their sign laws for their purpose shall not be permitted. The government job laws shall be established at the present place, as regards the Commission that the sign which were kept in detention without your own sign and made to stand in effect, in case they file a formal complaint against Captain (our) own sign, it shall be the sign of adhering to the law.

Letter July 3, 1945 (September 1945)

Section of The War Department, D.D.

We consider the petition of the public relations committee, as our (our) own.

John (our) own
(Chief of Public Relations and Director)
Approved:

Letter July 3, 1945 (September, 1945)
Special Research Collection, Vol. 17, pp. 14-15.

History of the Mysore Records Office¹

The Civil Employees Records Office (Mysore) (Mysore) had been established 110 years ago in 1843 Mysore (1843) during the time Ministry of Mysore. It was then known as 'Mysore Office'. The main function of this office was as follows:

- (1) About the work of civil and military employees.
- (2) Mysore employees, transferred or promoted employees before the Mysore Records' Journal of the Department.
- (3) Record keeping.
- (4) About the names of persons having allowances of Mysore employees (Mysore, Mysore, Mysore).
- (5) About money and travel reports.

In the beginning, the Mysore Office recorded the names of 2,500 employees belonging to all government offices. It had only 2 employees, 2 of Mysore and 2 of Mysore. A civil officer (Mysore) was appointed in the Mysore Office only in 1871 Mysore (1871). This officer was given the rank of Assistant.

Initially, the work of the Mysore Office consisted. By 1872 Mysore (1872) the number of government offices had reached 120. The name was changed to Mysore Office.

In 1873 Mysore (1873), the Mysore Office was divided into two sections, Mysore and Mysore. By this time, the number of government offices had reached 200.

1. 'Mysore Office Journal' (Mysore) by The Civil Employees Records Office. Mysore (The Mysore Journal of Public Administration). 1941-42. Publication of the Department of Administrative Organisation of His Majesty's Government. With Mysore and Mysore Sections. 1843-71. Part 1. (October 1942), pp. 10-10.

The Darshan Phant recorded new appointments and transfers, while the Darta Phant approved reports regarding payment of salaries and allowances.

In 1996 Vikrama (1939), the Kamyandari Kitabkhana took up the following new functions:

- (1) Preparation of seat rolls of civil employees.
- (2) Preparation of records for the award of Long Service Medals (Dirgha Sewa Patta) to employees who had completed 36 years of uninterrupted service.

In 1999 Vikrama (1942), arrangements were initiated to grant one-sixth of the salary of government employees who had completed 25 years of service as pension. The Kamyandari Kitabkhana was responsible for preparing necessary records in this regard.

In 2000 Vikrama (1943), arrangements were made according to which civil employees could deposit a part of their salary in the Army Savings Fund (Sainik Dravya Kosh). The Kamyandari Kitabkhana then furnished particulars to the Army Savings Fund about civil employees who wished to deposit savings in this manner.

By 2007 Vikrama (1950), the number of government offices had reached 1,847.

In 2008 Vikrama (1951), the age of retirement of Civil Servants was fixed at 66 years. The rate of pension was increased to one-third of the average annual salary drawn during the preceding three years. The Kamyandari Kitabkhana was responsible for furnishing records for the purpose of such retirement and payment of pension.

In 2009 Vikrama (1952), the Darshan-Phant was renamed as "Kamyandari Kitabkhana Jangi Phant" (Military Section) and the "Kamyandari Kitabkhana Nijamati Phant" (Civil Section). Separate records were then maintained for military and civil employees.

In 2012 Vikrama (1955), 8,000 new posts were created in the Police Force. This greatly increased the work of the Kamyandari Kitabkhana.

Contd...

In 1956, His Majesty's Government enforced the Civil Service Regulations. These regulations also provided for the payment of gratuity to civil servants. Necessary records for this purpose were made available by the Kamyandari Kitabkhana. When the Police Regulations were enforced in 2015 Vikrama (1959), the number of employees of the Kitabkhana was increased by 21.

The Auditor-General's Department was created in 2016 Vikrama (1959). The Kamyandari Kitabkhana maintained records of the employees of this department as well.

In the same year, arrangements were made for the payment of pension to civil servants who had completed 20 years of service. This too increased the work of the Kamyandari Kitabkhana.

New pay-scales were introduced in 2017 Vikrama (1961) and 2022 Vikrama (1965).

At present, the Kamyandari Kitabkhana maintains records of about 40,000 employees.

In 2023 Vikrama (1966), the Kamyandari Kitabkhana was renamed as "Nijamati Kitabkhana" (Civil Employees Records Office). This office performs the following functions at present :-

- (1) Record new appointments, transfers, promotions and vacancies.
- (2) Prepare reports regarding salaries and pensions.
- (3) Issue letters of authority to draw pensions.
- (4) Inform the appropriate ministry regarding the age of retirement of any employee.
- (5) Inform the Employees Savings Fund of vacancies.
- (6) Calculate the amount of gratuity payable to any employees.

Contd...

- (7) Compile records of employees who have completed 10 years or 25 years of uninterrupted service.
- (8) Maintain records of employees who have been convicted of any of these.
- (9) Provide information about civil records.
- (10) Ensure the safety of his records and of the past rolls of Federal employees.

THE FEDERAL ARCHIVES

It is pertinent that the Employees Records Office was known as Departamento Estadística, not as Oficina Estadística, during the First Administration of José Martí. The position of this office was transferred in an order issued to the Chief of Police, Cuartel General Republica, on Plaza Ball 8, 1912 December 28th, a summary of this order is given below:

"From: All Civil and Military Employees before and behind their names in the Statistical Register. In this office employees in charge of registration for any part of the country, especially in districts in the provinces, Governmental and Military, military service, as well as personnel before and behind their names shall be recorded in the registers. Civil and military officials shall use such their uniform and appropriate rank. Statutes, reports of employees shall their names are as recorded. Only those employees whose names are recorded in the register shall be permitted to appropriate registrations. The names of new civil and military employees appointed for any 1914 year with their shall also be recorded in the Register."

Plaza Ball 8, 1912

December 28th

Legal Research Collection, Vol. 10, pp. 511-512

According to revenue regulations promulgated for the western rural districts in 1914 (March 1914), the names of Judges and Procurers who were appointed for the collection of land and other taxes in these districts were also recorded in the Statistical Register.⁵ The 1914 Revenue Regulations for the Rural Districts contained a similar provision.⁶

5. Legal Research Collection, Vol. 10, p. 20.

6. Summary of Legal Research in the 1914 Revenue Regulations for the Rural Districts. In *Revista del Ministerio de Fomento*, Vol. 2, No. 24, p. 27.

A History Of Land Tenures In Garhwal^x

(Continued)

It has been seen that under the native kings the proprietary right in land rested with the Sovereign. The villagers, however, exercised certain cultivating and other rights over the village lands, and in process of time certain points had come to be regarded as the limits of the area within which those rights held good; land beyond those points being regarded as within the area of another village, and thus almost the whole country, cultivated and waste, exclusive of the largest forests, came to be regarded as within the boundary of one or another village. Under the British Government, the proprietary right was given to the occupant cultivator, unless a better claim was proved against him. But this only had effect in the cultivated lands, and over the waste lands the British Government as the successor of the previous sovereign power retained the proprietary right, partly no doubt in order to prevent injurious monopolies which would hinder the spread of cultivation and the development of the country, but chiefly apparently because the proprietary right over this waste was at that time of no value to the villagers. For whenever land was newly broken up, "the proprietary right," says Mr. Traill, "is always granted to the reclamer, in consideration of the expense incurred by him in the enterprise." This practice of granting land to the man who brought it under cultivation was originated by the Gurkha Government to encourage cultivation of villages which had fallen waste. In the "great measurement" of 1880 Samvat (hence called the assisal) carried out by Mr. Traill, a record was made of the recognized boundary marks of each village; but in the statement of area the measurement (estimated) of the toks of cultivated land was alone entered. Mr. Batten in 1842 A.D. was the first who found it necessary to declare that "the right of government to all forests and waste land not included in the assessable area of villages remains utterly unaffected by the inclusion of certain tracts within the boundaries of mauzas." Villagers were strictly forbidden to realize grazing or other dues from any one, unless they could prove a right to such dues by immemorial custom. In the case of grants of waste land, known as nayabad leases, he laid down that "the village most adjacent to the tract," or within whose boundary it lay, "should have

^xE.K. Pauw, C.S., Report On The Tenth Settlement Of The Garhwal District. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, Chapter II: Tenures. pp. 32-32.

Contd...

the first village," and on paper should be divided within a certain distance of several village lands. What land is to be at first, however, located likewise, not satisfied by consideration of what is now being done at surrounding settlements, these only mean evidence of cultivated, or cultivable and tilled, land. The rights specified over these lands are defined by Mr. Bennett in the following respect as the right of possession, the right of using land, produce including timber, and the right of extending cultivation. As regards the last he says "During the currency of the settlement, all villages had the power of increasing cultivation without being liable to any land tax." And in his former report Mr. Bennett says still more emphatically: "The villagers have full power to extend their cultivation in the neighborhood of the village, and they have the benefit of such extension without any increase of land during the currency of the settlement," and he proceeds to show the beneficial results of this rule. A judicial decision in the same matter was given in the case of Gudi, their village, in 1814, in which the appeal for a grant of a small piece of waste land and the village's objection, the first was according to custom made by their king. In 1814 Mr. Bennett cited on his report that, and the people of the village were told that their lands were either granted or not according to the old law. However, however, did not mean the reaching up of the land at a distance from the village and perhaps in the heart of a forest. This is evident from the rule of other villages in which, when it is asked in the settlement papers that - how of the year had revenue be levied on a any piece of cultivation made without permission, in which case, a suit is to be made from the owner of the land of the village, that to the extent from the village land the extent of any separate tilled plots, beyond of by the land to which were made the point of Mr. Bennett's position. Now, the use of the word here, as the settlement papers have always followed since with the special reference to the matter, though the first of his report shows, that the same should always be done to the extent of the village in proportion to the land, as the present village will invariably take up the land even at the time a fair rule solely to prevent a private purchase. It is included in part in the settlement papers, which, on being so being made to the year the first of the land at the village shows the village, took up the whole of the land as well as the village, show that the extent of the revenue paid of their village villages, the only village they were quite certain to collect.

By the provisions of the village communities against a 10% paddy survey, and in order to to prevent the collectors from (1) the cultivation of waste or barren land, a civil suit may be brought on inhibition of cultivation, or on restrictive order permitting such cultivation. Such suits have been decreed since the last settlement and possibly previously, and Sir H. Knolly has left several precedents to the effect that granted land must not be brought under cultivation against the will of the village community (e.g. with case of Sankarappa Vella Taligant versus Patilwara, 1888 November 1871). The case of Sir H. Knolly of Dandakpur, Mandlaya versus Venkatesh (14th February 1871) is a recent decision of the Commissioner's court on the same subject. It is frequently the custom of villagers from petty spite to sue to restrict cultivation on measured land long after such cultivation has been made. Regarding such cases Mr. H.F. Roberts in Chondabhadra Taluk in the case of Dalayya Singh of Syani Duffanaya versus Venkatesh and others (17th August 1873). "That a decree of prohibition without permission or even in face of an old prohibition should not be allowed as a remedy for the querulous recidive of a villager to harass and annoy the rest of the villagers. When the question has to be considered whether "paddy" should be allowed to be broken up and cultivated, it is the common interest of the villagers and not of any particular one or view that should weigh. In this case the plaintiff sought that the land had been under cultivation for a long time. The Deputy Collector's order directing that it all be made waste again is tried to limit the inconvenience suffered by the villagers. Such an order is injudicious and tyrannical. The whole case is only taken as four acres and it is inconceivable that such distinction of the area of paddy was ever made direct."

Accordingly the large area of waste land usually under the control of the collector of the village, but within the actual boundaries, boundary disputes are not uncommon, and refer usually to a pool of cultivated land or upon the actual boundary line, and the latter usually of a ridge. Frequently in the middle of it. In such cases, it was ruled by the Board in 1891, "the land should be included in the village to which the persons in possession belong," and the actual boundaries be altered accordingly.

Proprietary rights in waste and forest lands at present exist only in the case of fee simple grants and grants under the waste land rules. Grants of the former class were made only before or soon after last settlement and were acquired by the payment of a cash sum of money by the purchasers. They are free of land revenue and the owners have, subject to the right of government to a royalty on minerals, the most absolute rights over their estates. A list of these estates is added as an appendix to this report. They are almost all tea plantations or obtained with the object of converting them into tea plantations. Most are situated in Chandpur pargana, though there are a few round Gwaldam in Badhan, and Mandakhal and Gadoli with its laggas, (the latter formerly the government tea plantation) are situated on the borders of Barahsyun and Devalgarh.

In grants under the waste land rules, which are still in force, the estate is subject to the payment of land revenue and the purchaser is bound to clear and stock with tea plants a certain quantity of land in a given time. Only one grant of this nature Agswara in Kandarsyun was ever made in Garhwal (in 1867); and it was abandoned soon after owing to the inability of the grantee to carry out the conditions, and has now lapsed to government.

The term "gunth" by which all assignments of land made to religious establishments are now designated is of comparatively recent introduction dating only from the times of the Gurkhas the older names by which such endowments were known being the ordinary Hindu words Shankalap and Bishenprit. It appears from Mr. Traill's writings that these grants were merely assignments of land revenue and conveyed no property in the soil, though in many cases the descendants of the Brahmans to whom they were originally made "have subsequently, by the migration of the actual occupants come into full possession of both land and produce." The number of religious assignments of this description made by the native kings, was exceedingly numerous, comprising either the whole or part of several hundred villages in Garhwal alone. The grants were almost all upheld by the Gurkhas, and also by the British Government, though in many cases the original title deeds had been lost, and the claim rested chiefly on the de facto possession of the revenues of the land. Between 1850 and 1854 an enquiry was conducted into the title of the temples in gunth villages, and a large number of villages regarding the assignment of which no proof could be offered were resumed to the revenue roll, though in the case of very many, the lands were upheld as gunth, on confirmatory documents granted to the temples by Mr. Traill, and in consequence of continued possession of the revenues.

Contd...

The chief contested points regarding the tenure of gunth lands relate to the position of the temples with regard to the land; their position with regard to the cultivators, and the revenue payable by the latter; and finally, the tenure enjoyed by the cultivators of the land themselves. At the present settlement on the principle that nothing is lost by large claims, the temples, particularly Kedarnath, claimed most extensive rights in the gunth villages, alleging the very exhaustive terms of the original grants, which in reality were only technical modes of expression such as are even in these days used in private deeds of conveyance. The right of the temple managers to interfere in the cultivation of lands, which are not actually in the cultivating possession of the temple worshippers or servants has never been recognized, nor until quite recently does it appear to have been arrogated. For instance in 1827 A.D. the Rawal of Badrinath wished to settle cultivators in the gunth village of Bina in patti Lohba which had lain waste for fifty years, but first asked Mr. Traill's permission to do so. Again in the years following the last Settlement whenever waste gunth villages were settled with cultivators, a nayabad grant was made in precisely the same way as in revenue paying villages, by the district authorities; the only difference being that the revenue so assessed went to the temple instead of to the Treasury. In the case of Ganga Ram versus Ramdhan of Sunkoli Chalansyun, a most voluminous litigation which went on in various shapes from 1888 to 1895, it was distinctly laid down that the temple had no authority to settle its waste villages with any one, and that it could give its lessee no title to possession. Claims of the temple for dues from unmeasured land lying within the nominal boundaries of gunth villages have met with a similar rebuff. In the case of Kedarling versus Ghunanand Panda and others, the plaintiff, Rawal of Kedarnath, sued the defendants for grazing dues in respect of Ukhimath jungle. The claim was dismissed and Sir H. Ramsay ruled in appeal that "Parties can do what they like by mutual arrangement, but no dues can be taken which are not entered in the Settlement papers." The rights of the temples over gunth lands were finally laid down in G.O. No. 2880/I-3482 of the 15th November 1895 as follows:-

(To Be Continued)

(S.B. Maharjan)

Regmi Research (Private) Ltd
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Edited By

Mahesh C. Regmi.

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The Rajya Of Salyan

(Notes based on documents published in: Yogi Naraharinath, Itihas Prakashma Sandhipatra-Sangraha (A Collection of Treaties and Documents in Light On History), Dang, 2022 (1966).

In 1823 Vikrama (1766), Prithvi Narayan Shah gave his daughter Vilasakumari Devi, in marriage to Ranabhim Shah, son of Raja Krishna Shah of Salyan. Chhilli, Dang, Deukhuri and the adjoining areas in the Tarai were then granted to Ranabhim Shah as dowry under Kush Birta tenure. During the reign of Rana Bahadur Shah, the people of Chhilli claimed that they constituted a separate Rajya. This claim was not upheld. In 1861 Vikrama (1804), Girban Yuddha reconfirmed the Kush Birta grant and the Rajya of Salyan. (pp,409-410).

The old territories of the Raja of Salyan touched India in the south, the Bheri river in the west, Phalawang in the east and the Chiple-Jinkhani Lekh in the north. The Kush Birta grant comprised lands bounded by Madi in the east, Balrampur in the south and Salyan in the west and north. (p.409). Subsequently, Udayapur too was recognized as being a part of the territories of Salyan. (p. 411),

In 1884 Vikrama (1827), Tej Bahadur Shah was Raja of Salyan. He was ordered to occupy Rajahat and other areas in the Tarai through negotiations with the Nawab of Oudh or otherwise. (p. 411). In 1896 Vikrama (1839) negotiations continued for acquiring Rajahat and other areas in the Tarai as a Jimidari under the Raja of Phalawang. Drafts of petitions to be submitted by the Raja to the Nawab of Oudh, his minister and the English Residents in Lucknow and Kathmandu were approved by the government of Nepal. (p. 412). Efforts to acquire Rajahat received a fresh impetus in 1902 Vikrama (1845), when fighting started among the Rajas of the adjoining territories in India. Raja Tej Bahadur Shah was directed to pursue the matter vigorously. He was promised that Dang would be added to his Rajya if he was able to acquire Rajahat on the same terms or even on less favorable terms than those on which it was being occupied by the Raja of Tulsipur, who had now fled into Nepali territory. (pp. 417-418). Salyan's claim to Rajahat rested on the ground that it had been granted to its Raja by the Emperor of Delhi. (p. 418).

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In 1894 Vikrama (1837), Tej Bahadur Shah was recognized as Raja of Phalawang with no obligation to make monetary payments (Sarbanka) or labor services. (p. 411). In other words, the Rajya was reduced in size. The new Rajya did not comprise Salyan. Nevertheless, it continued to be known as the Rajya of Salyan.

In 1896 Vikrama (1839), the Raja of Salyan was given a Thekbandi contract for the collection of revenue in Dang. (p. 413). In 1899 Vikrama (1842), the Raja was given a similar Thekbandi contract for the collection of revenue in all the other territories from which he had been dispossessed in 1894 Vikrama (1837): Salyan, Dang and Deukhuri. The total contractual amount was Rs 18,268. (p. 413). In Falgun 1900 Vikrama (1844), Raja Tej Bahadur Shah was granted authority in the areas covered by the Thekbandi grants to (1) appoint and dismiss Chaulharis and other local revenue functionaries, (2) appoint priests and other functionaries at local temples (3) and dispense justice. (pp. 416-417). In 1899 Vikrama (1842), Raja Tej Bahadur Shah was made responsible also for the cultivation of Jagir lands in Phalawang and payment of Jagir rents. (p. 414).

The Raja had mortgaged lands in his territories to his subjects. In 1900 Vikrama (1843), he received permission from Kathmandu to redeem these mortgages. (p. 415) (421).

Raja Tej Bahadur Shah died in 1904 Vikrama (1847). He was succeeded by his son, Narendra Bahadur Shah, in whose name the Rajya of Salyan was reconfirmed. (p. 419).

Narendra Bahadur Shah had two brothers, Kullip Shah and Samar Bahadur Shah. Apparently, they did not remain docile under their brother. In 1913 Vikrama (1856), they were ordered by Kathmandu to obey him. (pp. 421-422). In 1916 Vikrama (1859) Raja Narendra Bahadur Shah received confirmation from Kathmandu that a Rajya could not be subdivided among brothers. However, the orders also stressed that the Raja's relatives should continue to enjoy their customary emoluments and perquisites. (p. 422).

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In 1922 Vikrama (1865), Toran Kumari Devi, a daughter of General Dhir Shamsher, was married as the second wife of Raja Narendra Bahadur Shah on the ground that his first wife was childless. The alliance was made on the basis of a pledge signed by Narendra Bahadur Shah, which was confirmed through royal order, containing the following provisions: According to custom, the eldest son born of either the Senior Rani or the Junior Rani succeeds to the Rajya. However, in Hinlasthan, the son born of a princess of a ruling family occupies the throne. I therefore pledge that the son born of the Junior Rani shall succeed to the Rajya even if he is the younger prince. In case the Junior Rani is childless, while a prince is born of another Rani, who accordingly becomes heir to the Rajya, he shall regard the Junior Rani as his own mother and act according to her advice. If neither the Junior Rani nor any other Rani has any son, the Junior Rani shall occupy the Rajya of Phalawang. If other Ranis are childless, while the Junior Rani has a daughter, she shall succeed to the Rajya after the death of the Junior Rani. (pp.422-423). Khadgadivyeswari Devi, another daughter of Dhir Shamsher, was married to Chautariya Laxmi Narayan Shah, a brother of Narendra Bahadur Shah. (p. 426).

Narendra Bahadur Shah died without any heirs. Toran Divyeswari Devi then occupied the Rajya. (p. 426). In 1928 Vikrama (1871), Toran Devyeswari designated Laxmi Narayan Shah as her successor, with the son of Khadga Divyeswari as his heir. If Khadga Divyeswari was childless, she was to occupy the Rajya herself. (p. 426).

Chautariya Laxmi Narayan Shah died a few months later. Khadga Divyeswari was then designated as the ruler of Phalawang through royal order in 1929 Vikrama (1872) with Rs 6,000 as her emoluments. (pp. 426-427). However, there is evidence that the administration of the Rajya was controlled by Dhir Shamsher personally through Subba Jayashankar Pande. The Salyan District Headquarters Office was then under Chief Colonel Lok Bahadur Thapa Chhetri. (p. 429).

In 1953 Vikrama (1896), Shamsher Bahadur Shah was recognized as the Raja of Salyan, on condition that the perquisites of Rani Toran Divyeswari and of Rani Khadga Kumari Devi (Rs 6,000) both of whom were alive at that time, should continue as usual. The royal order stated, "After the death of Torana Divyeswari, her perquisites will accrue to Khadga Divyeswari, and the latter's perquisites (Rs 6,000) to Raja Shamsher Bahadur Shah.

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After their death, Shamsheer Bahadur Shah will be entitled to the entire income of the Rajya. After Shamsheer Bahadur Shah's death, this income shall accrue to the second princess, Indra Divyeshwari. Indra Divyeshwari Devi shall be entitled to Shamsheer Bahadur Shah's income also in case he dies before Khadga Kumari Devi. After Khadga Kumari's death, her perquisites of Rs 6,000 shall accrue to Gehendra Bahadur Shah, son of the eldest Rani of Raja Shamsheer Bahadur Shah. The remaining income shall accrue to Indra Divyeshwari. After her death, it shall accrue to any relative who is entitled to it by law." (pp. 438-439).

In 1993 Vikrama (1936), a royal order was issued on the basis of a fresh survey of the lands and revenues of the Rajya. A Sinto payment of Rs 500 per year was imposed. Detailed provisions were made prescribing the perquisites of the Raja, Shamsheer Bahadur Shah, his son, Gehendra Bahadur Shah, and three others. (pp. 443-449).

Salyan Rajya was abolished in early 1961 along with other Rajyas in the Kingdom of Nepal. However, the Raja of Salyan was allowed to retain the title of Raja on an inheritable basis. (Rajya Abolition Act, Nepal Gazette, Chaitra 27, 2017 (April 9, 1961)).

Notes On The Kipat System - V

Baburam Acharya writes:¹

There is no truth in the belief that the system of Kipat landownership was devised by the Kings of the Kirat region. It was Prithvi Narayan Shah who first introduced the Kipat system. There is no doubt about this. The Kipat system emerged in Gorkha. Arrangements were made to grant Kipat lands to members of castes and communities who were not eligible for recruitment in the army. Kipat was thus a form of Seba Birta (that is, Birta Lands granted for the performance of specific services). Kipat lands had been granted to four Muslims who were employed to repair guns. Their descendants were in possession of these lands until recently, Kipat lands were granted to Tamangs in particular. During war or other occasions, Kipat landowners were under obligation to provide porterage services to the government.

There is evidence that the government of Nepal has occasionally "granted" lands to particular communities in the hill regions for the performance of specific duties. Some examples of such grants are given below:

- (1) Prithvi Narayan Shah had made a "grant" of Kipat lands to some members of the Tamang community in the Nagarkot area of eastern Kathmandu.²
- (2) A similar "grant" converting Raikar land into Kipat in the Bhimpheedi area of Makwanpur district was made in 1891.³
- (3) The Kipat holdings of Churyadas, a Muslim community of bangle-makers inhabiting some parts of the western hill region, appear to be the outcome of similar state grants.⁴

1. Baburam Acharya, Nepalko Samkshipta Vrithanta (A Concise Account of Nepal) Kathmandu: Pramod Shumsher and Nir Bikram "Pyasi". 2022 (1966), p. 147.

2. "Conferment of Kipat lands in Nagarkot and other villages." Poush Sudi 14, 1857, (January 1801).

3. Regmi Research Series, Year 6, No, 8, August 1, 1974, pp. 143-147.

4. "Confirmation of Kipat Lands of Biraj Churyada. Ashadh Sudi 1, 1804 (June 1807).

- (4) On Poush Badi 5, 1861, a royal order was issued making a grant of 100 muris of land in the Lele area of Lalitpur in Kathmandu Valley as Kipat to Ratna Singh, Lama for reclamation and settlement.⁵

Nevertheless, the theory that Kipat landownership is the result of state grants does not appear to be tenable. It ignores the fact that Kipat landownership is of customary in origin and communal in character, and that such systems are by no means confined to Nepal.⁶ According to one study,⁷

There is no evidence to indicate that these lands were not under Kipat tenure previously. The term "grant" was probably used because the beneficiaries were not the usual occupants of the concerned lands. Prithvi Narayan Shah's "grant" was made during war, and Girban's "grant" was made for purposes of resettlement, thus indicating that the Kipat holdings had become depopulated and therefore necessitated the appointment of new settlers. The fact that the beneficiaries of both of these "grants" were members of the Tamang Community, one of the several communities entitled to own land under Kipat tenure, substantiates the conclusion that only a change of ownership and not of tenure was involved. Moreover, in both cases, it is likely that the "grant" was in reality a case of terminological confusion. The examples of state grants of Kipat lands that have been given above at most only meant that the Kings of Nepal used a long-existing system of communal landownership to favor particular groups or communities.

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5. Kipat grant to Ratna Singh Lama. Poush Badi 5, 1861 (December 1804) (11/514).
6. A similar system, which has been described as "a non-Aryan commune", has existed among the Munda community of Chhotanagpur in India. (Suresh Singh, "The Munda Land System and Revenue Reforms In Chhotanagpur during 1869-1908", and J.C. Jha, "History of Land Revenue In Chhotanagpur" in Ram Sharan Sharma (ed), Land Revenue In India, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971, pp. 80-107). For descriptions of communal forms of land tenure in different parts of the world, see Gerard Clauson: Communal Land Tenure (Rome: FAO, 1953, FAO Agricultural Studies No. 17), pp. 6-25, and United Nations, Land Reform, Obstacles in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development. (New York: UN Department of Economic Affairs, 1951). pp 27-35.
7. Mahesh C. Regmi Land Tenure and Taxation In Nepal (Berkeley University of California Press, 1965). Vol. 3, p. 93.

Such "grants" may also have been part and parcel of measures to adjust customary forms of land tenure to the legal and administrative requirements of state tenure. In the words of Kenneth H. Parsons:⁸

The policy towards land tenure in a traditional society is characteristically built upon the custom that the land belongs to the person who occupies and uses it - "mixes his labor with the soil." The extent of holdings is related to the needs for survival and direct use. The tenure policy of a sovereign government is based on property in land, or some other administrative, procedure, sanctioned by the sovereign powers of government.

Under a property policy of tenure, land becomes an item of investment unlimited by the requirements of personal use. Thus through development, national independence, and so forth, conditions arise whereby the two systems of land tenure conflict. At the very least, the conflict of the system-- of customary and state tenures -- poses a problem of "form" -- of molding a customary tenure system into a pattern of property and administrative relationship consistent with modern requirements of state and economy.

In Nepal, the Kipat system existed on a wider scale than Baburam Acharya would have us believe. Had all Kipat lands been the result of grants made by Prithvi Narayan Shah and his successors, subsequent reconfirmation through royal order would not have stated that possession of the lands by the beneficiaries had been continuous "from the time of your ancestors." On the other hand, royal orders reconfirming Birta and Guthi grants made in the past referred to the names of the original honors, even when the donor belonged to any one of the royal dynasties displaced by the Gorkhalis.⁹

8. Kenneth H. Parsons, "Agrarian Reform Policy as a Field of Research:" in *Agrarian Reform and Economic Growth in Developing Countries*. (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 20.

9. Shankar Man Rajvamsi, Puratattwa-Patrasangraha (A Collection of Ancient Documents) Kathmandu: Department of Archeology and Culture, 2018 (1961). Pt. I, p. 45; "Confirmation of Guthi Lands of Chandeshwari Temple in Banepa, Bhadra Badi 6, 1861 (August 1804).

Kipat lands existed in Pallokirat even before the conquest of this region by Prithvi Narayan Shah in 1772. This is proved also by a royal order issued in 1809 reconfirming the lands that one Chuku Majhiya had been holding under Kipat tenure in Terhatum "from the time of your father and great-grand-father".¹⁰ This was obviously a general expression used to mean "several generations" Kathmandu's occupation of Pallokirat in 1809 was only 37 years old. It is therefore clear that the Kipat system in Pallokirat predated Prithvi Narayan Shah's conquest of that region.

Native Limbu tradition ascribes the origin of the Kipat system in Pallokirat to King Shrijunga Hang (880-915).¹¹ However, historical evidence has yet to be unearthed to substantiate this tradition.

10. Ibid, Pt. II, p. 43.

11. D.S. Chemjong, History and Culture of the Kirat people. (Panchthar: Jumang Hang and Chandraw Hang Zobegu, 1963) Pt. II, pp. 50-51.

A. History Of Land Tenures In Garhwal^x

(Continued)

- (1) That the claim by the managers of the temples of Badrinath and other shrines in Garhwal to waste land in the gunth villages is wholly untenable.
- (2) That where the grants in gunth villages consist of entire villages which were held revenue free at last settlement, the whole of the revenue shall continue to be assigned or released.
- (3) That where the grants consist of parts of villages, the cultivated area in excess of the original grant shall be resumed and assessed.

As regards any attempt to interfere in the management of cultivated villages, the result has been the same, as instance Ramanand versus Parmanand of 15th February 1820, and Bhagotu versus Basuling Rawal of 8th July 1829. In both these cases the Rawal of Kedarnath tried to get gunth villages under his own control, but Mr. Traill ruled that the cultivators should continue to pay the temple revenue through the Brahman sub-grantee, and that the dues payable by the latter should continue at the fixed rate mentioned in the deed of grant. In the record of rights made for gunth villages at last settlement, the resident cultivators were as a rule recorded as hissedars, as was done in the case of cultivators in revenue paying lands at the British conquest, the revenue paid by them going, however, as heretofore to the temples. The revenue was at the same time assessed in cash instead of in grain and miscellaneous services. But the Rawal of Kedarnath finding that the temple would lose by this arrangement persuaded the villagers around Ukhimath to continue to pay in grain at the rate of one don (32 sers) to a rupee of revenue. As the price of grain rose a tendency was evinced to shirk this arrangement, and finally stamped agreements were taken from the villagers to pay a fixed amount in grain. In one case such an agreement was upheld so far as it related to the signatories by Col. Reade, Senior Assistant Commissioner, but in the subsequent case of Kedarling versus Debu and others of Ukhimath, where the plaintiff, Rawal of Kedarnath, sued the defendants, khaekars in Asma village, for grain rents, it was decided that only the rent fixed by the settlement officer could

^xE.K. Paw, C.S., Report On The Tenth Settlement Of The Garhwal District. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, Chapter II: Tenures. pp.32-32.

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be demanded, a decision which was upheld by Sir H. Ramsay in appeal (June 1, 1880). At the present settlement this subject still formed an agitating topic around Ukhimath, and a reference was made on the subject to the Board of Revenue who ruled the utter illegality of any private arrangement for paying grain rents when these had been fixed by the settlement officer in cash.

The disputes regarding the nature of the tenure of cultivators in gunth lands, who were all recorded as hissedars at last settlement, chiefly concerns their ability to alienate the lands they cultivate. It has been urged with some show of truth that the proprietary right was given to such cultivators somewhat too freely at last settlement. For instance, it will frequently be found in part gunth villages, such as Kimotha in Bichla Nagpur, that the same men cultivating both mahals are recorded as khaekars under the thokdar in the revenue-paying land and as hissedars in the gunth. The inference of course is that the original grant was of half the village to the thokdar and half to the temple, and that the cultivators in both parts should have been recorded as khaekars. In other cases the gunth lands are in the direct cultivating possession of the temple worshippers and servants, who enjoy the land, revenue free, as payment for the services performed by them in the temple. Whether this position came about by reversion to the temple authorities of the possession of the land owing to the migration of the original cultivators, or, whether it is due to a direct grant of property in the soil to the temple authorities, the original cultivators being ousted at the time of the grant, it would be idle at this distance of time to enquire. But in all such cases too, the cultivators in possession, whether they held merely because they happened at the time to be temple servants or otherwise, were recorded as proprietors, though they held merely the usufruct of the land in return for their services. This usufruct is of course a far more considerable sum than the revenue of the land. In many cases the worshipper of the temple holds an acre or so of land the produce of which enables him to eke out a subsistence. But he could not possibly live on the rupee or so of revenue assessed on the land, which would be all the temple would receive if the land were sold to an outsider, and the consequence of such a sale would be that the worship of the temple would cease, and the purpose for which the grant was made would be rendered ineffectual. It has therefore been ruled on various occasions that temple worshippers and servants holding the possession of land as direct payment for their services in the temple are not entitled to alienate it. The earliest discovered case of this

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kind is an Almora one, though it would appear from correspondence that earlier decisions to the same effect had been given by Sir H. Ramsay in Garhwal. In Kundan Lal Sah of Almora versus Panua, gunth land of the above description was attached in execution of a decree. Colonel Garstin, the Senior Assistant Commissioner, referred the legality of the attachment to the Commissioner, Sir. H. Ramsay, in these terms: "In my opinion where gunth land is in possession of the pujaris in return for which they are required to perform service in the temple, and land in their possession cannot be attached in satisfaction of their private debts. For, if it is auctioned, this service in the temple will fall on the purchaser, and this cannot be performed by every caste. This opinion will be sent to the Commissioner. In villages in which the possession of the gunth land is not with the temple servants, the temple authorities do not appear entitled to raise any objection to attachment." On which Sir Henry Ramsay's order of the 13th June 1878 was: "The opinion of the Senior Assistant Commissioner is correct. Gunth land should not be attached in satisfaction of a private debt." In 1880 a still stronger case occurred in Garhwal (Durga Singh of Marwara Nandalsyun versus Salik Ram). The defendant, a mahant, wrote the plaintiff a mortgage-deed hypothecating temple land. The plaintiff sued for foreclosure. The defendant was the recorded co-sharer, and in possession of the land. The claim was dismissed on the ground that the mortgage land was the gunth of Lachmi Narain Shankar Mat, and that the Mahant had no power of alienation. "If the Mahant is given such powers, no temple lands will remain." Sir H. Ramsay dismissed the appeal on the 19th November 1880. In another Almora case Gulab Singh of Tuhar, Salt Palla versus Ram Datt, Sir Henry Ramsay's ruling of 1878 was amplified by Mr. Giles, Senior Assistant Commissioner, as follows: "There are two kinds of gunth land. Of one kind the pujari of the temple receives the profits as payment for his services to the temple. With such land a decree-holder against the pujari has, I conceive, no right of interference. But with respect to the other kind of gunth land the temple stands in the place of government with regard to ordinary revenue-paying land, its assessment was fixed at settlement and the temple authorities have no power to alter it, nor, so long as the revenue-payer meets the demand, have they any power of interference with him." Colonel Erskine in appeal endorsed this opinion (18th December 1890). Another case is that of Dulanath versus Padangir and another, Binkoli, Malla Katyur. One Lucha Nath sold land recorded in his name as co-sharer, and which he held revenue free in consideration of performing service in the temple, to Padangir.

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The latter was admittedly incompetent to perform this service, and the plaintiff, sirgiroh of the temple sued to cancel the sale. It was admitted that other sales had taken place. It was held by Mr. Giles, Deputy Commissioner, that in such case the pir for the time being had not done his duty, and that "such neglect can give the appellant no right to the wrong that would be done to the temple by transfer to him." Also that "any worshipper might bring into court a case of perversion of the temple endowment." This decision was upheld on both grounds by the Commissioner, Colonel Erskine (4th December 1893). It is only just to add that the decisions of these authorities from Sir H. Ramsay downwards have been overthrown by the most recent cases in point, also Almora ones, Prem Singh of Bageshwar versus Kuna Sah (21st July 1894), and Daulat Singh Bhandari of Melchaunri Malla Katyur versus Amba Datt and others. Gunth villages in which the land is in the direct cultivating possession of the temple-worshippers are by far the less numerous. In the other and larger number of instances in which the obligation of the cultivators begins and ends with the payment of the revenue to the temple there has never been any question regarding the power of the men recorded as hissedars to alienate their land, as appears from the above cases.

The sadabart villages consist of charitable endowments of land revenue for the purpose of the distribution of food to pilgrims proceeding to Badrinath and Kedarnath, the greater part of which were assigned under the Gurkha Government. Besides scattered villages in Barahsayun they comprise the whole (exceeding gunth villages) of parganna Dasauli and pattis Parkandi, Bamsu and Maikhanda of pargana Nagpur. The administration of these revenues at first rested with the temples, but Mr. Traill took the funds into his own hands and used them to improve the roads and bridges leading to the shrines. In 1850, the revenues were placed under the control of a Local Agency and the income was devoted to the erection and maintenance of dispensaries, where medical relief was distributed to the pilgrims, and to the building of rest houses along the pilgrim route. The system of management by local agency proved a failure, and the control of the funds was transferred to the District Officer of Garhwal. The revenue is still applied to these purposes. The cultivators of sadabari villages are in exactly the same position in regard to their lands as the cultivators of revenue-paying villages. The assessment of both is collected in the same way, but that of the former constitutes the income of an excluded local fund.

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Other revenue-free holdings on village tenure, are by no means numerous, as although the number of such holdings under the Rajas was exceedingly large, few escaped resumption under the Gurkha Government. "At that period" according to Mr. Traill, "all grants in favor of public and private servants of the former Rajas were resumed, and subsequently the jagirs of private individuals including even those of the Brahmans, were with few exceptions subjected to the same measure." Almost all the survivals are plots of land, mostly gardens, at Srinagar. The remaining muafi holdings are only three in number: Pokhri and Ghoret in patti Kandwalsyun held by one Ramnath who purchased the land from the grantee's descendants since last settlement, Gadi village in Dasauli Talli, and Milali and Barsuri in Kandarsyun held by Balmukand, a descendant of the grantee. One of the few jagirs confirmed by the Gurkhas was one held by the Khanyuris in remuneration for their duties as keepers of the land records, the annual value of which was estimated at Rs 1,500.00 a year on Rs 31-4-0 a month to each man. These posts still remain and are held by the Khanyuri family. One revenue free grant has been made under the British Government, that of the village of Ghosi-khata in the Bhabar to Subahdar-- Major Balbhadra Singh in 1888 A.D.

The plots of padhanchari and thokdari land existing in almost every village in the district have at the present settlement been treated as muafi holdings, the land being recorded in the name of government, and the incumbent of the post as the sirtan in possession. At last settlement, the whole area was assessed and the revenue of the padhanchari and thokdari land distributed among the other co-shares. In either case the result is practically the same, as with the total assessment for the district fixed there would be no gain from assessing the malguzari land in detail. This will explain why these plots of land though entered as muafi have so far as the assessment of cesses is concerned been treated as part of the assessed village lands.

The position of the hissedar in unmeasured land has been alluded to in the foregoing paragraphs. It remains to describe some of the customs relating to the whole of his holding, including his rights in both measured and unmeasured land.

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Foremost among these is the custom of pre-emption. It is impossible to state what was the origin of this custom, whether borrowed from the Muhammadans, (which seems from the nature of the district most improbable) or of indigenous growth. The custom flourished previous to last settlement, as a decision of Sir H. Ramsay (in the case of Dewan Singh of Parsoli Gujru versus Kuttu and another dated 18th July 1859), allowed pre-emption to one co-sharer as against another in the same village merely on the slender ground that the former was of the same caste as the vendor, though in the case of Bali of Puniya, Idwalsyun versus Amlanand (18th September 1873) the plaintiff though a nephew of the vendor, and co-sharer in the same village was disallowed pre-emption on the ground that the land was not ancestral. Pre-emption suits have even been extended to the right to collect offerings from pilgrims at Badrinath (Belmu and another of Maithana Talla Dasauli versus Kamrup and Raghunath, 26th January 1872, and Mahimadatt versus Nand Ram, of 26th August 1873). The existing practice in pre-emption cases as embodied in the settlement memorandum of village customs is as follows: (1) The right of pre-emption is conditional on the claimant not having been given the option of purchasing the property, before the sale to the stranger took place, (2) co-sharers in the same village have a right of pre-emption against a stranger, (3) relatives within the third degree have a right of pre-emption against co-sharers and others.

In the case of an undivided joint family the name of the manager only is ordinarily entered in the phant or roll of revenue-paying proprietors. The others holding jointly with him are known as shikmi hissedars. According to the Mitakshara which is supposed to regulate customs connected with Hindu Law in Garhwal, the whole estate is liable for debts incurred by the manager of the undivided joint family, while each of the members, having only an undivided share of the whole and not full proprietary rights over any part, is unable to alienate his portion of the inheritance (Maine's Hindu Law, section 327). The only remedy against this lay in partition. But in the hills the shikmi hissedar has always been permitted to exercise full proprietary rights over his nominal share of the inheritance and to claim that his portion shall not be held responsible for debts due from the manager, unless he is specifically mentioned as liable in the decree. A fraudulent use is frequently made of this power, particularly in the case of private sales.

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Partition of common land of the village is usually made in proportion to the quota of revenue paid by each, and must be made in this way unless the specific share of each appears in the record. There is, however, a species of division known as "Mowari bant" or division by families, by which each family obtains an equal share of the common land.

In early times the abandonment of holdings was common. At present owing to the increased value of land, a holding is seldom left vacant except from the death without heir of the owner. In such cases the old custom as described by Mr. Traill is still followed: "When a share in any estate may lapse from death or desertion it is divided among the remaining proprietors who become answerable for its assessment; but this responsibility is generally speaking far from being deprecated, as the landholders are for the most part anxious to enlarge their petty tenures." The settlement agreement of 1862, also reads: "If a cultivator abandons his holding in the village, or dies without heir, or whose heir by reason of tender age cannot cultivate the estate, such land shall, until partition, be cultivated by the villagers through the padhan."

But the most noteworthy customs relating to proprietary holdings are connected with succession.

In default of sons, the widow as elsewhere succeeds to the inheritance for life. Alienation of the estate by her to liquidate the real or pretended debts of her husband forms the basis of many suits. With a view to forestall and avoid litigation, it was formerly the custom for the widow wishing to alienate land for this purpose to apply to the district officer, who, after a short enquiry, if the circumstances justified, made an executive order permitting her to do so.

The daughter's position in the hills is much weaker than under ordinary Hindu Law. Though decisions such as Bahadur Singh and others of Mathana, Ringwarsyun, versus Parshadi, 28th August 1885 (Mr. Ross, Commissioner) and Kura of Talli Kolri, Khatli, versus Lalu, 3rd May 1892 (Mr. Roberts, Commissioner) have declared the daughter entitled to succeed in preference to unrelated co-sharers of the village and distant relatives, still her right is not generally recognized by the people themselves. It is the custom for a man who has no son to marry his daughter to a son-in-law who agrees to live in his house and

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who is known thereafter as the ghariawain. In such a case the daughter takes her father's inheritance, but should she go into her husband's house, the inheritance usually descends to the nearest male heirs of the deceased. Even in the case of a ghariawain the relatives frequently make a strong fight for the property, especially if the marriage has been arranged by the widow after the death of her husband. In such cases, it is not uncommon for the widow to go through the form of selling the land to the ghariawain on the pretence that the sale proceeds are required to repay him the cost incurred in settling her husband's debts.

It is not infrequent for a well-to-do man to have more than one wife. In such cases the inheritance is occasionally divided according to the number of wives, each son taking according to his mother's share instead of according to the number of sons of the same father (bhai bani). As a bona fide instance of this species of division the case of Rattan Singh of Thaplyalgaon, Gagwarsyun, versus Sibbu and others (20th July 1869) Sir H. Ramsay, Commissioner) may be cited. But sautiya bant is the exception not the rule. In 1861, Sir. H. Ramsay ruled on the case of Nand Ram and others of Chandol Rain, Mandalsyun, versus Bhajan Datt and another: "In the absence of a will sautiya bant cannot be made by the courts," and again in the case of Sher Singh of Kirsal, Taili Chandpur, versus Rattan Singh (9th August 1876): "In the absence of a written agreement or will, or the strongest evidence, a sautiyabant ought not to be given." And in 1886 the Board (Mr. Daniell) reversed a decision of the Commissioner (Mr. Ross) in the case of Rabi Datt of Kwirali, Idwalsyun, versus Abhe Ram and others (6th July 1886), holding that bhai bant is the law and sautiya bant should not be allowed "unless any valid authority is proved to exist which alters the law in a particular case." The required authority is usually a division made by the father in his lifetime, or a will, or the most undoubted proof of the custom of sautiya bant in the family, such as the fact of its having been allowed in specific cases before. But so far as I am aware, in no case has this species of division been allowed on evidence of the latter class alone. In the case of Padmu and others of Gahar, Paidulsyun, versus Shib Datt, the defendant was the son of one wife and claimed half of the inheritance, while the plaintiffs, three sons of two wives, demanded bhai bant. The attestation of existing possession showed that the defendant was in possession of half the share, and from this a sautiya bant made by the father was inferred (Sir H. Ramsay 5th December 1877). Similarly in the case of Ganga Datt of Budoli, Gagwarsyun versus Bhajan Datta and others, sautiya bant was inferred from existing possession of long standing (thirteen or fourteen years) and a new division refused (Mr. Roberts, Commissioner, 12th September 1892).

(To Be Continued)

War With Sikkim And The Chaubisi States^x

By

Baburam Acharya.

After Bahadur Shah fled to India, Queen Rajendralaxmi assumed the reins of the administration. Another queen, the widow of former King Karna Sen of Kirat, then started making plans to disrupt the administration of Nepal and win back her husband's lost kingdom. Karna Sen had gone to Calcutta at the instance of Pocock to solicit military assistance from the East India Company Government. In return, he was prepared to hand over 5/8ths of the revenue of Vijayapur, as well as the administration of the State, to the East India Company Government, as well as to permit it to establish a factory in Vijayapur. However, he died on the way. His infant soon too died in Calcutta. These misfortunes had made his widow desperate. Meanwhile, she heard that Queen Rajendralaxmi had become head of the government of Nepal. With the aim of accomplishing her husband's plans, the widow of Karna Sen requested cooperation from King Mukunda Sen II of Palpa, who was a distant relative. She also requested King Mukunda Sen to let her adopt one of his sons to succeed her deceased husband. King Mukunda Sen II accordingly sent his third son, Dhvajabir Sen. He also sent letters to the Governor-General in Calcutta, and the Rajas of Sikkim, Bhutan, and the Chaubise States asking for assistance. For the safety of Dhvajabir Sen, he deputed Swarup Simha, who had fled from Nepal.

Swarup Simha was born in Majhkirat. He had been acquainted with Karna Sen. Mukunda Sen had thus deputed a suitable person. Swarup Simha took Dhvajabir Sen to the widow of Karna Sen at Dhungadh, a place situated twenty miles south of Morang in Indian territory. Karna Sen's widow then kept Dhvajabir Sen with her, along with her late husband's illegitimate son, Ripumardan Sen. Swarup Simha then went to Calcutta with Mukunda Sen's letter to the Governor-General.

^xBaburam Acharya, "Sikkim ra Chaubisi Rajyacharuko Akraman ra Pratyakraman" in Nepalko Samkshipta Vrittanta (A Concise Account of Nepal). Kathmandu: Pramod Shamsheer and Nir Bikram "Pyasi," 2022 (1966). Chapter 15, pp. 83-87.

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Meanwhile, the troops of Sikkim were conducting raids into Pallokirat and Morang. Mukunda Sen and other Chaubisi Rajas were waiting for authoritative reports in this regard. Swarup Simha's aims were not being realized because Subba Dinanath, Nepal's envoy in Calcutta, was alert. On the other hand, Kathmandu was getting accurate reports from Pallokirat regularly, as well as news regarding Swarup Simha's activities in Calcutta. There were also rumors that the Chaubisi States were planning to invade Gorkha. Rajendralaxmi was therefore making necessary arrangements for troops and provisions in Gorkha. She depended mostly on the Magar Bhardars. Rajendralaxmi had therefore increased the size of the Magar force by appointing Bandu Rana, elder brother of Sarvajit Rana, and Devadatta Thapa, as Rajis. Mukunda Sen and other Chaubisi Rajas were waiting in vain for reports from Swarup Simha Karki. Meanwhile, they received reports that the government of Nepal was making preparations for the defense of Siranchok. They therefore initiated plans to launch an attack on Siranchok before Gorkhali troops could reach that place.

Palpa was the wealthiest of the Chaubisi states and hence occupied a leading position among them. However, it was militarily weak. Tanahu too has more or less in the same situation. Impoverished by the repeated attacks of the Gorkhalis, Raja Harakumardatta Sen of Tanahu tried to meet his expenses by mortgaging Raika lands as Rajabandhaki. His commander-in-chief, Garudadhwa Pantha, was a wealthy person. Among the other Chaubisi states, Lamjung, Kaski, Parbat and Pyuthan were militarily strong. Lamjung was smaller than Gorkha and possessed little resources, but its Khasa inhabitants were as good fighters as the Gorkhalis. Accordingly, they had to come forward in the event that Siranchok was attacked.

Immediately after the onset of autumn in A.D. 1781, the Chaubisi states began to increase their forces. Pyuthan took little interest in these preparations, however, because it was situated at a distance, and its rulers only sent a few troops under the command of a Sardar. The Rajas of Palpa and Parbat procured troops and funds from other petty states as well, with allurements and warnings of the Gorkhali danger. When the rulers of Parbat and Lamjung had jointly attacked Kaski, Prithvi Narayan Shah had threatened to come to the aid of Kaski by attacking Lamjung. This had saved Kaski, hence Raja Siddhi Narayan Shah of Kaski did not want to join the Chaubisi allies against Gorkha.

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However, the rulers of Parbat and Lamjung forcibly brought him to Lamjung. For making the attack on Siranchok successful, the rulers of Palpa and Lamjung appointed Garudadhvaj Pantha as commander-in-chief.

With the aim of forestalling an attack on Gorkha from Tanahu, Rajendralaxmi despatched a company of troops to fortify Sijung inside Tanahu. But hardly had the Gorkhali troops reached Sijung than they were repulsed by the troops of Parbat, who then established their own post in Sijung (January 2, 1782). Garudadhvaj Pantha then led the troops of Lamjung and Tanahu to attack Siranchok, with the troops of Raja Siddhinarayan Shah of Kaski in the vanguard. Since this was a question of self-defense, all Bhardars and troops were despatched from Kathmandu to Siranchok. Kaji Balabhadra Shah was commander-in-chief, with Kaji Devadatta Thapa (Magar), Kaji Damodar Pande, Sardar Amar Simha Thapa and others as his deputies. Amar Simha Thapa was well-acquainted with the terrain, because he was born and brought up in Siranchok. He therefore functioned as Kaji Balabhadra Shah's chief deputy. Before fighting started, Balabhadra Shah sent a message to Siddhi Narayan Shah and persuaded him to go back to Kaski along with his troops. The Gorkhali troops had strongly entrenched themselves in Siranchok. Amar Simha Thapa killed some enemy troops at Chiplati near Siranchok and repulsed the rest. The enemy then attempted to attack Siranchok and put up its camp at Bhimryak. The next day, the Gorkhali troops attacked Bhimryak, and killed 200 enemy troops. The remaining troops fled across the Chepe river, abandoned the fort of Raginas to the Gorkhalis, and reached Lamjung. Only 15 men were killed on the Gorkhali side (February 3, 1782).

On February 4, 1782, the troops of Palpa withdrew from Sijung. Kirtibam Malla then gathered the retreating Chaubisi troops and attacked Kaski. Siddhi Narayan Shah, accompanied by his only son, escaped on foot and joined Balabhadra Shah in Gorkha. The morale of the Chaubisi states weakened after this battle and they started blaming each other.

Meanwhile, fighting continued in Pallokirat and Morang, where Kaji Abhiman Simha Basnet (?) was commander-in-chief. A company of troops was sent to defeat Dhvajabir Sen at Dhumgadh, as it was thought that the enemy could not be suppressed without defeating him. The Gorkhali troops surrounded Dhvajabir Sen's residence at Dhumgadh, but Dhvajabir Sen and his supporters claimed that they enjoyed the backing of the East India Company government and the Governor-General. The Gorkhali troops replied

that neither the East India Company government nor the Governor-General was present there to help Dhvajabir Sen. Dhvajabir Sen, his elder brother Ripumardan Sen, and the couriers of Sikkim, a total of fifteen persons, were killed, while the others were wounded. Four others were captured and brought to Morang. One of the followers of Dhvajabir Sen had gone to a local Brahman Zamindar to ask for his help as soon as the incident started, but the Zamindar was afraid and refused help.

Sikkim too lost heart as a result of this incident. Saldenc by the death of his son, Mukunda Sen died. Raja Harakumara Datta of Tanahu felt disheartened and took refuge with Raja Biramardan Shah of Lamjung.

Rajendralaxmi believed that it was essential to enable Raja Siddhi Narayan Shah, who had taken refuge with the Gorkhalis, to get back his lost Kingdom. This could be done only by ending the existence of Lamjung and driving out Kirtibam Malla. To undertake this task, she invited Kaji Vamsharaj Pande, who was living in retirement in Bettiah. Kaji Vamsharaj Pande immediately came back to Kathmandu and assumed charge of the assignment. He was able to persuade Rajendralaxmi to invite former Chautara Dalamardan Shah, who possessed much knowledge about Lamjung. Vamsharaj Pande and his brother, Damodar Pande, were appointed as Kajis. There was no paucity of troops in Kathmandu or Gorkha. Vamsharaj Pande, therefore, reached Gorkha, won over the Panthas who were Bhardars of Tanahu, and besieged Lamjung from the south. He deputed Sardar Amar Simha Thapa to Kaski with some troops. Amar Simha Thapa surrounded Kirtibam Malla, who was resting at Barhegaunda. On June 28, 1782, Kirtibam Malla, afraid of being captured, fled in disguise and on foot to Andhikhola. From there he reached his capital across the Kali river.

(To Be Continued)

(S.B. Maharjan).

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A History of Land Tenures In Garhwal^x

(Continued)

In all but the very highest castes in Garhwal it is the custom for a man to take into his house as his wife, the widow of a deceased elder brother (Bhauj). In such cases the woman is regarded as equal to a lawfully married wife and offspring as legitimate (asl) children, but if the bhauj continues to live in her deceased husband's house, she is looked upon as a mere concubine and the issue is illegitimate (kamasl) (Kripal Singh of Pharkandai, Iriya Kot, versus Partab Singh, Mr. Giles, Commissioner, 18th July 1891). In part of Malla Salan, pattis Khatli and Bangarsyun, the son of a bhauj is not allowed to take rice with his kinsmen though otherwise under no disability. The term bhauj like the term bhai is somewhat loosely used, and is applied to the wife of a cousin and sometimes to the wife of a distant relative, though not usually so if resident in a different village. In such cases, however, the right of the son of a bhauj as such, usually becomes merged in the narrower right which is sometimes recognized, of an illegitimate son to succeed to his father's inheritance in default of other issue.

Occasionally in some Khasiya villages, the whole of the deceased's property is made over to another man, on the condition that he lives with the widow as his wife. This second husband is known as tekwa. The reversioners, by this arrangement, give up their claim to any part of the deceased's property. The practice is regarded as a somewhat immoral one.

Primogeniture has been claimed by a family of Kyark Idwals but not proved.

Among the various castes of jogis, known as Giri, Puri, Bairagi, etc., the succession lies to the chela or disciple, not to the son. This is not improbably a remnant of the time when this class was celibate. At the present date celibacy is seldom observed, while a large number, particularly near Srinagar, are more cultivators, and only to be distinguished from others by their orange-coloured dress and the custom prevailing amongst some of them of wearing large wooden rings in their ears.

^xE.K. Pauw, C.S., Report On The Tenth Settlement Of The Garhwal District. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, Chapter II: Tenures. pp. 32-32.

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At the outset a distinction must be made between khaekars in a village held entirely by khaekars, and khaekars in a village in which the hissedars have khudkasht, which is the modern form which the under-proprietary and occupancy rights have respectively assumed. In the former case (to quote Mr. J. Reid's words in the case of Padmu and others of Timli, lagga Pali, Khatli, versus Gauri Datt and another, in an order dated 28th March 1889, as Commissioner), "the khaekars alone have a right to arrange for the cultivation, pasturage, etc, including the succession to land lapsing owing to the death, heirless, of khaekars, the breaking up of waste, etc., while the hissedars have no right beyond the collection of revenue, cesses and padhanchari." It would be hardly necessary to give instances, by quoting cases, of such a well-known and well established principle, were it not that owing to the absence of any written law on the subject of these tenures, and to the unscrupulousness and untruthfulness of litigants, new authorities are apt, merely from inability to ascertain the correct custom, to give decisions absolutely opposed to all recognized rights. It is sufficient to give one such instance. The village of Milai is held entirely by khaekars, who pay revenue to the muafidar. At last settlement the khaekars who represent the old cultivators who have sunk into tenants of the grantee were recorded as proprietors in consequence of their independent position. On appeal they were subsequently reduced to the position of khaekars. But there could be no question of their under-proprietary right or the fact of their holding the whole village. Balmukand the present muafidar sued a khaekar Lalmani for recovery of possession of land broken up by the latter, on the ground that it was his khudkasht (a perfectly preposterous plea; a similar suit had in fact been dismissed in 1888) and by some means or other got a decree. The defendant in appeal pleaded that the whole village was in possession of khaekars, and that the muafidar by custom could only take the malikana and had no right to interfere with the cultivation. The Commissioner, however, refused to modify the decision (5th May 1893) and an appeal to the Board of Revenue met with the same fate (2nd September 1893), though in the case of Padmu versus Gauri Datt, quoted above, the Board had themselves decided that the khaekars in a similar village were entitled to the possession of land which the hissedars had actually partitioned out amongst themselves. The cases of Khushal Singh of Dyuna, Tal Dora versus Lachi and others (June 8th 1889), and Gangapuri of Mangaon, Dug versus Parsi Sah (December 20th 1893), both of which went up at one time or another to the Board are perhaps the

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leading cases on the subject of the holdings of khaekars in villages held entirely by khaekars. Both are Almora cases and in both the custom was held to apply not only to principal but also to lagga villages held entirely by khaekars, when there was any evidence that the khaekari holding represented an old under-proprietary tenure. They both refused to the hissedar the right to resume the land of an heirless khaekar and in both cases it was decided that the land should go to the common body of khaekars. The principle is, however, by no means a modern one. Sir H. Ramsay mentions it in the Settlement Report of Kumaun, and a judicial decision by him to the same effect exists in Warak Singh of Chyurkot Sabli versus Devi Datt (26th June 1882). Again in the case of Kaira and another versus Dalip Singh and another of Jukani lagga of Bangar, Sabli, in which the hissedars wanted to divide among themselves the unassessed waste land of the village of Jukani held entirely by khaekars, Sir H. Ramsay ruled: "Since all Jukani is in possession of khaekars the unmeasured land will not be divided amongst the hissedars" (30th November 1877). In the case of Banwa and another versus Bala Datt, of Rauthiya, Chalansyun, in which the defendant, a hissedar, got a deed of relinquishment from a khaekar in a village held entirely by khaekars, and the plaintiff, a khaekar, sued for the land, Mr. Ross, Commissioner, ruled: "The hissedar cannot get possession of any khaekar land. If a khaekar wishes to give up any of his land, it must go to the other khaekars." It was also ruled that the hissedar had no right to cultivate unmeasured land in the village (9th April 1888). Nor does the hissedar improve his position by obtaining by fraud or collusion the cultivating possession of land in the village. It has been laid down in the case of Devi Datt versus Prem Singh and others, decided by Mr. J.R. Reid, Commissioner, on 9th January 1889, that a hissedar so obtaining land is on precisely the same footing as regards rights and privileges as any other khaekar, and that the land so cultivated is not equivalent to khudkasht nor does it affect the under-proprietary rights of the other khaekars.

In the case of villages in which the hissedars have land in their own cultivation or khudkasht, the khaekar's land, in the event of his leaving heir, or collateral in cultivating possession, reverts to the proprietor. This reversion was noted in the last settlement agreement, though not the reversion to the body of khaekars. In the case of Ude Singh in 1876 this matter was discussed between Mr. Colvin, the Officiating Commissioner, and

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Mr. Beckett, the latter explaining that the agreement was a "mere form." The khækar may also relinquish his land at any time by a deed of relinquishment (ladawa) executed in favour of his landlord, but not to the prejudice of his partners in the holding. Thus in the case of Choti versus Jivanand, of Uprainkh Bahhansyun, the plaintiff, widow of a deceased khækar, sued to cancel a ladawa given by her eldest son to the hissedar defendant, as she had a younger son. Sir H. Ramsay ruled: "If Paunlya did not wish to cultivate the land, his younger brother had the right to all, and Paunlya had no right to give it up by ladawa." The deed of relinquishment was accordingly cancelled (4th September 1878).

As regards the right of relatives to succeed, no doubt has ever been expressed as to the son's right. The daughter's right is more doubtful, though in the case of Musammat Sauni and another versus Parsadu and others, Pauri, Nandalsyun, the plaintiffs sued to succeed their mother as khækars, and got a decree which was upheld by Colonel Erskine on appeal (19th May 1890). In a former case a nephew incapable of succeeding at all; facts which only show the necessity for a clear exposition of existing rulings. The daughter's right is no doubt a highly equitable one, and would apply a fortiori in the case of a gharjawain and daughter's son, though it can hardly be said that the rights of either are generally recognized. The fact is that nine out of every ten hillmen are hissedars, and every curtailment of the right of succession to the khækar is to their advantage, as it brings in more lapsed holdings, which can now be let out at far better profit than twenty per cent, on the revenue. As regards heirs other than descendants, the widow has an undoubted claim to succeed in the absence of sons, and in this is preferred to the daughters. In the case of Rattan Singh versus Dhaunkalu and others of Sirwana, Iriyakot, the plaintiff hissedar sued to obtain land from the defendants cultivating on behalf of the deceased khækar's widow, Sir H. Ramsay ruled: "While the wife of the deceased khækar is alive this claim is inadmissible" (9th May 1872). Collaterals, as a rule, are only allowed to succeed if they share in the cultivation of the holding (i.e. area what is known as shikmi). There are no definite rulings on the subject, but Mr. J.R. Reid has expressed his opinion that section 9 of Act XII of 1881 might fairly regulate succession in this case. The right of an adopted son to succeed would not be worth noticing were it not that it was denied in several cases by Mr. Ross while Commissioner. Sir H. Ramsay, however,

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in the case of Kamrup versus Narain Singh, Kirkhu, Mawalsyun (1st February 1882), clearly upheld the right of an adopted son to succeed, and in the cases of Sri Ram and another versus Gaje Singh of Bhawain, Khatsyun (9th September 1892), Kirpa, of Ghiri, Kapholsyun versus Kedaru (1st August 1894) this view has been reaffirmed. Succession by relatives other than those mentioned can take place with the consent of the co-sharer but not otherwise, but this may be regarded rather as a renewal of the Khaekari right than a continuation of it.

The right of a khaekar to cultivate and hold unmeasured land in a village in which the measured land is not held entirely by khaekars has been doubted. In the case of Fatch Singh versus Hansu and others, of Dyur Khadora, Balla Nagpur, the plaintiff was a hissedar and the defendants khaekars cultivating in the same village. The latter had cultivated unmeasured land and the former sued for possession. The court of first instance gave a decree. Sir H. Ramsay reversed the decision in an order which has always been regarded as the Great Charter of khaekar liberties. "This claim for waste land is nothing more or less than an attempt to establish a zamindari right within the village boundaries. The khaekars of the village are old maurusi asamis. Waste unmeasured land is the joint property of government and the villagers. If it were deemed advisable to establish a nayabad or to preserve a block of jungle, government has the right to do so, though such waste land is left uninterfered with, if it is not required by government. The recorded hissedar has no right to claim hissedari during the currency of the settlement in jungle land brought under cultivation by the khaekar. He may cultivate new land if he likes, but he cannot claim rent on land, which does not belong to him" (4th February 1882). At the present settlement all khaekars have been recorded as such in unmeasured land found in their possession.

"The khaekari right is only heritable, not transferable." This was definitely laid down by Colonel Fisher, as Commissioner, in the case of Suraj Singh versus Amardeb and others, Gurarsyun (2nd February 1885). The defendants were khaekars in a village held entirely by khaekars and sold part of the khaekari land. The plaintiff hissedar sued to cancel the sale, and failed to get a decree. Colonel Fisher ruled on appeal: "The respondents can sublease their lands, they cannot transfer them by gift to others." This of course holds a fortiori in proprietary villages.

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In truth, however, the right to collect has been by no means always acknowledged, decisions having been sometimes given to the effect that in a mortgage case, mortgagee shall be bound to his duty to assign it to the proprietor, but in the case of Ballance King of Canada shall mortgage bonds and stocks, where the mortgagee is a vested fund of interest, the same is appeal ruled: "The proprietor cannot interfere, such is the mortgage and he can mortgage through who he likes. It only's worth, Ottawa's tendency will cease, and such's value if any, will increase, or the land will lapse to the proprietor" (18th September 1877).

It is a very general practice for mortgagee to give mortgagee's possession in some of their land, or authority for the payment of a loan, that is to say by deed or virtually they mortgage their buildings, in the case of first mortgage within Ontario, but, elsewhere, in the case of a mortgage, especially mortgagee's land to various people, and the plaintiff brought suit to recover the land. The court of first instance (1st), brought after examining the papers found that two of the mortgages had been recorded in the settlement papers, that there was hardly a house in the village but had some land mortgage, and the plaintiff admitted that the nature of mortgage in a few cases was a common one, and that if the defendant could recover in a short time he would not object. Plaintiff was given a decree that it defendant failed to do so in two years or eight years, then. Sir W. Murray in appeal ruled: "he that is an appeal clause in the settlement agreement, and the whole village does not appear to be in the hands of mortgagee, I do not see why a mortgagee of one should be different from others, if they are mortgages they are all. Therefore, any mortgage that mortgagee can make must be purely contract, and the mortgage is given to any other, of the mortgagee land he makes" (17th January 1878). The order was executed and the plaintiff also brought suit against, he was ruled that was not correct, but it is difficult to see why the mortgagee is privileged in a case of this kind, or more than by a mortgage of the building, and the mortgagee of the land makes is witnessed by the signed of the parties and present settlement. In other cases the mortgagee was provided with the real mortgagee's death, and in that case the mortgagee's authorized production of the mortgagee's terms, the Lawrence revolutionary interest remains unaltered.

At the last settlement the miscellaneous dues payable by custom from khaekars to hissedars were computed into a fixed rate of 20 per cent, on the land revenue, the khaekars paying to the hissedars this amount in excess of the government revenue. In the following villages this percentage was, however, departed from:-

Pargana	Pati	Village	Amount	Remarks
		('Bhairgaon lagga of Koligaon)	Rs	
		('Chaidhar)		
		('Daheli)		
Chandkot	Gurarsyun	('Kirshal)	10	'Per cent
		('Pali Malli)		
		('Sanglakoti)		
	'Maundarsyun	'Amota Sera	40	'Per cent

At the present settlement the amount has been equalized to 20 per cent, in every case.

The ejection of khaekars can only take place on a decree of Court which is usually only made in case of proved inability to pay the assessment, for instance, non-satisfaction of a decree for rent. It thus happens that the ejection of khaekars is almost unknown. The hissedar is also very cautious in interfering with a khaekari holding unless armed with a ladawa as it generally ends in his being mulcted in costs.

The points which have been most contested regarding the tenure of the sirtan have been the permanence of his holding and his liability to ejection. As regards the right of sirtans of long standing to a permanent occupancy, the most various rulings have been given at different times. In the case of Mopta and others of Bajyun, Talla Nagpur versus Kitalu, the plaintiffs who had held land as sirtans since 1840 if not earlier, sued in 1874 to have their holding made a khaekari one. The Court of first instance held that plaintiffs should have sued within three years from settlement to alter the entry. "Act X of 1869 is not in force in this district, and therefore length of tenure does not give an occupancy right." There is a want of sequence in the reasoning, but Sir H. Ramsay affirmed the decision (21st April 1874). On the other hand, in the case of Parmanand and another,

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tenants were scarce in the hill tracts and the question of occupancy rights received little attention. ... The sirtan is a purely temporary occupant of land and must not be confounded with tenants who have broken up and brought under cultivation waste land, and have continued to occupy uninterruptedly through a long series of years" (20th January 1891). It is a curious instance of the way in which each case of tenures is settled as it arises in Garhwāl by a reference to first causes, instead of according to established precedent, that when it was desired after the above ruling to ascertain in what way hissedars, khakars and sirtans should be recorded in unmeasured land in their possession at the present settlement, this was done by calling together the people of several pattis and asking their opinion on the subject. The opinion as to the right of sirtans in waste land was that they should in all cases be recorded as sirtans, and this was accordingly done, till the Senior Member Mr. Reid came to know of the matter in 1893 and altered the arrangement according to the ruling in the above case. Sirtans who had cultivated blocks of new land and had been in possession thereof for a number of years were to be recorded as khakars in such land.

(To Be Continued)

THE LIFE OF THE LATE EMPEROR OF JAPAN

19

Retired Anarchy
(continued)

After having arranged for the defence of Osaka, Yoshitaka fled east on the bank of the Sagami River, capital of Ise, toward the end of September 1787, he occupied Tsuru and Chiyoda without a fight, and ultimately overran Osaka. On November 2, Kaji Simeonides fled and subsequently fled again to Kyoto and reached Kyoto through the heavy clouds. From there he proceeded along the river of the Sagami River and reached the land territory of Kamikawachi, where both of them were sheltered. Simeonides then wrote a letter from Kamikawachi pleading his permission to bring his family from Kyoto and said that he had been ordered to spend his last days there. Simeonides gave his permission to do so.

After his return to Kamikawachi, Yoshitaka and Yoshitaka held negotiations with Kaji Simeonides. On the 15th of the month, on the 14th, 1787, a treaty was concluded, under which Kaji Simeonides accepted the sovereignty of the Imperial Government. Kaji Simeonides then returned to Osaka, at the time of Simeonides' invasion of the first region, some leaders allied with the enemy, while some remained loyal to the Imperial Government. When the war against the enemy was discontinued, the Imperial Government ordered the loyal leaders with a view to punishing those who had collaborated with the enemy. But the war on the western front did not end until the conclusion of the treaty with Osaka. Only when a treaty was concluded with Osaka, were the loyal leaders, who had come to Kamikawachi, sent back to Kyoto along with arms and expenses. Thereafter, peace was restored to both Kyoto and Osaka. Kaji Simeonides Simeonides returned to Osaka after stationing Kaji Simeonides and Simeonides (1787) there in Osaka on the 15th.

¹Retired Anarchy, pp. 112-113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Bhim Khawas, who had been sent to the battle of Siranchok early in 1782 as Subedar of the Srinath Company, returned after the end of that war. He was then appointed as Chief Secretary of Queen Rajendralaxmi and also given charge of the Mint. Kaji Vamsha Raj Pande, who regarded the position of minister as a monopoly, was dissatisfied with the favors shown on Bhim Khawas. Accordingly, Rajendralaxmi, on December 26, 1783, banished Vamsha Raj Pande from the country.

When King Mukunda Sen II of Palpa died, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahadatta Sen. Like his father, Mahadatta Sen was hostile to the Nepal Government. He resolved to occupy Upar-dang Gadhi. With this end in view, he decided to win over Kaji Ramkrishna Kunwar, who had been deputed to protect this area. On September 13, 1783, he wrote a letter to Ramkrishna Kunwar accordingly. On learning of this, Queen Rajendralaxmi held discussions with Bhim Khawas, with regard to steps to be taken to annex the state of Palpa. Bhim Khawas advised her to entrust this task to Kaji Swarup Simha Karki, since the war of Pallo-kirat had ended by that time. Kaji Swarup Simha Karki was therefore summoned to Kathmandu. This was also one of the reasons which led Vamsha Raj Pande to leave Nepal. After Swarup Simha Karki's return, a plan was prepared to occupy not only Palpa, but also Parbat and other Chaubisi states. Accordingly, Kaji Abhiman Simha Basnyat was sent with five companies of troops to occupy Palpa, and six companies were despatched to Parbat under the command of Kaji Haru Shah. Other Kajis and Sardars were also deputed. These troops first set up their camp at Wargangmi in Pallo-Kuwakot with a view to occupying that state. The troops of that state entrenched at Kristi. Three companies of Gorkhali troops were therefore despatched to Kristi, which was then occupied. On February 28, 1784, Raja Aridaman Shah escaped. One company of the Gorkhali troops remained there, while the rest returned to Wargangmi. All the three companies then invaded the state of Paiyun in the south and occupied it. The Raja of Paiyun fled.

Meanwhile, Abhiman Simha Basnyat proceeded southward from Tanahu toward Palpa. He crossed the Kali-Gandaki river and the Mahabharat range to reach Gaidakot (Nawalpur). He occupied the outposts of Palpa which were situated on the way and overran the enemy in a minor skirmish at Waldung. On April 4, 1784, he occupied Tansen, capital of Palpa. The chief administrator appointed by King Mahadatta Sen of Palpa in the Tarai region of Butaul defected to the Gorkhali side. Mahadatta Sen then took refuge with the Raja of Argha.

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On Completion of the sacred thread investiture ceremony, Queen Rajendralaxmi returned to Kathmandu along with Bahadur Shah. Vamsha Raj Pande too was probably invited to the ceremony. If not so, he might have been summoned to Gorkha to take charge of the campaign to conquer Kaski. However, he did not go to Gorkha, seeing that Swarup Simha Karki still occupied a dominant position in the Palace. On March 9, 1785, however, Vamsha Raj Pande came back to Kathmandu, though reluctantly. But within 45 days after his arrival in Kathmandu, Vamsha Raj Pande was charged with having committed a grave crime and, on April 21, 1785, he was beheaded at the royal palace gardens. Bahadur Shah naturally resented this act. But he had to remain silent, as he himself was powerless and was virtually living in detention.

Soon after liquidating Vamsha Raj Pande, Rajendralaxmi ordered Dalajit Shah and Swarup Simha Karki to occupy Kaski. Gorkhali troops were already stationed in adequate strength in Tanahu. Commanding the necessary number of troops, Dalajit Shah and Swarup Simha Karki reached Kaski and occupied Rupakot and Arghau on a single day without any fighting. On June 11, 1785, i.e. the third day of the conquest of these two areas, they occupied Sarankot, and Raja Siddhinarayan Shah fled through the Muktinath route and disappeared. Kaski was then merged into the Kingdom of Nepal.

Abhiman Simha Basnyat had been despatched to occupy other petty states in the Andhi-Khola area. On June 17, 1785, Raja Bhupanarayan Shah of Satahun met Abhiman Simha Basnyat and accepted the suzerainty of Nepal. Raja Bhakta Khan of Sarahun was a minor, being nine years of age only. His guardians left him to the protection of Abhiman Simha Basnyat. Later, Raja Beni Prasad Sen of Rising and Raja Chakrapati Khan of Charikot sought protection from the Nepal government. However, the rulers of Dhor and Poiyun lost their kingdoms, because they had supported the Raja of Parbat. These petty states were subsequently merged into Nepal. Swarup Simha Karki was made governor (Hakim) of Kaski, and stationed in Pokhara. Dalajit Shah too stayed there. Abhiman Simha Basnyat returned to Kathmandu along with the Rajas who had preferred to seek Nepal's protection.

Rajendra Laxmi was afraid that Bahadur Shah might overthrow her son, Rana Bahadur Shah, in order to take revenue for the way she had treated him. This was the reason why Rajendralaxmi, following the advice of Bhim Khawas and Swarup Simha Karki, had

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Population Census Statistics for Bhadgaun, 1853

Brief particulars regarding the population census conducted in 1856 A.D. by Prime Minister Jang Bahadur had been given in Rogmi Research Series, Year 2, No. 5, May 1, 1970, pp. 117-18. More detailed figures have now become available. The following statistics relate to Bhadgaun town in Kathmandu. These statistics were collected during a period of 18 days between Bhadra Badi 8 and Bhadra Sudi 10, 1910 Vikrama (August-September, 1853).

Population of Bhadgaun Town

<u>Name of Tol</u>	<u>No. of houses</u>		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total population</u>
	<u>Tile</u>	<u>Thatch</u>			
1. Bharabacha	88	15	293	269	562
2. Itachhe	168	22	531	510	1,041
3. Lankudhoka	178	5	511	539	1,050
4. Lakolanchhe	120	17	436	412	848
5. Kauma	118	x	448	444	892
6. Tekhacho	322	31	1,072	983	2,055
7. Tulachhe	129	3	423	408	831
8. Ghakha	92	9	339	300	639
9. Malachhe	183	13	558	564	1,122
10. Yanlachhe	167	6	606	565	1,171
11. Taumadhi	226	84	793	781	1,574
12. Chochhe	293	21	889	861	1,750
13. Wolachhe	166	30	674	628	1,302
14. Ilacho	164	72	646	633	1,279

Contd...

15. Kwathando	256	25	778	738	1,516
16. Golmadhi	299	87	1,214	1,148	2,362
17. Tauchayal	302	16	884	836	1,720
18. Yanchhe	241	35	748	775	1,523
19. Jela	160	49	637	612	1,249
20. Chamkhel	227	20	722	708	1,430
21. Thalachhe	132	14	404	380	784
22. Kwachhe	81	9	234	247	481
23. Gachhe	58	8	190	176	366
24. Taulachhe	443	37	1,249	1,238	2,487
<hr/>					
TOTAL	4,613	623	15,279	14,755	30,034

The Lamapathi Levy

In several parts of Kathmandu Valley and other areas in the hill regions of Nepal, Buddhist priests (Lama) were traditionally employed to recite prayers and incantations to ward off impending hailstorms and thereby protect crops. The following documents shed light on this system.

1. Patan and Bhadgaun

Gombu Dharke Lama of Jaulakhel, Patan, submitted the following petition to Prime Minister Chandra Shmsher: "On Kartik 29, 1967 (November 14, 1910), an order had been issued entitling my father, Sonam Gyalbu Lama, to protect crops in the districts of Patan and Bhadgaun from hailstorms and take whatever was offered willingly by the people. On Shrawan 11, 1981 (July 26, 1924), on a complaint filed by Gadul Singh Lama and others, the First Diwani Adalat ruled that others had no right to collect this levy. However, my father, Sonam Gyalbu Lama is now dead, and I therefore pray that an order be issued entitling me to protect crops in the above-mentioned two districts from hailstorms and take whatever may be offered willingly by the people."

The Khadganishan Office (of the Prime Minister) then sent the following note to the Pahad Bandobast Report Phant Office: "If the applicant, Gombu Dharke Lama, knows the rites that must be performed to prevent hailstorms, an order may be issued in his name entitling him to protect crops in the two districts of Patan and Bhadgaun from hailstorms, keep the people satisfied, and take whatever they may offer to him willingly."

Inquiries were made through the revenue (Mal) offices in Patan and Bhadgaun to ascertain whether Gombu Dharke Lama knows the rites that must be performed to ward off hailstorms. The local ryots and revenue functionaries (Mohinaike) have signed a report to the effect that he possesses such knowledge.

The matter has now been reported to (Prime Minister Chandra Shmsher) through the Purji Phant (Section) of the Muluki Adja. The Pahad Bandobast Report Phant Office is hereby directed to issue an order authorizing Gombu Dharke Lama throughout his life-time to protect crops in the two districts of Patan and

Contd...

Bhadgaun from hailstorms, keep the ryots satisfied, and take whatever they may offer willingly. This order will be rescinded if it is proved that anything has been collected by force from the ryots, or that they have been harmed.

Marga 17, 1981

(December 2, 1924)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 11, pp. 433-34.

2. Kaski and Lamjung

In Kaski and Lamjung districts, Lamas who performed these services held land assignments amounting to approximately 20 ropanis on a tax-free basis. An order issued by Prime Minister Mohan Shamsheer on Jestha 31, 2007 (June 14, 1950) stated, "These districts are situated near the Himalayas and hence face great danger from hailstorms. From the month of Kartik (commencing October 16) to the time when crops are harvested every year, Lamas have been performing religious functions to propitiate the clouds (Megha-Mala), as well as the gods Indra and Bhumi, and thereby warding off hailstorms and protecting the local people. This system should not be abolished. The government has not been making any payment (to the Lama), who only takes whatever is offered willingly by the people as Lamapathi. A proclamation shall be made to the effect that payments shall be made voluntarily by the people, and that force shall not be used."

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 12, pp. 369-70.

Other References

1. Harilal, Pahad Dal Bishaya (Revenue Offices in the Hills). Kathmandu: Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti, 2008 (1951). p. 16.
2. Mahesh C. Regmi, Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal. Vol. III, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965, p. 28.

Revenue Settlement In KarkinetaVillage, 1837

To Agnidhar Padhya, Chhabilal Padhya and Khadananda Padhya, Mukhiyas of the village of Karkineta in Muwakot (Syangja) district, which has been assigned as Jagir to the Simnanath Battalion (Paltan).

In the course of surveys conducted in that village during the year 1893 Vikrama (1836 A.D.), revenue was fixed at Rs 198 and 5 annas. The sources included in this figure are the actual assessments from the Serma and Saune Fagu levies, judicial fines (Danda-Kunda), escheats (Maryo-apatali), fines on persons convicted of adultery (Chak-Chakui), and all payments due to the local administrator (Amali).

Revenues from Crown levies (Raja-Anka), treasure-troves (Kalyan-dhan), levies due to the chief religious authority (Dharmadhikar), fines, etc. collected from persons convicted of murder, cow-slaughter, waste forest, river and other products, levies due to the arsenal, fees collected on the appointment of the local administrator, hospitality charges (Mejmani) and payment due during the Dashain festival will be collected in addition.

The breakdown of the annual payment of Rs 198 and 5 annas, due for one year from Baisakh Badi 1, 1897 (April 1837) is as follows: Serma (Rs 126 and 8 annas), Saune Fagu (Rs 11 and 13 annas), Asmani (collections from unscheduled sources: Rs 60). This amount shall be handed over to the Amali every year in four equal installments in the months of Baisakh, Shrawan, Kartik and Falgun.

The ryots shall not make any extra payment, nor shall the Amali demand any. In case he makes any collection in excess of the stipulated amount (Thek-Bandi), the matter shall be reported to us.

Contd...

take the village populated and recolonize lands. Keep the area cultivated. The small shall not demand payments for newly-created holdings, but shall pay taxes and provisions for depopulated holdings. On these conditions, we hereby order this Tula-Tula agreement in your name.

Chaitra Sadi 15, 1071

(April 1577)

Royal Research Collections, Vol. 15, pp. 100-01.

Wazir in Purbi of Bahadur

From King Surmala,
To Feroz Khan.

We hereby grant you a monopoly for the sale of soap produced from Bilpadi in Dohi for the year Salsakh Sadi 1 through Chaitra Sadi 15, 1004 (i.e. commencing April 1547 A.D.) on payment of Rs 30. No reduction shall be allowed.

Jyestha Sadi 3, 1004

(May 1547)

Royal Research Collections, Vol. 27, p. 119.

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Privileges of Gumba in Mugu

From (Prime Minister Jung Bahadur)

To Lt.-Colonel Gunjaman Singh Basnyat of the Jumla Office.

Tenzing Norbu Lama, Utken Tsundung Lama, Utken Gyalzen Lama, and others, residents of Mugu in Jumla, have submitted the following petition to the Kaushal office:-

Formerly, there were no villages and settlements in the land called Mugu. A Lama named Dharmaraja Parameshwara then came from Tibet and built two gumbas, known as Sarka and Latha there, and thus made the jungle populous. He installed (images of) gods and goddesses there, and made many disciples.

Subsequently, a few families of Tibetans settled in Mugu, which thus became a village. The Raja of Jumla, Bahadur Shah, felt happy that a great Lama had come from Tibet to settle in his country. He granted a tract of land situated between Rata-pani and Tala to the gumba, with the following authority.

"Protect the forests around the gumba. No person shall kill the blue sheep (naur), musk deer and birds in these forests nor cut trees. In case any person commits any crime and takes asylum with the Lama at the gumba, he shall be pardoned, and shall not be captured. Funeral and other ceremonies, including ghewa, of people who die in the village of Mugu, shall be performed, and their disputes, as well as disputes among the disciples residing in the gumba, shall be disposed of by the Lama according to the authority (Thiti) bestowed on him. No duties shall be collected on supplies procured to meet the needs of the Lama and the Jhuma (?) of the gumba through yaks, sheep, and jhowa."

These arrangements were reconfirmed when (Mugu) was conquered by Gorkha.

Subsequently, Lt. Tul Singh Karki Chhetri was deputed to undertake a revenue settlement in Jumla. He scrutinized the royal order and other documents issued by the (displaced King of) Jumla and reconfirmed all the existing arrangements.

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In 1899 Vikrama (1842 A.D.), the gumba was destroyed by fire, along with all the royal orders and other documents, books, manuscripts, (images of) gods and goddesses, etc. The Lama then reconstructed the gumba, installed (images of) gods and goddesses, gathered disciples, continued the religious functions, and wished victory to His Majesty.

However, the documents were destroyed by fire, and the local villagers, as well as people from outside, cut trees in the forests belonging to the gumba. They hunt in these forests, kill blue sheep, musk-deer and birds there. When they are told not to do so, they start quarrelling, and do not obey. They even forcibly capture people who take asylum in the gumba. They harass us, demanding duties of food and other supplies procured to meet the needs of the Lama and the Jhumsa.

In case lands donated by people formerly (to finance the) burning of lamps in the gumba cannot be cultivated for one or two years for any reason, the local villagers forcibly occupy such lands on the ground that these have remained uncultivated.

"Lands which had formerly been granted by the Raja of Jimal to finance the religious functions of the gumba. These lands had been reconfirmed in the course of a revenue settlement after the region came under the control of Gorkha. As such, outsiders should not be permitted to violate the religious functions and cause harassment. In case a fresh order is issued according to the law to continue the religious functions of the gumba, we shall wish victory to His Majesty and continue discharging these functions, performing the regular and ceremonial worship of gods and goddesses as usual.

"We refer as knowledgeable witnesses Mukhiya Dhara, Sira, Dharkya, Sonam, Thondung, and other residents of this village.

"The particulars mentioned above are correct. In case these are proved incorrect, we are ready to undertake any liability according to the law. We shall not file any complaint subsequently that I have any other facts or evidence to produce. If we do so, may such complaint be rejected."

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This petition was forwarded from the Kaushal office to the Sadar Dafdarkhana office. The officials of the Sadar Dafdarkhana office have reported the matter to us in detail through the Kaushal office.

You (that is, Lt. Colonel Gunjaman Singh Basnyat) are hereby directed to make inquiries about this complaint, and obtain a confession from the respondents, if possible. Otherwise, obtain a statement from the respondents, have the complainants and the respondents face each other, and dispose of the case according to the law.

Magh Sudi 11, 1928

(January 1869)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 62, pp. 452-58.

Complaint of a Lama Priest in Atharasayakhola, 1891

From (Prime Minister Bir Shumshere),
To the West No. 2 Bakyaute Tahasil Office.

Dorje Lama has submitted the following petition:-

"In Sanagaun village in the Kutan area of Atharasayakhola-Bhot, my family had been performing the priestly functions of members of our community from the time of an ancestor, Dupado Tashi Namgyal, to 1936 Vikrama (1881 A.D.). The villagers, on their part, had been performing their religious functions through us.

"In 1939 Vikrama (1882 A.D.) Sisang and Lhawang Lama, father and son, residents of the same village, created trouble, and I had a quarrel with them.

"Subsequently, they signed a bond written in Bhote characters, containing the following pledge: "We shall not create trouble any more. You may perform the functions of your disciples and Jajmans."

"My Jajmans in Sanagaun village also signed a document written in Tibetan characters, with the following contents: "We are satisfied with the sacerdotal functions performed by you, and will continue to accept you (as priest)."

"In these circumstances, Sisang and Lhawang Lama have no right to create trouble again.

"I therefore pray that the following order be issued in my name: "Your family has been performing priestly functions in the village of Sanagaun for the past nine generations, and the villagers too have been accepting you as priests and signed a document to this effect. You are therefore authorized to perform priestly functions in this village on an inheritable basis."

"I also pray that the following order be issued in the name of the ryots of Sanagaun village: "Do not have your priestly functions performed by others, but utilize the services of Dorje Lama as usual."

Contd...

"In case these orders are issued, I shall continue to perform priestly functions in the village, keeping my Jajmans satisfied, and wishing victory to the government.

"According to Section 4 of the Law on Wearing the Sacred Thread, one should recite mantras as instructed by one's customary preceptor (Guru).

"Since (the people of Sanagaun village) have been Jajmans of my family for generations, and since they have signed a document expressing satisfaction with my services, I herewith enclose a copy, in Nagari characters, of the original document, which is in Phote characters. As Your Highness commands."

The Adalat Goswara then forwarded the petition to (the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office) with the following note: "Subedar Pahal Singh Mahat has signed a memorandum in this office, according to which the Commander-in-Chief General has ordered that the petition be forwarded to the Sadar Dafdarkhana Office. Take action according to this order as well as the laws and regulations."

Since inquiries in the district must be made on this petition the petition should be sent to the West No. 2 Bakyauta Tahasil Office according to Section 11 of the regulations of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Goswara Office. The West No. 2 Tahasil Office should be ordered to make necessary inquiries and submit a report within fifteen days, excluding the time required for the journey, on the following matters:-

Whether or not the family of Dorje Namgyal Lama has been functioning for generations as priests in the village of Sanagaun in the Kutan area of Atharasayakhola.

Whether or not Sisang and Lhawang Lama of the same village submitted a complaint in 1939 Vikrama (1982 A.D.), and later signed a bond at the Jimnawal's Kachahari.

Whether or not the ryots of this village have signed a document to the effect that the family of Dorje Namgyal Lama has been customarily functioning as their priests, and that they are prepared to continue employing him as their priest.

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Whether or not it will be appropriate to issue an order confirming Dorje Namgyal Lama as priest.

This memorandum of the Sadar Dafdarkhana Goswara has been approved by us (i.e. Prime Minister Bir Shumshere). The petition, along with the order mentioned above, shall accordingly be forwarded to the West No. 2 Bakyauta Tahasil Office.

Chaitra Sudi 13, 1947

(March 1891)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 62, pp. 90-94.

Function: of Gurau in Palung, 1850

From Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief General Jang Bahadur Kunwar Ranaji, Commander-in-Chief General Bam Bahadur Kunwar Ranaji and Second General Jaya Bahadur Kunwar Ranaji.

To the Mukhiyas, Mijhars, Gaurungs, Budhyaulis, Dhakres, Jhan-kris and other ryots of Setibanjar and Kalibanjar in the Palung region. Greetings.

Dware Shyam Sundar and the constables appointed in outposts under the Chisapani fort have submitted the following complaint: Formerly, Chepangs used to show respect for the position of Gurau and act according to his directives. As a result, tigers did not visit this area. But now the Gurau is dead, The villagers quarrel among themselves and let tigers come. Tigers have accordingly killed 200 or 300 cows in the region between Bhainse-Khani and Phera. In the village of Rajasta, 2 or 3 men have been eaten up by tigers. Villages are therefore becoming depopulated.

You are therefore directed to hold consultations at the village and choose a Gurau, who will then be given a Pagari (i.e. turban) by the Dware and constables. Act according to the directives of the Gurau. In case any person does not do so, but let tigers commit depredations, with the result that villages become depopulated, punishment shall be inflicted on your life and property.

Baisakh Badi 11, 1907

(April 1850)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 62, pp. 321-23.

A History of Land Tenures in Garhwal^x

(Continued)

The last settlement agreement contained a clause to the effect that each hissedar had the power to make over his land to a sirtan and to take it back from him. After the decision in the case of Lal Singh noted above, the Commissioner, Mr. Ross, issued a proclamation stating very emphatically that according to the Board's ruling the hissedar might "dispossess" (bedakhal karna) a sirtan whenever he pleased. A sirtan was further defined as any tenant not recorded as a khaekar at settlement. It was also added that when a tenant of long standing is "dispossessed" he is entitled to receive the value of any improvements made by him, and is not to be ejected till he received such in full. But this last condition appears largely to have escaped notice, and the curious spectacle was often seen of a tenant forcibly dispossessed without payment for improvements, suing to be reinstated and being told to sue for compensation. Should he sue for both at once, his restoration to his holding was frequently made contingent on the non-payment within a fixed period by the hissedar of the sum determined as cost of improvements, and in the event of payment of this sum the costs of the suit were sometimes thrown on the tenant. In another case tenants who failed in a suit to establish their right of occupancy in the land found a decree given against them for mesne profits from the date of the dismissal of their suit. There is even a case of the Commissioner's Court extant in which the plaintiffs, sirtans, on suing to be restored to the holding from which they had been ejected without payment of compensation, were told that as they had no right of occupancy they had no remedy in a Revenue Court (Bijlia and others versus Mahendra Singh and others, of Mirchora, Aswalsyun, 3rd May 1892). Mr. Ross never gave this interpretation to his proclamation himself. In the case of Rattanu versus Kaulu of Chamlan, Khatli, the plaintiff, a sirtan who had been dispossessed, sued for reinstatement and got a decree. Mr. Ross upheld the decision observing: "They (i.e. plaintiff) have no legal right to maintain possession but they have full legal rights to recover compensation for the improvements they have made, and until such amount

^xE.K. Pauw, C.S., Report on the Tenth Settlement of the Garhwal District. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, Chapter II: Tenures. pp. 49-52.

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has been settled and paid into court they cannot be ousted" (15th August, 1885). The older procedure was similar. In the case of Kannu versus Debua, Panaun, Choprakot, the plaintiff, a sirtan, sued to be restored to his holding from which he had been forcibly ejected. He was given a decree for possession until he received the cost of improvements, and Sir Henry Ramsay upheld the decision (4th September, 1878). The hissedar was thus left to sue for ejectment and determination of compensation, and the latter was assessed at Rs 465 to be paid in one month. In several cases of recent years the old procedure has been upheld e.g., Puniya versus Kundan Lal, Rail, pargana Pali, Almora (Colonel Erskine, Commissioner, June 20th, 1890), Deb Singh versus Asaru, Naugaon, Maundarsyun (Mr. Giles, Commissioner, August 10th, 1891) and Jogia Bhul of Bainali, Kairarau, Almora, versus Dungan Singh and others (Colonel Erskine, Commissioner, December 11th, 1893). In all these cases sirtans summarily and forcibly ejected were restored to possession. In the first of the three cases Colonel Erskine observed: "In my opinion a landlord cannot forcibly eject a tenant and thus throw upon him the onus of suing for the value of his improvements. If he does so, the tenant can sue for and recover possession under Section 9 of the Specific Relief Act. The proper course for a landlord to follow, if he desires to eject a tenant who will not vacate his holding, is to sue the tenant. In this suit any objection which the tenant may raise regarding his right to compensation for improvement can be gone into, and if the court finds that the tenant is entitled to compensation, it can fix the amount and give the landlord a decree for ejection of the tenant, subject to the prior payment of the sum assessed as compensation." Regarding the assessment of compensation, Mr. Roberts ruled as Commissioner that "the mere up-keep of the fields in the ordinary condition suitable for the cultivation of measured land is not a ground for award of compensation. "Compensation can only be given for such improvements the full benefit of which the respondents have not reaped" (Pancham Singh and others versus Rishmu and others Dalagaon Khatli, 28th August 1893).

More than half of the sirtani holdings in Garhwal are held by literal sirtans, i.e., payers of the sirti or land revenue alone. This may result from an exchange of land for cultivation between hissedars, or from a hissedar cultivating in common waste. In other cases near relationship or friendship induces one man to give another some land to cultivate, or in new or unproductive villages he may be brought in to aid in the cultivation

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and so eke out the government revenue. Usually the feudal dues, bhent (consisting of Rs 2 on the marriage of a daughter), dast (a leg of every goat killed, a ser of ghi in Sawan and a basket of maize yearly), and in some cases also pathai (a nominal rent of one or two timasis yearly), are paid to the hissedar of the land even when no competition rent is taken. The competition rent where it exists is usually tihar or a third of the produce in good land and chaucha or a fourth part in the inferior. In the best sera as much as a half is taken. Money rents are rare except among the tenants of tea planters. In Chiranga, Pindarw I was told that four nalis to the rupee, or Rs 5 per acre, was the rent rate.

The acquisition of an occupancy tenure by sirtans is now usually obtained by registered deed, accompanied by the payment of a premium (bhent or jotai) to the hissedar, the amount of which is usually about half the selling value of the land. At the time of settlement, however, occupancy tenures are created by the hissedar and sirtan agreeing that the latter shall be recorded as a khakar in the new papers. From a decision of Sir Henry Ramsay (Sarbal Singh versus Rattanu and another, Hitoli Aswalsyun 1866) it would appear that the hissedar is not subsequently entitled to rescind the bargain then made.

The padhan, from the fact of the government revenue being paid through him, was also known as the malguzar. Where the same cultivators held land in several villages situated close together, all were usually included in one engagement, and only one malguzar was chosen for all. The principal village in which the cultivators or most of them resided was known as the asli, or original village, and the minor villages as lagga, or attached. In some cases, however, the same malguzar was appointed for two distant villages, as, for instance, for the reason that the lease of the second village had once been issued in his name. In this case one of the residents of the latter village was usually appointed by the malguzar, with the consent of the District Officer, as his agent or mukhtyar. A similar agent was appointed in cases where the malguzar was a minor or a woman. Neither of the two latter descriptions of persons would have been appointed by Mr. Traill, and, considering the duties that have to be performed, the appointment of women to the post is certainly curious, and the mukhtyar's position in such cases is the subject of the most objectionable intrigues. But with the tendency of the Garhwali to convert all offices into private property, the position of padhan has come to be

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looked on more or less as an adjunct to the deceased's land, and the claim has been somewhat weakly given into by District Officers. The purchaser at auction or otherwise of the padhan's land almost invariably claims the office along with it. In both cases the mukhtyar is considered competent to perform all acts for the real padhan, though his liability to be ousted at the will of the latter prevents his holding the same authority or prestige. In other cases, where villages were held entirely by khaekars, as it was necessary that the rent of Khaekar should be paid to a hissedar and the revenue paid by the hissedar to government, it was impossible for a khaekar to be appointed malguzar, and therefore a non-resident proprietor had to be appointed to the post. Owing to the under-proprietary right in this class of villages, and the fact that the hissedar having no cultivation there could not become resident, a special official chosen from among the khaekars with the title of ghar padhan was appointed for the collection of the land revenue. He, as a rule, enjoys the padhanchari land, and pays the government revenue direct to the patwari, paying the hissedari dues alone to the proprietors. The position was originally one of considerable independence, but the tendency has been to class the ghar padhan more and more with the ordinary mukhtyar. In the case of Uttimu versus Mahendra Singh of Baret, Talia Kaliphat, the plaintiff, a ghar padhan, sued to recover the padhanchari land from the padhan's brother who had ejected him. The Senior Assistant Commissioner (Mr. Gardiner) dismissed the case, on the ground that the padhan agreed to live in the village in future. Sir H. Ramsay restored Uttimu. He held: "Respondent is padhan in another village and he cannot live in two villages. Appellant was made ghar padhan after Mr. Beckett had ascertained all the circumstances of the case, and I see no reason for setting aside his decision." He also observed: "Such cases could not be set aside by the padhan agreeing to stay in the village. He would come for six months and go away again." "If the padhan has the right to take the land he will say he can appoint his own ghar padhan" (17th August 1866). The inference of the last remark is that the padhan had no such power. A judicial decision to the same effect is not wanting. In 1880 the khaekars of Kimotha petitioned that the malguzar lived in the next patti, and that one of their own number, Tara Datt, might be appointed ghar padhan. This was done despite the protestations of the padhan, and Sir Henry Ramsay confirmed the appointment (11th November 1880). After the departure of Sir H. Ramsay, however, the authority of the ghar padhan was considerably curtailed, and when in 1885 a

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displaced ghar padhan sued the malguzar for restitution, Mr. Ross, the Commissioner, ruled: "The regular padhan with consent of all the khaekars has appointed respondent a ghar padhan and no one can interfere" (Thobu versus Madhavanand, Beri Tall, Sili Chandpur, 15th August 1835). In the case of Tej Singh versus Padam Ram of Kot, Khansar, in which the plaintiff, the former ghar padhan, obtained an order against the padhan, disallowing the latter's appointment of a new man, Mr. J.R. Reid, Commissioner, ruled: "I understand that the appellant still remains the responsible padhan of the village and that the ghar padhan is only his agent or deputy. I don't see why he should be compelled to employ as his agent or deputy a man whom he doesn't wish to appoint or trust. Order cancelled. The man appointed as ghar padhan will be appointed if fit. The ghar padhan's tenure of office can only extend as long as his principal's, who if he is removed will be accompanied by his ghar padhan to his old position. The responsibility of the original padhan in such villages, though it may exist nominally is such a remote contingency as to be practically negligible. The name of the ghar padhan is invariably, and that of the agent or mukhtyar usually, entered in the revenue papers and no alteration can be made in the case of even the latter without reference to the District Officer.

The padhan's remuneration consists of the padhanchari land where such exists, or in cases where its revenue is less than five per cent. of that of the village, of a cess on the revenue up to this amount. The padhan is also exempted from personal service as a coolie, a distinction much prized throughout the district.

The power of the thokdars was much broken down at last settlement. Mr. Beckett says: "They were at first revenue as well as police officers. Their revenue duties were transferred to padhans; and as police they were found to be much worse than useless. As it paid them best always to let off a criminal they generally made themselves so obnoxious that in 1856, the Senior Assistants of Kumaun and Garhwal drew up a joint memorandum recommending that this class of officials should be relieved of all police duties, and as far as possible be absorbed on casualties occurring, or at the next settlement." Accordingly at Settlement numbers of thokdars were struck off and the remuneration of the rest fixed at the rate of three, six or ten per cent. on the government revenue instead of the dues in kind previously taken. The Kumaun officer who recommended the abolition of thokdars was Sir Henry (then Captain) Ramsay; but in

1874 he wrote: "Since that time I have been compelled to change my views ... It was absolutely necessary to maintain thokdars as far as possible, to ensure the due performance of police duties on the part of padhans. The abolition of the office of thokdar, which had existed so long, would be very unpopular with all except the democrats, who, more than others, required to be kept in check ... Some of these thokdars are gentlemen ... They occupied a feudal place in the estimation of their subjects."

At present the thokdar's duties are chiefly ornamental, though he is supposed to supervise the padhans in their work as police. The office is therefore strictly hereditary and descends by the rules of primogeniture. But if there is no direct heir, one of the same family, usually the nearest relative, is appointed. The claims of women to thokdari rights, though advanced as in the case of padhans, are disallowed. The thokdars comprise representatives of the best old families only, and are the only men who have any pretence to be called the aristocracy of Garhwal. They are no longer, however, the feudal magnates of former times, and in fact are of very little more consequence than other cultivators. But they are the only body who preserve Garhwal society from one dead level and as such deserving of continuance. Their dignity is somewhat increased by their position as police officers being held to entitle them to the possession of arms free of a license.

The principal families at present are the Bartwals of Nagpur, the Kunwars of Chandpur, the Aswals of Sila (Talla Salan) and the Bhandaris of Chauthan. The Sajwans of Sabli and Khatli, and the Payal Thakurs of Ganga Salan, the Kophola Bishts of Barahsyun, the Rautelas of Kauriya, the Jhinkwans of Nagpur and the Butola Rawats of Badhan are also much respected families though their heads have not the same prominence as the above. They are all Rajput castes.

(To Be Continued)

The Downfall of Bhimsen Thapa^x

By

Baburam Acharya

Bhimsen Thapa was at the climax of his career at the beginning of A.D. 1832. Although he was called General, he had become dictator, thanks to the support of 6,000 troops under his command. He was called Mukhtiyar, but poets, ministers and the British used to call him Prime Minister. The members of the Council of Ministers constituted 28 years previously during the rule of Rana Bahadur Shah had become powerless and had become merely his advisors. They included Guru Ranganath Pandit and Kaji Dalabhanjan Pande. After the death of Chautaria Prana Shah in 1829, his son, Fatte Jang Shah, succeeded him as Chautaria. The services of these three persons were confirmed every year during the annual Pajani. On this occasion, other Chautarias, Kajis, Sardars, etc were dismissed, appointed or transferred so as to give an opportunity to others. Bhimsen Thapa had appointed only his brothers, relatives and trusted persons as officers in the army. He appointed his brother Ranabir Singh Thapa, as Commanding Colonel, and his nephew, Mathbar Singh Thapa, as Colonel. The services of Ranabir Singh Thapa and Mathbar Singh Thapa, and that of Captains and other officers, used to be reconfirmed every year. Old and sick servicemen used to be dismissed during the Pajani. Bhimsen Thapa appointed his relatives only as Governors of Palpa, because four battalions had been stationed there. Pushkar Shah, Daksha Shah and Jyan Shah used to be appointed as Governors of Doti-Accham by rotation because two battalions had been stationed in Silgadhi, the headquarters. The high-level officials of old elite families, such as the Pandes and the Basnyats, used to be sent to the districts by rotation as administrators. The people were suppressed under the military rule. Tranquillity prevailed in the country, because no one had courage to rise against the government. Relations with the British, the Shikhs, and the Chinese were good.

^xBaburam Acharya, "Bhimsen Thapako Patan." (The Downfall of Bhimsen Thapa). Pragati, Year 2, No. 4. No date (1955 ?), pp. 115-122.

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King Rajendra Bikram Shah was 18 years old at that time. His two queens, Samrajya Laxmi and Rajya Laxmi, were junior to him by one year or eighteen months. He had two sons from Queen Samrajya Laxmi, and one daughter from Rajya Laxmi. The widowed consort of King Rana Bahadur Shah, Lalita Tripurasundari Devi, held the reins of power. She retained the royal seal, but Bhimsen Thapa used to send her official documents in the name of King Rajendra. She had to affix the royal seal on these documents without any objection, because she could do nothing against Bhimsen Thapa. Even then, Bhimsen Thapa used to keep Ranabir Simha Thapa always inside the palace, lest any one should instigate King Rajendra and his grand-mother. Ranabir Simha never left the Queen and King Rajendra even when they gave audiences to the nobility. King Rajendra was not aware of this surveillance, because Bhimsen Thapa had made him timid by denying him appropriate education. However, his clever wives used to complain to him to get rid of the hold of Bhimsen Thapa and Lalita Tripurasundari Devi. The palace of Bhimsen Thapa was bigger and more beautiful than the royal palace. Members of the nobility thronged at the palace of Bhimsen Thapa. This made the young queens of King Rajendra furious.

Bhimsen Thapa had closed all sources of information to the royal palace. However, one source remained open. Ten days' leave was granted to the female attendants and maid-servants of the royal palace every month during their menstruation. They then used to talk about virtues and shortcomings of Bhimsen Thapa. The young queens began to alert King Rajendra, hearing reports that the brave Damodar Pande had been put to death, and the eyes of Birabhadra Shah had been taken out and his property confiscated, by Bhimsen Thapa. Lalita Tripurasundari Devi died in April 1832 of cholera, which had broken out in epidemic from Kathmandu. Her death paved the way for the downfall of Bhimsen Thapa. Samrajya Laxmi tried to get rid of Bhimsen Thapa after taking possession of the royal seal, as she realized its importance. Ranabir Simha Thapa, who had been appointed to look after Samrajya Laxmi, began to instigate the queen with the hope of becoming Mukhtiyar or Prime Minister himself. When Bhimsen Thapa came to know of this, he ordered Ranabir Simha Thapa not to indulge in such activities any more. Ranabir Simha Thapa thereupon resigned and began to live at Sipa, situated at a distance of 20 miles from Kathmandu. Bhimsen Thapa on his part began to live in a bungalow situated near the royal palace. Meanwhile, King Rajendra fell ill and his queens did not allow the royal physician, Ekadeva Upadhyaya, to treat him. King Rajendra's

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mother, Siddhilaxmi, had died a few days after her failure to wrest power from Bhimsen Thapa. There had been rumors that Bhimsen Thapa's obedient physician, Ekadeva Upadhyaya, had poisoned her. However, Samrajya Laxmi and Rajya Laxmi had no courage to speak about this openly. Bhimsen Thapa too became alert. The Pajani of A.D. 1833 was conducted at the discretion of Bhimsen Thapa. However, Bhimsen Thapa was taken by surprise when King Rajendra did not reconfirm his services. King Rajendra intended to appoint Pushkar Shah, a relative of Samrajya Laxmi, as Mukhtiyar in place of Bhimsen Thapa. Samrajya Laxmi and Pushkar Shah could do nothing because of the military power of Bhimsen Thapa, and thus the services of Bhimsen Thapa were reconfirmed after a few days. In A.D. 1832, when the chief administrator of Palpa district, Bakhtwar Simha Thapa, died, his son, Trivikram Simha Thapa, became acting chief. Bhimsen Thapa had no trust in him, hence he appointed Ranabir Simha Thapa to that post and sent him to Palpa after conferring on him the title of Junior General in March 1833.

Although a British resident had been functioning in Kathmandu ever since A.D. 1816, the British were not allowed to interfere in the politics of Nepal. Their activities were confined to hunting in forests around Kathmandu Valley, and enjoying the beautiful scenery of the Himalayas. When Sir Herbert Maddock returned from Kathmandu in early 1833 after living here for one year, B.H. Hodgson was appointed to replace him. Hodgson had studied the geography and languages of Nepal while working for eight years as assistant resident. Thus he was specially acquainted with the Nepalis. Bhimsen Thapa had acquainted Hodgson with his troubles when his services were not reconfirmed at the Pajani. Samrajya Laxmi too had sent messages to Hodgson with the aim of getting rid of Bhimsen Thapa. However, Hodgson tried to take advantage of this rift and ignored these messages. Foreseeing harm to himself from this mutual rift, Bhimsen Thapa began to take the advice of King Rajendra and Samrajya Laxmi in state affairs.

King Rajendra took over charge of Defense, Finance and Foreign Affairs, while Samrajya Laxmi looked after the portfolios of justice, Audit and other civil affairs. But King Rajendra was just like a slave of Samrajya Laxmi, hence she usually used to look after the departments handled by King Rajendra. Notwithstanding this, she could not reject the decisions of Bhimsen Thapa because of his military strength. Even then, the state affairs ran smoothly through mutual consultations for three years.

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When a major earthquake caused a heavy loss of life and property in September 1833, King Rajendra, Samrajya Laxmi and Bhimsen Thapa concentrated their attention in relief measures. A letter from Ranjit Singh of the Punjab was received in December 1833. King Rajendra and Bhimsen Thapa then sent emissaries not only to Lahore but also to Burma and Iran. It was proposed to send Mathbar Simha Thapa similarly to King William IV in London. Bhimsen Thapa therefore conferred on Mathbar Simha Thapa the title of Junior General and created a new battalion called Singhanad under his command in November 1834. Ranobir Simha Thapa, who had been sent to Palpa, was given the title of Full General. Bhimsen Thapa also appointed the 16 years old nephew of Mathbar Simha Thapa, Sher Jung Thapa, as Commanding-Colonel. Bhimsen Thapa thus again strengthened his position and insured tranquillity for two years.

When Hodgson raised the question of concluding a commercial treaty, with the intention of taking advantage of the rift between Samrajya Laxmi and Bhimsen Thapa, the latter agreed. However, many drafts of the treaty were rejected because no agreement was reached on the terms. In view of this, Hodgson concentrated his attention on replacing Bhimsen Thapa by Fattu Jung Shah, so as to serve the interests of the British government as well as of himself. After the date for Mathbar Simha Thapa's departure for London had been finalized, King Rajendra and Queen Samrajya Laxmi, who were very happy over the new development, conferred the title of Commander-in-Chief on Bhimsen Thapa in October. Mathbar Simha Thapa left for London in November. He was accompanied by 650 soldiers up to Calcutta, with 21 officers and Jamdars to accompany him to London. At that time, the post of Governor-General was vacant in India. Sir Charles Metcalfe was then functioning in this post in an acting capacity. He accorded a splendid reception to Mathbar Simha Thapa when the latter reached Calcutta. However, acting on a communication received from Hodgson, Sir Charles Metcalfe refused to grant a passport to Mathbar Simha Thapa to enable him to visit London as ambassador. He took Mathbar Simha Thapa's letter of credence, and personally despatched it to London. At this time, both the King and the people of Nepal were deeply under the impression that the British were friends of Bhimsen Thapa, and that he had been preserving the independence of Nepal by maintaining friendship with them. But the nature of the friendship between Bhimsen Thapa and the British was exposed when Mathbar Simha Thapa returned to Nepal in March 1836 without attaining success in his mission. It was a great error on the part of

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Bhimsen Thapa to have sent Mathbar Simha Thapa without securing a passport for him. This blunder hastened his downfall.

Bhimsen Thapa had reluctantly appointed Rana Jung Pande, son of Damodar Pande, as Captain at the special request of Ranabir Simha Thapa. The arrogant Mathbar Simha Thapa was so jealous of Rana Jung Pande that he did not even return the salute presented by the latter. For this reason, Ranajung Pande was waiting for a suitable opportunity to bring about the downfall not only of Mathbar Simha Thapa, but also of Bhimsen Thapa, in order to avenge the murder of his father and elder brothers. He was maintaining secret contacts with Queen Samrajya Laxmi in this regard. Within a few months after Mathbar Simha's return from Calcutta, his elder sister-in-law, a widow with whom he had an illicit affair, gave birth to an illegitimate child. Rana Jung Pande spread rumors about this incident in public, and Mathbar Simha, in order to save his face, went Borlang in Gorkha on the pretext that he was ill. Bhimsen Thapa then appointed Mathbar Simha Thapa as Governor of Gorkha, so that this scandal might be hushed up. Meanwhile, Queen Samrajya Laxmi was feeling furious because Mathbar Simha Thapa had squandered Rs 150,000 in entertainments in Calcutta, notwithstanding the fact that there was a shortage of funds in the royal treasury. Bhimsen Thapa deposited the amount with the government and confirmed his position by satisfying Samrajya Laxmi. But he became militarily weak when the army, magazines and arsenals, which had been under the command of Mathbar Simha Thapa, were transferred to others.

The growing expenditure on the army incurred by Bhimsen Thapa was then reviewed. All government servants had been given lands in lieu of emoluments. They used to collect rents from the people amounting to more than twice the prescribed remuneration. For example, a captain appointed on a remuneration of Rs 4,000 used to collect Rs 8,000 or Rs 9,000 (Rs 100,000 at present prices). But the number of captains was not more than thirty. King Rajendra and Queen Samrajya Laxmi granted authority to Ranganath Pandit to rectify these irregularities, and reduce the area of land assigned to government servants. Ranganath accepted this task because even the royal preceptor, Chautarias and Kajis did not get more remuneration than a captain.

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At the beginning of A.D. 1837, people had thought that the Prime Ministership of Bhimsen Thapa would not last long. Ranabir Simha Thapa requested King Rajendra for an audience with the intention of being appointed Prime Minister. Probably, Rana Jung Pande had given this advice to the palace. Samrajya Laxmi wanted the Thapas to assemble in Kathmandu, and therefore summoned Ranabir Simha Thapa. Bhimsen Thapa felt happy, because he failed to understand the motives of his brother. He left for Borlang in April for religious ceremonies after handing over charge to Ranabir Simha. In fact, he went there to placate Mathbar Simha Thapa and bring him to Kathmandu. Samrajya Laxmi granted permission to Bhimsen Thapa to go to Borlang and bring Mathbar Simha Thapa back. Although the army had come under the control of King Rajendra and Samrajya Laxmi, they did not trust it, and therefore created the Hanumandal battalion under their command. In the meantime, they appointed Rana Jung Pande as Kaji and then as their Personal Secretary (Hajuriya), and restored the lands confiscated from his father. Rana Jung's brother Ranadal also was made a Kaji and appointed as Governor of Palpa. Bhimsen Thapa and his brothers continued in their posts. For six years, Bhimsen Thapa had been living in a bungalow near the royal palace. He used to go to his home only to have his meals. However, inasmuch as Rana Jung Pande had now assumed this responsibility, Bhimsen Thapa was finding it difficult to see King Rajendra and Queen Samrajya Laxmi in person and represent his problems to them. Queen Samrajya Laxmi, not content with the humiliation of Bhimsen Thapa, was searching for a pretext to have all his property confiscated. On July 24, her 6-month old child named Devendra Bikram Shah died of natural causes. The Queen then framed a case to the effect that Bhimsen Thapa had poisoned her child with the help of a physician. King Rajendra too supported the charge, and the following day he ordered the Hanumandal Battalion to arrest Bhimsen Thapa at his residence. Bhimsen Thapa was imprisoned. So were his brothers and nephews. Bhimsen Thapa was thus divested of his Prime Ministership, to which he had been appointed in 1804. The wave of unrest that began with the termination of Bhimsen Thapa's 34-year old Prime Ministership lasted nearly ten years, and ended only after Jung Bahadur seized power.

Punishment to Jaisi Brahman for Taking Liquor
(Summary)

From Prime Minister (Jung Bahadur),
To Dharmadatta Padhya, Bichari of the Majhkirat Adalat.

Chhabilal and Rangalal Jaisi Pokhryal of Khamtel have submitted the following petition to the Itachapli Adalat:

"In 1889 Vikrama (1832 A.D.), Vidyapati Dhungana, of Dumre village in Rawa, had lodged a complaint to the effect that Raghunandan Pande, a Jaisi Brahman living in the same village, had taken liquor in 1879 Vikrama (1822 A.D.). The property of Raghunandan Pande was therefore confiscated.

"The complainant had stated that the sons and daughters (of Raghunandan Pande), born before the year 1879 Vikrama (1822 A.D.), were pure. Accordingly, all relatives granted them expiation (Patiya), and have been maintaining commensal, marital, and other relations with them for the past 20 or 25 years.

"Siddha Jaisi and Balu Jaisi Dhakal, sons of (Raghunandan Pande's) sister, had also been maintaining such relations with us. Now, however, they have refused to have commensal relations with us. Since they have no right to do so, we pray that justice may be done according to the law."

The petition has been referred to us through the Kaushal office. Dispose of the matter according to the law in the presence of both parties.

Poush Sudi 5, 1921
(December 1864)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 21, pp. 12-14.

(S.B. Maharjan)

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

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Administrative Problems of Doti1. Doti Administrative Regulations, 1793

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Subedars Devendra Padhya and Narsing Thapa.

1. In the event of aggression, Jumla and areas east of the Kali shall be defended from Doti. Kumaun need not be given assistance. If Doti faces any aggression, do not assist anybody, but defend it.
2. If aggression is faced in Kumaun or Jumla, the matter shall be reported to us immediately.
3. If the Raja of Doti engages in talks with other Rajas against us, the matter shall be investigated and reported to us.
4. Persons who act contrary to Gorkha's interests shall be punished in consultation with the Raja of Doti.
5. Persons enslaved by former Bhardars who have escaped shall not be restored to slavery even when possible. They shall be confirmed as Kuliyas.
6. The monthly salary paid by Raja of Doti shall be accepted. If he voluntarily offers lands in lieu of such monthly salary, these too shall be accepted.
7. Information about different areas, both inside and outside, shall be collected with expenses provided by the Raja of Doti.
8. If the Jamadar does not present himself when necessary or when there is a battle, he shall be informed of his offense, and the matter shall be reported here. Another Jamadar shall be appointed to replace him.
9. Persons guilty of major offenses shall be put in chains after obtaining a confession in consultation with the Raja. Such cases shall be reported to the palace.

Marga Sudi 3, 1850

(December 1293)

Regmi Research Collections, vol. 36, p. 37.

Contd...

2. Appointment of Lokanath Pande as Subba of Doti

From King Girban,

To Lokanath Pande.

We hereby appoint you as Subba of Doti, succeeding Birya Rokaya. The Raja of Doti has been removed, and seven companies, with 761 rifles, along with their troops, have been placed under your command.

Assign emoluments (Khangī) at the prescribed rates to the seven companies with revenue from that area from sources other than Saunefagu (homestead-tax), fines collected from major criminals (Panchakhat), customs, transit, and other duties (Bhan-sar), levies collected from mendicants (Mahantamandali) and headmen of Newar communities (Chaudharai), mines, taxes on mining lands (Kachho-Sirto) buried treasure (Kalyana-dhan), fees due for expiation (Dharmadhikar), and levies collected from military personnel (Darshanbhet). Do not represent petty matters relating to the emoluments of the troops to the palace, and do not give opportunity for complaints by increasing taxes and harassing the subjects.

Convert irrigable lands into rice-fields and assign such lands to the companies, with effect from the year 1859 Vikrama (1802 A.D.), hand over revenue from the ten sources mentioned above, including Saunefagu, to the palace personally. Despatch troops to the east, west, north or south, wherever there is any action. Defend the territory allotted to you, and keep the troops in readiness for any command, parade, sentry or checkpost duty, royal tours and hunting expeditions, etc.

Do not allow the good rifles of the company to be exchanged. Do not obstruct the collection of revenue due to the outgoing revenue officer (Amil) or companies.

Jestha Sudi 14, 1856
(June 1799)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 714-15.

Contd...

3. Doti Administrative Regulations, 1799

From King Girban,

To Lokanath Pande. The following regulations relating to administrative functions in Doti are hereby promulgated:

1. Reconfirm those Guthi endowments for temples and rest-houses that have been made by Rajas, or by other persons on lands purchased by them for the purpose, throughout that region. Make a list of invalid Guthi endowments made by other persons and submit it to us. We shall assign the lands (owned by the invalid Guthi endowment) to the company (that has been placed under your command in Doti).
2. Do not let any person commit injustice or oppression throughout the Doti region. Do not increase rates of taxation. Construct forts at those places where there is no fear of aggression. Represent to us the names of those Subedars, ryots, and others, who do not obey the orders of the Subba in matters which are in our interest. Inflict such punishment on them as we may sanction.
3. Inhabitants of villages throughout the Doti region shall provide porterage services in their respective areas for the transportation of goods belonging to the royal palace, war supplies, or sick and wounded persons, between (Kathmandu) and the west. No one shall be allowed to impress their services for transporting other goods, thereby harassing poor people, or to collect provisions without making any payment.
4. Do not, on any account, do anything to create conflict or disputes with the Rajas of adjoining principalities without receiving orders from us. Send agents to collect information from all the four directions, and transmit such information to us. In case any local person creates intranquillity, and in case a confession is obtained from him in the course of judicial proceedings, imprison him, or behead him, according to his caste status.
5. Scrutinize Baudha and Birta land grants throughout the Doti region, and submit accurate particulars to us of those grants that you hold valid. Confiscate irregular land grants; we shall assign such lands to the company (that has been placed under your command).

Contd...

6. Among the seven companies of troops receiving monthly remunerations, send two companies by rotation for the defense of Kumaun, and keep the other five companies in Doti for whatever action may be necessary. In the event of aggression by any enemy, send reports to us, as well to Subedars in the adjoining regions, maintain a proper defense on all sides, and repel the aggression. Do not start any conflict on your own initiative.
7. Do not reduce expenses on religious expenses during the Dashain and Fagu festivals. Do not commit oppression. In case we receive any complaints here, we shall hear both sides, and award appropriate punishment to any side that pleads guilty. If no conflict with the Rajas of adjoining principalities is apprehended, make efforts to get back through conciliatory methods the territories of Doti which have been encroached upon by the Banjara (?). Eighty riflemen have been added (to the troops under your command) to the figure specified during the term of Birya Rokaya; hence we hereby exempt you from the obligation to submit accounts for revenues collected in that region.

Jestha Sudi 14, 1856

(June 1799)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 711-14.

4. Procurement of Saltpeter and Sulphur

From King Girban,

To the Amalidar of Doti.

Employ skilled persons to extract saltpeter wherever deposits occur in the region under your jurisdiction. Impose a ban on exports to other countries, and make efforts to procure saltpeter supplies from abroad. We shall punish you if you do nothing even when there are saltpeter deposits in the area under your jurisdiction. Also exploit sulphur deposits, if any.

Magh Sudi 7, 1856

(January 1800)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 89.

Contd...

(This order was sent to local administrators also in Pallokirat, Achham, Bara-Parsa, Kumaun, Dullu-Dailekh, Majhkirat, Saptari-Mahottari, Chitaun-Belaun, Pyuthan and Morang).

5. Appointment of Kalu Pande as Subba of Doti

(a) From King Girban,

To the Chaudharis, Kamins, Sayanas, Mandars, Mokaddams and ryots of Doti.

With effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1857 (April 1800), we have appointed Kalu Pande as Subba of Doti. Present yourselves before him, and reclaim lands as directed by him.

Falgun Badi 13, 1856
(February 1800)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 122.

(b) From King Girban,

To Subba Lokanath Pande.

With effect from Baisakh Badi 1, 1857 (April 1800), we have appointed Kalu Pande to replace you as Subba of Doti, as well as commander of the seven companies stationed there. In case you have made any revenue collections there in advance, hand over accounts thereof, as well as all arms and ammunition in the possession of these companies, as well as those kept in forts there.

Falgun Badi 13, 1856
(February 1800)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, p. 123.

6. Cancellation of Kalu Pande's Appointment

From King Girban,

To Subba Lokanath Pande.

Kalu Pande had been appointed Subba of Doti, replacing you. For some reason, it has become necessary to keep him here. We have now appointed Badal Singh Basnyat to this post. After he arrives there, hand over all arms and ammunition to him and obtain a receipt. Advise him on matters which will benefit that

Contd...

region to the best of your knowledge. Collect any arrears of revenue that may be due under your assignment. If urgent reports are not received from the west, present yourself before us:

Chaitra Badi 1, 1856

(March 1800)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 161-62.

7. Appointment of Badal Singh Basnyat as Subba of Doti

From King Girban,

To Badal Singh Basnyat, son of Birabhadra Basnyat and grandson of Ranya Basnyat.

We hereby appoint you as Subba of Doti, in the position previously occupied by Kalu Pande. Seven companies with 761 rifles and seven pieces of cannon, as well as their troops, are placed under your command.

With revenues collected from taxes on mining lands (Kachho-Sirto), land taxes (Malpota), homestead taxes (Saunefagu), fines collected from persons guilty of major crimes (Panchakhat), customs and transit duties (Bhansar), fees collected from mendicants (Mahantamandali), and headmen of Newar communities (Chaudharai), levies collected from military personnel (Darshan-Bhet), taxes on falcons' snares (Bajthala) and mines of all categories, except revenues from buried treasure (Kalyandhan) and expiation fees (Dharmadhikar), assign emoluments (Khangi) at the prescribed rates (Raibandi), to the personnel of the seven companies, along with the seven artillery units. Manufacture one flintlock (Patharkala) and three pathis of gunpowder every day, and appropriate (the surplus revenue) for your own use.

Do not give opportunity for complaints by increasing taxes and harassing the subjects. Do not represent petty matters relating to the emoluments of the troops to the palace.

Convert irrigable lands into rice-fields, assign such lands to the company after the expiry of the tax-exemption period according to the nature of the land, and thus increase the troops. Keep the companies in readiness for any command, parade, or sentry or checkpoint duty. Do not let the good rifles of the company be exchanged.

Contd...

Make the area which has been placed under your jurisdiction prosperous, and have it defended by the companies (under your command). Despatch troops whenever there may be any action, in the east, west, north or south. Search for sulphur deposits in the area under your jurisdiction, and make arrangements for the production of saltpeter. Establish a gunpowder factory and supply the stipulated quantity of gunpowder. Convert the iron foundry into a munitions factory, and have one rifle manufactured every day. Also arrange for the manufacture of bayonets and leather-pouches for cartridges in numbers sufficient to meet the requirements of the seven companies. Do not let the emoluments of the personnel of these companies fall in arrears. Arrange for the exploitation of mines of all categories.

During the period of five years, produce ... flintlocks, at the rate of one each day.

During the period of five years, produce ... pathis of gunpowder, at the rate of three pathis each day.

In addition, increase the number of flintlocks by 100 each year as follows:-

<u>Year</u> (Vikrama)	<u>No. of Flintlocks to be Increased</u> (In Muri)
1858	10
1859	20
1860	30
1861	40
<hr/>	
Total - 100 flintlocks	

Similarly, increase the production of gunpowder, in addition to the daily production (as mentioned above) by the following quantities each year.

Contd...

<u>Year</u> (Vikrama)	<u>Quantity of gunpowder production to be increased</u> (In Muri)
1858	1
1859	2
1860	3
1861	4
Total - 10 muris	

Chaitra Badi 10, 1856
(March 1800)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 170-72

8. Doti Administrative Regulations, 1800

From King Girban,

To Subba Badal Singh Basnyat.

We hereby promulgate the following regulations relating to administrative functions in Doti:

1. Make arrangements for the repair and maintenance of existing forts in that area. If it is necessary to build new forts anywhere, report the matter to us, and act as ordered. Maintain necessary stocks of arms and ammunition at such forts. In case reports of impending aggression are received from any foreign country, ascertain the truth, take proper care of the area, and send a request (for permission to recruit) additional troops.
2. Do not create any trouble from your side with the Rajas and Nawabs of neighboring principalities. Maintain amicable relations with them. If, even then, they commit aggression on our territory, send a report to Kumaun, and act as advised. Report the matter also to us. If the delay that will be involved in getting orders will cause harm, do whatever you find necessary that will benefit the state and ensure victory.

Contd...

3. In case any person commits murder or other crime in the area under your jurisdiction, inflict punishment as prescribed in the copy of the copper-inscription. Recruit capable, brave and faithful soldiers in the companies, and obtain receipts for the monthly salaries paid to Huddas and soldiers.
4. Have all the troops stationed in the area under your jurisdiction carry their arms constantly, Make arrangements for imparting necessary training to them.
5. Send agents in all directions to collect information and transmit such information to us from time to time.
6. Capture elephants throughout the Doti region. With (the sales proceeds of) fifteen elephants among these captured each year, manufacture rifles and gunpowder as stipulated. Transmit the sales proceeds of the remaining elephants in addition (to the amount of revenue stipulated). You shall be under obligation to supply rifles and gunpowder as stipulated even if you are not able to capture any elephants.

Chaitra Badi 10, 1856
(March 1800)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 172-74.

9. Doti Administrative Regulations, 1800

(Although Badal Singh Basnyat had been appointed Subba of Doti for a five-year term, he does not appear to have been able to complete this term. In December 1800, another person was appointed Subba of Doti, and the following regulations were promulgated. The name of Badal Singh Basnyat's successor is not available, however).

1. Make arrangements for the repair and maintenance of existing forts in that area. If it is necessary to build new forts anywhere, report the matter to us, and act as ordered. Maintain necessary stocks of arms and ammunition at such forts. In case reports of impending aggression are received from any foreign country, ascertain its truth, take proper care of the area, and send a request (for permission to recruit) additional troops.

Contd...

2. Do not create any trouble from your side with the Rajas of neighboring principalities. Maintain amicable relations with them. If even then they commit aggression on our territory, send a report to Kumaun, and act as advised. Report the matter also to us. If the delay that will be involved in getting orders will cause harm, do whatever you find necessary that will benefit the state and ensure victory.
3. In case any person commits murder or other crimes in the area under your jurisdiction, inflict punishment as prescribed in the copy of the copper-inscription. Recruit capable, brave and faithful soldiers in the company, and obtain receipts for the monthly salaries paid to Huddas and soldiers.
4. Have all the troops stationed in the area under your jurisdiction carry their arms constantly. Make arrangements for imparting necessary training to them.
5. Send agents in all directions to collect information and transmit such information to us from time to time.
6. Construct forts wherever necessary on streams and rivers throughout Doti.
7. Make arrangements for the procurement of rifles and gunpowder as mentioned in the letter of appointment (Patta) and install magazines and gunpowder factories. Reclaim all cultivable lands in the area under your jurisdiction by enlisting the labor of the ryots and convert such lands into ricefields.

Poush Sudi 11, 1857

(December 1800)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, pp. 29-31.

10. Exodus of People from Doti

To the Jimidars, Panchas and ryots of the Tarai areas of Doti.

Come back with assurance to your villages and resume your customary occupations. If you have any grievances, represent these to us through the Subba. We shall redress your grievances.

Magh Badi 11, 1857

(January 1801)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 19, p. 32.

Contd...

11. Administrative Powers Delegated to Subedars

From King Girban,

To the Subedars stationed in Doti.

Previously, when a Subba had been appointed in Doti, many people were enslaved, much oppression was committed, and the area was depopulated. You are therefore ordered not to enslave anyone, collect taxes from the ryots leniently, and not harass the Raja (of Doti). In case you act in contravention of this order, you shall be held guilty.

Kartik Sudi 13, 1859

(November 1802)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp.619-20.

12. Land-Tax Assessments in Khatyanagaun, Doti District, 1868 A.D.

Land-tax assessment records compiled by Ditttha Amar Singh Baniya Chhetri and Taharir Mukhiya Benidatta Upadhyaya for Khatyanagaun village in the Nirauli-Gorkha (sub-division) of Doti district on the basis of estimations (Dekhajanch) made in the course of the countrywide revenue settlements (Mahajanch) of the Vikrama year 1925 (1868 A.D.), after making deductions of uncultivated lands, lands damaged or washed away by floods and landslides, and non-existent holdings which had been recorded by mistake, or those holdings which had been wrongly recorded twice, and adding newly-reclaimed lands, holdings that had been left out of the previous records by mistake, and unclaimed holdings.

Holdings under the Jurisdiction of Mukhiya Radha Bhandari

<u>Name of Mohi</u>	<u>Area of Khet land</u>	<u>Grade</u>	<u>Rate of tax</u>	<u>Total tax assessment</u>
	Muri/pathi		(per 100 muris) Rs	Rs/annas/paisa
Radha Bhandari	22/5	Abal	15	3/2/-
Narsing Bhandari	24/5	..	15	3/10/1
Sujya Bohro	6/-	..	15	-/14/-

Contd...

Diwakari Bhandari	7/5	Abal	15	1/1/1
	3/-	Chahar	12½	-16/-
Narsing Bhandari Jr.	2/5	Abal	16	-/6/2¾
	-/15	Sim	14	-/1/2¾
Dharmyako Bohara	3/10	Abal	15	-/8/1¾
	2/-	Chahar	12½	-/4/-
Manasram	8/10	Abal	12½	1/1/-
	1/2/10	Sim	12½	-/4/2
	3/-	Chahar	12½	-/6/-
	2/8/-	Doyam	12½	1/-/-
	2/1/5	Abal	15	-/3/-
	3/1/5	Abal	15	-/3/-
	4/2/10	Sim	12½	-/5/-
Karnya Bohara	5/10	Abal	15	-/13/1
Hari Bhandari	11/-	Abal	12½	1/6/-
	4/-	Chahar	12½	-/8/-
Chunuwa Bohara	5/10	Abal	15	-/13/-

1/ Transferred from holding of Hari Bhandari.

2. Transferred from holding of Jayadev.

3. Transferred from holding of Narsing Bhandari.

4. Transferred from holding of Mansing Bhandari.

Contd...

Mahamanda Bhandari	1/15	Chahar	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/3/2
	1/15	Chahar	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/3/2
	<u>1/5/-</u>	Abal	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/10/-
Ram Bhandari	5/-	Doyam	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/10/-
	3/-	Chahar	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/6/-
	5/-	Chahar	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/10/-
	3/-	Chahar	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/6/-
Damuwa Khadayat	<u>2/3/-</u>	Sim	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/6/-
	<u>2/5/-</u>	Sim	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	-/10/-

Total area of Khet land as recorded during 1911 (1854 A.D.) revenue settlement and confirmed during 1925 (1868 A.D.) revenue settlement ... 156 $\frac{3}{4}$ muris

Total land-tax assessment ... Rs 21 and 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ annas.

(There was no land reclamation in this village during the period from 1854 to 1868 A.D. nor was any holding damaged by floods or landslides).

Source: Lagat Phant Office of the Department of Land Revenue, Ministry of Finance of His Majesty's Government.

1/ Transferred from holding of Ambar Singh.

2/ Transferred from holding of Jago Bhandari.

Pyuthan Administrative Regulations, 1798 A.D.

From King Rana Bahadur Shah,

To Surbir Rana, Ambar Singh Rana, and Karabir Rana, brothers.

The following regulations are promulgated regarding administrative functions in Pyuthan, which has been placed under you jointly.

1. Collect reports of developments in Lucknow regularly through the exchange of gifts and correspondence.
2. Operate gunpowder factories as done by previous Amalis, and expand them if possible.
3. Capture wild elephants in the year when a royal order is issued. In any year when no such order is received, repair old forts and outposts.
4. Appropriate the surplus revenue left after paying emoluments to the personnel of four companies. No accounts thereof need be submitted.
5. If a Chakledar, Jimidar or Rajauta of the Nawab plunders any area under the jurisdiction of Sheoraj-Pyuthan, the guilty person, if found within our territories, shall be beheaded. Such person shall not be pursued beyond the frontiers.

Magh Sudi 5, 1853

(January 1799)

Regmi Research Collections, Vol. 24, pp. 710-11.

A History of Land Tenures in Garhwal^x

(Continued)

"Owing to the contracted state of the population, the insufferable indolence of the male part of it, and their general aversion to carrying burthens, the nature of every species of labour in this province, whether on public works or in transport, has always been compulsory. Although various measures for the relief of the population have been from time to time devised, such as the purchase in 1322 of an establishment of mules (since abolished) at a heavy expense, for the purposes of public transport, and the increase of the rate of hire on the most liberal scale, the employment of the hill Khasiyas in this service has been as yet in no degree rendered voluntary. The demands for this species of labour would appear calculated to benefit the lower classes of the people by affording them a never ceasing source of employment. The aid of the civil power has nevertheless been found to be indispensable in the collection of Khasiyas, for public and private purposes." So wrote Mr. Traill, and though the state of population in Garhwal is now by no means contracted, the difficulty in procuring labour for transport purposes remains as great as ever. Moreover in the interior there are few or no shops, and it has therefore always been customary that villages shall supply on payment, such articles of food, fodder and fuel as are necessary, to travellers and officers on tour in the district. For the last three settlements therefore a clause has been inserted in the settlement agreement whereby every landholder and cultivator is bound to supply coolies (labour) and bar-daish (supplies) according to custom and the requisitions of authorized officers. With a view to obviate the inconvenience which would result from distant villages being called on in their turn to supply food to a single traveller, an arrangement was made at last settlement whereby the villages of one or more patts agreed to appoint a single man as shopkeeper for all, remunerating him by a portion of grain at each harvest which varied in different parts. The amount of grain so given was measured by nalis and the shopkeeper was thence called the nali baniya. Nali banyas exist in the more frequented patts of Garhwal. In others the people continue to themselves supply camps and travellers moving within their boundaries.

^x E.K. Pauw, C.S., Report on the Tenth Settlement of the Garhwal District. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1896, Chapter II: Tenures. pp. 49-52.

Devadasis in Nepal¹

By

Tek Bahadur Shrestha

In ancient times, the system of slavery was practised in different forms, including the practice of maintaining men and women as attendants in temples. They were known as devadasas and devadasis respectively, and were employed to sweep temples, sing songs, and dance in the course of religious ceremonies. Such a practice existed in both Nepal and India. There were temple-dancers in ancient Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Greece and the western countries.² If slavery was due to economic factors, the system of devadasas and devadasis was due to religious factors.

The Arthashastra of Kautilya also refers to devadasis expelled from temples.³ This shows that devadasis were expelled if they acted in contravention of rules promulgated to regulate their conduct. The Kashmiri poet, Kalhana, has referred to devadasis at many places in his Rajatarangini.⁴ Other references are also available regarding this system as it was prevalent in India.⁵

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1. Condensed from: Tek Bahadur Shrestha, "Pashupatika Dui Tamrapatra: Devadasi Prathama Naya Prakasha (Two Copper-Inscriptions from the Temple of Pashupatinath: New Light on the Institution of Devadasis)." Contributions to Nepalese Studies (Journal of the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur), Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1974 (Ashadh 2031), pp. 103-06.
 2. Hindi Bishwakosh (Hindi Encyclopaedia), Vol. 6 (Varanasi: Nagari Pracharini, 1966), p. 114.
 3. Kautilya's Arthashastra, 2-23.
 4. Kalhana's Rajatarangini, 1-151, 4-36, 4-269, and 7-858.
 5. The Struggle for Empire (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan), p. 495.

Contd...

There is evidence that there were devadasis in Nepal during the Licchavi period.⁶ One inscription refers to allowances given to devadasis in the form of paddy.⁷

Slavery was not an important institution during the Licchavi period, because social and religious functions were usually discharged through the gramapanchali and gosthis. It appears that devadasas and devadasis were appointed in temples only because their services were indispensable.

Even toward the end of the medieval period and the beginning of the modern, there were devadasis at the temple of Pashupatinath in Kathmandu. According to a copper-inscription found there recently by the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, in the Shaka year 1695 (1773 A.D.), Balakrishna Upadhyaya offered two Newar slave-girls as devadasis to this temple. According to another copper-inscription, in the possession of the Pashupati-Bhandar Office, in the Shaka year 1728 (1806 A.D.), offered her household utensils to the temple of Pashupatinath, and also freed a slave-girl whom she had purchased for Rs 15 out of her dowry. This shows that slaves were freed at temples through the performance of appropriate rituals.

6. Dhanabajra Bajracharya, Licchavi Kalko Abhilekh (Inscriptions of the Licchavi period): (Kathmandu: 2030/1973/), p. 320.

7. Ibid., pp. 458659.

Some Errors in the Translation of Dibya Upadesh

Prithvi Narayan Shah's Dibya Upadesh has been translated by Fr. L.F. Stiller, S.J. in Prithvinarayan Shah in the Light of Dibya Upadesh (Kathmandu: the author, 1968). The following is an attempt to correct some errors which have crept into the translation:

- (1) Page 38. The phrase Būdhā mare bhākhā sare has been translated as: "When an old man dies, his words die with him." A more correct translation would be: "Old men die, but the written word moves on." The word bhākhā means what is written, and the emphasis is on the distinction between mare (signifying death) and sare (signifying movement or continuity). The essence of this Nepali phrase is paralleled by the Latin phrase scripta manent, verba volant (written words remain, while spoken words fly away).

Page 39. "Companions to me were Bhanu Jyotisi, Kulananda Jyotisi, and others of my family. From Chandragiri's top I asked, "Which is Nepal?" They showed me, saying, "That is Bhadgaon, that is Patan, and there lies Kathmandu." The thought came to my heart that if I might be King of these three cities, why, let it be so. At this same time these two astrologers said to me, "O King, your heart is melting with desire."

A more accurate translation would be as follows:

"I was accompanied by Bhanu Jaisi, Kulananda Jaisi, and other members of the other leading families (thar-ghars of Gorkha). When we reached Chandragiri, I asked: "Which is Nepal?" They showed me, saying, "That is Bhadgaun, that is Patan, and there lies Kathmandu." Then the thought came to my mind that it would be good if I could be king of all these three cities. At this same time, both astrologers said to me, "Your Majesty's desire and ambition will be fulfilled."

Tharghar referred to six leading families of Gorkha whose members had been used in affairs of state since the reign of Drabya Shah. These families were Pande, Aryal, Pantha, Rana, Khandal and Bohora.

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- (2) Page 43. "We have won for homespun the three cities of Nepal, the nine lakhs of Kiratis, and the Hindupati Raja." But the phrase Chyāngā Pāngā lai does not mean "we have won for homespun." The correct translation is: We wore homespun, (but) acquired the three cities of Nepal, and the kingdom of the nine lakh Kiratis and the Hindupati." It should be noted that "the nine lakhs of Kiratis" and the "Hindupati" or Sen kings of Vijayapur controlled the same territory.
- (3) Page 44. Stiller translates merā sānā dukhale āriyāko Muluk hoina as "this will not be my little painfully acquired kingdom." The phrase literally means: It is not a kingdom which I have acquired by means of small difficulty." The adjective "little" does not qualify "kingdom," as Stiller would have it, but rather the word dukha.
- (4) Page 44. "An important point is that the soldiers required for the king should be given their house and land and that they farm it, so that they can support themselves by both means." The phrase dubai boti does not mean "by both means." The emphasis is on the personal cultivation of the land by soldiers, so that they may appropriate both parts of the crop -- that part which should accrue to the landowner, as well as that part which is the actual cultivator's share. The term boti means a share of the crop.
- (5) Page 44. "Appoint as commander of them one who has tested himself in four or five battles. In choosing a sat pagari commander, choose one who has been successful in several battles. In placing his Sohra Havildar, let him appoint a man he has tested as a man of courage. The sohra havildar should choose soldiers whom he knows from experience to be courageous."

This translation gives the erroneous impression that there was only one Subedar, one sat pagari, and one "sohra havildar" in each company of 100 riflemen. The correct translation of this passage is as follows:-

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Make up companies of one hundred rifles. Appoint as Subedar of these one hundred rifles a man who has been tested and has won credit in four or five battles. The Subedar, on his part, shall appoint seven officers (Pagari) who have gone through a few battles. The seven pagaris should test men who will kill and be killed with them, and appoint sixteen havildars (hudda). These sixteen havildars should appoint as soldiers those men who will kill and be killed with them.

It is hoped that these notes will enhance the value of the magnificent work which Fr. Stiller has done by translating this important document.

Land-Reclamation Regulations for Eastern Tarai Districts

Large tracts of lands remain virgin in the Tarai region between the Mechi and Narayani rivers. Accordingly, Pattas shall be granted on the following terms to any person who offers to reclaim such lands:-

"A patta indicating the boundaries of the area to be reclaimed and resettled shall be granted on a tax-free basis for ten years. After ten years, one-tenth of the reclaimed area shall be granted to the patta-holder as Birta. The remaining area shall be measured, and taxes shall be assessed thereon at current rates. The rights of the patta-holder shall be secure and heritable. The lands shall not be confiscated even if he is guilty of treason or other crime. Patta-holders shall not be allowed to attract ryots from the Birta lands of Prime Minister Jung Bahadur, or from Raikar lands. However, the labor of such ryots may be utilized if they continue occupying Raikar lands.

Magh Badi 3, 1921
(January 1865)
(21/115)

(S.B. Maharjan).